GUIDE TO THE RB5 LITHUANIANS FILE

[The RB5 Lithuanians file is concerned with the Lithuanian people and their culture before Soviet rule. Lithuania is located on the Baltic Sea between East Germany, Poland, and Latvia. Their language is Lithuanian, one of the oldest of the Indo-European languages. Lithuania was an independent state between the 13th and 15th centuries. At the end of the 14th century it united with Poland. This union lasted until 1795 when almost all of Lithuania was annexed to Russia. After World War I, Lithuania became independent. Under Russian domination, Lithuania had remained outside of the cultural mainstream of western Europe, but after independence many development programs were initiated. In 1939 the population of 2 1/2 million consisted of 76% peasants. Virtually all of these peasants were Roman Catholic. Stockbreeding was the most important rural activity. Agriculture was primarily concerned with growing cereals, rye being the most important. The most important cities of Vilnius and Kaunas were inhabited primarily by minority groups.

There are eleven sources in the file. Two are translations, one from Russian (9: Paletskis), and the other from German (7: Jungfer). Sources 4, 5, 6, and 11 are by Lithuanian government officials and deal with the development programs during the period of independence from 1918-1939. Sources 1, 2, and 9 are concerned with the situation in Lithuania after Soviet rule. The file is strongest in the areas of arts, especially folk arts. 7: Jungfer is a study of the development

of the verbal and literary arts, with some attention given to visual arts. 10: Baltrušaitis is devoted entirely to folk art, including religious art and sculpture as well as domestic arts such as weaving. The file was processed in 1955-56.]

3. Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB 5 Lithuanians RB5

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

000 Lithuania as a nation has a great past. Although it has been definitely established that the country was in existence before the twelfth century, there is a long shadowy period preceding her recorded history.

HISTORIC BACKGROUND

197 The Lithuanian people form a distinct race and they speak their own language, which is wholly different from the languages of the neighboring countries of Russia, Poland, and Germany. Philologists find the Lithuanian language very helpful for comparative language studies and research, and some of them have found Lithuanian to be very close to the Sanskrit.

101 The first to mention and describe the people on the Baltic shores was the Roman writer, Tacitus, who at the end of the first century, in his treatise *Germania*, calls them *aestii, aestiorum gentes*.[1]

The Aestii, like most European peoples (Germanic, Slavic, Celtic, Italian, Hellenic), belong to the Indo-European family of nations, although whence the Aestii came to the Baltic shores is still a problem to historians. Philologists find three groups of Aestii: Prussians (Lithuanian *Prusai;* German

[1] A. Sapoka, *Lietuvos Istorija* (History of Lithuania), Svietimo Ministerijos K.L.K. Leidinys, Kaunas, p. 18.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

101 *Preussen;* Latin *Borusi*), Latvians (Lithuanian *latviai;* German *Letten*), and Lithuanians (Lithuanian *lietuviai;* German *Litauer*). The main distinction among these three groups was that they spoke different dialects of the Lithuanian language.

[175] The Prussians were conquered by the Teutonic Order in the thirteenth century. Castles were built in the conquered regions, and around them German colonists settled. Within fifty years (by 1280) the Prussians had virtually come under German control, although they defended themselves vigorously. In 1243 and again in 1260 there were big uprisings. In the course of years the Prussians were partly exterminated, while those remaining were assimilated and eventually adopted the German language.[2] But as late as the eighteenth century Lithuanian was the dominating language of the population in the region stretching from Königsberg north and east to the Lithuanian-German border.

The Latvians (Letts) were divided into several tribes, namely, Kursiai, Zemgaliai, and Latgaliai. Another, wholly distinct, group called Livs (Latin *Libii*) lived in the basin of the Dauguva. This group belonged to the Ugro-Finnic family of nations, to which the Estonians, Finns, and Hungarians belong. When German merchants and missionaries began to visit the natives of the basin of the Dauguva, they first met the Liv tribes, and thereafter they referred to all of that country as Livonia. In this way the Teutonic Knights of that part of the country came to be known as the Livonian Order (*Fratres Militiae Christi* or Livonian Order of
186 Swordbearers). Despite over six centuries of subjugation to
101 the Germans and later to Russian rule and influence, the

[2] A. E. Ewald, *Die Eroberung Preussens durch den Deutschen* (The Robbery of Prussians by Germans), 1884, Vols. I–IV; M. Oeler, *Geschichte des deutschen Ritter Ordens* (The History of the Teutonic Knights), 1908.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Latvians have preserved their language and their national spirit. After the World War Latvia declared her independence and dropped the name of Livonia.[3]

The Lithuanians are considered to be the main division of the Aestii. They themselves were divided into Zemaiciai (Samogitians), Sudavai, Jotvingiai, and Aukstaiciai (Highlanders). At the end of the twelfth century the Lithuanians began to form a state, because continual wars with the Teutonic Order in the west (Prussia) and in the north (Livonia) forced them to unite. The first crowned king of Lithuania was Mindaugas (Mindow, Mendog), who conquered all the other chieftains, in 1251 adopted Christianity, which had been brought by the Teutonic Knights, and in 1253 was crowned.[4]

At the same time the Samogitians, who continued to fight the Knights of the Livonian Order, succeeded in checking them from making further inroads into the Lithuanian territories. In their effort to conquer the Samogitians, the Teutonic Knights in 1252 built a castle in the vicinity of Klaipeda, to which they gave the German name Memel.

Soon after the death of Mindaugas, Christianity disappeared almost completely in Lithuania.

In the period of 1295–1316 Lithuania was ruled by Vytenis (Witen), who was succeeded by Gediminas (Gedimin), 1316–41. So many Russian territories were incorporated in the latter's state that the new lands greatly exceeded in size ethnographic Lithuania. The title of the ruler in the documents was therefore *Rex Lithuanorum et Multorum Ruthenorum.*[5]

[3] Sapoka, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
[4] J. Totoraitis, *Die Litauer unter dem Koenig Mindowe* (The Lithuanians under King Mindowe), 1905.
[5] Sapoka, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

000 between the surface and the underground layers change according to surroundings, background and era. Sometimes they tighten, at other times they have no balanced relationship. They seldom coalesce. Each stratum has its own measure of motion and time.

[101] 175 [172] A branch of the Indo-European family which to-day speaks one of Europe's oldest languages, the Lithuanians, settled away from the great travelled routes, were spared for a long period from revolutionary changes. The Iron Age was prolonged until the 12th century of our era. For all that, it was not an archaic culture. The objects found in graves are of an advanced type. Textile industry, metal objects, ceramics, fortifications are testimony of a clearly defined social structure and a political organization. According to the Ancients these populations were industrious and peaceful and devoted to a rustic life. The road of amber[2] from the deposits along the banks of their rivers, connected them with the Mediterranean world Gradually exchanges became more frequent. The pressure of the Goths did not directly affect these homes, but nevertheless, its repercussions were felt. In the period of migration the frontiers and the interior positions became more precise. The first strongholds called *"piliakalniai"* — were erected at strategic points. Soon Scandinavians and Russians appeared upon the scene. King Olaf of Sweden attacked the city of Apulia, — the Apuolé of to-day — Kiev menaced the people of Nemunas (Niemen), but later became a goal of Lithuanian conquests. In the West, Rimbert, a monk of Corbie, was one of the first in the IXth century to report on a township called Apuolé.

These different movements did not destroy the unity of development, but on the contrary strengthened it. Subsistence of faiths and practices continued. Entrance into history proper did not put an end to their existence. It was not a rupture, but a new phase. The prehistoric gods were not dead. For a long period adoration of the forces of nature, the stars, the thunder and all the genii of field and forest persisted. Princes were baptized in the 13th and 14th centuries, but the people's religion remained unimpaired. Penetrating the country, Christianity had to face the local myths. Frequently it mixed with them: Christ and *"Perkúnas"*, the Thunderer, had the same worshippers. It was the same favor which was transferred from the one to the other. This fidelity did not mean retrogression. Lithuania had her historic mission. She marks the limit of the barbarian

2 [Errata: should be The Amber-road. Cf. Errata Sheet, p. 204, cat. 116--- Analyst]

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians-RB5

MONOGRAPH OF LITHUANIA

INTRODUCTION

175
101

The Lithuania of to-day is situated between East Prussia, Poland and Latvia. In the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Lithuania was an independent State which, having conquered vast stretches of White Russia and Ukraine, extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea; her civilisation was that of Western Europe. At the close of the fourteenth century, Lithuania established with Poland a personal union, which was subsequently converted into a real union. For centuries, the conditions governing her existence were the same as for Poland. With the partition of 1795, practically the whole of ethnographical Lithuania was annexed by Russia, which ruled the territory until 1915.

A vast region inhabited by a population of Lithuanian origin and extending westwards almost as far as Marienburg had been conquered by the Germans in the tenth and twelfth centuries.

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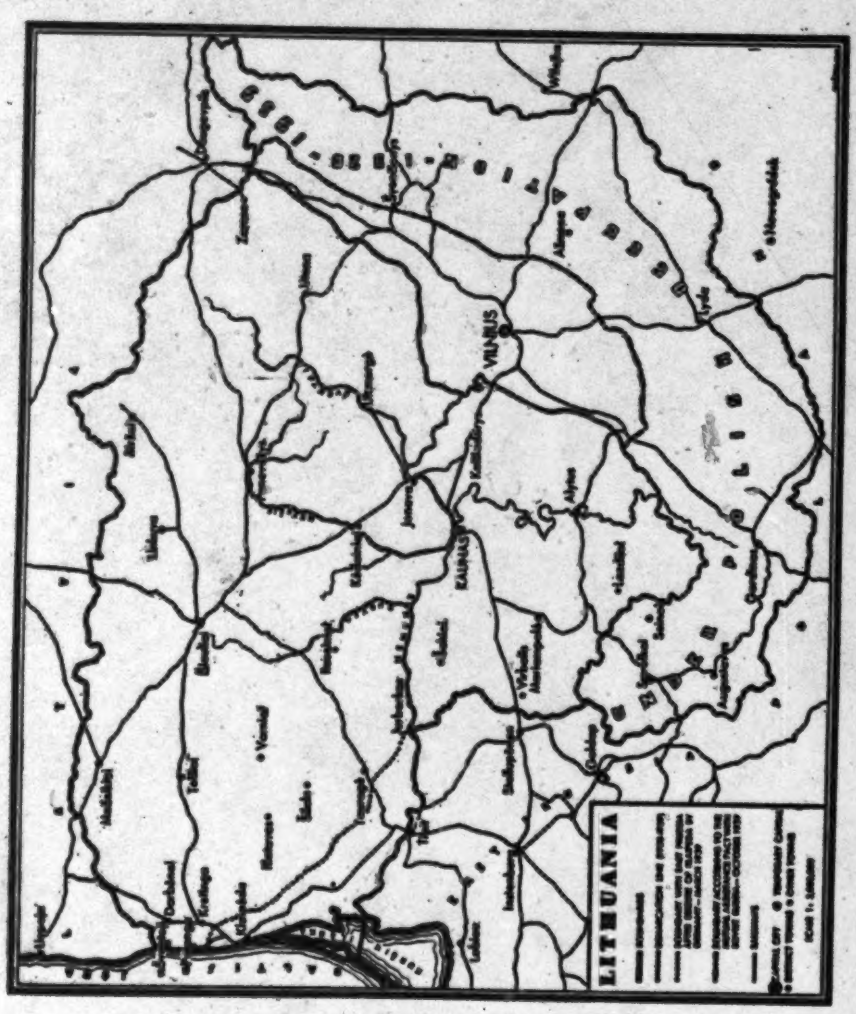
181

As long as Lithuania remained under the dominion of Russia, her economic and cultural level was conditioned by

p 5 [p. 4 is blank]

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

102



2

5:Masiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

THE BALTIC STATES

871 types, were replaced by 7-year gymnasia to
873 the first year of which pupils who have finished a 6-year elementary school are automatically admitted. Thus final graduation from the secondary school now takes place after a course of study of 13 years, 6 in the elementary school and 7 in the secondary. The first three grades of the gymnasium may be founded independently and such a school
[186] is called a progymnasium. In these schools instruction in the Lithuanian language and literature, and in physical science has been especially strengthened, and French introduced as the first foreign language. The curriculum as it is now arranged for the gymnasia is as follows:

11: Scheffer O-4, 5 (ca. 1660) 1704
EP4 Lapps
Letts R84
Lithuanians R85

to submit under the Protection of *Sigismund Augustus* King of *Poland*, who made *Courland* a Dukedom, and gave it to *Goddard Kettler* of *Nesselrath*, the last Master of the *Teutonick* Order in *Livonia*, to hold it as a Fief of the Crown of *Poland*. But *William* the youngest Son of this *Goddard*, who succeeded his elder Brother in the Government, was dispossessed of his Dominions by *Sigismund* III. King of *Poland*, and lived in Exile till 1619, when he was restored to the Dukedom, whose Posterity enjoy it to this Day.

Le 635 728 698

The *Poles* also remain to this Day possess'd of some inconsiderable Places of the *South* side of the River *Dwina* or *Dune*, among which *Dunaburgh* is the only Place worth taking notice of.

Le 636

The Dutchy of *Memel* is likewise a part of the *Southern Livonia*: Its Capital City bearing the same Name, is Situate upon, and encompass'd by, the River *Tanger*, which not far from thence exonerates it self into the Sea, in the Gulph call'd the Lake of *Courland*, and affords a very Commodious Harbour to this little but pleasant Town: Its Castle is very well Fortified; it was *An.* 1250. built by the Master of the Order of *Livonia*, and in 1328. sold by them to the Master of the *Prussian* Knights. In the Truce made in the Year 1635, betwixt the *Poles* and *Swedes*, it was Stipulated, that the said City and Dukedom should be surrendred to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who ever since remains in possession of it.

Li 103 133 131 504 712 175 727

CHAP. II.

Of the Antient Inhabitants of Livonia, *and their Superstitions and Customs.*

IT is beyond all dispute, that *Livonia* remain'd for a long time involved in the Darkness of Paganism and Idolatry, this Country being quite unknown in these Parts, till in the Year 1158, a Merchant Ship of *Bremen* (or as some will have it of *Lubeck*) being forced by a Tempest into the Gulph of *Riga*, made the first

Le 175 [illegible]

2. From the Closing of the University to the Ending of Serfdom. 216
D. The Period of the Prohibition on Printing (1865-1904) 228
1. The Epoch of Aušra 228
2. Prose Writing by Women at the Turn of the Century. . . . 237
3. Maironis and the Idealism in the Lyrics of His Time. . . 252
Chapter Six: A Cross Section of the Most Recent Developments in Lithuanian Literature
A. The Period of Transition. The New Lyricism. 259
B. Prose and Drama 269
C. Mykolaitis-Putinas and Kreve-Mickovičius 280
Notes 299

/11/ Chapter One

The Language

194 /Unnumbered note on Chapter One/ Regarding the pronunciation of the Lithuanian words appearing in the text the following should be noted: z equals soft S, S equals sharp s, c equals ts, č equals ch, ž equals j as in French jardin, š equals sh, ȳ equals tsh, e equals German open ä, ė equals German e.

104 The spelling of names in the text, consistently follows the official Lithuanian spelling: thus Suvalkija instead of Russian Suvalki, Garliava instead of Russian Godlevo. . .

Regarding the spelling of personal names it should be noted that originally non-Lithuanian names remain unchanged: thus Mickiewicz, Kraszewski, etc. On the

[p.6 is blank]

104 other hand the names of older Lithuanian writers, even when they sometimes appear in the original texts in Polish forms according to the custom of the time, are given in their Lithuanian form: thus Daukantas instead of Polish Dowkont, etc.

113 A complete bibliography of Lithuanian linguistic research is given in the annual Indogermanisches Jahrbuch (published by Walter de Gruyter, Berlin and Leipzig). In addition, the following may be named among the most important recent works:

Leskien, Litauisches Lesebuch (Heidelberg, 1919).

A. Baranowski, Litauische Mundarten; Vol. I, Texts; Vol. II, Grammatical Introduction (edited by F. Specht, Leipzig, 1920-22).

G. Gerullis, Litauische Dialektstudien (Leipzig, 1930).
(Basic.)

A. Salys, "Kelios pastabos tarmių istorijai" (Some Remarks on Dialect History), with a dialect map, Archivum Philologicum, IV (Kaunas), pp. 21-34. (This periodical especially serves Lithuanian linguistic research.)

G. Gerullis, ---ieji lietuvių skaitymai (Readings in Old Lithuanian), I, Kaunas, 1927. (This work contains selected samples from old writings.)

K. Būga, Lietuvių kalbos žodynas (Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language), I-II (Kaunas, 1924). (Very important linguistically.)

K. Būga, Die Vergangenheit der aistischen (baltischen) Völker im Lichte der Ortsnamenforschung, Streitberg-Festgabe, Leipzig, 1924.

P. Skardžius, "Die slawischen Lehnwörter im

111 Lithuanians RB5

1: Anonymous. Behind The Iron Curtain. Lithuanian Bulletin, Vol. V11, Nos. 1-3, pp. 1-19. New York: Lithuanian American Council, 1949.

Yale: Bw 92a. L71. 7

[This article presents a brief description of the political, religious and economic situation in Lithuania under Soviet rule. Since this source appears in a magazine written by Lithuanian refugees, politically and religiously considerably colored, the information offered should be treated with caution.---Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Dragan Zivanovic

Evaluation: Unknown - 3
Processed in 1955

111 Lithuanians RB5

2: Anonymous. The Situation of the Church In Enslaved Lithuania. Lithuanian Bulletin, Vol. V, Nos. 5-6, pp. 21-25. New York: Lithuanian American Council, 1947.

Yale: Bw 92a. L71. 5

[The situation of the church in Lithuania under the Soviet regime is examined in this source. Specifically interested in the Catholic church, the article presents an analysis of the relationship between the Church and Soviet authority, and a description of the persecution of believers and church dignitaries. ---Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Dragan Zivanovic

Evaluation: Unknown - 4
Processed in 1955

3: Simutis, Anicetas. The Economic Reconstruction of Lithuania after 1918. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942.

Pp. xiii, 148

Yale: NC95. R78. 942S

[This source deals with Lithuanian agriculture, industry, foreign trade, and finance from the time independence was gained in 1918 until the year 1939. Numerous charts and tables illustrate the progress Lithuania made in all phases of her economy. Five appendices include the Declaration of Independence and several treaties which were signed with neighboring countries. ----Analyst]

Field Date: none
Analyst: C. Harvey

Evaluation--Social Scientist-4
Processed in 1955

111 Lithuanians RB5

4: Kublitzky, Vladimir. Wages In Lithuania. Monthly Labor Review, Volume 49. No. 2. pp. 428-430. Washington, D. C.: Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1939.

Yale: Ndu60. A7. V. 49

[This source deals with the division of wages and salaries in Lithuania by sex and type of work performed. The author also discusses the income-tax law and tax deductions, the employees' sickness-insurance fund, and the state employees pension fund---Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: C. Harvey

Evaluation: Government Official-4, 5
Processed in 1955

111 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

5: Masiliunas, K. Education in Lithuania, School Life, Volume XXIV, pp. 171-173, 184, Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1939.

Yale: L10. Sch 73. v. 24

[This is a brief outline concerning the progress made by the newly formed Republic after World War I to train a staff, organize the curriculum and provide the physical plant for an educational system. It shows the development of the system up to 1939.

Because original pagination is not continuous HRAF has assigned consecutive numbers... Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: C. Harvey

Evaluation: Government Official-4, 5
Processed in 1955

6: Anonymous. Ten Years of Lithuanian Economy. Kaunas: Report of the Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Crafts, 1938.

Pp. 167

Yale: Nc95. R78. 938c

[The Report of the Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Crafts presents a concise review of the histroy of the development of Lithuanian economy between 1928 and 1938. With the exception of agriculture, it deals with all spheres of economics: industry, foreign and domestic trade, transport, finance and credit. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Dragan Zivanovic

Evaluation: Unknown-4, 5
Processed in 1955

7: Jungfer, Victor. Lithuania, The Countenance of a People. Leipzig: Breitkopf and Hartel, 1938.

Pp. 1, 341 -- HRAF MANUSCRIPT

Translated for the Human Relations Area Files by Wallace Chafe

[Dr. Victor Jungfer, a German scholar who for many years was a professor at the University of Kaunas, presents in this volume a critical account of the cultural development of the Lithuanians. He examines Lithuania's original cultural foundations (language; folk poetry, including the old Dainos, sagas, proverbs, and riddles; folk art) and tries to determine the direction in which the cultural development is moving and what influences have affected it, by investigating Lithuanian architecture, painting, music, and literature in their more recent stages. Particularly extensive is Dr. Jungfer's discussion of literature, which he presents against the background of Lithuania's social structure in the 19th and 20th centuries, Lithuania's relations with Russia and Germany, and the growth of Lithuanian nationalism. Extensive references are scattered throughout the text. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Masha N. Vorobiov

Evaluation: Social Scientist 4, 5
Processed in 1956

9: Paletskis, Iustas. Sovetskaia Litva [Soviet Lithuania], pp. 2-5. Moscow: Gospolitizdat, 1949.

United States Department of Agriculture: 280.179. P17 [HRAF MS. -pp. 2]

Translated from the Russian for the Human Relations Area Files by Mary Vorobiov.

[The author presents a brief description of the physical characteristics of Soviet Lithuania. Topography, location, climate, and flora are the focal points of this excerpt. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: June Orloff

Evaluation: Social Scientist-3
Processed in 1955

111 RB5 Lithuanians

10: Baltrušaitis, Jurgis. Lithuanian Folk Art. Munich: J. G. Weiss'sch Buchdruckerei, 1948.

Pp. 81 plus 63 plates

Personal copy.

[This book describes Lithuanian folk art from a historical point of view. The author discusses the impact of other civilizations upon traditional folk art. Architecture, religious art and sculpture, and domestic art are described in detail in regard to their inception, changes under various influences, and their present state. Illustrations appear throughout the text in addition to the sixty-three plates that appear in the back of the book. HRAF pagination has been added to the latter. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: June Orloff

Evaluation: Artisan-4, 5
Processed in 1955

11: League of Nations. Lithuania. In European Conference on Rural Life--1939, Vol. 12. Publications of the League of Nations. Geneva, 1939.

Pp. 47

Yale: Ozd844. A162d. v. 11-20

[This is a monograph on rural life in Lithuania, drawn up by the Lithuanian government for the League of Nations. It includes discussion of demographic data, agrarian reform, soil improvement, and various economic aspects of agrarian life. It also includes information on the role of women in agriculture, peasant art and folklore, and the diet of the rural population. -- Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Robert Flynn

Evaluation: Government Official-4
Processed in 1955

12: American Russian Institute. Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic of August 25, 1940 As Amended Through April 7, 1948. New York: American Russian Institute, April, 1950

Pp. ii, 15.

Yale: Osf23. - 950c. 12.

[This is a translation, without comment, of a typed copy of the Russian text authenticated on June 24, 1948 by Mr. S. Pupeikis, Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR. Similarities and differences between the various constitutions of the 16 constituent republics of the USSR are discussed in 70: American Russian Institute, R1 Soviet Union, category 116. --Analyst]

Field date: none Processed in 1955
Analyst: Robert Karlowich

113, 642 RB5 Lithuania

[For comparisons of the Constitution of the Lithuania Soviet Socialist Republic of August 25, 1940 as amended through April 7, 1948 with other constitutions of the Soviet Union, see 70: American Russian Institute, R1 Soviet Union, category 116.]

113, 175 Lithuania RB5

[For historical data on Lithuanian-Ukrainian relations see:
4: Allen RD1 Ukraine, cat. 116, pp. 41-52; 56-58;--Analyst]

175, 113

RB5 Lithuania

[For the history of the relations between Lithuania and Russia from 1340-1569, see 7: Bregy and Obolensky, RD1 Ukraine, category 116, pp. 53-63.]

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

• 115

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[1] The Central Bureau of Statistics, a Department of the Ministry of Finance of Lithuania.

135 [134 is Blank]

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

● 113 uania with Foreign Countries). Published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs under the direction of Pranas Dailide, Director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kaunas; Vol. I, 1919–29; Vol. II, 1929–39. Published in Lithuanian, in languages of other contracting parties, and in French.

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113 *Torgovie otnoshenia SSSR s kapitalisticheskimi stranami* (Trade Relations of USSR with Capitalistic Countries). Moskva, 1938.

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Stohr, Felix, *Die Wirtschaft der Republik Litauen in ersten Jahrzehnt ihres Bestehens 1918–1928*. Erlangen, 1930.

Ten Years of Lithuanian Economy. Report of the Chamber of Commerce, Industry, and Crafts, Kaunas, 1938.

Timoshenko, Vladimir P., *World Agriculture and the Depression* (Michigan Business Studies, Vol. V, No. 5). University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1933.

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104 other hand the names of older Lithuanian writers, even when they sometimes appear in the original texts in Polish forms according to the custom of the time, are given in their Lithuanian form: thus Daukantas instead of Polish Dowkont, etc.

113 A complete bibliography of Lithuanian linguistic research is given in the annual Indogermanisches Jahrbuch (published by Walter de Gruyter, Berlin and Leipzig). In addition, the following may be named among the most important recent works:

Leskien, Litauisches Lesebuch (Heidelberg, 1919).

A. Baranowski, Litauische Mundarten; Vol. I, Texts; Vol. II, Grammatical Introduction (edited by F. Specht, Leipzig, 1920-22).

G. Gerullis, Litauische Dialektstudien (Leipzig, 1930).
(Basic.)

A. Salys, "Kelios pastabos tarmių istorijai" (Some Remarks on Dialect History), with a dialect map, Archivum Philologicum, IV (Kaunas), pp. 21-34. (This periodical especially serves Lithuanian linguistic research.)

G. Gerullis, ---ieji lietuvių skaitymai (Readings in Old Lithuanian), I, Kaunas, 1927. (This work contains selected samples from old writings.)

K. Būga, Lietuvių kalbos žodynas (Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language), I-II (Kaunas, 1924). (Very important linguistically.)

K. Būga, Die Vergangenheit der aistischen (baltischen) Völker im Lichte der Ortsnamenforschung, Streitberg-Festgabe, Leipzig, 1924.

P. Skardžius, "Die slawischen Lehnwörter im

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Altlitauischen," Tauta ir Žodis (People and Word), Vol. VII (Kaunas, 1931).
K. Alminauskas, Die Germanismen des Litauischen, I, Kaunas, no date.

A. The Place of Lithuanian in the Framework of the Indo-European Languages

000 Every language is an image of the thinking and feelings of a people. It gives an elaborate and colorful picture of the inner nature of the people in the most sensitive shadings, not only through what it says but also through what it does not say. For words and concepts with all their nuances, indeed even grammatical constructions--if they are for once not observed with the eyes of the philologist--are only symbols for all the elements of which the spiritual and intellectual life of a people consists and through which it is distinguished from others.

197 The Lithuanian language belongs to the Balto-Slavic branch of the Indo-European languages. With the languages of the Letts, Cours, Zemgalens, Selens and Old Prussians, it is included in a special "Baltic" group. Nevertheless there are differences to be noted here. The Lettish language is related to Lithuanian as a younger sister language. It has been more mixed with foreign elements because of its closer contact with German and has lost many ancient features which Lithuanian has faithfully preserved. Old Prussian, on the other hand, even more ancient in grammatical structure, seemed at first /12/ to stand considerably closer to Lithuanian, as far as could be determined from the few preserved records. Nevertheless as early in 1876 Kurschat found that from a linguistic point of view the relation of Old Prussian to Lithuanian was not really as close as that of Lettish to Lithuanian. He assembles a number of words of comparison of Old Prussian with Lithuanian, and remarks: "What may have been borrowed by one of these languages

197 from the other, by Old Prussian from Lithuanian or vice versa, must remain completely undetermined." (1)

1. A comparison of Old Prussian with Lithuanian is made more difficult by the fact that in the Old Prussian language little more than three translations of the Luther catechism (two from the year 1545 and one from the year 1561) have been preserved. At that time, however, as Kurschat observes, Old Prussian was already a language that was dying out, and apparently the translators were not enough in command of the language "to be able to reproduce it with reliable exactness." (Friedrich Kurschat, Grammatik der littauischen Sprache, Halle, 1876, pp. 56-57.)

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With the close relationship of the Lithuanian, Lettish, and Old Prussian languages the common features in their vocabularies are naturally not surprising:

	Lithuanian	Lettish	Prussian
"god"	dievas	dievs	deivs
"hand"	ranka	ruoka	ranko
"head"	galve	galva	galvo
"iron"	gel(e)žis	dzelzs	gelso
"steel"	pliemas	pliens	plainis

Nevertheless, in spite of such similarities the fundamental differences between these languages should not be forgotten, as they strike us for example in the word bread: Lithuanian duona, Lettish maize, and Prussian geitis. Very frequently, too, we find the case that Old Prussian contrasts markedly in its vocabulary with Lithuanian and Lettish:

	Lithuanian	Lettish	Prussian
"butter"	sviestas	sviests	anktan
"milk"	pienas	piens	dadan

Modern linguistics therefore assumes that the primitive Baltic language split into two branches sometime between the fifth and third centuries B.C. -- a western /13/ (Prussian) and an eastern, to which would be assigned the languages of the Lithuanians, Letts, Cours, Zemgalens, and Selens. From the eastern branch resulted later -- presumably in the eleventh and twelfth centuries -- the languages of the individual peoples. (2)

[113] 2. Trautmann, Altpreussische Sprachdenkmäler, pp. VIII-XV.

The question of what place Lithuanian holds within the Indo-European languages stimulated research very early. As early as 1856, in the introduction to his Handbuch der litauischen Sprache, Schleicher gives us a clear definition when he observes -- in general not incorrectly: "The Lithuanian language belongs to the great Indo-European speech family. Indic and Persian, Greek and Latin, Slavic, Lithuanian, and German, and finally the language called Celtic are the branches of this family, and each branch is again divided more or less into languages or dialects ... Slavic and Lithuanian, however, resemble each other so much in many parts of their grammar and vocabulary that one could be inclined to consider them members of one and the same language group if great differences in other parts of the language structure did not keep one from such a view. Of all the living Indo-European languages, Lithuanian shows in its sound by far the greatest antiquity; hence its great importance for linguistics." (3)

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3. A. Schleicher, Handbuch der litauischen Sprache (Prague, 1856-57), Vol. I, Litauische Grammatik, Introduction.

Since Schleicher wrote these words a period of almost 80 years has elapsed during which the Lithuanian language has been investigated by a great number of researchers, mostly Germans. The place of Lithuanian within the Indo-European language group is today unequivocally established: with the remaining Baltic and Slavic languages, as well as with Indic, Iranian, Armenian, and Albanian, it forms the so-called satem group of Indo-European, while the Germanic languages, together with Greek, Latin, and Celtic, belong to the centum group. "The difference exists in the fact that certain palatal sounds of the original language /14/ became sibilants in the satem languages but remained for the time unchanged or perhaps became harder in the centum languages." (4)

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4. A. Senn, Kleine litauische Sprachlehre (Heidelberg, 1929), p. 2.

The connection of the Baltic and Slavic branches of the Indo-European languages has also been shown in detail by a whole series of older investigators, Brugmann, Leskien, Fortunatov, Porzezinski, Meillet, and others. In 1923, Trautmann published an etymological dictionary of the Balto-Slavic languages. (5)

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5. Trautmann, Baltisch-slawisches Wörterbuch (Göttingen, 1923). Cf. also E. Fraenkel, "Zur baltoslawischen Etymologie und Wortforschung," Tauta ir Zodis, Vol. III (Kaunas, 1925), pp. 481-89.

Although Indo-European linguistics assigns

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[1] 7. K. Buga, "Die litauisch-weissrussischen Beziehungen und ihr Alter," special number of the Zeitschrift für slawische Philologie (Leipzig, 1924), Vol. I, Nos. 1/2, pp. 26-55. Būga points out that a series of White Russian words of religious content must have found its way into the Lithuanian language even before 1387 (pp. 50 and 52). The same would apply to the terms for a number of objects with which the Lithuanians became acquainted through the trade with the White Russians even before 1200; e.g. glass, silk, market, donkey, radish, and others (p. 46).

quently looked upon as Slavic is of proto-Indo-European origin and thus equally at home in both languages. Finally, Lithuanian contains many words that passed over into the Slavic languages. A comparison of the Lithuanian language with the Slavic languages presents thus a great number of factors that have to be taken into consideration.

197 All in all we can say today that the relationship of these languages on closer observation does not prove to be as close as it appeared to [194] Schleicher. Above all, there is a strikingly small number of sibilants in Lithuanian, while the sibilants actually impose a special stamp on Slavic. [193] On the other hand, Slavic feeling for language is reflected to a large extent in the syntax and grammar of Lithuanian. Thus the Lithuanian language, exactly as Polish, puts the predicate substantive in the instrumental and puts the object in the genitive with negative verbs. Certain sibilants, e.g. the č in mačiau "I saw," are traceable for the first time around the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but do not represent a borrowing from Slavic. It is interesting that the educated Russian and Pole will not admit any close relationship of Lithuanian with his own language and that, quite the contrary, he is inclined to look at the Lithuanian language as something com-

[1 [footnote to text on page 12, see cat. 192 or 197--Analyst]

197 184 the Memel. In the eastern group of High Lithuanian a series of dialects can also be distinguished. Dzūkijan, or Southeast Lithuanian, as well as North Lithuanian spoken in the river area of the Mūsā (north of Panevėžys) stand out as particular dialects. (8)

8. A. Senn, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

The large number of dialectal differences implies for the vocabulary and form of the language an enrichment not to be underestimated. This surprising richness in a relatively small territory /Unnumbered page with illustration--Lithuanian Landscape/ /17/ can probably be attributed primarily to the seclusion of the individual districts. This resulted from a backwardness of many centuries and a conservative adherence to inherited land. The differences of the dialects, however, are not so strong that they could destroy the unity of the language. The present literary language is based on the dialect of the South Lithuanian province of Užnemunė (earlier the gouvernement Suvalkija), which is spoken particularly on the south bank of the Memel, in other words, the southern dialect of western High Lithuanian. We thus find in standard Lithuanian the long vowels of the final syllables preserved. (9)

[113] 9. All grammatical presentations of the present Lithuanian standard language are based primarily on the work of Prof. Jablonski, who, under the name Rygiškių Jonas, is the author of: Lietuvių kalbos vadovelis (Kaunas, 1925); and Lietuvių kalbos gramatika, 2nd ed. (Kaunas-Vilna, 1922).

197 192 B. Antiquity and Formal Richness of the Lithuanian Language

In the year 1625 the Königsberg clergyman Johannes Rhesa wrote, in the preface to his Lith-

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197 uanian Psalter: "If we observe many strange words in the Lithuanian language, it will be found that it is a mixed language, stemming from other major languages, especially Greek and Latin, a fact which becomes evident for example in the proverb [53] of the Lithuanians: Dewas dawe dantes, Dewas dos ir dones; that is, 'If God has given teeth, he must also have given bread.' Whoever knows Greek or Latin will find that most of the words take their origin from these languages." (10)

10. Quoted on the basis of Bezzenberger, see footnote 13.[1]

199 We have seen[2] that Indo-European linguistic research in its further development has not confirmed this view of the old Königsberg clergyman, although it still haunted the German press during the First World War. (11) /18/ Rather, linguistic

[113] 11. Prof. Dr. Leo Brenner, "Litauer und Preussen, Stammesbrüder der Griechen," Deutsche Tageszeitung, September 12, 1917.

research has shown us that Lithuanian, together with Greek and Latin, originated in a common primitive language--Indo-European, and that the similarities of these languages are due to this fact. That these similarities are so striking, however, finds its explanation in the unusual antiquity of the Lithuanian language, which in this regard occupies a unique position among all the Indo-European languages. Schleicher already finds it remarkable that so ancient a language still exists at all. He refers to the dual and the seven Indo-European cases in Lithuanian that at times match the Sanskrit. He stresses that Lithuanian remained almost completely free of the great sound changes which the rest of the Indo-European languages underwent, and assigns to Lithuanian a similar role in the framework of the

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 17-18 -- Analyst]
2 [see cat 116, pp. 8-13 -- Analyst]

197 most closely related Slavic languages as is played by Gothic in a comparative presentation of the Germanic languages. Schleicher explains the antiquity of Lithuanian by the seclusion of the Lithuanian country folk from historical movements, and draws a parallel with Icelandic. (12) One of the

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12. Schleicher, Vergleichende Sprachgeschichte (1848) (cf. here the chapter on the "Zetazismus der litauischen Sprache"); and Die Sprachen Europas (1850).

best modern experts on the Lithuanian language, Prof. Bezzenberger, expresses himself similarly: "If one asks, however, whence it comes that Lithuanian has preserved until today such splendid features of antiquity. . .while all other Indo-European languages have in contrast long gone about [18] in an unusually strong conservative trait in the Lithuanians." (13) Although for the

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13. Bezzenberger's reply to L. Brenner's essay, "Litauer und Preussen," Königsberger Hartungsche Zeitung, February 10, 1918. Cf. on this point in the same newspaper, on October 24, 1918, the reply of Dr. Herbert Krüger, "Griechen und Litauer": "Whether the division of the Indo-European languages into centum and satem languages, based on phonetic differences, also forms a good standard for the degree of relationship of the peoples concerned will be contested from many sides. It must be left to the work of specialists to decide whether only the general Indo-European relationship exists between the Lithuanians and the Greeks, or a somewhat closer relationship, which Herr Geheimrat Bezzenberger disputes. Before the assumed division there must have existed at one time a unified original people, and if, as even Herr Geheimrat Bezzenberger does, we no longer

197 Greek). Thus, for example, Lithuanian has a con-
193 struction that must be described precisely as a dative absolute.

192 Among the ancient features of Lithuanian can be listed also the diminutive forms, which are probably not used in such abundance in any other living language. They surround the language like a colorful scroll and are especially essential to the folk songs. But while, for example, High German knows today only two such diminutives, -chen and -lein, Lithuanian has at its disposal an incomparably large number, which are attached not only to substantives but also to adjectives and even verbs and adverbs. If we take for example the word "small" mažas, we find the following forms: mažalėlis, mažilėlis, maželėlis, mažutis, mažytis, mažiukas, mažulėlis, mažiulukas, mažulytis, mažutėlis, mažiulis, mažylis, mažučiukas. W. Kalwaitis counts in his Litauischer Namensschatz no less that 66 diminutive forms for the word mama "mother," among them even a fivefold diminutive /21/ mamaitužužužėlė. (14) We have an excellent

[113] 14. W. Kalwaitis, Litauischer Namensschatz (Lithuanian and German) (Tilsit, 1910), p. 24, where the following progression of diminutives from mama are given: mamaitė--mamaitužė--mamaitužužė--mamaitužužužė--mamaitužužužėlė. It might be possible that a conscientious philologist who counted all the diminutive forms of this one word might arrive at the figure 100.

article by Prof. Brender on the significance of the diminutive forms in Lithuanian. (15) Brender shows

[113] 15. F. Brender, "Die Verwendung der sogenannten Diminutive im Litauischen," Tauta ir Žodis (Kaunas, 1925), Vol. III, pp. 76-111.

here that diminution occurs primarily with such

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words as are connected with the sphere of smallness or emotion (tenderness, humor, contempt). The emotional values of the individual diminutive forms, aside from those that have become formalized, are usually quite varied and show all degrees from tenderest love to sharpest contempt. The former we see for example in the intimate forms for mother: mamelē, mamytē, mamutē, mamaitē, mamuželē, motulē, etc. -- which can be reproduced in English only with "dear, good, beloved, tender, sweet little mother," i.e. with a whole string of adjectives. Other diminutive forms serve for the expression of the gruesome, peculiar, or bizarre, as for example the suffixes that we find with the word "devil", velnias--velniukas, velnykštis, velniukštis. Thus, too, the meaning of varliukštis (varlē "frog") could only be reproduced by "poor little frog." Perhaps this abundance of diminutive forms with many meanings is connected with the decline of the descriptive adjective in Lithuanian, so readily employed by the German language. In the intimate forms this connection, which as far as I know has not yet been pointed out, definitely exists, for it is precisely in this sphere that we meet the greatest abundance of distinguishing suffixes. The preference [181] of the Lithuanians for diminutives permits also the inference of a certain basic mental attitude, as C. Reisig expresses it: "If a language is rich in diminutive endings, a certain national character can be recognized in this fact: there is in this something friendly and jovial." (16)

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16. C. C. Reisig, Vorlesungen über lateinische Sprachwissenschaft (Berlin, 1881), Vol. I, p. 219. The remark quoted here agrees with the findings of W. Schmidt, who, proceeding from completely different viewpoints, in his work Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkreise der Erde ascribes on p. 464 the pushing ahead of the genitive to a naive, natural, spontaneous, warm way of thinking, while in the cooler, constructive, "logical" way of thinking the

113 192 181 genitive follows, precisely because it expresses the differentia specifica, that which is later and comes after.

194 If from the form of the language we turn briefly to the character of the sounds, we find, as a very ancient phenomenon, a peculiar, swaying rhythm. As early as the middle of the last century this was for Leopold Arends, the inventor of stenography, /22/ his reason for working with the problem of speech modulation, i.e. with the so-called singing character of speech. It belongs to the features of the Lithuanian language that are incomprehensible for the foreigner who cannot learn it. In order, therefore, to give at least some idea of its nature, I quote from Vydūnas: "The Lithuanian language has a completely individual and for the present a unique character in regard to rhythm. It moves under tension from two parallel rhythms that work against each other simultaneously. The basic rhythm is that of the alternation of long and short sounds or syllables. In addition there is the alternation between higher and lower tones. And often the high tone falls on the short vowel in opposition to the force of the long, full sound; e.g. in individual words: sūnùs "son," ùpē "river." The tone wanders, however, in the various cases of most inflected words from one syllable to another . . .But the rhythm of tone has only a secondary significance. . .The language rather moves forward swaying like a song. For that reason, too, the richness of forms has been preserved until now. A very strong accent, particularly if it had become fixed in any special place, would probably have resulted in the wearing off of endings." (17)

[113] 17. W. St. Vydūnas, Litauen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart (Tilsit, 1916), pp. 87-88.

Present-day linguistics points out that in

197 Present-day linguistics points out that in
194 the Lithuanian language the intonation of the primitive Indo-European language has still been preserved. This can be seen with particular clarity in a comparison with Greek: e.g. Lithuanian algà (from algā); Greek ἀλφή "profit"; but genitive algõs, Greek ἀλφῆς .

Let it be said that here, too, there are variations in Lithuanian, in that some dialects have obliterated the length distinctions and have thus become simpler with regard to rhythm and melody (e.g. Samogitian). Where, however, the old rhythm has remained fully preserved, it has kept the endings from wearing away and degenerating, as we find them for example in /23/ Lettish, where the words are always stressed on the first syllable. Certainly the melody of the Lithuanian language, which many linguists have noticed, rests in large part upon this peculiar swaying rhythm.

194 The beauty and melody of the Lithuanian language unfolds its full euphony particularly in song. It has been appreciated by many scholars and artists. Thus by Élisée Reclus: "If the value of a nation in the whole of humanity could be measured by the beauty of its language, the Samogitians and Lithuanians would be in the first rank among the inhabitants of Europe." (18)

[113] 18. Élisée Reclus, Nouvelle Geographie Universelle, Vol. V, (Paris, 1880), p. 431.

We have found one reason for the phonetic beauty of this language in the minor role of the sibilants, in which it is distinguished from the Slavic languages, a second reason in the musical rhythm peculiar to it which gives it a swaying movement. Finally, a third reason is its richness in pure vowels. They are primarily the vowels a, o, and u, while compressed vowels like the Russian ы are not present at all. We are indebted to Vydūnas for interesting statistics on

195 of Slavic elements. (20)

[113] 20. The oldest language monuments of Lithuanian from the year 1547 on have been published in Gerullis: Moswid, Die ältesten litauischen Sprachdenkmäler bis zum Jahre 1570, edited by Dr. Georg Gerullis, Indogermanische Bibliothek, Vol. II (Heidelberg, 1923).

195 197 After the middle of the last century Lithuanian literature awoke to a life of its own, and from that time on there developed a Lithuanian language which takes its expressive and formal content from the various Lithuanian dialects without, however, arriving immediately at exact and clear conceptual definitions. Difficulties resulted from the fact that a number of expressions of the language had taken on meanings colored by dialect, and partially even contrasting meanings, in the separate provinces. The first task consisted therefore in a unification and conceptual delimitation of the available vocabulary. This process has even today not yet fully been carried out, although it is essentially complete. Some of the differences between the former and present literary language is explained by this fact. From decade to decade Lithuanian literary language has been gaining expressiveness, force, and richness. But still it was in its nature a peasant language that had not caught up with the rapid Western development in science and technology.

/25/ A powerful impetus was given by the founding of the independent Lithuanian state. Three problems resulted for the further development of the literary language. The first problem consisted in freeing the language from the Slavic influences by which it was at times completely ruled -- this applies to whole provinces -- and to replace the formerly employed Slavic words with pure Lithuanian

814 language. To be sure, Jablonskis was primarily a
195 grammarian and not an artist. Most important to him was simple clarity. But he always appreciated and welcomed also poets and thinkers taking part in the creation of the language, and never held back with his advice. (21)

•[113] 21. A brief appreciation of Jablonskis in German is given by Vydūnas: "Schöpfer der litauischen Schriftsprache," Unsere Stimme (Tilsit), Vol. 2, pp. 27-28.

195 The third problem* that had to be overcome
197 in the creation of the Lithuanian literary language, and that was perhaps the most important of all, was a question of transforming the Lithuanian language from a peasant language into an instrument with which even the educated, the artist, and the scientist would be able to work. In this connection it was first of all a matter of elaborating the vocabulary. This, then, will be considered first.

192 If we will look at the vocabulary of the Lithuanian language, we must first of all refute the widespread notion that the language is poor in words. A peasant language may appear poor in words to a representative of Western city culture; but it never has been, absolutely speaking. In its living organism there is an enormous ramification. This is true for the Lithuanian language as for every other peasant language. The countless skills of the peasant's work, the diverse nuances of the peasant's life itself, of which the typical city person no longer has any knowledge, all bear special terms. In addition there is a second group of words and word formations that stem from the antiquity of the Lithuanian language and find no parallel in modern Western languages. Every language develops just as much from complexity to simplicity as from /27/ simplicity to complexity. We describe the former as typification and general-

* [cat. 116, pp. 25-27 -- Analyst]

192 /28/ I give below a series of these expressions, which I encountered in a hasty thumbing of the dictionary. (22) They lie mostly in the area of

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22. Niedermann, Senn, Brender, Wörterbuch der litauischen Schriftsprache (Heidelberg, 1932), Vol. 1.

man's bearing, and are especially characteristic of the terseness and conciseness of the Lithuanian language, primarily in terms for things observable through the senses:

atpēdžiui bēgti	-- to run back over the same track that one came by
atsikalti	-- to lean on something with the back
drebtelēti	-- to slap something viscious
dunksoti	-- to be indistinctly visible in the distance
gunginti	-- to go around bent over with highly raised shoulders
guoglinēti	-- to go around with the head constantly shaking
gurdelis	-- a man whose health is failing
gurinti	-- to walk with small steps in a bent-over posture
gužēti	-- to move rapidly in disorganized crowds
įkniubti	-- to concentrate on something with the head in the hands
dykinējimas	-- leisurely loitering about over a long period
saujelē	-- a handful
žiupsnis	-- as much as one can grasp with three fingers

192 From the area of the mind, too, examples could be added. Let those mentioned here be enough to refute the story of the general paucity of words in Lithuanian. Further, the psychological difference between the Lithuanian and German languages is sufficiently indicated by what is said here. As early as the year 1800 it occurred to Mielcke in the preparation of his German-Lithuanian dictionary /29/ that "the concepts in the two languages are not constructed from the same characteristics and do not cover the same ground, and moreover if a Lithuanian word expresses the meaning of a German word, the connotations of each of these words are often at the same time extremely different." (23)

[113] 23. Christian Gottlieb Mielcke, Littauisch-deutsches und Deutsch-littauisches Wörterbuch (Königsberg, 1800), Preface, p. 4.

197 195 We thus see that the Lithuanian language, as a result of the working together of the most varied factors, represents a finely organized and rich organism. But this richness lies, apart from the formal elements, in the main in the area of things perceived through the senses, of the objective. For the further development of the Lithuanian literary language the most important problem thus turned out to be its elaboration for the areas of the spiritual and intellectual, i.e. of art, science, technology, etc. This problem was insoluble as long as the Lithuanian people as a clearly defined and spiritually homobeneous mass had been cut off from the Western European development by the barrier of the Russian boundary and Russian oppression. One cannot construct a world of concepts in new words where the knowledge and understanding of the concepts themselves do not yet exist among the masses. First of all a broader educated class must be created to be the bearer of this new world of words and concepts, from which the newly gained knowledge

195 where it is a matter of the personification of
197 things. The best proof are the Lithuanian folk riddles: the river runs, the shoes gape, the grain comes home to sleep, etc. In modern Lithuanian poetry we find, on the other hand, the transition to the abstract throughout. Thus, for example, in Balys Sruoga (Saulē ir smiltys):

> Go onto the long
> Road of autumn. . .(p. 111)

or

> . . .the stars which inflamed the heavens
> With the fire of life --
> I do not envy. (p. 62)

In modern poetry--in this connection I refer to the poetic imitations in the last chapter -- the spiritualization of the objective is thus shown in living images. It is to be expected that everyday language, too, will not escape this influence, once recent Lithuanian poetry has penetrated deeper into the people. The more slowly and organically this spiritual transformation process takes place, the richer will be the fruits to be expected from it.(24)

113 24. The most important scientific literature concerning the Lithuanian language of the nineteenth century is listed by Oscar Wiedemann, Handbuch der Litauischen Sprache (Strassburg, 1897), pp. 4-6. In particular may be mentioned: Leopold Geitler, Litauische Studien (Prague, 1875). Adalbert Bezzenberger, Beiträge zur Geschichte der litauischen Sprache. Auf Grund litauischer Texte des XVI. und des XVII. Jahrhunderts (Göttingen, 1877). By the

same author, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Sprache und des Volkstums der Litauer (Göttingen, 1882). Anton Baranowski and Hugo Weber, Ostlitauische Texte (Weimar, 1882). (See also the literature given in the chapter on folk poetry.)

/Unnumbered page with illustration--At the River/

/33/ Chapter Two

Lithuanian Folk Poetry

/Unnumbered note on Chapter Two/ Since with the vast amount of literature on Lithuanian folk poetry it appears impossible to give here a complete survey, I refer for the dainos to the "Bibliography of the Literature on the Lithuanian Dainos" (Lietuviškųjų dainų literatūros bibliografija) published by V. Biržiška in Mūsų Tautosaka (Kaunas, 1931), Vol. III, pp. 187-223. For the remaining branches of folk poetry see the notes to the section in Chapter Two "On the Study of Lithuanian Folklore."

A. The Folk Song

1. The Melodies of the Lithuanian Songs

If language is the spiritual means of expression of a people, this expression itself finds its most beautiful glorification and exaltation in song. Not what a people sings in its songs is important here -- there are everywhere the same primitive emotions, pain and grief, joy and pride, longing and love; and in content the songs of probably all peoples are similar to each other on specific cultural levels. What differentiates them is the inner form in which the people clothes

533 warm themselves at the brushwood fire. Perhaps the evening sadness of the countryside in which the summer is so short speaks more strongly in them than the joy of the summer; and perhaps, too, something of the melancholy diffidence of a whole people toward its unhappy fate hovers in them.

Whoever has ridden through Lithuania has probably heard the song of the reapers coming home from work. He may have stopped before lonely forest farms from which sounded in the evening the song of a daina, drawn out and melancholy. Or he may have stood at the river, across whose surface the song of the woodcutter, working by night, echoed in slow waves.

/35/ But he will not know that many of these melancholy melodies conceal texts that are anything but sad, whose inner joyfulness appears through the melody as if hidden by a veil. This is a peculiarity of the Lithuanian song that is not immediately understandable for Western European musical interpretation. A special view of this matter is presented by Vydūnas: "Also connected with what was pointed out before is the fact that Lithuanian songs carry the stamp of melancholy for many, especially for non-Lithuanians, and that this is often actually interpreted as sadness. Undeniably there are Lithuanian songs that express deep sorrow. But the generalization of this fact rests on a misunderstanding. What is described as melancholy in the folk songs signifies a certain aloneness with one's own moods, a veiling of them. For this reason the melodies move frequently between half tones and usually are in minor." (1)

[113]

1. Vydūnas, "Der Charakter der litausichen Volksweisen," Zeitung der X. Armee, No. 511.

The old Lithuanian folk songs do not conform

533 to the music of the West. They are unique in our time, for they rest on the diatonic scales of the Greek tonal system. (2) To be sure, the

[113] 2. Fr. Kurschat, Grammatik der littauischen Sprache (Halle, 1876), p. 448. "As far as I understand the matter, the Lithuanian songs reveal more or less Greek tonal systems. . ."

ancient character of the modes is often hidden today by the two-voiced method of singing in thirds which came from the West in the middle of the last century, but nevertheless the songs that have kept their oldest character are still sung today in one part (above all in southwestern Lithuania). The Lithuanian songs do not show the square structure (four and eight beats each time) of the German, (3) and very often there is an

[113] 3. Chr. Bartsch, Dainų Balsai, Melodien und deutsche Übersetzung litauischer Volkslieder (Heidelberg, 1886-89), 2 vols.; Vol. 1, p. 34, melody 27. (This song collection contains 392 dainos translated into German, the first stanza given also in Lithuanian.)

alternation between two, three, and five part rhythms. Especially typical is the alternation of 5/4 and 3/4 rhythm. These irregularities are, however, not arbitrary, but only prove that Lithuanian folk melodies, also in regard to rhythm, are constructed on the metrical system of the Greeks. The most loving investigator of Lithuanian folk melodies, Prof. Brazys, at the end of his work on the Singweisen der litauischen Dainos, compares an ancient Indian melody from the Artharva ~ /36/ Veda with a Lithuanian melody from the vicinity of Vilna that is still sung

533 today. (4) With the similarity that both melodies

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4. T. Brazys, Die Singweisen der litauischen Dainos (Stuttgart, 1918). By the same author, "Lietuviu liaudies daina vestuvese" /Lithuanian Wedding Songs/, Tauta ir Žodis (Kaunas, 1924), Vol. II, pp. 190-238. Also by the same author, "Kaikurie lietuviu ir latviu liaudies dainu melodiju giminystes bruožai" /Some Related Traits in the Melodies of Lithuanian and Lettish Folk Songs/, Tauta ir Žodis (Kaunas, 1928), Vol. V, pp. 215-224. Also by the same author, Lietuviu tautiniu dainu melodijos/Melodies of Lithuanian Folk Songs/ (Kaunas, 1927). (199 melodies.)

exhibit in their principal features, Brazys arrives at the assumption that he has found the original source of the old Lithuanian music in that of the Indians. Here again, as before with language, the idea spontaneously arises of the primitive Indo-European homeland in which the ancient Lithuanian culture is anchored. But the distance that separates the musical experience of the Lithuanian from that of the Western peoples also becomes clear. It is shown not only in the melodies of the folk songs, but also in the religious chorales. During an Easter night that I spent in a Catholic parochial church in Samogitia this came deeply into my consciousness: the little church was filled completely with people, above whom waved the banners, the kerchiefs of the women shone with a vague white, touched by the weak glow of the few lights, and through the church windows penetrated the moonlight producing a mysterious, solemn twilight. The songs themselves were filled with a repressed fervor that had an almost oppressive effect. There was at times no longer any measured sequence of notes at all. Tones disappeared,

533 jumped, blended with others, and instead of the sustained solemnity that speaks in the drawn-out textual half notes of the German chorale, for example, there resulted a whirl of sensations, an inner excitement that surged rhythmically up and down and seemed to drag everyone along with it in the same manner.

In these Easter songs, as in many old Christmas songs, the tempo leaps often in the singing from the 2/4 rhythm into 3/4 and then into 4/4. Through the unusual acceleration, which gave the melody -- for example in a Gloria that I heard -- after an initial solemnity an almost dance-like character, the climax of a joyful mood was reached. The influence of ancient folk melodies on religious music was unmistakable here. According to Hoffheinz, the same phenomenon is shown in the church music of the Lutheran Lithuanians too. (5)

[113] 5. Cf. W. Hoffheinz, Giesmu Balsai, Litauische Kirchengesänge, published by the Lithuanian Literary Society (Tilsit, 1894), Introduction: "He (the Lithuanian) leaps in his melodies, draws over the tones, and changes the rhythm . . .From where do they get these melodies? -- Who is able to discover that now? Certainly many have arisen from ancient dainos melodies." (The influence of Lithuanian folk song on church music has, as far as I know, not yet been investigated. For Germany cf. here for example the interesting investigation by Prof. Fellerer, "Der Durchbruch deutschen Musikempfindens im liturgischen Gesang des Mittelalters," Funde und Forschungen, 1938, No. 7, pp. 75-76.)

[111] /37/ With the deep religiosity of the Lithuanian people, religious songs and hymns play no less a role in their life than the folk songs.

533 Indeed among the Protestant Lithuanians at the border, among whom a peculiarly tinged puritanical way of life has been developed, the giesmė -- the religious song -- has actually replaced the daina -- the folk song. Giesmių knygos -- religious song books -- are found here in the poorest huts.

The giesmė is distinguished further from folk song in that it is always sung in parts, while the dainos themselves began as one-voiced songs. Although since the middle of the last century they have been sung in two parts, often with a leader (rinkėjas) giving rhythm and melody, they nevertheless still today bear the character of one-part songs so strongly that the modern choral arrangements of the folk songs, such as we hear for example at great song festivals, often seem to obliterate their original nature. Bartsch has already correctly noted this fact. (6) The

6. Chr. Bartsch, see above, Vol. II, pp. VII-VIII.

attempt is thus to find a special style of harmony that is suited to the nature of the old songs.

The question of rhythm that arises in connection with the question of melody has been treated by many students of the Lithuanian songs. In contrast to folk songs of other nations, the rhythm of the words sung in Lithuanian song does not coincide at all with the rhythm of the spoken words. Nesselmann shows us this in a nice example. (7) The beginning of a song: "On the bridge I

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7. G. H. Nesselmann, Dainos, Littauische Volkslieder, gesammelt, kritisch bearbeitet und metrisch übersetzt, mit einer Musikbeilage (Berlin, 1853), Introduction, p. IX. (This collection contains 410 folk songs with translations and about 60 melodies.)

533 stood, with the girl I spoke," sounds, according to the word accent: Ant tiltúžio stóvejau, su mergýte kálbejáu. Thus what Bartsch says of the melodies applies also to the texts of the Lithuanian songs, which conform so closely to the melodies that we can /38/ in no way do justice to their true rhythm with the conventional methods of measuring in dactyls, trochees, iambs, etc. It may be added that hardly any ordinary Lithuanian is able to recite to us the text of a folk song, as, for example, a song is recited in German. He lapses immediately into the rhythm of the melody or begins to stammer.

The Lithuanian folk song thus still stands at that ancient stage of development where the verbal content of a song is completely dominated by the rhythm of the melody. How the primary feature of each folk song is the melody, how this melody at first makes use of only certain natural sounds for its expression but gradually is developed in the direction of a meaningful text -- this fascinating metamorphosis is still recognized today in the Lithuanian folk song.

2. The Origin of the Dainos. The Work Song.

In his excellent Studies on the Poetry of the Dainos (8) B. Sruoga draws a picture of the

•[113] 8. B. Sruoga, Dainų Poetikos Etiudai/ Studies on the Poetry of the Dainos/ (Kaunas, 1927).

origin of the Lithuanian folk song. He shows us in ancient dancing songs how originally the melody expressed the rhythm and the joy of the dance in onomatopoetic form in a series of apparently meaningless word formations:

Čiulado, čiuladyta!
Lig čiuladytela, lylio!

533 or

Saduto, ruto, lingo, tatato, tato!
Saduto, ruto, lingo, tatato, tato! (9)

[113] 9. A. R. Niemi and A. Sabaliauskas, "Lietuvių dainos ir giesmės" /Lithuanian Dainos and Giesmes/, Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Vol. VI, pp. 301 and 298 (quoted according to Sruoga, op. cit., p. 40. The collection includes song texts recorded in 1459 in northeastern Lithuania and 26 melodies) (Helsinki, 1912).

Sruoga shows further how these "meaningless" words gradually are partially developed into words with meaningful stems and finally into meaningful words, which at the next stage still /39/ form an inseparable unity with the meaningless ones. This is done partly in imitation of natural sounds:

A gosling swam across the lake,
Across the lake.
Gu, gu, gu, gu, gu, gu,
Across the lake.

The girl is dancing
Prettily kasatschok,
Cak, cak, cak, cak, cak, cak,
Prettily kasatschok. (10)

[113] 10. Antanas Juszkewicz, Lietuviszkow Dajnos, uszraszytos Welunos apigardoje /Lithuanian Dainos, Recorded in the Parish of Welunos/ (Kasan, 1882), No. 1520. (This large three-volume collection contains the texts of 1569 songs.)

Lithuanian songs are extremely rich in such words and reflect in them a whole scale of moods; thus for example the words sadutoj lingo picture

533 a high-spirited, joyful mood, and the words lilia, tutoj liliulia a passive and melancholy one. In the last stage these words of feeling, which formed the original master of the songs, are relegated into the refrain and may even be forgotten later. In recent modern songs the refrain has a visibly different significance. Yet it is important for demonstrating the historical origins of the old songs, for it reveals the driving force of the musical rhythm that conditioned the origin of the song. This rhythm itself has the most varied sources, of which we already mentioned one, the dance. Furthermore the tones of special ancient Lithuanian musical instruments, as Biržiška describes them, (11) are not without significance

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11. M. Biržiška, Dainos keliais/On the Ways of the Folk Song/ (Vilna, 1921), pp. 22-24.

for its development, as well as the tones which man took from nature which surrounded him. Thus the Lithuanian hears the song of the nightingale:

Jurgiuk!	Jurgiuk!	Jurgiuk!
Kinkyk!	Kinkyk!	Kinkyk!
Vaziuok!	Vaziuok!	Vaziuok!
Sustok!	Sustok!	Sustok!
George!	George!	George!
Hitch up!	Hitch up!	Hitch up!
Drive off!	Drive off!	Drive off!
Pull up!	Pull up!	Pull up!

/40/ Other sounds, too, of animals and birds have found their expression in human song, but the most important impetus for the origin of the songs came from human labor. In his beautiful book Arbeit und Rhythmus the German economist Bücher has unequivocally established these relat-

533

ionships. (12) It affords a special fascination

[113] 12. K. Bücher, Arbeit und Rhythmus (Leipzig, 1902).

to pursue the lines of thought of this important scholar, who was also an artist, precisely in the case of the Lithuanian folk songs, since these still contain very original elements. Lithuanian research, too, has been stimulated by Karl Bücher to independent investigations concerning the Lithuanian working song and its development.(13

[113] 13. On the Lithuanian working song cf. B. Sruoga, op. cit., pp. 29-35; as well as the chapter "Darbo daina" (The Work Song) in Biržiška, op. cit., pp. 33-62. Also M. Biržiška, Dainų istorijos vadovėlis (A Guide to the History of the Daines) (Kaunas, 1925), pp. 42-53.

Every primitive type of labor carries a certain rhythm within itself, whether it is connected with a pushing forward or pulling back or a raising and lowering of the arms. It is dependent on certain primitive tools which demand again and again the same motion within set intervals of time as, for example, in the use of a loom. As far as this labor does not imply any independent thinking, the worker, whether he works alone or in groups, eases his activity with a song. But, just as with the dancing songs mentioned at the beginning, at the earliest stage of development it is not a song with meaningful words that we hear, but simple, natural sounds that are suited to the rhythm of the activity and characterize the type of work onomatopoetically. Representing the rhythm of the motions which are not equal in their importance -- for example raising and lowering of the arms -- the primitive working song consists of two lines, of which the

533

Up to the knee,
Into the bog,
Up to the shoulders
Into the water . . .
Wretched my days! (14)

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14. Ludwig Rhesa, Dainos oder litthauische Volkslieder (Königsberg, 1825). New edition with some corrections by Kurschat (Berlin, 1843), No. 2. Goethe's review of the collection is in Werke (Stuttgart, 1833), Vol. 46, pp. 346-367. (The Rhesa collection contains 85 dainos with German translations. Cf. here also the Hausschatz der Volkspoesie by O. L. B. Wolff (Leipzig, 1853).

When there was no longer any direct connection between song and work, content and rhythm frequently changed, so that its origin can today no longer be recognized.

If we conceive of the idea of work in the broader sense as any human activity, we see with Biržiška (15) /43/ that all working songs can be

15. M. Biržiška, Dainos keliais, loc. cit. p. 40.

divided into two groups. One group was sung at common activities -- at flax-scutching, at hay-making, at rye-mowing, or at dancing, etc. -- the other by individuals at the hand mill, at the loom, at milking, at washing. Here belong also the sailor and shepherd songs and the cradle songs which the mothers sang as they set into rhythmic motion the wicker cradle hanging down from the ceiling:

Lylia, lylia, little rue blossom,
Lylia, lylia, little golden ring.

[113] 20. Adalbert von Chamisso, Werke (Berlin, 1864), 5th ed., Vol. I, pp. 164-166. (For the ending of this poem there are in Lithuanian no less than 37 variations. Cf. J. Balys, "Nuo žirgo kritęs bernelis" (The Boy Thrown from the Horse), Tautosakos Barbai, Vol. I, pp. 142-178).

533 As here, so in all Lithuanian songs the epic element finds in the end its resolution in pure lyricism. This /50/ lyricism avoids if possible even the mention of concrete facts. Its nature is rooted in the elaboration of moods and inner experience. "Since the singers in Lithuania," says the Finnish Professor Niemi, "as in Esthonia and Ingermanland, are young girls, one could not expect that they would take a strong interest in the heroic epic, a situation quite different from that in Finnish and Russian Karelia, where the bearers of folk poetry were old men." (21) As a

[113] 21. A. Miemi, "Die Beziehungen zwischen der litauischen und der finnischen Volkspoesie," Litauische Warte, 1920, No. 1, p. 13.

matter of fact, most of the songs sung today in Lithuania are girls' songs, and this explains also the disproportionately strong predominance of love songs in Lithuanian folk poetry. One day in a Samogitian peasant family I myself had sung to me a daina, at the end of which the two daughters of the household looked at me expectantly. When I expressed praise for the melody, the older daughter, blushing, explained to me that she herself with her sister had composed the song during the past week, and had invented the melody for it. When one considers that the folk songs still originate today in Lithuania in this manner, one understands that there is a very

[see cat. 116, pp. 53-55 -- Analyst]

533

personal relationship between the Lithuanian and his song tradition. Even during the World War the current of songs of this song-loving people did not come to a stop, as the most recent collections prove. (22) A song that finds favor begins

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22. Jonas Norkus, Didžiojo karo laiku lietuviu dainos (Songs from the period of the World War) (Kaunas, 1927).

to wander and experiences many transformations. Perhaps a few hours from its point of departure it is already sung quite differently. In songs with local coloring, therefore, we come upon the most varied names of cities and rivers. A song that originated at the border and that mentions Riga and the Düna River replaces them in its wandering to the west perhaps with Tilsit and the Memel. This is a process that one also finds in German songs, especially such as are sung by wandering artisans -- only with the difference that in Germany this development is today mostly completed, while in Lithuania it is still in full swing. As the texts of the songs are changed, so also the melodies. This goes along with the /51/ primitive nature of the folk song. Frequently in this manner even the basic idea becomes incomprehensible in the loosened context.

If we observe the content of the Lithuanian songs according to certain basic viewpoints, we realize that any division into specific groups must remain artificial, for as a matter of fact the people transform their whole life into song. Human life, however, defies any classification. Furthermore the similarity, mentioned at the beginning, of the motifs within the Aryan racial family applies especially to the content of the dainos. For that reason not everything that may be said about the content of the Lithuanian songs is typical only of Lithuanian folk poetry; however the stage of culture, the character of the people,

533 27. Niemi-Sabaliauskas, op. cit., No. 842.

Let it be added that the love songs, too, which treat of meeting and getting acquainted before the marriage, are not lacking in such primitive tones. Here the humorous songs bear frequently the character of pleasant roguishness:

Oh God, do not give me
Such a fate,
That in the same village
My boy friend grows up.

Then I would always have to
Do nothing but wash laundry
Go about every day
In a white dress.

Oh God, give me
Such a fate,
Let him live
A short distance away.

/57/ Then I will have time
To wash laundry
And go about every Sunday
In a white dress. (28)

[113] 28. Daynas Zemayczіu surynktas yr yszdutas par Symona Stanewicze (Wylniuje, 1829), pp. 12-13.

With the groups of ballads, working and dancing songs, mythological songs, love songs, wedding songs, and finally humorous songs discussed so far, we have obtained a survey, though brief, of the content and most important motifs of the Lithuanian folk songs. We have seen here almost every activity, every mood, and every process observed in nature is turned into a song,

and that correspondences to all mental processes are always found in nature. With this we confront the question of the form and artistic means of expression of the Lithuanian folk song.

4. Form and Means of Expression in the Dainos

In contrast, for example, to the folk songs of the White Russians, the Lithuanian songs are always contructed in strophes. To be sure, the regular strophic form of the recent songs often does not exist in the old dainos. There it is frequently irregular and indistinct. (29) Songs

29. In this fact lies also the reason why disagreement exists on this question in the field of Lithuanian song research itself. Thus, for example, B. Sruoga's opinion that "in the Lithuanian folk songs the strophe is, as a rule, absolutely necessary" (op. cit., p. 21) is contested by Dr. Balys and others for the older songs. (Cf. here also L. Gira, "Lietuviškos eilėdaros kūrimosi raida" (The Development of the Lithuanian Verse Form), Darbai ir Dienos, Vol. III, pp. 130-213.)

[113]

of more than one strophe predominate. The strophes themselves are put together in the most varied ways. A special recent song form, employed especially in humorous songs, is represented by the single strophe, dainuška. In addition, however, there are also very old one-verse songs, and, as we saw at the beginning, probably the oldest song form consists of a single line with a refrain:

The bee buzzes, buzzes kadijela.
Little bee, little bee, kadiju.

The difficult question of the rhythm of the Lithuanian songs has already been touched on in

connection with the melodies and the work song. Just as controversial is /58/ the question of rime. According to Bezzenberger "the genuine Lithuanian folk poetry is familiar with rime and employs it often consistently." (30) Bezzenberger

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30. Adalbert Bezzenberger, Litauische Forschungen, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Sprache und des Volkstums der Litauer (Göttingen, 1882), pp. IX-X. (One of the most valuable works of the older folklore research. It contains, among other things, 67 folk songs with a musical accompaniment, 12 folk tales, close to 100 riddles, over 100 proverbs, a large number of curses and swear words, as well as a valuable section on "superstitious and other popular ideas and customs of the Lithuanians." Written 1879-1881.)

however, does not prove his point conclusively, since the dainos cited by him do not belong to the really typical folk songs. We can, therefore, more readily say that the old dainos are always unrimed and the rime which occasionally turns up indicates a more recent stage of development (31)

31. B. Sruoga, op. cit., p. 29.

As a matter of fact, the numerous diminutive forms, which we treated in detail in the chapter on language, and which are attached to almost any word, frequently stand in such a relationship to each other that the divergent views of the investigators on this point are understandable. Whoever hears the Lithuanian songs sung, is impressed primarily by the rhythm in the alternation of long and short syllables, and he will be inclined to regard the rime as an obtrusive link that does not properly suit the delicately organized structure of the daina. The diminutives themselves, which we also meet in the older German folk songs--

533 moves the heart of depressed mankind. Thus the simple peasant girl becomes a tender lily, and the yoke with which she goes to the well is of silver; the stirrups of the boy gleam with gold, and the windows of the poor hut shine like diamonds. The boats sail into the sea with silken sails. The ideal beauty of the daina is nordic--it knows only blond braids of the girls. Not all these epithets, but a large part of them, have frozen into stereotyped phrases. In part they are of a tautological nature. The "young" boy who rides to the maid, the "green" rue which blooms in the garden, the "old" mother. The daina never forgets these words. In part they are also of an explanatory nature. White and green are the favorite colors; in addition shining things play a role, and thus even the gray, homely cuckoo becomes at times a shining, gaily colored bird. (32)

•[113] 32. Cf. here Dowkong (Daukantas), Daynes Zemaitiû, pagal žodiû Dajniniků iszraszytas (Petropilie, 1846), pp. 8, 10: margouie gagelē and marga gegelē. This collection of "Samogitian songs, recorded in the words of the singers," is one of the most valuable older collections; it contains 118 dainos.

The joy in specific colors, for example white and green, can even lead to their being occasionally used where they do not belong. To the stereotyped old constructions belong also the doubling of infinitives and verbs--swim swim through, scold scold, fly fly. In this way an intensified /60/ action is indicated, which naturally cannot be reproduced in English words.

If we observe the artistic structure of the daina, we see first that in most of them the dialogue form predominates. The alternating song between two and three persons can actually be put down as typical. It is a genuine characteristic of the folk song (cf. the examples already given).

533

/62/ Bearded men,
Men of the seas,
Climbed the bank,
Climbed up to the garden.

Trampled the rues,
Tore apart the roses,
Scattered the lilies,
Down flowed the dew. (36)

36. Cf. the Lithuanian text in Rhesa, op. cit., No. 28, p. 95.

In oppositions of this type man and his fate still form a unity with the reality of nature that surrounds him. The natural phenomen themselves catch the human life as in a mirror or are opposed to it and thus enhance the consciousness of its own fate: the cuckoo laments in the forest--the maid weeps in the klete [house], the horse of the youth neighs--the youth is full of joy, the cold wind reddens the face--the evil words of men make it still redder. These correspondences are countless. Frequently they find their resolution in direct comparison:

My sister weeps
In the colorful kletis
Just as the cuckoo
Calls in the forest.

On comparisons in Lithuanian songs taken from the realm of nature we possess a fine work by the Dutchman Dr. R. von der Meulen. (37) He

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37. Dr. R. von der Meulen, Die Naturvergleiche in den Liedern und Totenklagen der Litauer (Leiden, 1907).

shows us in an abundance of examples how to the popular poet the images of nature that surrounds

533 him become a symbol of human life and thereby obtain their real meaning in the Lithuanian folk song. Thus result thousandfold relations between fate and surroundings. They are tied to images and comparisons that often become stereotyped, just as the already mentioned ornamental adjectives. If now the idea of a specific human experience is represented each time by a specific image, the presentation of the experience itself finally becomes superfluous. But with this the daina takes the last step toward the detachment of human occurrence from reality and reaches its highest possibility of expression in pure symbolism.

/63/ As B. Sruoga, who investigated the symbolism in Lithuanian folk poetry in greatest detail, writes, (38) symbolic representation as a

[113] 38. Cf. for the following the chapter "Symbolism" in B. Sruoga, op. cit., pp. 92-115.

poetic device is known to probably all Aryan peoples. While, however, among most of the peoples this symbolism has today become faded and incomprehensible, in Lithuanian folk songs it has been preserved in all its primitive tenacity up to the present day. Its borders are fluid; i.e. one symbol may express various ideas according to the context, and on the other hand, various symbols may serve for the representation of one and the same idea. The call of the cuckoo is the symbolic expression for the weeping mother, as also for the sorrowing orphan or the ravished maid. Conversely we find as symbol for the youth the woodpecker, the falcon, the birch tree, etc. If the falcon alights on a tree, it signifies that the youth is wooing a maid. If he breaks the branches of the tree and flies away, he has dishonored the maid. Thus the tree becomes a symbol of a person, its leaves are words, the dew signifies tears. The withering tree is the symbol of dying and death,

533 not follow if she wants to avoid shame:

You should not go
So late before the gate,
You should not listen
When the horse neighs. . .

If, however, the maid does not obey, it can happen that soon she carries in her hands a little falcon, i.e. a child, and her brother reproaches her for having gone out, for otherwise:

You would not carry
The falcon in your hands,
You would carry only
Your golden ring. (40)

[113] 40. J. Simtakojis, Trakiečių dzūkų dainos (Songs of the Traker Dzukes) (Shenadoah, 1899), p. XX.

It is impossible/Unnumbered page with illustration--"Kubilas," Folk Dance/ /65/ in this space to treat with even approximate completeness the abundance of living symbols which in all their simplicity constitute the most intimate charm of these songs and lead from light humor to deepest seriousness and tragedy. Their poetic value and their special meaning for the Lithuanian folk songs lies in the fact that they give the poets the possibility of rising from everyday reality into another level of experience and thereby completing the transition into that world of the ideal and beautiful in which the yearning of the Lithuanian daina finds its strongest expression. As every genuine national art, however, reaches out beyond its own country and becomes the common property of art, the Lithuanian folk song, too, has found scientific and artistic recognition outside of the boundaries set by language and culture.

533
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41. The comments of Herder concerning the Lithuanian folk song are found in the "Fragmente über die neue deutsche Literatur" and in his essay "Über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker." In a letter to Hamann of June 18, 1775 he tells the latter that he has read four beautiful Lithuanian songs by Kreutzfeld. "They should be in my folk songs, certainly; oh that he had more!" Cf. further Herder's Werke (Bong, Stuttgart), Part V, "Ideen zur Philosophie der Menschheit," Vol. II, p. 16; and the notes of Ernst Naumann to his "Litauische Volkslieder." On the translations of Kreutzfeld cf. further Müller-Blattau, Hamann und Herder in ihren Beziehungen zur Musik (Königsberg, 1931), p. 21.

his work Stimmen der Völker in Liedern in 1779 he recorded eight Lithuanian folk songs. The translation used by Herder was done by Prof. Kreutzfeld in Königsberg, who later also published under his own name two songs with German translations, "Gesang am Brautabend" and "Gesang bei der Heimführung" (Preussischer Tempel (1788), pp. 12-15). Through Herder Goethe was influenced; he has his lyric drama "Die Fischerin" begin with the third of the dainos of Ruhig, something that is not generally known:

Ich habs gesagt schon meiner Mutter,
Schon aufgesagt vor Sommers Mitte. . .

The other of the two dainos of Ruhig cited by Lessing (a daughter has accompanied her beloved) has been set to music by Schumann. (42)

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42. On the influence of the Lithuanian folk songs on Goethe cf. the excellent essay of Dr. Erich Jenisch: "Goethe und die Dainos," Ostdeutsche Monatshefte (1930), Vol. II,

•113 No. 7, pp. 417-422. Also to be mentioned are Antana Domeikaitė, Die litauischen Volkslieder in der deutschen Literatur (Munich, 1928) (Dissertation); and Ignas Skrupskelis, Die Litauer in der deutschen Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts (Vienna, 1932) (Dissertation).

533 Thus Lithuanian folk song gradually gained an entrance into German literature, not, to be sure, in the translations of Ruhig but in the poetic imitations of Herder. It may be added that the ideas of the dainos reproduced by Lessing were repeatedly employed from then on among the German poets from Schiller to Baumbach. (43)

[113] 43. F. and H. Tetzner, Dainos, Litauische Volksgesänge, Reclaims Universalbibliothek, No. 3 694, p. 30. (A good historical study concerning the Lithuanian folk song with 70 rimed translations.)

The man whose work pioneered all Lithuanian studies and who also gave the German people the first collection of dainos--Ludwig Rhesa--came into contact with Goethe in the course of this development. Born in the village of Karweiten which is now in ruins, on the Nehrung of Courland, Rhesa was not only a scholar, not only professor of theology in Königsberg, but also a gifted poet. Courlandic and Lithuanian were /70/ his native languages, but he was also intimately familiar with German. We are thus indebted to him for the most beautiful translations of Lithuanian folk songs in all of German literature. Goethe himself wrote a long essay on this work, and his manuscript, which the poet sent him, is found still today in the Goethe archive in Weimar. Goethe begins his essay with the words: "Through this collection another one of my wishes has been

533 fulfilled. Herder loved the Lettish folk songs very much: in my little drama Die Fischerin several of his translations have been taken over. Moreover for several years now I have had in my possession a sizeable collection of well-translated poems, which I let sit, like so many other things, in expectation of what is happening now.'

Of the Rhesa translations Goethe says that they are "estimable," and he wishes only for a different arrangement. He closes with the words: "And thus these songs are to be regarded as having proceeded directly from the people, who are much closer to nature, and thus also to poetry, than the educated world." A further discussion of the [113] Rhesa collection from the Jakob Grimm (Göttinger Anzeigen, 1826, No. 104).

After the Lithuanian folk song, favored by the current of romanticism, had penetrated German poetry in the first half of the last century, it is no wonder that the Berlin circle of poets, above all Adalbert von Chamisso, also interested themselves in the dainos. German literature is indebted to Chamisso for a number of beautiful poems which are based on Lithuanian folksongs. They originated in the years 1826-1828 and are still familiar today to every German with a literary education. From Chamisso comes also the pretty translation of the "Sparrow Hunt":

The father went hunting in the forest;
He soon saw some good game.

/71/ He took good aim, he pulled the trigger,
The sparrow fell on the soft moss.

The brothers loaded the catch on the sled,
And hauled it home and rejoiced long.

The daughters quickly stirred up the fire,
They plucked and singed it, as is proper.

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of the original stems from Nesselman. In spite of the purely scientific purpose of his work, he also succeeded with a few poetically excellent translations (cf. on this point also the end of this chapter). The influence of the Lithuanian folk song appears also in the writings of A. K. T. Tielos: Thanatos (1905), Klänge aus Litauen (1911), Aus der Jugendzeit (1911). W. W. Ulmenried-Naujeck published Litauische Heide-Lieder und Dainos.

The World War, which brought a number of German poets in uniform into direct contact with the Lithuanian people, aroused anew the interest in the Lithuanian folk song in a number of German poets. Only Oskar Wöhrle, Herbert Eulenberg, and Richard Dehmel may be mentioned. (45) In the

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45. The translations of O. Wöhrle are printed in Das Litauenbuch, Eine Auslese aus der Zeitung der X. Armee (1918), pp. 155-159. The poetic imitations of Richard Dehmel, based on the translations of Nesselmann and not always successful, are published in Die neue Rundschau, Vol XXVIII of the Freie Bühne, No. 1, January, 1917. For Herbert Eulenberg cf. Struck und Eulenberg, Skizzen aus Litauen, Weissrussland und Kurland (1916).

German press of those years, too, the great interest which the Lithuanian folk songs found in the broadest German circles is reflected. Unfortunately most of this interest vanished just as quickly as it had sprung up. Only in the most recent time can a slight reawakening be noticed. (46)

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46. From the abundance of mostly popular literature on the Lithuanian folk song, a few essays may be mentioned which appeared

•113 in the periodical Das Neue Litauen in 1917-18: Tetzner, "Tolminkemer Erinnerungstage" (1917), No. 5/6. Alfred Brust, "Die litauische Kultur und der Expressionismus" (1918), No. 1. Victor Jungfer, "Die Raubehe im litauischen Volksliede" (1918), No. 15/16/ W. W. Ulmenried-Naujeck, "Zur litauischen Literatur" (1918), No. 18/19. In addition reference may be made to the same issues of the years of the Zeitung der X. Armee, published at that period, in whose literary supplement were contained a number of really valuable contributions to the research on Lithuanian folk songs and their melodies. For the most recent period cf. Möller, Das Lied der Völker (No. 13 on the Lithuanian folk song) (Leipzig, 1930); and H. Engert, Aus litauischer Dichtung, Deutsche Nachdichtungen (Kaunas, 1935), 1st. ed.; (1938), 2nd ed.

533 B. Prose Writing
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764 1. The Raudos (Lamentations for the Dead)

Between the daina and the prose writing of the people, as it found its expression in sagas, fairy tales, and other creations, stand the Lithuanian lamentations for the dead, or raudos. They are the oldest creations of Lithuanian folk literature that are mentioned in the chronicles. Thus /73/ Kojalowicz reports that the heroic death of those 300 Lithuanians who, in 1362, at the conquest of the fortress of Kaunas by Winrich of Kniprode, threw themselves into the flames of the burning castle was celebrated by the people in songs of sorrow (vulgaribus naeniis populus decantabat). (47) According to Strykowski a priest

47. F. and H. Tetzner, op. cit., p. 5.

sang for their dead at the funerals of princes.

533 538 764 Evidently these brief indications, to which our knowledge of the earliest period is limited, refer not to the folk song, but to the raudos, which are often mentioned also in a later period. Although each rauda has its own melody, they do not represent real songs for the dead, but have the form of a lamentation for the dead. The older raudos have no metrical character, but are in language and form rather to be compared with a type of rhythmically elevated prose. Their melodies were of sorrowful monotony. Old women sang them for remuneration at burials. Through them one wished to appease the ghosts of the dead, in whose continued existence one firmly believed, so that they would not return to the house as evil demons of [576] revenge and spread pestilence and disease. Thus these lamentations for the dead represent the superstitious result of that primitive belief in ghosts and demons which particularly illustrated the mental attitude of the Lithuanian people and still lives today in remote villages of the country.

In content the raudos differ from each other only little. The good deeds of the deceased are remembered, and the sorrow at the departure of father, mother, husband, brother, or sister is expressed, often in an infinitely tender and moving manner. As Chr. Bartsch has already pointed out, there is not one among the genuinely popular raudos that would be spoken by a man for a man or even for his wife. "Everywhere it is women (and girls) who speak." The wife as such is not mentioned. (48) At times the lamentation

[113] 48. Chr. Bartsch, "Über litauische Volksliteratur," Mitteilungen der litauischen litterarischen Gesellschaft, Vol. II (1884), Tilsit, p. 100.

of the relatives and friends of the deceased, who follow the coffin, has such a staggering

533 effect that even the priest, from inner /74/
*538 emotion and pity, is not able to complete the
764 sacred rites at the grave without tears.

Formally the more recent raudos differ from the older ones in their strophic arrangement: out of the old lamentation has grown a song with rauda motifs. In this form the raudos have been preserved till the present day in the province of Drūkija. (49) In order to give a rough idea

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49. Akiras Birzys, Lietuvos miestai ir miesteliai /Lithuania'sCities and Towns/, Vol. I, Alytaus apskritis, Dzuku krastas /The District of Alytus, the Province of the Dzulijans/ (Kaunas, 1931), p. 397. The most important collection of Lithuanian lamentations for the dead is that published by Dr. J. Basanavičius, "Lietuviu Tauta (Vilna, 1926), Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 59-145.

of the nature of the old raudos, I reproduce below a few of these lamentations, taken from the great song collection of A. Juškevičius.

Lament for the Mother

Little mother, you who took care of me, oh my little mother; I thank your dear hands, with which you brought me up from childhood; I thank your feet, on which you carried me, your wisdom in teaching me well; I thank your little mouth, that talked sweetly with me.

Who will now talk so sweetly with me, who teach me so well? Little mother, who will protect me when I have a complaint? With whom shall I speak? The cuckoo in the forest will stop calling, but I shall never stop.

Little mother, you do not breathe; little mother you do not sigh; say but one word and com-

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be limited only to mentioning a few particularly important features. The Lithuanian popular fairy tale contains neither the fullness and extravagance of the Indian nor the shining brilliance of the Arabian fairy tale. The poverty in the external living conditions of the people, the economy in the means of expression of its language, and also the lack of a literature that for its part could have reacted again on the popular fairy tale--all these factors give the Lithuanian fairy tale a characteristic note. To be sure, from the printed collections one usually does not gain the correct /78/ picture, since the recorders usually reproduce the fairy tale told to them only according to its content, in their own, and frequently quite dry, words. Only the use of the phonograph makes it possible today to record the fairy tales just as they are recited by the story tellers in the villages. (50) The endings of the fairy tales

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50. The most important Lithuanian fairy tale collections are the following: Aug. Schleicher, Litauische Märchen, Sprichwörter, Rätsel und Lieder (1857) (more philological). A. Leskien and K. Brugmann, Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen aus dem preussischen und dem russischen Litauen (Strassburg, 1882). (This highly valuable collection contains among other things 249 (untranslated) folk songs and 47 fairy tales translated into German with commentary by Wilhelm Wollner.) Dr. J. Basanavičius, Yvairios Lietuviškos Pasakos (Miscellaneous Lithuanian Fairy Tales), 4 vols., 4th ed. (Kaunas, 1928). By the same author, Iš gyvenimo lietuvišku veliu bei velniu (From the Life of the Lithuanian Souls and Evil Spirits) (Chicago, 1903). (Contains 198 folk tales as well as a detailed investigation of the Lithuanian

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cult of the dead with extensive references.) For the Lithuanian animal story cf. Pasakos apie paukščius, Zemaitische Tierfabeln, Text, vocabulary, and translation, edited by Hugo Scheu and Alexander Kurschat (Heidelberg, 1913). The most accessible collection of Lithuanian fairy tales in German translation is the Lettisch-litauische Volksmärchen published by H. Boehm and F. Specht in 1924 at Diederich's. (For the current fairy tale research cf. Chapter Two, 5 of the present book.)

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538 are often surprising, as, for example, I have reproduced them at the end of my description of the Lithuanian wedding customs and as they variously appear also as endings in the published fairy tale collections. (51) "The celebration

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51. V. Jongfer, Hinter den Seen, hinter den Wäldern (Königsberg, 1932), p. 91. Boehm and Specht, op. cit., Nos. 8 and 13, as well as Introduction, p. 158.

lasted long, and I was present too. I ate and drank together with all the guests, for I was cook. When I wanted to go home, the gentleman gave me a wagon of straw, a mare of wax, a hat of butter, clothing of paper, and boots of glass. When I rode through the city, the goats of the Jews fell upon me and ate up my wagon. I sat upon my horse in order to ride. My behind became warm and the mare melted from it. Then came rain that licked off my clothing, and I began to be cold. I went into a tavern in order to warm myself. My hat then melted, and only my boots remained. But when I went over the iron bridge in Tilsit, they broke in two and I had nothing more. And as I had nothing, so I have nothing even now."

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538 straw; when the camel was still a horse trader,
177 the mouse a barber, the cuckoo a taylor, the donkey a servant, and the turtle a baker; then I was only 15 years old and already rocked my father in the cradle; then it was. . ." (52) etc.,

[113] 52. F. von der Leyen, Das Märchen (Leipzig, 1911), p. 80.

etc. If we compare, for example, this formula with the introduction of the humorous court judgment concerning the matchmaker at the Lithuanian wedding, we find a surprising similarity: "In a year, in that one, in this one, when the cats slew the dogs, the hares beat the drum, the wolves blew the horn, the dogs crowed, the cocks barked, the roe danced with the mouse, the fish flew, the old women sheared the calves, the girls did not want to marry, the boys no longer loved them, when it snowed buns, the children did not sleep the whole night--then a wolf heard this noise. . ."etc. (53) The tale of lies shows us

[113] 53. M. Valančius, Palangos Juzė (Josef of Palanga) (Vilna, 1906), 5th ed., p. 121.

the joy in exaggerations which is often grotesquely elaborated. Closely related to them are the Schwänke and Narrenstreiche [Funny tales and Fool's pranks] which /Unnumbered page with illustration--Sun Cross/ /81/ were eagerly told in the German popular fairy tale of the thirteenth through sixteenth centuries, the stories of Brother Lustig, the wanderings of Christ and his disciples, as well as the countless stories of the swindled devil. Not a few parallels to all these fairy tales are found also in Lithuania; the devil story especially found here a receptive soil and seems to have developed further independently. The medieval heroic stories, too, such as were spread by the court poetry in France

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the night and take with them what was spun. They aid people, but frequently attach this aid to some unfulfillable condition, so that much harm results from it. At times they help also forsaken people and especially children; they also enter into marriage with mortals. They show themselves then usually as good housewives, until upon some imprudence on the part of the husband they suddenly disappear, but still return regularly, invisible, to care for their abandoned children. Just as alive today in the Lithuanian people as the lauma tales are the tales of the aitvaras, a winged dragon who brings grain to the houses of the farmers and makes them rich. The aitvaras motif has brought forth a whole literature, since it also plays a great role in the fairy tales of the other Baltic peoples (Lettish: pukkis, Esthonian: puuk, together with other terms. (54)).

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54. A. Bezzenberger, Litauische Forschungen, op. cit., pp. 61-64. Krėvė-Mickevičius, "Aitvaras dzūkų legendose" (The Aitvaras in the Legends of the Dukijans), Mūsų Tautosaka, Vol. III, pp. 3-81. (16 tales.) By the same author, Aitvaras liaudies padavimuose. (The Aitvaras in Popular Tradition) (Kaunas, 1933). Dr. J. Balys, "Aitvaras," in the periodical Gimtasai Kraštas, 1934, Nos. 1 and 2, where also the whole scholarly literature on this motif is given.

The aitvaras, which in Samogitian is known under the name kaukas, flies howling through the air, primarily at night, in the form of a fiery serpent and usually disappears in the chimney of the farmer to whom he brings wealth. The owner of an aitvaras is supposed to feed this demon with milk and white bread. One can buy the aitvaras among the Germans in Riga, but the motif is probably older according to which it originates from

*538 an egg hatched by a black cock seven years old.
776 The aitvaras does many services for his owner, protecting his cattle, watching over his fields, and bringing him property stolen elsewhere, which he first swallows and then spits out. This stolen property, however, brings no harm, but turns out so well that it arouses the envy of all the neighbors; still today one says of a farmer in Lithuania who has suddenly become rich that he possesses an aitvaras. One can also force the demon /83/ to drop his loot and to burn down the house of his master by letting down one's pants or taking off one's coat and showing him the naked posterior.

*538 For the tale of the aitvaras, too, many
177 parallels can be found among other, primarily Nordic, peoples; in the Slavic store of fairy tales, on the other hand, it plays only a subordinate role. Those numerous fairy tales in which a hunter with a red cap chases behind the devil go back to Lithuanian myth: it is Perkunas, who is well disposed toward people and rewards them when they help him. The ancient Lithuanian serpent cult, on the other hand, which is often attested to from earlier centuries, has influenced the Lithuanian fairy tale only little. To be sure, it appears in one of the most beautiful and colorful tales, of "Eglē, the Queen of the Serpents"; however, Koncewicz has supplied a Russian parallel for it, so that the question of borrowing remains open. (55) The Lithuanian has a special preference

[113] 55. J. Koncewicz, "Die Natter" (Russian Fairy Tales), Mitteilungen der Litauischen litterarischen Gesellschaft, 1885, pp. 260-262.

for animal fairy tales, which are often told in the form of an instructive fable. They betray the same sharp gift for observation of surroundings

* 538 ania two proverbs frequently say exactly the opposite. Furthermore all proverbs cannot lay claim to the same importance. Not a few represent remains of earlier opinions and customs. Others, again, rest on superstitious or magical ideas. "Then, too, one cannot always grasp the real meaning of the proverb or find its origin, since in passing from mouth to mouth, from one generation to another, it frequently becomes distorted."(56)

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56. Yermoloff, Der landwirtschaftliche Volkskalender (Leipzig, 1905), p. 11.

* 538 177 The question of the origin of the proverbs is probably even more difficult to solve: it is the highly interesting problem of their transition from the vocabulary of one people into that of another. As with the Lithuanian fairy tales, influences from the Slavic as well as the Germanic cultural worlds enter the picture. Thus a whole series of proverbs bear an unmistakenly German tinge. Others, again, may have originated among different peoples indepently, but under similar social conditions, which accounts for their similarity. With the tremendous abundance of material the investigation of these problems, only indicated here, /87/ must be left to specialized scholars. The following proverbs are taken in part from printed collections: (57) in part I.

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57. V. Krėvė-Mickevičius, Patarlės, priežodžiai ir išsireiškimai (858 Proverbs and Sayings), Tauta ir Žodis (Kaunas, 1925), Vol. III. Similarly Patarlės ir priežodžiai (Proverbs and Sayings), so far 3 vols. (Kaunas, 1934-37). (This, up to now largest, collection of proverbs, is alphabetically arranged. Vol. I, 1-7766; Vol. II, 7767-11650; Vol. III, 11651-14177; Vol. III ends with the letter i.) For comparison: F. Seiler, Deutsche Sprichwörterkunde (Munich, 1922).

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538 /91/ He who is in love, thinks that the others are blind.
An evil word is heard by everyone.
The hands of the mother are soft, but her tears heavy.
The living man is driven to the grave, but when he is dead, he is exalted to heaven.
One's own tears are bitter, other's only wet.
To a good person even the thief is a guest.
Even a small stump overthrows a large wagon.
One disaster--no disaster; two or three eat a man up.
In the winter the stove is a brother, in the summer--clay.
The autumn makes us all lords.

* 4. Folk Riddles

538 524 The Lithuanian riddles are on an equal plane with the proverbs and sayings in spiritual content. They, too, combine a sharp gift of observation with a great wealth of imagination, and in their brevity and conciseness belong to the /92/ most characteristic creations of a peasant culture. Like the fairy tale, the riddle leads us back into the childhood years of humanity; it contains the imprint of early thought. No less a person than Bielenstein drew from the unusual similarity of Lithuanian and Lettish riddles the conclusion "that both types of riddles originated in a period when Letts and Lithuanians still spoke one language and were one people," (58) and

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58. 1,000 lettische Rätsel, translated and explained by A. Bielenstein (Mitau, 1881), Introduction, p. 10.

gives us surprising enlightenment on the mythological content of a number of riddles. In this connection we may only mention that the riddles of both peoples are characteristic of a mental

538 524 attitude which--peculiar as it may strike the modern city dweller--we still meet in such regions of Germany as lie away from the great highways; we may think for example of the popular riddles that are still alive today in the Bavarian woods and are there given by the mother of the bride to the instructor of the bride /Brautweiser/: two long parents and many short children (a ladder). Or: there are nine maids, they all lie in a single bed, all in the middle, none at the end (a spinning wheel with nine spokes). We have here before us a stage of culture at which the peasant creates something completely out of his own mind. Thus most of what was said concerning Lithuanian proverbs and sayings applies also to the riddles. All of nature lives in them; every thing, every object is taken up, elevated into a higher sphere, and made to participate in human life. Force and boldness of comparison are often [533] surprising. Even in the dainos the pleasure of the Lithuanian in such riddles plays a part; we may think for example of the beautiful song known from Rhesa, in which the girl is sent out by her stepmother to get "winter green and summer snow." In other songs, which are composed in dialogue form, several riddles are connected with each other, whereby the question of the first strophe is followed by the solution in the second.

The following examples are taken from the collection of Krėvė-Mickevičius, who /93/ recorded them from the mouths of the people in the parishes of Alytus, Merkinė, and Kabeliai in the years 1909 to 1925. (59) [See page 105--Analyst]

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59. V. Krėvė-Mickevičius, "Tautosakos rinkinių 1, Mislės," (Riddles), Tauta ir Zodis (Kaunas, 1928), Vol. V. The most important collection of Lithuanian popular riddles is that of K. Jurgelionis, Mislių knyga (Book of Riddles) (Chicago, 1913)(over 1,000

113 riddles). Cf. further the pertinent chapters in Schleicher and Bezzenberger, op. cit. Important for more detailed studies: R. Petsch, Das deutsche Volksrätsel (Strassburg, 1917).

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538 It runs, it speaks, it does not stand still, and
524 nevertheless it lies. (A river.)
Born outdoors, grown up outdoors, it comes home to sleep.
(Grain.)
By day it carries bones, by night it gawks about.
(A pair of shoes.)
When it cries, everyone is happy and lifts his feet. (A violin.)
There came a bird flying without wings, it sat on a tree without branches. (The snow.)
A young woman in the room, her braids outside.
(A carrot.)
There stand two columns, on the columns a beehive, on the beehive an egg, on the egg a forest. (A man.)
It runs without feet, it cries without a throat.
(A wagon wheel.)
An iron mare, the tail of hemp. (A sewing needle.)
/94/ Ten men fill a sack. (Fingers and mouth.)
The family eats, the table complains. (A sow.)
It has legs but it does not walk, it has feathers but it does not fly, it has straw but it does not eat, it has a soul but not always. (A bed.)
What is harder than steel? (A snout.)
I sprouted and having sprouted I grew; grown I became a girl, and from a girl a young woman; from a young woman an old one. Become old, I received eyes, and from the eyes I crawled out myself. (A poppy.)
There comes a fine gentleman with a little red jacket: drive the hens away, I am not afraid of the dogs. (An earthworm.)
Who is not humble in church? (A fly.)

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ections of the archive amounted to 112,000 texts of folk songs with about 13,000 melodies, 21,000 folk tales, 49,000 proverbs and sayings, 34,000 riddles, 55,000 texts dealing with superstition, and a large number of other pieces, a total of 305,000. In addition to these there are the collections, which originated mostly before the World War, of the "Lithuanian Scientific Society" (Lietuvių Mokslo Draugija) in Vilna with about 10,000 songs and nearly 4,000 fairy tales and other foll tales.

/99/ There is thus a tremendous amount of material that is already available today. Further research will largely be engaged in the collection of variants. (60) With regard to the work

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60. A good survey of the present state of folklore study in Lithuania and its problems is given by J. Balys in his series of essays "Mūsų tautosaka" (Our Folk Poetry) in the periodical Jaunoji Karta (Young Generation), 1938, Nos. 7, 9, 10, 11, and 12. A short summary is contained in the essay of the same author, "A Short Review of the Collection of Lithuanian Folklore," Tautosakos darbai, Vol. I.

of the Folklore Archive it may also be noted that the texts and melodies today are not only set down on paper but are also sung and spoken on phonograph records. The number of melodies and texts recorded in this way amounts at present to over 6,000.

Among the Lithuanian scholars who in the last two decades have distinguished themselves in the area of folklore studies, professors Krėvė-Mickevičius, Balys Sruoga, Mykolas Biržiška, and Dr. Jonas Balys should be named above all. Prof. T. Brazys supplied important contributions to the knowledge of the melodies of the Lithuanian folk

7: Jungfer-110 S-4,5(no date)1938 RB5LithuaniansRB5

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songs. The strong interest that exists today in Lithuania in the collection and investigation of the folk literature is also expressed in the large number of voluntary collaborators who have made themselves available in all walks of society.

/101/ Chapter Three

The Folk Art

113 /Unnumbered note on Chapter Three/ Fundamental for the knowledge of Lithuanian folk art is today the great work published by the Chamber of Agriculture: Sočziaus Menas (The Art of the Village), of which to date six volumes have been published; Vol. I, Weaving; Vol. II, Aprons; Vol. III, Patterns of Folk Art Products (wood carving, pottery, etc.); Vol. IV, Ribbons (Juostos); Vol. V, Knitting and Crocheting Patterns; Vol. VI, Patterns of Ancient Handiwork (Kaunas, 1931-34). This is a large collection of pictures with detailed introductions written by the chief of the department of folk art, A. Tamošaitis, concerning the techniques and their development. (Cf. in addition the essay of the same author concerning the Lithuanian weaving in the Liet. Enciklopedija (Lithuanian Encyclopedia), Vol. I.) The Lithuanian juostos by themselves are treated in the picture book published by Galaune, Lietuvių juostų raštai (Patterns of Lithuanian Ribbons) (Kaunas, 1928) (40 lithographed plates). The Lithuanian roofed crosses are treated in detail in the large picture book by Jaroševičius, Lietuvii Kryžiai (Lithuanian Crosses) (Vilna, 1912).

342 briefly, as formulated approximately as follows by Prof. H. Naumann in his Deutsche Volkskunde: "Ur" Europe was familiar with two forms of houses, the circular stone construction in the southern and central regions and the wood construction in the north and east. Both forms were conditioned by the material. The larger forests of the east supplied the building material, just as did the stony soil of the southern European regions, which were poor in forests. "The wooden house still reaches directly into the forest; the stone house bears witness of a glaring sun, from which it offers better protection. The right-angled wooden house was erected principally with the purpose of enclosing the hearth in a protected space and
343 creating a place of warmth." (1) Thus the hearth

[113] 1. Hans Naumann, Grundzüge der deutschen Volkskunde, 2nd ed. (1929), pp. 28-29.

or smoke house is the oldest type of wooden house. It was necessarily developed into a house with an entrance hall. Since the smoke drew off only incompletely through the roof, it was found necessary to construct an entrance hall in which air could be obtained.

If, to be sure, Dlugosz still describes the Samogitian house in the year 1413 as a smoke house, in which men and cattle lived together, this representation is obviously biased, for the few older so-called "inventories" already mention all the buildings of the present Lithuanian farm, together with their own Lithuanian designations, although the "inventories" were written in the White Russian or Polish languages. Where under particularly miserable conditions men and cattle lived together under one roof, the stable was in any case /103/ separated by a partition from the human lodgings. Also the existence of the pirtis, the Lithuanian steam bath, has, in contrast to

343 White Russia, has been confirmed as early as the sixteenth century as a special structure within the framework of the Lithuanian farmhouse. (2)

[113] 2. P. Galaunė, Lietuvių liaudies menas, jo meninių formų plėtojimosi pagrindai, Hum. Mok. fakulteto leidinys (Lithuanian Folk Art, the Foundations of the Development of its Artistic Forms, Publication of the Humanities Faculty) (Kaunas, 1930), pp. 33-38.

342 In contrast to frame construction the Lithuanian farm knows only the joining of logs, which was made possible by the abundance of wood in the country. The roof consists usually of straw, less often of shingles. The walls are put together of long beams in the familiar manner of wooden miter construction /Schurzholzbau/ (Gehrsassbau)/. The partitions are made in exactly the same way. Doors and windows are made by cutting out pieces of the logs and mortising the pieces to jambs attached to the sides of the window. "This is the form which occurs everywhere in log construction; it results from the nature of wood." (3)

[113] 3. Cornelius Gurlitt, "Alt-litauisches Bauwesen," Der Tag, Berlin, September 8, 1918.

The rural farm typical of Lithuania today is grouped around a courtyard in various separate buildings. The stable lies at right angles to the dwelling, the large barn opposite the dwelling, and on the fourth side of the rectangle is the klėtis, the storeroom of the farmer in which he preserves his best possessions and in which also a sleeping room is located. Its windows are unusually small for security. In front of the entrance is a porch supported by columns and usually

342 beautifully decorated, to which several steps lead up. (4)

[113] 4. Cf. on this point also Dr. Dethlefsen, Führer durch das Ostpreussische Heimatmuseum (1913), p. 12.

We must dwell a little on this most noteworthy building of the Lithuanian farm, for we have here apparently the primitive type of the Lithuanian house, of which Caspar Hennenberger already reports, in 1595, in his description of the Lithuanians living on Prussian soil: "The house within which they all eat is called the black house / and is in truth black enough from
343 smoke and soot. In addition every married couple has a separate little house / that is called a kleidt (klēte) / constructed of round logs / below it has something like a low little cellar/ on top a sort of chamber without windows/ only one door/ where they /104/ go in /. . ." (5) The

[113] 5. Quoted according to Dr. Hans Mortensen, Litauen, Grundzüge einer Landeskinde (Hamburg, 1926), p. 97.

present-day klētis, which in its simplest form contains only a small quadrangle space, sometimes square, sometimes rectangular, carries a straw roof whose ridge runs parallel to the long axis, but at times it runs perpendicular to it and then makes the roof surfaces slope to the front and rear instead of to right and left. "Thus this strange granary has the unmistakable plan of a little ancient Greek temple of the earliest period." (6)

[113] 6. Hans Naumann, "Vom litauischen Bauernhaus," Das neue Litauen, Vol. 2 (1918), Nos. 1/2, pp. 98, 99, 106.

342
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The development then probably proceeded in such a way that, with increased requirements, out of the forms of the old klētis the dwelling house was developed, while the klētis itself obtained its present designation. On the basis of the Samogitian numas (house) described by Tumas, Galaunē shows that the Lithuanian farmhouse, as it later developed, contains within it all the elements of construction of the old klētis, (7) and

7. P. Galaunē, op. cit., pp. 46-50.

Pfor. Naumann also points to this connection when he writes: "If we separate the right and left wings of the farmhouse from the middle section and nothing but the latter is left, do we not then obtain exactly our granary, that prototype of a simple little ancient Greek temple? May we have here perhaps a relationship reaching into the southeast of Europe? Does it not appear as if we have before us the primitive eastern European house, which here became a granary, there a temple, when there was need for expanded facilities?"(8)

8. Hans Naumann, Vom litauischen Bauernhaus, op. cit., p. 106.

A description of the interior organization of the Lithuanian dwelling lies outside the scope of this presentation. In connection with Naumann's propositions we may only refer to the three-part structure of the Lithuanian farmhouse, constantly repeated in various forms, as well as its typical front section of columns. Although the latter is not found everywhere, the farmhouse has been taken over in this form into the cities, where often enough it has found its imitation in stone. (9)

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9. For the Lithuanian farmhouse cf. further: Baurat Richard Dethlefsen, Bauernhäuser und

•113 Holzkirchen in Ostpreussen (Berlin, 1911), Chapter: "Litauen," pp. 17-35. Adalbert Bezzenberger, "Über das litauische Haus, Ein Versuch," Altpreussiche Monats-Schrift. N.F., Vol. 23 (Königsberg, 1886), pp. 34-79. R. Virchow, "Die altpreussische Bevölkerung, namentlich Letten und Litauer, sowie deren Häuser," Verhandlungen der Berl. Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte (Berlin, 1891). A Bezzenberger, "Bemerkungen über den Hausbau im russischen Litauen und in einem Teile Kurlands," Sitzungsber. d. Altert. Gesellsch. Prussia, No. 19 (Königsberg, 1895), pp. 130 ff. Basic: H. Grisebach, "Das polnische Bauernhaus," Veröffentlichungen der Landeskundlichen Kommission beim Kaiserl. Deutschen Gen.-Gouv. Warschau, Beiträge zur poln. Landeskunde, Series B (Berlin, 1917).

342

Special interest is awakened by the roof forms: the most common is the house with a perpendicular gable in which the uppermost triangular section of the /105/ gable wall consists of boards. Along with this form we find as the simplest form the full slope with or without "owl's nest", and far more frequently the half slope, which appears in various forms. Dr. Hans Mortensen, who has investigated more closely the roof forms of Lithuania with regard to their topographical differences, was able to establish no "direct geographical conditioning of the various types of design." The house with the fully sloped gable appears to him the basic form of the individual types. "This basic form, according to Grisebach, resulted from the 'pavilion' through the addition of a ridge." The co-existence of six different types of designs, as we meet them today in the Lithuanian farmhouse, betrays in any case, in spite of all traditional

346 Unfortunately the oldest Lithuanian wooden churches of this type from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are no longer preserved; the earliest of those which still exist originated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and, as a result, already have a considerable development of style behind them. The most important task was in most cases the problem of spanning a larger space. Thus log construction had to yield in favor of skid and framework construction. To increase the limited spans there was a transition to pillars and thereby to a three-aisled arrangement. Originally there was no choir. Later the lack of space forced its construction, and the back side of the nave was built out into an apse, which thereby was added to the church as a new independent section.

/109/ In contrast to the farmhouse the development of the style of the village church in the seventeenth century led to a stronger introduction of baroque elements. Even the form of the churches themselves underwent a change: the ground plan of the nave obtained the form of a cross through the addition of two almost symmetrical side wings, in one of which the sacristy, the other a chapel were located. The significance of this change of form lies in the fact that a shorter transept cut the nave exactly in half. A central space was thereby formed at the point of intersection, "but the shortness of the cross arms shifts the central spacial impression in favor of the longitudinal direction. (14) The

113 14. Dr. Günther Grundmann, Die Bethäuser und Bethauskirchen des Kreises Hirschberg (Breslau, 1922), p. 8. On the development of the village church cf. further: Wippert and Burgemeister, Die Holzkirchen und Holztürme der preussischen Ostprovinzen (Berlin, 1905). Gruner, Die Dorfkirche im Königreich

•113 Sachsen. Paul Brinkmann, Baukunst des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts, I and II. Richard Konwiarz, Alt-Schlesien, Architektur, Raumkunst, Kunstgewerbe.

346 towers were changed into baroque cupolas. The roof became higher; the outer walls of the church were covered with boards and ornamented with sawed out decorative mouldings. The nineteenth century then brought with it a strong influence of the Gothic. Thus today we occasionally come upon large wooden churches which, seen from afar, give the effect, or want to give the effect, of stone churches, which undoubtedly must be described as a "deviation from the logical use of the material." (15) The peasant wanted to build

[113] 15. Prof. Dr. Paul Weber, "Litauische Kirchen," in Bilder aus Litauen, 2nd ed. (Kowno, 1917), p. 121.

his church on the model of the city church. Modestly though he lived for his own person, he wanted to see his church beautiful, even ostentatious; between village and church there exist quite special relationships in a country in which the village is only a village which knows no tavern, hardly even a modest store. Thus "the church with its feasts and processions, its colors and sounds, its candles and clouds of incense, is to the peasant exaltation and relaxation as well; it is for him a good parlor and festive hall."(16)

16. Ibid., p. 121.

It was precisely the magnificence of the baroque, brought to the country from Vilna in the seventeenth century by the Jesuits, which must have met especially well the peasant's need for ornamentation. Thus we find the interior furnish-

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impression of these crosses in the following beautiful words: "Nowhere in the world except perhaps in the Tyrol does one see as many crosses as in Lithuania. Like high masts they stand individually by the village street, on the ridges of fields, and at crossroads. One finds them grouped together in the cemeteries of Lithuania, where they grow out of the graves like great, gloomy lilies. Bent over by time, these high grave crosses greet the passing hiker or traveller like tokens of the dead, with whom the Lithuanian people as no other live in constant fearful or friendly contact. Especially in the winter it makes an often uncanny impression when out of the broad surface of snow which /112/ covers the whole land the high black crosses project and seem to beckon one with an earnest finger. And the sight of a Lithuanian cemetery in the winter will remain unforgettably impressed in the memory of anyone, when the gloomy outlines of such a group of crosses rise against the glowing red of the sunset like the shadows of Golgotha." (20) The East

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20. Hermann Struck and Herbert Eulenberg, Skizzen aus litauen, Weissrussland und Kurland (Berlin, 1916).

Prussian Alfred Brust says of the same crosses: "There are among them works of art which, surrendered to every wind and weather, belong to the great rarities of simplest but most profound folk art." (21) Prof. Otto Schwindrazheim defines the

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21. Alfred Brust, "Die litauische Kultur und der Expressionismus," Das neue Litauen, 1918, No. 14, pp. 50-51.

Lithuanian crosses as "masterpieces of popular wooden art," (22) and the Italian art historian

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Luigi Caglio actually describes them as the "most typical manifestation of folk art in Europe.' (23)

23. Luigi Caglio, Alla Biennale di Monza (1925). (Quoted according to Galaunė, op. cit., p. 103.)

No artist, however, has more strongly grasped and reproduced the mystical impression which proceeds from these crosses than the Lithuanian painter Čiurlionis in his picture "Samogitian Cemetery." It is characteristic that almost every observer who surrendered himself to the strong mood of these crosses felt at the same time the contrast that exists between these apparent manifestations of Christian faith and the rational nature of Christianity itself--a contrast which naturally does not enter the consciousness of the present-day "God carvers" /Herrgottsschnitzer/, who work within the framework of primitive traditions. And it is really not the abundance of pagan symbols with which these monuments of devout veneration of the dead are decorated, but rather the totality of the impression, which seizes the observer with compelling force. Already their majestic height--five or six meters--is unique and distinguishes them from all similar monuments of Christian origin. But scholarly research too, which has turned its attention to the Lithuanian crosses since the beginning of this century and has tried first and foremost to solve the problem of their origin, proceeding from the most varied viewpoints, has arrived at the same conclusion: the Lithuanian crosses grew out of the pagan veneration of the dead by the Lithuanians and represent a primitive /Unnumbered page with illustration--Roofed Crosses, after a Painting by Čiurlionis/ /113/ monument of ancient Lithuanian culture. Only at a later period did they acquire their present Christian appearance, without, how-

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ever, casting off completely their old forms. We encounter this view, first vaguely indicated by Szukiewicz, the first investigator of the crosses of the Vilna area, in the work of Brensteyn on the Samogitian roofed crosses, in 1906, as an already confirmed theory, which is later extensively supported by the archaeological investigations of Dr. Basanavičius. The famous ecclesiastical prohibition with which Michael, the Bishop of Sambia, in 1426, forbade the erection of crosses in the cemeteries agrees with these conclusions. The founding of the Lithuanian state gave this research a further impetus: many thousands of crosses in the country were photographed and recorded in drawings, so that the history of art has today at its disposal an incomparably greater amount of material than before the World War.

According to our present knowledge, as expressed in the works of Galaunė and Rukštelė,(24)

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24. W. Szukiewicz, Krzyże zdobne w gubernju Wilenskiej ("Wisła" 1903), Vol. XVII. Brensteyn, Krzyże i kapliczki (1906). Dr. J. Basanavičius, Lietuviu kryžiai archeologijos šviesoje (The Lithuanian Crosses in the Light of Archaeology). Brensteyn investigates in his work exclusively the roofed crosses of Samogitia. The essay of Dr. Basanavičius forms the introduction to the picture book of Jaroševičius mentioned at the beginning: Lietuvii Kryžiai. An abstract in German in V. Jungfer, Alt-Litauen (Berlin, 1926), pp. 71-90.) The most recent literature: Antanas Rukštelė, Lietuviu Tautodailė (Kaunas, 1929), pp. 55-69. Scholarly: Galaunė, op. cit., pp. 101-142 (with detailed references).

the modern roofed crosses resulted from simple wooden columns which were erected by the graves of

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patterns, the rosettes--they all are repeated in constantly new combinations. In the stylization of animals--the latter occur more seldom--we find birds and snakes, reminders of the serpent cult of the ancient Lithuanians. The crosses obtain their special characteristic, however, in the representation of sun, moon, and stars. The sun is usually represented as an iron cross with beams set on top, at times moved to the intersection of the crossbar. Its symbol /117/ is the circle, at times also a clearly executed sun disc from which rays radiate. In stark contrast to those of the Christian halo, the rays of the Lithuanian cross are zigzags, spirals, or the shape of lotus leaves and thorns. Others are formed like flowers, anchors, and crosses, or like hammers and arrows. The stars appear at the ends of the rays of the sun cross; the moon is a half moon open toward the top beneath the sun disc. Next to the pagan symbols of life are the Christian symbols of the suffering and death of Jesus--spear, hammer, and ladder--in addition chalices and monstrances, angels holding crowns and blowing trumpets, and many other Christian attributes. Nevertheless, this second group is subordinate to the first.

Perhaps later folklore research will be able to explore more deeply the meaning of the symbolism represented here. (30) The pagan symbols

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30. Among others, H. Schaeder attempts a penetrating symbolic interpretation in an essay, "Litauische Ornamentik, Das Land Ober-Ost" (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1917), p. 63.

of life, trees and plants; the symbols of light and animating warmth, the sun and stars; the symbols of love and tender affection, hearts, flowers,

778 and birds; and many others whose meaning is hidden
322 to us grow out of the Lithuanian crosses as the
764 expression of a deep mental attitude which flows from the spiritual life of an inwardly rich people. From the purely artistic angle, in the Lithuanian cross ornamentation, which recalls both a most loyal attachment to faith and a close communion with the dead, we are touched by the compactness with which it grows out of the crosses and blends into a unity with them. (31) In current times, to

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31. V. Jungfer, Alt-Litauen, op. cit., p. 87. V. Jungfer, Hinter den Seen, hinter den Wäldern, Bilder litauischen Volkstums (Königsberg, 1932), pp. 45 and 58.

be sure, it must be recognized how amid a younger and more rationalistic generation the old symbolism of the forefathers is more and more forgotten. Not only does the old custom of setting up crosses disappear; even where wooden crosses are still erected, one meets more and more frequently slender, smooth crosses without any ornamentation, of which only the majestic height still recalls their primitive tradition. (32)

32. A few beautiful and artistically valuable crosses have today been set up in the garden of the Vytautas Museum in Kaunas.

/118/ 2. The Wood Sculpture

532 Our survey of the Lithuanian crosses and their chapels would not be complete if we did not include in our presentation those wooden sculptures of the Christian saints which were mentioned above and for whose sake the chapels of the Lithuanian crosses were created.

Lithuanian wood sculpture, to which we thus turn our attention, has, in its origin and its early stages, not been clarified. Romantic research,

including also Brensteyn and Dr. Basanavičius, attributed it to paganism and supported this view with a prohibition of Bishop Tyszkiewicz from the year 1752, which reads: "In many towns in Samogitia highly unskilled wood carvers go about, real destroyers and blasphemers of sculpture, who at their own risk blaspheme the statued of saints, so that they do not look like gods but like Lernean monsters which have nothing at all to do with any sacred tradition in their appearance and features." (33)

[113] 33. Cf. V. Jungfer, Julturbilder aus Litauen (Berlin, 1918), p. 120. The complete Latin text reads: "Plurimis in locis per Samogitiam divagantur imperitissimi sculptores, an verius Iconoclastae et Iconomachi, qui proprio Marte effigies Sanctorum moliantur, non quam speciem deorum, quam monstra Lernaea ab omni sacra Traditione, habitu gestuque ex toto se abhorrentia, vili autem pretio simplicioribus abtrudentes graviter eis imponant, unde optata pullulat, materia nullis vicinorum sectariorum cachinnis. Parochi locorum arguant, increpant tales et confiscent, nisi specialem an Nobis produxerint licentiam."

The current term for these sculptures--in the vernacular dievukai "little gods"--seems to support this theory further. Now we have, however, no reliable support for any anthropomorphic belief among the ancient Lithuanians, and know only that they considered rivers, springs, and forests sacred as the dwelling places of their deities. On the other hand, the term dievukai for these sculptures among a Roman Catholic peasant folk is so self evident as to need no further explanations here. The fact that even today priests occasionally refuse to consecrate these sculptures

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or smutkelis), is already known from a wood sculpture of the German Middle Ages around 1500. (36)

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36. Dr. Willi Burger, Altdeutsche Holzplastik (Berlin, 1926), p. 179. Cf. further: Franz Wolter and Willi Burger, Die mittelalterliche Holzplastik in Deutschland (Munich, 1924).

But precisely this sculpture, about whose meaning many pious legends are woven, has become quite an original possession of the people through its treatment by the peasant artists, and has experienced many transformations and variations. One sees it above all in Samogitia again and again, in villages, at crossroads, by trees in the forests. It seems as if just this figure of the sorrowing Christ with the crown of thorns, who rests Himself, exhausted, His head supported in His hand, His elbow on His knee, particularly expresses the contemplative nature of the Lithuanian peasant and has attained an individual form from the sorrow of a people over centuries-long slavery and from the melancholy of the landscape. This sculpture as no other has inspired the carvers to individual creation and has attained inner animation. At times a really unearthly mood speaks from it, which shows how deeply the artist lost himself in his idea. (*)

(*) Cf. on this point the poem of Putinas-Mykolaitis.

Lithuanian wood sculpture did not take over and elaborate all the pictorial subjects which came from the West. To be sure, the number of saints which are represented is very great, but /123/ certain favorite motifs return again and again. Besides those already named there are St. John of Nepomuk, always in clerical robes with a

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the St. Katharina of Rubens, and many others. The creator of such woodcuts favored above all /125/ representations of miracle-working saints, which were eagerly bought by the peasants at great indulgence festivals. Thus this art, too, stand exclusively in the service of the religious idea.

The škapliernikai of the church villages, who produced and sold these simple woodcuts, used for their work very soft wood--usually linden--since their only tool was a knife. The board was smoothed and then received a coating of chalk or wax. Now the portions which were to remain white on the paper were cut out of the wood, while the actual drawing was carved in relief. The figures received a strong contour line; shadows were produced by a simple stroke technique. The woodcuts were printed without the aid of any sort of press, simply by hand. Thus, as Galaunė stresses, their technique can be compared only with the German individual woodcuts of the fifteenth century, and as a matter of fact Germany was the sponsor of this technique in Lithuania. Since the prints were made on ordinary paper and the coloring was done with inks of very little permanence, hardly any old originals have been preserved. But the number of subjects as well as their popularity among the people speaks for their wide distribution. Their popularity is proved by the fact mentioned by Galaunė, (38) that after the emergence of lithography in

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38. Cf. for the section on the village woodcuts and paintings, Galaunė, op. cit., pp. 231-238, as well as the literature referred to there. Further: P. Galaunė, Lietuvių liaudies raižinių katalogas (Catalogue of the Woodcuts of Lithuanian Folk Art) (Kaunas, 1927), as well as the pertinent chapter in A. Rukštelė loc. cit., pp. 41-48.

322 thing of their own. We find as ornaments rosettes,
531 stars, and wavy lines, interrupted and lozenge frets, also stylized plant patterns--though less often--on chests, dishes, platters, canes, etc. On spindles and distaffs, on the other hand, the favorite ornament is the circle divided into six segments, the ancient symbol of the sun, whose production presents only little difficulty and therefore is often repeated. Only on coat racks do animal forms appear, taken from nature, primarily birds. Splendidly carved towel and spoon racks, knives, forks, and spoons, shuttles and whetstone holders, boxes and caskets, even carved flasks show great technical skill and artistic manipulation. Only in rare cases does an object of household use remain without ornamentation.
[354] The old žibintuvas, the pine chip holder, an often very beautifully carved frame holding the chips that illuminated the work room, is today
[533] found only in museums as is the kanklēs, the ancient zither-like instrument of the Lithuanians, which is also richly carved, and which today has awakened to a new life. (41) In all of these

[113] 41. On the development of the kanklēs cf. the basic work of the Swedish Professor Tobias Norlind, Bidrag Till Kantelens Historia (Särtryck ur Rig, 1923).

patterns sways an inner rhythm that attests to an absolute feeling for style. One should also never overlook the fact that these objects were created only for personal pleasure or for the pleasure of people to whom they were given--as perhaps by a youth to a maid. Thus they maintained the charm of the personal and direct and also the value of uniqueness.

/131/ In view of this joy in the ornamentation of practical objects it is almost astonishing not to find furniture decorated with carving in the

531/352 decorative colors in nature. On the other hand, any representation of human life, /134/ so dear to Poles and Russians, is lacking. From the darkly toned background the colors are set in relief forcefully and without transitions--green and yellow; white and red; green, violet, and yellow--and in still other combinations, which always speak of a sure feeling for colors. In their total impression these chests, in spite of the liveliness of their colorings, have a calm effect. Nevertheless the few examples of this art which I have so far seen seem to me not to express shat I should like to consider the truly characteristic feature of coloring in Lithuanian folk art--the creative force of the colors. This can become truly effective only where it no longer stands in the service of drawing, but makes the surface itself subordinate, as in the flow of the colorful patterns of the Lithuanian decorative ribbons or in the margučiai, the Easter eggs.

531/776 The Lithuanian margučiai (marginti--to decorate in colors) exhibit the same stylized ornamentation in a state of stability that is fluidly shaped in the juostos--leaves, flowers, geomettrical figures in infinitely changing form--but here it is the color which brings it forth, which becomes an end in itself, and which controls and fashions the surface. It is precisely in the margučiai that one can observe how the nature of the complementary colors is fully grasped. The extent of the oval is seen as a unit and only rarely divided into segments. The loving investigator and collector of these little works of art, Tadas Daugirdas, has written some interesting things concerning this branch of folk art. (43) He relied

[113] 43. Thaddäus von Daugird, "Margutschai--die litauischen Ostereier," Kownoer Zeitung, 1917.

286 leaves, oak and alder bark, and the method was
386 guarded as a family secret. Their production was very laborious. The plants were broken up and cooked with the thread; the ashes of the plants were used as a stain. Always only the thread was dyed, never the finished fabric. Thus one obtained serene colors of unlimited durability. Aprons a hundred years old exhibit a quiet brilliance which is still enchanting today. Although the natural colors have gradually been supplanted by modern aniline colors, knowledge of the old coloring technique is still preserved in many peasant families.

286 The use of colors change. Brown, blue, and
301 red were probably the oldest colors. To them was
531 added green. The pattern originated on a white background. We can best recognize the Lithuanian interpretation of color in the juostos, those colorful decorative ribbons which /137/ serve as ribbons for belts and aprons, as fastenings of fur coats, and as decorations for the girls. They are distributed across the whole country, but show provincial differences both in the colors and in the patterns and techniques. Their coloration is analyzed in a fine manner by Karl Brammer: (44)

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44. Karl Brammer, "Litauische Webereien," Litauenbuch, loc. cit., p. 52.

"The nature of complementary colors is grasped here with astonishing sureness; an error never occurs. Red and greenish blue, orange and cyanic blue, greenish yellow and violet are placed next to each other in striking fashion. Furthermore the skillful use of white with opposite colors has a very fine effect. From the use of red and yellow on a black background (*) it can be clearly be seen

* The latter occurs only very rarely. V.J.

that the relationship between dark and brilliant

286 (woven ribbons)." (47)
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47. Johanna Behr-Heyder, Cologne, "Litauische Volkskunst," Leipziger Ill. Zeitung, November 8, 1917, p. 10.

In analyzing the weaving patterns, which are almost exclusively of a geometrical nature, it is in most cases overlooked that the technique of weaving alone had of itself to lead to specific patterns. Certainly the many terms used today were given them only much later, names supplied by all kinds of visible things of the surroundings--the duck, the cuckoo, the hoopoe, the window, the broom, the rose, the fir tree, even the goat's hoof, and many others. That from the technique of weaving many similarities arose with peoples separated in space and time, is thus only natural. From the great variety of designs results the tremendous richness of this ornamentation, especially since the patterns occur in the most varied combinations. To discuss them in more detail is forbidden by the scope of this presentation, but there are certainly many hundreds of patterns.

While in western Lithuania decorative weaving is not so strongly cultivated--apart from Palanga, where primarily juostos with star and flower patterns are favored--the whole abundance of this colored ornamentation is concentrated in the area of Suvalkija, above all in the districts
291 of Marijampolė and Vilkaviškis. This area is
531 also the home of the famous tulip pattern and of
286 the colorful Lithuanian decorative aprons. Simple aprons are known also in the region of Zanavykai and Zarasai as well as in the province of Dzūkija, while in Samogitia they are completely lacking. Nowhere, however, is the coloration unfolded so subtly and the ornamentation to such a richness as in Suvalkija. On a brown, blue, red, or green background the ornament grows like a precious flower. Perhaps the most beautiful of these patterns, the tulip stylized in the most varied forms,

286 Lithuania they were in any case not known and
531 according to Vydūnas were only taken over from
[291] later immigrants. (50) Much of the beautiful

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50. Vydūnas, Litauen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart (Tilsit, 1916). Emma Dethlefsen, "Über litauische Volkstrachten in Ostpreussen," Blätter für Heimatkunde und Heimatschutz, Vol. 3, Nos. 1 and 2.

Lithuanian decorative weaving is found today in the churches as altar covers, the ribbons as ornamentation on the alms bag.

As with all settled peoples, so among the Lithuanians a rural art of rug weaving--as /142/ is customarily developed among nomadic tribes as a folk art--did not exist in earlier times. The rugs and bedspreads woven today in the countryside, which are usually of one color and are frequently found in city houses, are of more recent origin. They borrow their manifold square circle or lozenge patterns from the heavy linen weaving which the peasant woman makes for her practical use. To set off the pattern in color either bleached linen is woven in together with unbleached, or a difference of tone is gained by weaving in hemp or cotton. These patterns, too, are beautiful and of great ornamental richness. From the point of view of age they represent the oldest Lithuanian weaving patterns. We find them in the coarse woolen towels as well as in the tablecloths that are laid out on festive occasions in the peasant houses. The hand towels are often decorated with artistic cross-stitch work, usually in red, primarily the decorative towels that do not serve for daily use. They formerly hung on the richly carved hand towel racks and are given only to guests to use. Their ends are formed by peculiarly braided lace, knotted by hand from the end threads of the weave. This is a very old technique that is still

286 the woman. And perhaps it is due precisely to the
462 artistic intuition and the more sensitive sense of color of the woman that her creations unfold a quite special richness in color and ornamentation in the fields of the small handicrafts. /Unnumbered page with illustration--Old Peasant Woodcut/

/145/ Chapter Four
The Spiritual Culture of the City

113 /Unnumbered note on Chapter Four/ A comprehensive presentation of the development of Lithuanian architecture does not so far exist. A brief sketch of the architecture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is given by K. Jasenas in Vol. III, No. 5 of his Visuotinė meno istorija (General History of Art), where we also find practically the only information on Lithuanian castle structures. An appreciation of the architect Vl. Dubeneckis, the builder of the Vytautas Museum, the art school, the state theater, and other public buildings, is given by P. Galaunė in Vol. I of the almanac Prošvaistė (1937). In addition, the valuable monograph by the same author, Vilniaus meno mokykla, 1793-1831 (The Art School of Vilna) (Kaunas, 1928), should be mentioned. Also, the presentation of Lithuanian painting, sculpture, and music is so far limited to sketches and separate articles. (Cf. for example Galaunė, l'Art Lithuanien (1934); Jasenas, History of Art, III, 8, with carefully selected illustrations; etc.)

A. The Architecture
181 1. Historical Preliminaries

The investigation of the cultural elements of Lithuanian national life led us to the conclusion

181 that we have here a rounded-off and self-contained culture. Such a culture never originates through a random accumulation of human beings, but always through a nation. In our case this culture was a typical peasant culture.

369 A combination of the most varied historical
565 circumstances, which cannot be gone into in this
162 context, led to the result that the Lithuanian
563 settling in villages and individual farms has found his way to the city only in most recent times and is beginning to imprint his own stamp on it.

The cultural upper class which determined the face of the Lithuanian city in the past centuries has changed in the course of time. Little is known concerning the city's earliest inhabitants.(1)

[113] 1. A. Bezzenberger, "Der Werdegang des litauischen Volkes," Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 1915, Vol. XIII, No. 1, p. 26. "Cities existed only sparsely and, like Vilna, founded in 1321, has probably more foreign than Lithuanian inhabitants."

In the fourteenth century Grand Duke Gediminas summoned German artisans and tradesmen into the country. (2) There followed the Hanse, which had

[113] 2. On the history of the Hanse in Lithuania cf. Walther Stein, "Vom deutschen Kontor in Kowno," Hansische Geschichtsblätter, 1916, Vol. XXII, Nos. 1 and 2, as well as the references given there.

an office in Kaunas. About the same time the Jews made their entrance and completely changed the city picture. Confined to the border provinces by Russian legislation in later centuries they also /146/ gave their stamp to the Lithuanian provincial cities before the first World War. Accord-

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ing to Ljubawski and Lithuanian cities of the sixteenth century were already overcrowded with Jews (3)

3. Cf. on this point Ljubawski, Oblastnoe dielenie i miestnoe upravlenie Litovski-Russkago gosydarstva ko vremeni izdaniia pervago Litovskago statuta (Districting and Local Administration of the Lithuanian-Russian State at the Time of the Issuance of the First Lithuanian Statute), as well as S. A. Berschadski, Litovski evrei (The Lithuanian Jews) (1883). In recent times the history of Judaism experienced a detailed presentation in Prof. A. Janulaitis, Žydai Lietuvoje (The Jews in Lithuania) (Kaunas, 1923).

The third city element, however, the Poles--as the upper class--at first assimilated the Lithuanian country population which moved in. Even in the nineteenth century a Lithuanian upper class still could not be formed in the cities of the country, since Russian legislation forbade the Lithuanians to occupy any official positions in their own country. Thus--by the irony of history--the first nucleus of an educated Lithuanian bourgeoisie arose in the cities of inner Russia, where the prohibition did not apply. In place of its own officialdom the land received Russian officials and garrisons, whose religious edification was taken care of by the state in this Roman Catholic country with the erection of Orthodox churches.

The World War finally ended this development through the founding of the Lithuanian state. All at once there is a city class educated abroad and now back home, which, though, not numerous, includes all professions, even artists and scholars. In addition a strong immigration from the countryside set in, for suddenly numerous possibilities to make a living in the cities, in officialdom, in

346 Gothic churches in Kaunas between 1400 and 1500. Stone construction--even already in private houses--is documented in the privilege of the basilica of the year 1503; a far older stone construction is treated in detail in the inventory of the Kaunas deanery (sheet 15). In the same way we can probably regard as reliable the presentation, thoroughly based on sources, of Bishop Valančius, who in his History of the Kaunas Churches, expressly stresses in discussing, among others, the Cistercian church (Seminary Church) that the oldest Cistercian church was built of wood, while the stone construction of the church as well as of the monastery dates from the year 1468. (5)

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5. The question of the oldest brick construction in Lithuania is treated by Cornelius Gurlitt, "Alt-Litauisches Bauwesen," Baltisch-Litauische Mitteilungen, No. 127, September 4, 1918. Cf. further on this point Prof. P. Weber, "Litauische Kirchen," in Bilder aus Litauen, 2nd ed. (Kaunas, 1917), p. 123. Important for the study of sources: Kun. P. Veblaitis, "Kauno Bazilika" (The Basilica of Kaunas), Naujoji Romuva, 1935, Vol. V, No. 16/17, pp. 379-380. Further: Vyskupas M. Valančius, "Trumpa Kauna bažnyčių istorija" (Short History of the Kaunas Churches) in the periodical Žinyčia (Tilsit), 1900, No.2, pp. 32-51. According to Valančius the Franciscan church was also executed in stone as early as 1400.

In Kaunas the steep Gothic roofs which cover the red brick churches dominate a large section of the old city. In the interior we find the typical six-part vault construction which resolves the ceiling into star and net vaults and thus absorbs the rising force of the columns. Five old churches

346 of this type, all of which date from the fifteenth century, are still preserved today in Kaunas. The oldest is the Vytautas church (Franciscan church) built in 1400, which the grand duke erected in memory of the recognition of Lithuanian independence by Jogaila. The history of its founding is set down on a marble plaque near the main entrance. The interior decoration is very simple. 532 Noteworthy is a picture by Kalpokas over the main altar, whose upper half represents the ascension of Mary, while the lower half shows Vytautas with his soldiers at the Vorskla, as he pledges himself with a solemn oath to build the church. The grand duke gave this church to the Franciscan order, whose monastery then stood on the site of the present city hospital. (6) Although the church /152/ was

113 6. Kan. J. Tumas, "Iš Vytauto bažnyčios istorijos" (From the History of the Vytautas Church), Iliustr. Lietuva, Vol. 1927, Nos. 15 and 16.

destroyed in the seventeenth century by the Swedes, in 1812 by the French, and in the middle of the nineteenth century was transformed into a Russian church, it remained the only one of the old churches which faithfully preserved its Gothic character. Its peculiar tower stems from the beginning of the nineteenth century, the facade decoration of the side wings from the same period.

The construction of the gigantic cathedral of the archbishop (Cathedral of Peter and Paul) also reaches back into a very early period. In the renewal of its privileges, of 1503, it is mentioned that the church was built "in very old times, almost at the beginning of Christianity," and was richly endowed. (7) In its size alone--

7. Valančius, see above.

it is 84 meters long, 34 meters wide, and 28 meters

high--it makes a powerful impression. After the great fire of 1770, which left only the foundation walls standing, it was rebuilt in a different form. Probably the church was originally built with two towers (in its present form the one tower interferes with the symmetry of the exterior). In the nineteenth century a side chapel was added to the south front by Bishop Paliulionis; it contains pictures by Tyrolian artists and a beautifully carved altar. Further to be mentioned is the building of the cathedral library, which reminds one of the Marienburg castle. The interior of the cathedral was completely covered over by later artistic styles after its reconstruction: the pilasters, the columns, and above all the numerous altars sparkle in the magnificence of the baroque, whose animation is increased still more by numerous rococo forms. But, as K. Jasenas correctly points out in his art history, a counterbalance is created by the powerful compactness of the main altar (from the year 1775), which subdues the total impression into serious and mighty solemnity. (8) Precisely this

[113] 8. Jasenas, Visuotinė meno istorijz /General History of Art/, V, p. 267.

altar, between whose Corinthian columns tower gigantic figures of the apostles, has a particularly majestic effect. Thus the impression which proceeds from this cathedral is unusually strong, and the spirit of medieval piety and religious artistic instinct becomes directly alive. The [532] church paintings were mostly /153/ painted in the middle of the nineteenth century by Elviro Andriolli, an Italian artist who settled in Lithuania and was naturalized.

Considerably younger than the cathedral, but also still stemming from the fifteenth century, the Seminary Church of St. George first meets the eye of anyone who approaches the city from the river.

1 [in Cathedral of Peter and Paul in Kaunas -- Analyst]

In the seventeenth century it still bore a tower, while today it is decorated only by simple crosses. This church, too, was destroyed at various times by fire, the last time in 1812. As a result it also had to undergo the stylistic change from Gothic to baroque, just as the little Church of St. Gertrude, which today leads a hidden existence in a courtyard off the main street (No. 61) and belongs among the oldest buildings of the city.

The Benedictine Church of St. Michael lies apart from the religious buildings we have mentioned. It has a peculiar effect through its lack of symmetry, but the purely Gothic style of its apse must be mentioned. From the outside it resembles more a medieval fortress than a church. In his monograph on the city of Kaunas V. Bičiūnas expresses the idea that this peculiar building, on whose origin no reports are available, may be identical with the building which Guillebert de Launnoy saw on his journey in 1417-14 and mistook for a fortress. The church is mentioned in documents only in a later period; thus we hear of privileges which were granted it in 1495. At present it belongs to the order of the Benedictine nuns; the monastery built next to the church stems from the beginning of the last century. (9)

[113] S. V. Bičiūnas, Kaunas, 1030-1930 (Kaunas, 1930), p. 208.

Therewith the circle of the old Gothic and formerly Gothic structures in Lithuania is closed. The simplicity of their external forms frequently contrasts strongly with the ostentatious interior decoration of a later period. With the relatively small number of Gothic church buildings it might almost appear as if this artistic epoch /154/ attained very little prominence in Lithuania. Nevertheless, it did have a stronger influence on secular construction. In Kaunas there are still

341 many gabled houses in the Gothic style, and indeed here and there an old granary, hidden in the maze of twisted courtyards. Often these buildings also are hidden today under the disguise of a later period. Especially the streets behind the steamer landing are still full of old gabled brick structures today. Sometimes the courtyards of these houses, like those in Vilna, have passageways of wood which stem from a later period. How much the whole artistic epoch which is understood under the name of Gothic could be forgotten is proved by the fact that a small house with a late Gothic gable rising freely into the air is today called a "Perkunas temple" in the vernacular. The gable is found across from the city hospital; it shows the typical overly slender pilasters which blossom out in decorative finials and are connected by curved interlinking arches. Possibly this was also a little church, perhaps a secular building. (10)

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10. Cf. A. Thomas "Rombinus," in Mitteilungen der litauischen litterarischen Gesellschaft, 1884, Vol. II, No. 2. In addition see the colored illustration in Vol. IV, No. 4 together with a ground plan according to the record of Kulakowski of the year 1823.

341 3. Renaissance and Baroque
177

Whoever surveys the city from the hill of the Linksmadvaris estate, rising up steeply across from the old section of Kaunas, has an unusually beautiful view of the churches of the old city. The cathedral and the Vytautas church, the Seminary Church and Trinity Church lie at his feet in a harmonious grouping. Between them rise the light towers of the Jesuit church and the slender tower of the city hall. The last three buildings lead us to a new period of style which replaced the Gothic in Lithuania. It began in the middle of the

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sixteenth century and received strong stimulation through the introduction of the Counter Reformation. The late Renaissance and the baroque are characteristic of this period.

/155/ Concerning the introduction of these new styles Dr. Kairiūkštytė-Jacynienė writes in her detailed monograph on the monastery of Pažaislis: "From the beginning of the sixteenth century on the true Italian Renaissance penetrated into the country by way of Hungary, specifically through the mediation of immigrant Italian artists and artisans, who as early as the year 1502 were summoned to Cracow by King Sigismund the Elder and his wife Bona Sfroza, Duchess of Milan. . .From Cracow the Renaissance style rapidly spread through the whole country. The influx of Italian artists, principally architects, went on uninterruptedly from the sixteenth century on; they kept the leadership for three centuries, since there were no trained native elements . . . Besides the Italians, Dutch architects also worked in Poland and Lithuania from the seventeenth century on. French and German influences were added to the Italian ones, especially in the eighteenth century. All this, together with certain peculiarities of the native, indigenous interpretation of style, produced a mixed style. But the Italian artists continued to be dominant. The Italian baroque created a foundation not only for the construction of churches, but also for secular construction. Today the baroque is still the most common style in the country, and the one which speaks with the greatest force." (11)

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11. Kairiūkštytė-Jacynienė, Pažaislis, ein Barockkloster in Litauen, Zürich dissertation, 1928. Special publication of Tauta ir Žodis (Kaunas, 1928), pp. 1-2.

The transition from Renaissance to baroque

346 The high facade with its two towers, between which
531 a richly decorated ornamental gable often rises,
177 became typical for the new interpretation of the front.

The temporal relationship which existed between the emergence of baroque in Lithuania and the influx of the Jesuits was not accidental, for these buildings express a very specific spiritual attitude and intention, above all in the way these churches are decorated. (13) According to the in-

[113] 13. The Jesuits did not enter Kaunas until 1642. Cf. on this point K. Lerkis, S. J., "Kaip jezuitai isikure Kaune?" (How Did the Jesuits Settle in Kaunas?), Židinys, 1934, Vol. XX, pp. 184-192.

tention of the Jesuits, "mankind in the whole world should continually be torn anew from the sphere of everyday interests and should be directed to the divine through splendid churches, resplendent altars, gilded images of saints, statues, confessionals, and through perspective frescoes on the ceilings pointing up toward heaven." (14) How well

[113] 14. René Fülop-Miller, Macht und Geheimnis der Jesuiten (Berlin, 1932), p. 523.

the Catholic church succeeded with this striking architecture in influencing the peasant population of the country, is seen both in Lithuanian folk art and in the fact that the name of Queen /157/ Bona, who transplanted the Italian style to Lithuania, was kept alive through the centuries among the people and gradually took on a legendary ring.

346 Of all the baroque buildings of the city of Kaunas the Dominican church built in 1612 (the so-called student church in the Vilniaus gatve) is the oldest. In the period of Russification it was

ially mentioned.

346 Of the monastery, which was begun in 1667, only the facade was completed by 1681. After that it took more than 30 years before the building was [193] completed. This monastery[1], too, has suffered greatly in the course of time, primarily through its transfer to a Russian /159/ monastic order which took place in 1840 (it was founded as a Camaldulian monastery). The Russian order occupied it until the first World War and throughout this war itself. In 1920 it was turned over to nuns from Chicago, of the Congregation of Saint Kazimir, and since then has been renovated as much as circumstances permitted.

Within the scope of this work it is impossible to include also the Catholic church buildings in the provinces in the presentation of Lithuanian baroque architecture, especially since all preliminary work is lacking. In the countryside, too, the baroque--in contrast to the Gothic--has had a decisive effect, as numerous splendid church buildings prove. Here only the beautiful monastery of Tytuvėnai may be mentioned. Thus the baroque gained a special home in Lithuania, where it should be evaluated not only as an expression of the power of Roman Catholicism, but also as a manifestation of a special mental attitude of its inhabitants. Even the primitive forms of the wooden village church, as was pointed out in another place, did not remain free of its influence.

[195] Protestant church construction left behind only a few traces in Lithuania. As Dr. Purickis notes, at the time of their greatest influence in Lithuania, the Protestants had many adherents but very few open followers, and possessed in the sixteenth century neither a clergy nor their own places of worship. Later they sometimes took over Catholic churches. (18) The first churches of the Pro-

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18. Cf. Purickis, "Die Glaubensspaltung in Litauen im 16. Jahrhundert bis zue Ankunft der Jesuiten im Jahre 1569," (dissertation) in the periodical Litauen, 1917, Vol. II,

1 [Monastery of Pažaislis, near Kaunas--Analyst]

346

testants were built in the seventeenth century. Noteworthy here is the church of the Calvinists in Kedainiai, built by Christoph Radvila (Radziwill) in 1629, which differs considerably from the Catholic baroque buildings of the period. It shows the cool style of the late Renaissance and is decorated with a beautiful pulpit with inlaid woodwork. The present-day Evangelical church in Kaunas, on the other hand, also built in the seventeenth century (1682), looks like a comfortable village church, (19) and most of the few other Evangelical

[113] 19. On the history of the Evangelical church and its congregation in Kaunas cf. the work of Pastor Joh. Wischeropp, Die Evang.-Luth. Trinitatiskirche zu Kaunas, 1683-1933 (Kaunas 1933).

churches in the country bear the character of village and small town churches; almost without exception they were built in the nineteenth century. (20)

[113] 20. Prof. P. Weber, op. cit., p. 141. On the church in Kedainiai see "Die evangelisch-lutherische Kirche zu Keidany," in Deutscher Genossenschaftskalender für Litauen (1931), pp. 37-41 (after a lecture by Propst Tittelbach), as well as the essay by Prof. Jonas Yčas, "Das Kulturwerk des Hauses Radziwill in Kedainiai," Deutscher Genossenschaftskalender für Litauen (1930), pp. 100-105. The immigration from Germany is reflected in the dates of the founding of the Evangelical churches in Lithuania. Up to the year 1840 the churches of Kedainiai (Keidany), 1714, and Skuodas (Schoden), 1821, were built. In the years after 1840 immigration was stepped up. Churches were built in Markjampolē, 1841; Taurage (Taur-

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342 Few castles in the baroque style have been
346 preserved in present-day Lithuania. We know that the high nobility followed the example of the court and built splendid mansions on its properties in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On the basis of the available contemporary illustrations Galaunė finds here a close relationship with the present old Lithuanian synagogues, which faithfully preserved the style of those country mansions with their high, pyramid-like, graded [gebrochene] roofs and the cubic forms of the anteroom. Thus the old synagogues seem to him to be the "last echo of an architecture of wood, already vanished, which was employed in the building of the Lithuanian estates." (21)

• [113] 21. Cf. Galaunė, "Lietuvių liaudies means" (The Lithuanian Folk Art), Veröff, d. Hum. Fak. d. Univ. Vytautas d. Gr. (Kaunas, 1930), pp. 153 and 154, as well as the Russian and Polish references given there.

342 In discussing the modern castles we should
712 not forget that most of the manor houses arose in those quiet and peaceful times when the castle no longer represented a fortress. Real fortresses which served the purpose of defense did not exist in Lithuania (Unnumbered page with illustrations--Village Sculpture) /161/ in any great number. Their remains go back almost exclusively to the wars of the orders, for example the ruins of the fortresses of Kaunas and Gelgaudai, the old Christ Memel /Christmemel/. On the foundation walls of others rise castles of recent times, such as those of Raudonė and Raudondvaris. (22)

113 22. Tarasenka, Gimtoji senovė (Olden Days of the Homeland) (Šiauliai, 1925), pp. 90-92. Tarasenka, Medžiaga Lietuvos archeologijai (Material for Lithuanian Archaeology). For the fortress of Gelgaudai cf.

•113 also Tarasenka, "Gelgaudų pilis" (The Fortress of Gelgaudai) in Iliustr. Lietuva, 1927, No. 39; for the fortress of Kaunas: Volteris, "Kauno senosios pilies pēdsakai ir palaikai" (Traces and Remains of the Oldest Fortress in Kaunas), ibid., No. 45.

342 The castle in the modern sense, which serves the economically and socially prominent for representation and enjoyment of life, was not built in the open country of Lithuania as of the whole Baltic area before the eighteenth century. (23)

[113] 23. Carl Meissner, Das schöne Kurland (Munich, 1917), p. 101.

Remains of this period, the mighty ruins of the castle of Biržai still tower on high, built by Prince Radvila in the year 1701. Now wars, revolutions, and devastating fires have probably in no country had a more destructive effect than in Lithuania. This is also the reason why most of the present-day manor houses go back to a much more recent time, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Thus we find among the castles of the country not a single one left which would be characteristic of the baroque of the eighteenth cen-
341 tury. The forms of the rococo, too, if we except the interior decoration of a few castles, exerted only a very limited influence in Lithuania. Only separate rococo elements mix here with the late baroque and enliven it. But most of what may have existed once has been destroyed by the storms of the first World War and postwar period.

4. From Classicism to Modernity

341 About 1800 a new style, classicism, was in-
177 troduced into Lithuania with a certain suddenness; this style had gradually spread in Western Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century. It

341 advanced on the one hand from Vilna and owed its
177 introduction here principally to the activity of the architect and university professor Lauras Gucevičius, who became enthusiastic about the new direction of art during his studies in France. This first Lithuanian architect belongs among the most interesting minds of Lithuanian /162/ art history. Born in 1753, the son of a serf in the district of Ukmergė, he was early destined for the priesthood and attended the school in Panevėžys for five years. Later he succeeded in coming to Vilna. Through his unusual talent he drew to himself the attention of Bishop Massalskis, who took him along on his journeys abroad in 1778. He became acquainted with Königsberg, Danzig, Berlin, and Hamburg (here he had several adventures and was initiated into the mysteries of the Jewish cabala), visited Copenhagen and Stockholm, and later stayed in Paris and Rome. His years of study in Paris were decisive. Having returned to Vilna he obtained the chair of architecture at the university there. The castle of Verkiai as well as the cathedral and the city hall of Vilna show his work. Gucevičius can be considered the founder of classicism in Lithuania, but for the sake of completeness it should be added that even before his activity began, Paul Brzostowski, who also became acquainted with the new trend in art in Western Europe, had classicistic buildings erected on his estate near Vilna. (24)

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24. Paulius Galaune, Vilniaus Meno Mokykla (The Art School of Vilna) 1793-1831 (Kaunas, 1928), pp. 12-45. On Brzotowski of the article in the Lietuviška Enciklopedija.

Courland seems to have been a second starting point for the new artistic trend, above all the city of Mitau. We should not forget that in that period German architects like Leo Klenze came

342 simplicity. To be sure, a castle like Pakrojus belongs to the rare exceptions in the country, especially since Courlandic models are definitely followed here. (25)

[113] 25. Otto Grautoff, Die baltischen Provinzen, Vol. 3, Bauten und Bilder, (Berlin, 1916), pp. XVII and 118. Jasenas, loc. cit., Vol. III, No. V, pp. 308-311.

[341] Although neo-classicism must be regarded as a world wide style dominating the whole monumental architecture of its century, it maintained its importance in the East considerably longer than in the Western countries--far beyond the middle of the nineteenth century. Among the castles built from the second half of the century on we find nearly all types of style; thus one could imagine the castle of Apytalauke just as well in Grunewald. Since up to now there is neither a comprehensive presentation nor a sufficient quantity of illustrations of Lithuanian castles, a detailed treatment of this subject must be left to the future. It may be added that the location of all these mansions was chosen with great taste. /164/ Situated in broad parks, at times on little hills, they are frequently mirrored in artificial lakes and ponds or gain the necessary framework for the unfolding of their artistic effects through broad lawns. To be sure, a number of these buildings are destined to decay, since their owners no longer possess the means for their upkeep as a result of the agrarian reform.

346 In general the construction of important religious buildings in the larger cities of Lithuania came to an end from the nineteenth century on. On the other hand, church construction in the provinces greatly increased. Here, however, the model of antiquity exercises a far smaller influence than the new romanticism which permits the

7. Jungfer-189 S-4,5(no date)1938 RB5LithuaniansRB5

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We thereby have arrived in the midst of modernity,* which has brought with it a complete revolution of all living conditions through the powerful events of the first World War and the re-establishment of the Lithuanian state. This regrouping has also taken place in the area of social organization: if originally there existed only two large classes--nobility and peasantry--along with which the working class gained a certain importance in the countryside only, a new group, an urban middle class, now began to crystalize. How great a significance the urban middle class can have for the unfolding of the cultural forces of a people, the architecture of the East in general is the most telling example. In contrast to Western countries, which, along with public and religious buildings, exhibit a compact group of artistically valuable bourgeois houses, this architecture is completely lacking in Lithuania. The simple, half rural city dweller built his house through centuries either in a completely unartistic brick style--the undecorated, single-storied brick houses were almost typical of the nucleus, inhabited principally by Jews, of the small Lithuanian provincial cities--or he stuck to the familiar wood structure. The latter was transferred to the city almost unchanged and is characteristic primarily of the outer sectors not only of the small towns, but also of the larger cities. "The persistence of tradition is quite surprising. The people proper has remained untouched by all the changes of the 'great architecture,' let the foreign immigrants, let the church and nobility build as they wanted."(27)

[113] 27. Prof. P. Weber, Wilna, Eine vergessene Kunststätte (Vilna, 1917), p. 118.

/166/ The new urban middle class, which after the first World War became the bearer of the concept of the state and of cultural progress, substantially

* [19th century modernity -- Analyst]

344 not achieved. On the other hand, the decoration of the ceiling in the interior of the main post office represents a thoroughly happy solution.

346 /168/ Among the most interesting buildings of the most recent times belongs the Museum of Vytautas the Great of the year 1935. In this building, which is dedicated to the old memories of a glorious past, the fortress-like character of the whole arrangement seems intentional, although the contrast between the front side of the structure and the rear is somewhat too pronounced. On a lower floor with two side wings, whose facade is divided by an unusually great number of broad, symmetrically spaced windows, the compact, windowless wall of the upper story is built up. Especially the mighty side wings are effective through the uniformly white surface of their walls, while the projection of the central facade is divided by slender, rising pilasters which seem almost too strong for the entablature which rests on them. We find here a complete renunciation of the clear separation of supporting and supported elements, the harmonizing of bearer and burden in the sense of conservative aesthetic feeling. A single example from the past, the doge palace of Venice, shows a similar distribution of mass. Perhaps, however, this example is too far-fetched, for as a matter of fact the structural feeling of the modern architect has been basically changed in relation to a still recent past through the use of steel skeletons and cement. This building, which naturally ran up against protests, (28)

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28. Cf. for example Dr. H. Kairiūkštytė-Jacynienė, "Dėl Vytauto Didžiojo vardo muziejaus projekto" (On the Project of the Museum of Vytautas the Great), in Židinys, 1931, Vol. XIV, No. 8/9, pp. 167-170.

is thus characteristic. The high tower erected ne

532 one feels the waves of the sea rushing forward. (29)

[113] 29. On Varnas cf. also Ign. Šlapelis, "Adomo Varno kūrybos keliais" (Following the Paths of the Creations of Adomas Varnas), Iliustr. Lietuva, 1927, No. 12.

Among the most gifted impressionists of the older generation belongs Petras Kalpokas (born 1880). He too, like many others of the Lithuanian artists, spent long years in Switzerland and Italy, a fact which did not remain without influence on his development. Galaunė writes of him: "He is an impressionist of great style, free to the point of boldness in his technique. His portraits betray the influence of Italian painting. In his Lithuanian landscapes he knew how to let the essential features of this unique nature stand out. In his 'Temptation of Christ' and in his 'Pieta' he tries to reproduce the psyche of the Lithuanian people." (30) Kalpokas had already made a name for

[113] 30. P. Galaunė, l'Art lithuanien (Malmö, 1934), p. 34.

himself in Russia before the first World War. At the outbreak of the World War a large number of his pictures were on their way to an exhibition in Munich and, unfortunately, fell victim to the events of the war. Among his best works belong a number of landscapes and his self-portrait.

/176/ Finally to be reckoned among the older generation is Jonas Šileika, who underwent his training in Munich, a strong, artistic temperament, completely dominated by his joy in colorful compositions and decorative effects, in his portraits a realist with a striving for spirituality and animation (Portrait of a Lady, 1925, Čiurlionis Gallery). His portrait of the writer Žemaitė was honored with a prize in Chicago in 1920.

532 his satirical stylization of a "modern madonna," a bas-relief that shows a modern woman in a short skirt, the fashion at that time, and crossed legs, who regards her child with an expression "like a mother who does not love her child, but only tolerates it like an uninvited guest." (31)

[113] 31. Ig. Šlapelis, "Iš J. Mackevičiaus ir J. Zikaro parodos," Meno kultūra, 1928, No. 1, pp. 18-19.

532 543 Therewith the first generation of artists, whose works were represented at the first Lithuanian art exhibition in 1907, has been briefly characterized in its outstanding personalities. No less than 23 artists were represented with 242 pictures. The paintings were sent from far and wide--they came from Russia, Poland, Switzerland, Italy, Tyrol, and France--for very many of these artists lived at that time outside of the country. At the head of the art association, which in the following years sponsored a number of further exhibitions, was together with Rimša, Antanas Zmiudzinavičius, one of the most active champions of that generation of artists, who placed his organizational talents completely at the service of this idea. (32) They were joined by a third, the

[113] 32. Vydūnas, Litauen (Tilsit, 1916), p. 116.

composer and painter Mykolas Čiurlionis, an artist who, through his creations, at that time drew to himself the attention of the leading Russian artistic circles.

532 Born in 1875, the son of an organist in Druskininkai, Čiurlionis was accepted as a boy into the private orchestra of Prince Oginski in Plungė. His unusual musical talent and his likeable character caused the prince to send him to the conservatories of Warsaw and Leipzig. In 1901 we find

geometrical principle of the material still shines forth. The human form is here of necessity excluded. Heinrich Schaeder, to whom we owe several very fine observations concerning Čiurlionis, stresses above all the cosmic element /179/ manifested in his pictures, for example in the "Pyramids": "Pure crystal forms, pyramids and obelisks, become plane surfaces and the creators of their own space. A spring wind is thrown between the many arms of two candelabra and carries long slanting streaks of light toward the sky. A powerful sight: on the globe rests 'Rex' the ruler, a transparent, straight-lined, hemmed-in surface which projects upward through two celestial spheres. Clouds swirl in the lower, in the upper armies of comets race toward the calm of the midpoint. Here the stormy movement of the spheres is truly creased." Or the artist wanders through the signs of the zodiac. "In endless distances, in unearthly worlds arise the hieratically rigid forms of Virgo, of Aquarius. And above them stands their constellation." (33)

[113] 33. Heinrich Schaeder, "Čiurlionis--ein litauischer Maler," Das Land Ob. Ost (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1917), pp. 393-395.

Next to such visions are simpler, deeply human allegories and symbols. The symbol of friendship--a precious crystal, presented with closed eyes and the touching movement of devotion; fate--a child on a blooming meadow, an unreal, otherwordly form and landscape--overhead a black bird with gigantic, outspread wings. The number of such explanations could be increased, but little would thus be gained for the understanding of this painter; for just as in all the other pictures, the material here is not seen as material but projects into a second plane of reality which borrows from ours only the external forms. At times the force of this master is also expressed in creations that

are completely rooted in the countryside of his homeland and are completely filled with its mood, like his "Cemetery in Samogitia." But here, too, the deeper symbol of the impermanence of everything worldly grows out of the landscape which he fashions.

What affects the sensitive observer in all these pictures so strongly is the deep inner necessity to which they owe their existence, this struggle of the soul for a sublime view /180/ of the cosmos. Čiurlionis belongs among those men who receive their light from within, like Beethoven and Rilke, for example. What they create does not come about through certain impressions of the outer world which are then artistically elaborated, but everything is inner vision. An irresistible force drives them to the representation of their visions. How strong this inner force was in Čiurlionis is proved by the fact, told by his brother, that the sick artist even in his last months, in the night, when everybody in the sanatorium had gone to rest, painted uninterruptedly by candlelight until dawn. (34)

[113] 34. The literature concerning Čiurlionis is relatively extensive. It consists principally of essays in various art periodicals. Among others may be mentioned the special Čiurlionis number of the periodical Naujoji Romuva, Vol. 5, 1935, No. 42; further the brief sketch by Galaunė in l'Art lithuanien, op. cit., pp. 12-13; as well as the little article by the same author: "M.K. Čiurlionies galerijos istorija" (History of the Čiurlionis Gallery). Bičiūnas wrote a biography of Čiurlionis. In German: Schaeder, op. cit., and V. Jungfer, Hinter den Seen, hinter den Wäldern Königsberg, 1932), pp. 65-69. The great Čiurlionis monograph published by P. Galaunė in 1938, which above all contains valuable unpublished picture material, could not yet be consulted.

∞∞ not yet be consulted.

532 Thus Čiurlionis art is unique. He is one of those rare masters who even in great nations are born only once in a great while. The largest portion of his paintings--148 creations in oil, tempera, and pastel, and 35 graphic works--is found today in the State Gallery of Paintings at Kaunas, located in the Vytautas Museum. His style, i.e. the outward form of the representation, was taken over by Šimonis, who also resolves reality into geometric figures in many of his pictures. His colored compositions radiate great brilliance. Simonis made a name for himself especially as an illustrator. (35)

[113] 35. Cf. Jean Mauclère, Sous le ciel pâle de Lithuanie (Paris, 1936), pp. 52-54.

2. Recent Trends

The first spring of Lithuanian art came to an end in the first World War, which had a crippling effect on all spiritual creativity and scattered the Lithuanian artists all over the world. Nevertheless through the war several of these painters became known also in Germany, for example Varnas and Zmuidzinavičius, whose pictures at the great Lithuanian exhibition in Königsberg, in 1918, received various expressions of recognition in the German press. (36) Only after the end of the war

36. For example the Kön. Hartungsche Ztg. of August 27, 1918.

did the rest of the artists return. /181/ The beginning of new statehood gave to their creativity a broader framework. At that time (1919) there arose a "Lithuanian Art Association" which took over the heritage of the first art association but at the same time also broadened significantly its

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scious of his earthly art. Galdikas . . . recognized that all objective searching in art is meaningless . . . This living faith, this power to see and understand the divine principles of nature, led him to a Lithuanian atmosphere filled with mystery." (37)

[113] 37. V. Vizgirda, "Tapyba ir skulptūra Lietovuje" (Painting and Sculpture in Lithuania), Naujoji Romuva, Vol. V, No. 10/11, March 17, 1935, p. 248.

Except in the French Museum Jeo de Paume, works of Galdikas are found in the museums of Kaunas and Riga.

Vienožinskis and Galdikas thus already belong essentially to a new generation, whose educators they become. In their ateliers a number of talented young artists received their training. The latter joined together later into a special group of "Independents" and thus separated from the "Lithuanian Artists' Association," which continued to include the artists of the older generation. Nevertheless the difference in goals of the two groups does not seem so strong as might be concluded from their names. Even among the "Independents" we do not encounter radical nor extremist tendencies. Impressionism clearly has an after effect among them, too.

In 1932 a new group, "Ars," split off from the group of "Independents" under the leadership of Galdikas; its efforts derived from completely new ideas, as appears from a proclamation which was published at the first exhibition of this group in the same year. (38)

[113] 38. Naujoji Romuva, No. 45, of November 6, 1932 (Vol. III).

Since this proclamation is of special interest

OOOwill be able to judge its results.

/185/ C. Music and the Theater

1. Opera, Drama, Ballet

545 We cannot close the chapter on the spiritual culture of the city without having cast a brief glance at the Lithuanian theater, which, besides its purely artistic significance, is of great educational importance for wide circles of the people--the number of opera goers in the season 1936-37 amounted to about 68,000, while the drama showed an attendance of 80,000.

Seen historically, the forerunner of the Lithuanian theater is the Jesuit theater of the sixteenth century, as we already mentioned in connection with Kražiai. Although the language of this theater was Latin, in the intermissions monologues and dialogues were delivered by the students in the Samogitian dialect. (39) The real

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39. On the Jesuit theater cf. the detailed presentation in E. v. Ungern-Sternberg, "Aus einem erwachten Lande," Bresl. Ztg., September 24, 1923.

stimulus for the development of a folk theater, however, was provided by the dissolution of serfdom around the middle of the nineteenth century. At that time, still in the period of the prohibition on printing, when the Lithuanian movement began to stir on all sides, in all the cities where Lithuanians were present in large numbers, the institution of "Lithuanian soirées" was begun: in Palanga, Vilna, Kaunas, even in St. Petersburg, Warsaw, and many other cities. These evenings contained in their program games, dances, and songs, and also theater plays, and among the actors and directors belonged many a person who became important in the later history and political development of the country. The significance of these

533 of the gifted pianist and conductor B. Dvarionas.

Our brief survey of Lithuanian artistic music is thereby ended. Within the framework of this book it can naturally raise no claim to completeness. Only the development was intended to be shown. And this development is undoubtedly interesting, for it clearly leads from East to West. If a few years ago it was almost exclusively Germany from which the new stimuli proceeded, today it is just as much the cities of Paris and Prague.

Still a second result of the development to our present time is of interest: just as in modern literature and painting, the emergence in Lithuanian music of purely Lithuanian elements and the struggle for an individual art becomes more and more distinct.

/195/ Chapter Five

113 The Artistic Literature

/Unnumbered footnote on Chapter Five/ The following more comprehensive works on the development of Lithuanian literature were used:

Mykolaitis-Putinas, Naujoji Lietuvių literatūra (The New Lithuanian Literature), Publication of the Humanistic Faculty (Kaunas, 1936), Vol. 1, 425 pp.

Zigmantas Kuzmickis, Lietuvių literatūra (Kaunas, 1933), Vol. IV, 318 pp., same author, Vol. V (Kaunas, 1934), 235 pp.

J. Gabrys, Lietuvių literatūros apžvalga (Survey of Lithuanian Literature), 2nd revised and enlarged ed. (1924).

* 538 A. The Literature of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

The spiritual assets of the Lithuanian people were, in the beginning, limited to their oral folk tradition, their dainos, fairy tales, sagas, fables, riddles, and proverbs, as we have shown in Chapter Two. Only much later do we encounter mon-

*538 Lithuania into Poland even after the Union of
191 Ljublin, we find in his colleague Daukša a no les energetic champion of the rights of the Lithuanian language. We do not propose here to investigate further to what extent he was influenced by Western currents--the decline of Latin as the language of the educated and the sponsoring of the native languages in the new territorial states. In any case, in the introduction to his postil, Daukša demands the same rights for Lithuanian as for Polish and Latin. He explains that he published his writings in the Lithuanian language in order to awaken in his brothers, the boyars, a love for the neglected mother tongue: "I do not censure at all the knowledge of foreign idioms, especially Polish, which has become esteemed by us, particularly since the Lithuanian-Polish union, and is practically innate in us, but I do take exception to the contempt in which our own Lithuanian is held." (1)

[113] 1. Cf. on Daukša: E. Wolter, "N. Daukša, ein litauischer Nationalschriftsteller des 16. Jahrhunderts," Mitteilungen der Litauischen litterarischen Gesellschaft zu Tilsit, April 22, 4 /sic/.

The cultivation of a foreign language while neglecting one's own appears to Daikša unnatural and strikes him "as if the goat would like to roar like a lion, the raven sing like a nightingale, and the nightingale croak like a raven." And he says before: "Where in the world /198/ is there a people so coarse and despicable that it does not call three things its own inborn heritage: the soil of the fatherland, native customs, and language. In all centuries people spoke their own language and strove to preserve, enrich, develop, and beautify it. There is no nation so unworthy, no corner of the earth so despised, where man does not know how to

7: Jungfer-226 S-4,5(no date)1938 RB5LithuaniansRB5

•113 2. Prof. Bezzenberger, "Der Werdegang des litauischen Volkes," Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 1915, Vol. XIII, No. 1, p. 19.

*538 Several other members of the clergy also published short writings and religious songs during the course of the seventeenth century, but altogether this kind of literature remained on a small scale. The religious literature of the eighteenth century is also without importance from a literary point of view. It consists solely of Bible translations, postils, prayer books, and collections of hymns, and can therefore be omitted. In all about 30 printed pieces in the Lithuanian language from the sixteenth century, about 60 from the seventeenth, and about 160 from the eighteenth have become known. (3)

[113] 3. M. Biržiškas, Mūsų raštų istorija (History of Our Literature) (Kaunas, 1925), 2nd ed., p. 40. (Publication of the book publishing commission of the Ministry of Education.)

The eighteenth century is to be regarded as the beginning of artistic poetry in the Lithuanian language, and specifically there now appeared, almost suddenly, the towering figure of a real poet, the Protestant pastor Duonelaitis (Donalitius). Concerning him Alexander Alexandrow says: "If Donalitius had written his poems in one of the great world languages, he would be recognized generally as one of the first in the ranks of great poets."(4)

[113] 4. Alexander Alexandrow, Sprachliches aus dem Nationaldichter Litauens, I, "Zur Semasiologie," (Dorpat, 1886).

B. The Beginning of Artistic Poetry in the Eighteenth Century.

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538 Duonelaitis.

Christian Duonelaitis was born on January 1, 1714, the son of a free peasant in Lasdinehlen near Gumbinnen. He himself wrote his name Latinized: "Donalitius." (*) After attending the cathedral

* Schleicher and Rhesa write the name "Donelaitis", but "Duonelaitis" seems more correct philologically.

school in Königsberg we find him in 1732-37 as /200/ a theology student in Königsberg, where he applied himself at the same time to the study of antiquity, in 1742 as rector in Stallupönen, and after 1742 as pastor in Tolminken. He was very musical and also composed himself. Duonelaitis died in 1780. No picture of him has been preserved.

Only after the death of the poet did his manuscripts come into the hands of Rhesa, who printed them together with a translation into German under the title: Das Jahr in vier Gesängen, Ein ländliches Epos aus dem Litthauischen des Christian Donalaitis, genannt Donalitius (Königsberg, 1818). Six years later Rhesa published six fables of the poet together with his translations of Aesop. (5)

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5. The collected poems were for the first time edited by Schleicher, with a Lithuanian-German glossary (St. Petersburg, 1865). Further German editions are: Nesselmann, Christian Donalitius, Litauische Dichtungen (Königsberg, 1869) (with translations, notes, and glossary). Passarge, Christian Donalitius, Litauische Dichtungen (Königsberg, 1894). Dr. F. Tetzner, Christian Donalitius, der litauische Nationaldichter, Vol. VII of the collection: Unsere Dichter in Wort und Bild (Leipzig, R. Clausner). Especially Nesselmann (1870) and Tetzner (1880) deserve credit for their research on this poet.

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538 Concerning Duonelaitis' poetry his biographer, Prof. F. Tetzner, Leipzig, correctly notes: "It is not difficult to see that Donalitius first had to create the Lithuanian artistic style, if he did not want simply to cling to instantaneous lyric images. To be sure, where would there have been a public that would even so much as have read, much less desired or wanted in print, Lithuanian artistic poetry. Donalitius brought it about that a number of his colleagues and friends heard and wrote down these verses with pleasure, until finally Ludwig Rhesa, under the aegis of Wilhelm von Humboldt, was able to bring out, in 1818, in the Lithuanian and German languages, the most beautiful poems of the literary world." (6)

[113] 6. Prof. F. Tetzner, Leipzig, "Tolminkemer Erinnerungstage," Das neue Litauen (Berlin, 1917), Vol. I, No. 6, p. 22.

It is only natural that Duonelaitis did not remain independent of the literary currents then dominant. No poet is able to escape the contemporary atmosphere, and thus influences of Haller, Hagedorn, and Ewald von Kleist also seem to have had an effect on Duonelaitis. Stronger, however, was the direct influence of the ancient poets. Several of his idylls can be compared with those of Theocritus. It is especially noteworthy that the poet made use of the hexameter even before it became a poetic means of expression in German through Klopstock; Klopstock did not publish his Messias until 1748, while Duonelaitis /201/ wrote his first idylls around 1740. Only the past part (The Winter) originated much later, in 1773.

In his epic The Seasons the poet pictures the life of the village--the rustic joys of spring, the toil of summer labor, the blessed autumn, and the rough winter. He sees his people in the mirror of awakening, blossoming, and declining nature. They

*538 a beginning and a climax. He has not found a successor. In greater Lithuania the Seasons remained almost unnoticed into the twentieth century. (8)

[113] 8. Lithuanian editions: Šlapelis (Vilna, 1914). M. Biržiška, Duonelaičio gyvenimas ir raštai (Life and Writings of Duonelaitis) (1921). Translations into Polish and Lettish also exist, cf. E. Volteris, Litowskaja Chrestomatija, 2nd ed. (St. Petersburg, 1904).

This may be connected with dialectical differences, which must have had a marked effect since the work did not /205/appear in print until 1818; more important, however, is probably the fact that in that period artistic creativity in the East was dominated by romanticism, so that no interest existed for a realistic work of art to begin with. In addition there was the fact that the Seasons was written without the slightest political overtones, while the whole literary development of the Lithuanian people took place in Russia in the political battle against Polish influence and Russian suppression.(9)

[113] 9. Biržiška, op. cit., p. 39. Prof. Maironis-Mačiulis, who discussed Duonelaitis in his first lecture on literature before the theological-philosophical faculty on September 26, 1923, honored the poet with the following words: "It seems to me that what was really beautiful, perfected in form, and poetic one or two hundred years ago has still retained its beauty today." (Naujoji Romuva, 1923, p. 818). Cf. also by the same author: "Kristijonas Duonelaitis," ibid., pp. 820-822, 845-848, and 868. (Unpublished lectures held at the Lithuanian University.)

In order to understand this development, we must first place briefly before our eyes the times

565 same Roman Catholic faith. Thus the national opp-
177 osition in the relations between Lithuania and Poland was not yet felt as such, while the social opposition came unusually strongly to the fore. In his informative book on the early history of Lithuania, Dr. Puzinas portrays the Polish influence in Lithuania at the beginning of the nineteenth century in the following words: "Polish influence is everywhere widespread. The educated class, consisting of scholars, clergymen, higher and lower officials, as well as landowners, is extensively Polonized, although in part of Lithuanian origin. In the cities, on the estates, and in the houses of the clergy the Polish spirit is cultivated and the Polish language dominates. Polish influence already is beginning even to penetrate into the people. But here it cannot take root; the inborn nationality is proving itself stronger. The people in Samogitia, i.e. in the north of the national area put up the strongest resistance; here, turning its back upon the influences of Poland, even the nobility still speaks Lithuanian. At the beginning of the nineteenth century this develops into a lively reaction against the Polish spirit." (10)

[113] 10. Dr. J. Puzinas, Vorgeschichtsforschung und Nationalbewusstsein in Litauen (Kaunas, 1935), p. 11.

/207/ In order to gain historical perspect-
814 ive for the period which follows, we must remember above all the far-reaching intellectual stimulus which proceeded from Bodmer, Herder, and the Grimms, and which everywhere directed attention to the mother tongue, the indigenousness, the antiquity, and the childhood years of peoples. The spiritual life of Lithuania and the University of Vilna came in this period completely under the domination of these romantic ideas, which prepared the soil for

8/14 the awakening of the national idea in Lithuania. In 1803, the learned society in Warsaw requested the University of Vilna to place at its disposal its reports concerning the Lithuanian people and their language. The university then asked the schools subordinate to it in Samogitia to send their reports concerning the past and the language of the province. At the same time began a lively research activity in the realm of Lithuanian history, in which a large number of Polish scholars took part. Here only the names of Jaroszewica, Lelewel, Balinski, and above all Kraszewski may be mentioned. The latter published from 1840-1851 in Vilna 66 volumes of the Athenaeum, which still represents a rich source for Lithuanian historical research today. Xaver Baužas (1746-1820) had a decisive effect on the further development, both through his numerous translations and above all through his work Über die Anfänge des litauischen Volkes und der litauischen Sprache (1806). (11)

11. Ibid., p. 13.

This work, which treats the origin of the Lithuanian people in a genuinely romantic fashion, left behind a deep effect in Lithuania. A whole series of authors now began to occupy themselves with the questions of Lithuanian nationality. Folk songs were collected, dictionaries and grammars of the Lithuanian language were written, and the early history of the country was investigated. Stimuli from Germany were also taken over; thus Rhesa's artistic translations of some Lithuanian dainos found an enthusiastic echo. Polish poets such as Stephan Garczynski, Konstantin Gaszynski, and particularly Kraszewski, learned the Lithuanian language studied the history of the country, and /208/ published extensive works. (12) Ludwig Kondratowicz

[113] 12. August Paulukat, Litauische Hoffnungen (Halle, 1915), pp. 10-11.

814 (pseudonym Wladyslaw Syrokomla) celebrated the heroic death of Prince Margis.

513 Among the poets of that period belongs Adam Mickiewicz (Lithuanian: Mickevičius), 1799-1855, whose works, like all the others named in this connection, naturally are part of Polish literature as far as their language is concerned. But he celebrates the past of Lithuania in his poems with such fervor and otherwise appears so strongly rooted in Lithuania in his motifs that he has gained recognition as a native of that country, too. Mickiewicz himself traced his lineage from a Lithuanian princely family. He also obtained his education in Vilna; the glow of romanticism which radiated from this university far into the land and from then on determined its whole artistic creativity also had an effect on him. Several examples from the poems of Mickiewicz explain the peculiar position of this poet in the literary history of the East. (13)

[13] 13. The samples are taken from A. Paulukat, op. cit., and Peter Cornelius: Die Sonette von Adam Mickiewicz (Reclambücherei). Cf. further Schwab in the Deutscher Musenalmanach (1833).

From Pan Tadéusz

Oh Lithuania, fatherland, which, when we do not have you,
Like health, we only then know how to value correctly.
Your lovely image appears before my inner eye,
Therefore I will draw it--I long for you!

From the Epic Gražina

Near Kowno have I seen that valley,
Where the Russalka, when spring has begun,

538 individual tries to decide some sort of legal battle by force of arms. The principal value of the poem, however, lies not in this plot, but in the masterfulepisodes and portrayals of customs, the scenes in which proud historical memories find lively reproduction, in the descriptions of nature, and in the excellent characterizations of the personalities represented. "Mickiewicz unfolds an admirable richness of moods: he achieves the tone of patriotic exaltation, charming idyllicism, and sparkling humor with the same sureness--but over the whole work lies a gripping breath of melancholy which, established in the wonderful "Introduction," constantly trembles forth anew." (15)

[113] 15. Otto von Leixner, Geschichte der fremden Literaturen, Vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1883), p. 422.

The works of the poet have also been often translated into the German language. His significance for Lithuanian literature is appreciated by Biržiška with the following words: "Born in White Russia, but of Lithuanian lineage, brought up in the Lithuanian capital, he loved Lithuania with his whole heart and gloried in being a Lithuanian, but at the same time a Polish patriot; thus he is equally beloved by Lithuanians and Poles." (16)

[113] 16. Biržiška, loc. cit., p. 59. German translations of Mickiewicz: K. von Blankenburg, Sämmtliche Gedichte (1836). Peter Cornelius, Die Sonette (Leipzig, 1868). Weiss, Gražna (Prague, 1873). The poem Konrad Wallenrod has been published in the German language by Kannegiesser, Leipzig, 1834 and 1858; by Weiss, Bremen, 1871; the poem Pan Tadeusz by Spazier, Leipzig, 1826; by Weiss, Leipzig, 1882; and by Lipiner, Leipzig, 1883. Gesammelte Werke (Leipzig, 1862-6[illegible]).

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538 cumference of 9 meters, so that 15 men could stand in it. The little oaken houses are still preserved today.

Poška took his literary material from the nature around him. Thus in his poem "My Little Garden" (1801) he portrays with great love and thoughtfulness the nature of his garden and its old trees, which stimulate him to a number of observations. More important is his /212/ poem in verses, The Samogitian and Lithuanian Peasant (written between 1816 and 1823). It contains a portrayal of the difficult and inequitable life of the enthralled peasant, with which the rich life of the boyar is contrasted. According to recent research, though, this is a translation from Polish. In another poem, written later, which became very popular, we also find the same social ideas. Here he has the peasant speak:

I swallow with tears my dry bread,
I am looked upon no differently than a cow,
I live and die without a penny.
The lord carried gold at his feet and
his hands.
He lies who says men are equal:
The boyar has no price, and the peasant
is cheap. (17)

[113] 17. A. Ješmantas gives a brief presentation with samples from the poetry of that period in the booklet: Poška, Stanevičia, Valiūnas, Strazdas ir jų raštai (Poška, Stanevičia, Valiūnas, Strdzdas, and Their Writings) (Kaunas, 1930). I have reproduced the melody of the Song of Birute in my Kulturbilder aus Litauen (1918).

Together with Poška we should mention Silvester Valiūnas (1790-1831) who wrote in both

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538 More important from a literary point of view than Klementas appears to be Stanevičia, who as the young son of a boyar (1823-24) at the university already collaborated in the association of Samogitian youth. His philological writings--a dictionary and a grammar--have been lost, but a number of his fables have been preserved as well as a lovely collection of folk songs which was put together with really artistic understanding. (19) Best known became his High

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19. I have reproduced several songs from this collection in my folklore book Hinter den Seen, hinter den Wäldern (Königsberg, 1932).

Song of the Samogitians (Žemaičių šlovė - Glory of the Samogitians), in which he expresses his joy over the fact that among the Samogitian youth at the university "the honor and tongue of their fathers" had been newly awakened. "The sun has risen brilliantly," and through the world flies "a hundred-voiced cry, beating with long wings" to announce "that Lithuania's old generations have remained uninjured in the downfall." This song stirred up great enthusiasm among the romantically inclined young nobility of Samogitia. Nevertheless in judging that period it should not be forgotten that the "Samogitian movement," as it was called, had written on its banner no political, but only cultural goals, above all the cultivation of the Samogitian language, and sometimes even exhibited a local coloring. (20) /214/

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20. "XIX. amž. pradžios žemaičių sąjudis ir A. Strazdas" (The Samogitian Movement at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century and A. Strazdas), by J. Petrulis, Židinys, 1933, Vol. XVIII, pp. 372-386.

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538 On the other hand, however, such a movement could

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538 himself a Lithuanian--born the son of a landowner
814 in the district of Lyda, Norbutt had obtained his education at the University of Vilna and thus absorbed the whole romantic store of ideas of that period. Probably nothing is more characteristic for an evaluation of that period than the fact that it was precisely the first three volumes of his work, in which he showed himself most strongly as a romantic and a poet--in the first he treated the mythology, in the second the oldest history, in the third the sixth to thirteenth centuries--which made the greatest impression on his contemporaries. Norbutt has been correctly accused of lack of critical judgment, indeed even of forgeries, (23) for he was essentially concerned with

• [113] 23. Cf. here Karge in the Litauenbuch der X. Armee.

letting the past of his people shine forth in the brightest possible light. He best characterizes his attitude himself with the words with which he closes the last volume of his history: "I have carried my writing up to that point where the independent spirit of the people has become tired. The further course of the history I must leave to Polish historians. The last Lithuanian king, that last /217/ to wield the scepter of the Jagellons, Sigismundus Augustus, has died . . . and I break my pen on his grave." (24)

24. Quoted according to Puzinas, loc. cit., pp. 26-27. In pp. 21-27 the author gives a detailed appreciation of Norbutt's personality in his significance for archaeology.

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538 In this connection several poets in the Polish language who stand in close relationship to Lithuanian literature--also as aresult of their

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25. A short presentation of Chodzko in the German language is found in Vol. 2, Nos. 6/7 of the periodical Litauen, 1917. The background of his tales is formed by the city of Vilna (the bank of the Wilja, the seats of the nobility on the Antokol, etc.). His poetic works, tales, sagas, and portrayals of the countryside he divides into two groups: "Lithuanian Pictures" and "Lithuanian Sagas."

*538 all by /218/ Ludwig Kondratowicz (1823-1862), born of noble parents, who was adopted as a Lithuanian. He, too, stands artistically under the influence of Mickiewicz. His historical poem of the death of the Lithuanian commander Margis, who together with his heroic company, committed suicide in order not to fall into the hands of the enemy, became known to wider circles. While the battle still rages around the fortress, the sacrificial fires already blaze:

And under the sacrificial knife they fall,
man for man,
The priestess of the pagans carries the
victims to the wooden pile.
Lithuania's sons all, intoxicated with
madness and anger,
Now slay each other and fall into the
flames.
The father hurries to the cradle and throws
his own son
In, where, rapidly consuming, the flames
blaze around him;
The mother presses her little child's
scorched body to her heart,
Before she is killed, she dies of grief.(26)

26. A. Paulukat, op. cit., pp. 36-38 and 42.

The most important of these poems had at

for improving popular education. Thus he left behind the most varied books and articles of an instructive and educational nature, from language methods and arithmetic books to articles on beekeeping and gardening. He was a tireless worker, enthusiastic in his ideas, and he used all his funds for the printing of his books. He died in great poverty. (*)

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* I have given an extract from his chief work in my book Alt-Litauen (Berlin, 1926), V.J.

/221/ Daukantas was the last representative of romantic literature, for even at his time a new trend had set in, which was upheld by a strong realism. Its most important representative was the Bishop of Samogitia, Valančius (1801-1875), the son of a Samogitian free peasant. After attending the priesthood seminaries of Varniai and Vilna--the latter seminary corresponded to the later Clerical Academy--he was consecrated and soon afterward became a teacher of religion in his home province at the gymnasium in Kražiai. The copious library which this gymnasium still preserved from the time of the Jesuits gave him the stimulus and also the possibility for his most important scientific work, a history of the Bishopric of Samogitia. In 1840 we find him as professor at the Clerical Academy in Vilna. In 1842 the academy was transferred to St. Petersburg. Here Valančius entered into a close friendship with Daukantas, who was eight years his senior. From 1845-49 he was rector of the seminary in Varniai, and in 1850 the Bishopric of Samogitia was given to him. In 1864 the see was transferred to Kaunas.

Valančius' History of the Bishopric of Samogitia appeared in 1848 and was even translated into Polish twelve years later. Written with great objectivity, clarity, and scientific earnestness,

*538 In the popular writings of the bishop the pedagogical purpose is so unnoticeable that they are still eagerly read, and not only in the countryside. Favorable for their further dissemination was the fact that Valančius kept to the Samogitian dialect of his homeland but never emphasized its peculiarities, so that his writings were easy to understand in the whole language area. Among the approximately 30 writings of this sort, especially wide dissemination was achieved by the Booklet for Children, the Booklet for Adults, and above all his Josef from Palanga (1869). This Josef is a taylor who wanders all over the country for four years, works for peasants and boyars, and, back home, reports to his parents on his experiences. The book is of great interest from a folklore point of view. It gives us in little plastic images a good view of the material and spiritual life of the peasants in High and Low Lithuania. Weekdays and holidays, /223/ customs and habits are seen here with a sharp eye. A real classic is the detailed presentation of wedding customs. The following little extract gives us a glance into the manner of portrayal and the animation which the author attains in all simplicity of style. (29)

[113] 29. Palangos Juzė (Josef from Palanga), 5th revised ed. (Vilniuje, 1906), pp. 33-34.

After finishing my work I hiked in the direction of Zarėnai, and arranged it so that I would arrive in this little city in the evening. After I had passed through the Minija, I climbed up a high mountain. I looked around me and saw hills without end.

While I walked thus through the hilly countryside I met a chubby- faced person who was riding rapidly by with peasant horses. When he saw me, he called to me :"Stoi!" Now although I understand

Lithuanian dainos his songs sound!" (30)

30. J. Tumas, Lietuvių literatūros draudžiamojo laiko paskaitos (Lectures on Lithuanian Literature at the Time of the Prohibition on Printing)(Kaunas, 1925), pp. 64-65.

Anton Baranauskas (1835-1902) is to be names as the last poet of this period, a bishop in the grand style, philologist, shepherd of souls, mathematician, and poet--all in one person. In his talent Baranauskas comes close to Duonelaitis. The career of the bishop recalls in many ways that of Bishop Valančius. He, too, was of peasant parentage and attended the seminary for priests as Varniai and the Clerical Academy in St. Petersburg (1858-1862), he, too, later obtained there a professorship and was finally summoned to the seminary for priests, in Kaunas, where he was active for 30 years. He died as Bishop of Seiniai.

Baranauskas began his poetic career with verses in the Polish language, but very quickly transferred to the Lithuanian language. His religious songs became familiar, especially the St. Mary songs. His most important creation, the poem The Grove of Anykščiai, was written in the years 1858-59. Here the poet lets three different ages arise before our eyes--from the old era when thick forests murmured in Anykščiai he leads us into the period of the "grove" of his youth, and in a third section he pictures the sad present, when the grove falls victim to the ax and bare hills project into the countryside. In his poetry Baranauskas gives strong poetic expression to a deep feeling for nature, and at the same time there rings in his verses his grief over the devastation of his homeland by its many oppressors. If the formative element is subordinate to the purely lyrical one,

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661 purely political side, the literary and artistic element had to recede far into the background.

Bishop Valančius originated the idea of printing Lithuanian books in Tilsit and then having them secretly brought across the border. These books carried Vilna as their place of publication, and as date of publication any year prior to the proclamation of the prohibition. In the course of time it was possible /231/ to cover the whole country with a network of so-called "book carriers" or "book bringers" (Lithuanian: knygnešys), who secretly smuggled the books across the border and distributed them within the country, although they were threatened with prison, even death, and deportation to Siberia. The Russians set a price of 500 rubles on the head of the book carrier Bielakas in 1890. Even the clergy was not spared, a number of priests were banished to Siberia, and a trial hung over Bishop Valančius himself in 1870-71. (31)

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31. A good insight into this period is given by the comprehensive two-volume collection by P. Ruseckas, Knygnešys (The Book Bringers), Vol. I (Kaunas, 1926); Vol. II (1928); it contains numerous recollections and accounts of these men themselves, along with copious references. Otherwise, too, this period in Lithuanian literature has been fre-

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Although in the decade from 1864-73 no less than 114, and from 1874-83 even 270 Lithuanian books and articles (principally religious in nature) were printed and distributed,(32) the year

32. Figures of the Lighuanian bibliographer Baltromaitis.

* 538 the editors changed and there was no linguist
204 among them. Primarily the manner of writing re-
195 mained quite varied. (34)

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34. Cf. on this question: P. Jonikas, "Apie Aušros rašomąją kalbą (On the Literary Language of the Aušra) in Vairas, 1933, Vol. V, No. 12, p. 418, where further references are also given; also the already mentioned work of Hermann (fn. 33) in the Abh. d. königl. Ges. d. Wiss. Phil.-Hist. Kl., No. 1.

* 538 The world of ideas of Aušra stands in a
204 direct relationship to that peculiar world of ideas that we /232/ became acquainted with in observing the Vilna period of Lithuanian romanticism. A romantic concern with the past of the people and their language (translations of poems by Polish romantics) is characteristic of this period. When the present is treated, elegica, thoroughly unrevolutionary moods emerge, as in the simple poem by Maironis, "Lithuanian Misery," contained in No. 6 of the year 1885, which reads:

Great God, dear God,
Say, wherein lies our sin,
Why is the sky dark,
Why do cold winds blow?

Spread over us your wings--
Although we are sinners out of weakness,
/ Protect us and make us one,
For we are your children.

The newspaper Aušra lasted for only three years. The romanticism of an idealized past and national unity demanded the complement of the present. Above all the split in the Lithuanian intelligentsia, mentioned before, which immediately

*538 erally called on the farm.

Even more effective in its realism is the presentation of the fate of the unhappy baby itself, whom its guardian, Magda's stepmother, most terribly neglects and finally leaves outside on a cold autumn night, and thus "offers it to God," so that He will take it to himself.

In such portrayals, which undoubtedly spring from genuine experiences, lies the force of the writer. The feeling and understanding for the social problems of her time and surroundings, the deep sympathy for the poorest of the poor, form with Petkevičaitė a certain synthesis with a second theme of her writings: with the portrayal of the social contrasts she combines in her works the presentation of the national contrasts between the Polonized nobility of the country and the Lithuanian peasants. This also provides the material for her only novel, Ad astra (1933), which, although written much later, deals with the "Aušra epoch." Historically the novel is not without interest, but the large subject obviously surpassed the artistic capabilities of the author. Petkevičaitė gained far greater importance through her activity in the political and educational fields. After 1900 the estate of her father became the spiritual center of the Lithuanian youth, and her saying is characteristic: "If we shall not be for our people like those fiery pillars that once showed the Jewish people their way in the desert . . .what will we accomplish? And what good shall we be?" (35) And nothing illustrates the great esteem in

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35. J. Ambrazevičius, "Gabrielė Petkevičaitė-Bitė," Židinys, 1931, No. 4, pp. 354-364.

which this woman was held in Lithuania more

grave; there are sins of which I am ashamed--there are tragicomic things, which self-respect forbids to mention.

Liudas Gira, to whom we owe a moving presentation of the life of the two sisters, writes concerning Sofia:

> "The days of her life were, without exaggerating in the least, nothing but distress and misery, and her creativity was a tiny Golgotha with the daily crucifixion of a tortured soul. . .constantly worried, always forced anew to earn a bite of dry bread for the next day for herself and her family, without sleep, hungry, hardly able sometimes to stay on her feet from continual exertion and permanent sickliness, she was knitting, sewing, embroidering, cutting paper flowers, from early in the morning until late at night, in the winter in an unheated room, in the night usually sitting by the flickering stump of a candle. And only when time allowed did she write, copy, and write again." (36)

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36. Liudas Gira, "Dvi seserys Ivanauskaitės" (Two Sisters Ivanauskaitė), Židinys, 1929, No. 4, p. 313. On the life of Sofia cf. further the essay by J. Ambrazevičius, Sofijos Pšibilauskienės biografijai (On the Life of S.P.), Židinys, 1936, Vol. XXIV, No. 12, and 1937, Vol. XXV, No. 2.

/246/ In the year 1896 Sofia became acquainted with a circle of young Lithuanian students grouped around the newspapers Varpas and Ūkininkas. About 1900 began her literary activity for the Lithuanian press, where she soon made a name for herself. Her numerous tales--she did not leave behind a major work--are very rich in subject matter and embrace all the problems of

obituary on Sofia in 1926: "One must admit that in that epoch Lazdynų Pelėda was one of the liveliest and most talented representatives of our literature." (37) Artistically strongest are

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37. V. Bičiūnas, "A. A. Sofija Pšybilauskienė-Lazdynų Pelėda," Židinys, 1926, Vol. III, No. 3, p. 148.

the short uncomplicated tales such as Mother Calls, a children's story that was also translated into German. (38) As to style, a peculiar mixture of

38. Printed in the Litauenbuch der X. Armee, pp. 164-171.

realism and lyricism stands out, which is frequently uneven like the portrayal itself. Unquestionably, particularly the longer stories, are nor uniformly constructed, and the characterization of the personalities is much weaker than the presentation of the plot. Undoubtedly, too, the whole interpretation of reality, veiled in the gray pessimism of an unhappy life, is without light, without nature, narrow, and partly disconsolate. But there is also probably no doubt that the artistic development of both sisters would have followed a different course under other circumstances.

The last of the prose writers to be named here, Maria Pečkauskaitė, known under the pseudonym of Patrijos Ragana, leads us back from the depths of proletarian bitterness into the heights of ideals that are nourished by an optimistic view of life.

Maria Pečkauskaitė was born in 1878 in the district of Telšiai (in Samogitia), and spent her early youth on the estate of her parents. Aside from a brief attendance at the gymnasium in St. Petersburg, she was educated by private tutors

osophy basically optimistic, in spite of all its melancholy elements, she sees everywhere the possibility to improve, to help, to educate. But although a large number of her prose writings serve a distinctly didactic purpose, this never becomes obtrusive. Thus in her most beautiful story, On the Old Estate, all the events are seen with the eyes of an eight year old child, and in another story, Irka's Tragedy, we experience the shock which a young human soul suffers through estrangement from its father and mother with such intensity as can only be imparted by genuine artistic talent. (39)

[113] 39. A detailed critical literary evaluation of this story is given by J. Ambrazevičius in his essay "Šatrijos Raganos 'Irkos tragedija'" (Šatrijos Ragana "Irka's Tragedy"), Židinys, 1931, Vol. XIII, No. 1, pp. 27-36.

The subtlety of her portrayal corresponds to a strong feeling for style. The language conforms to the presentation in every /250/ variation. It is economical, plastic, and expressive, and unaffected in its imagery. When Pečkauskaitė in her story Irka, for example, speaks of a "little bed white like a pansy," or says of the voice of the child: "It began to ring like a little silver bell," one must not forget what boldness of expression and at the same time what progress such poetic similes meant for the contemporary development of the Lithuanian literary language.

It is difficult to assign the stories of this writer to a specific literary trend. Unquestionably they are permeated with sentimental and romantic elements, and several poetic reveries can be described as purely romantic (Why Are You Not Here?, The Little Blue Maid). On the other

538

many of the elements of the folk song. Poems of a narrative and balladesque content do not occupy much space in the framework of his whole work.

In spite of his basic romantic attitude, Maironis is considered in Lithuania as a representative of classic poetry, the result primarily of his great mastery of form. He postulated greatest strictness of form, and his poems are distinguished by absolute purity of rime. Thus is was first through his example that Lithuanian lyricism gained the strict formalization that dominated a whole generation after Maironis. With regard to form, the songs of the poet are beyond anything in the nature of folk song. The language of Maironis is simple, his vocabulary unaffected, and understandable to everyone, the form concise and clear. With regard to meter, his poems are treated in various ways. (41)/258/

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41. Horst Engert, "Metrische Studien zu Gedichten von Maironis," Darbai ir dienos Vol. IV (Kaunas, 1936). Engerg investigates primarily the significance of the so-called "secondary stresses" of Maironis' lyrics, and establishes furthermore that the structure of the verses in these poems is built upon the purely balancing /wägende/ (in contrast to the scanning /messende/) principle.

The rhythmic melody of his verses is never accidental, but is always related to the content.

Not of the same importance as the lyrics are the epic works of the poet, although--as the first real artistic poems--they also exerted a strong influence on their time. They, too, are carried along by the same patriotic wave, and are frequently purely lyric. In his epic Jaunoji Lietuva (Young Lithuania), published in 1895 under the title Through Pain to Honor, Maironis gives a

*538 picture of awakening Lithuania; in the epic Mūsų vargai (Our Sufferings) he gives, so to speak, a continuation, in which he portrays the cultural movement in Lithuania from the revolutionary year of 1905 to the achievement of independence. In addition, his satirical poem Magda from Raseiniai and the opera libretto Where Does Salvation Lie?, printed in 1896, should be quoted. In the center of all these poems is a problem which we have already met earlier--the question of the national estrangement of the Lithuanian nobility, for which the poet entertains genuine sympathies, and which he wishes to lead back to its people.

After the founding of the state, many of the faults which are connected with such a period of transition do not escape Maironis. Thus originates in these years a series of sometimes very bitter satires, in which the temper of the poet is unloosed.

From his last creative period stem also the dramatic poems--the great Vytautas trilogy (written 1922-29). It is an idealized presentation of the medieval heroic period. Thus Maironis remained to the end of his life faithful to the task which he set himself as his calling as a young student in the seminary of Kaunas. For a generation he stood at the head of a large group of admirers and imitators; and if much that he wrote has already fallen victim to time, the sound of his songs still reverberates among the people today as on the first day. (42)

•113 42. The literature on Maironis is very considerable. Apart from the extensive histories of literature, his work is treated above all in the following articles and essays: J. Tumas, "Jonas Maironis-Mačiulis" (Lectures on Lithuanian Literature), Complete Works, Vols. IV and

113

XIX. Ambrazevičius, "Maironis lyrikos sociologija" (Sociology of Maironis' Lyrics), Židinys, 1932, No. 8/9. Also Ambrazevičius, "Marionio vieta lietuviu religinej literatūroje" (The Place of Maironis in Lithuanian Religious Literature), Židinys, 1933, No. 4. V. Mykolaitis, "Visuomenės Maironio kūrybos pagrindas" (The Social Basis of the Writings of Maironis), Kultūra, 1932, No. 8/9. In the German language there appeared a brief essay on Maironis in the Zeitung der X. Armee, No. 276, 1917. Cf. further Horst Engert, Aus litauischer Dichtung, Deutsche Nachdichtungen (Kaunas, 1935); 2nd ed. (1938).

/259/ Chapter Six

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538

A Cross Section of the Most Recent Developments in Lithuanian Literature

A. The Period of Transition. The New Lyricism.

It is only natural that the repeal of the prohibition on printing in 1904 also led to an increase in worthless literature on the Lithuanian book market. With sharpness and great vigor the poetess Čiurlioniene-Kymantaite turned against this shallowness in her article "Lietuvoje" (In Lithuania) in 1910, and demanded that the connection with folk art remain preserved everywhere in literature:

> "What do our songs mean to us? Their meaning is this: that a great period of our artistic life is encompassed there. There the soul of the people finds expression, there is the first pure beginning of Lithuanian poetry. We have nothing in this regard that would be

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more perfect, and we must seek guidance there as to which paths the new poetry should follow . . .In poetry we must return first of all to those magnificent dainos, take over the perfection of their forms, and understand that poetry must flow from the heart of the people." (p. 33)

In opposition to the imitation of classic style and form of the Maironis stamp--in his effect on the lyric style /260/ of his period, Maironis could perhaps be compared with Heine--there arose a new movement, consciously represented by J. Herbačauskas in his essays which appeared in 1908. Erškečių vainikas (The Crown of Thorns), (1) in

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1. Cf. on this point the essay by Mykolaitis-Putinas, "Naujosios lietuvių literaturos angoje" (On the Threshold of the Most Recent Lithuanian Literature), in his book Literaturos etiudai (Studies in Literature) (1937), pp. 86-104. Further, Korsakas Radzvilas, Straipsniai apie literatura (Essays on Literature) (Kaunas, 1932); and by the same author, Kritika (Kaunas, 1936).

which he turns against the "popular stereotype, the mannerism and literary beaurocracy" born of slavish imitation, which makes impossible the expression of individual ideas and feelings (p. 45). "It is not form that produces ideas and feelings, but ideas and feelings that produce form." Thus in this period we see everywhere the longing for expansion, for liberation from the traditional, for enrichment of style and form; and for the first time purely artistic considerations become predominant. The laws set up by Maironis concerning regularity of verse structure, lightness, and musicality were already taken for granted by this generation; and one thing should not be

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538 reflected in the poems of Kazys Boruta, and Teofilis Tilvytis is known for his satires.

The last epoch, which begins with the founding of the state (2) was particularly fruitful for the development of the Lithuanian lyric.

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2. Faustas Kirša, "Trys rašytoju kartos musu dailioje literaturoje" (Three generations of Writers in our Belletristic Literature/, Vairas, 1929, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 152-159.

The character of the lyrics of this postwar generation can be quite generally characterized as gloomy and pessimistic. Life is felt as a burden, its problems are broodingly examined. In content and thought many connections with the prewar period are broken. There is a definite influence of Western trends; not only symbolism, but futurism and expressionism also find expression. Characteristic of these new trends is the organization of two groups--the futurists of the "Four Winds" (Keturi vejai), fed by Italian and Russian sources, and a group of activists who in their own organ "The Third Front" (Trečias Frontas) represented an international Marxist ideology. Both groups have ceased to exist today; only a few numbers of their periodicals have been published.

In the field of poetry written by woman in that period Salomēja Neris made a name for herself. Her lyrics show clear reminiscences of Marie Madelaine and Dolorosa:

So short and warm was your kiss,
Like lightning and full of passion like
the night.
Oh power of seduction!--the saints fall. ...
Your kiss--a spark that kindles flames!

I cannot forget the glow of your lips,
They burned their mark into my soul!

such as has already been awarded, for example, to the works of Finnish and Esthonian poets.

The first of these writers is Dobilas-Lindē (1872-1934), from whom Lithuanian novel writing takes its departure, and who, at the same time, founded it on psychology. A clergyman of high culture and extensive education, Dobilas-Lindē simultaneously made a name for himself as a critic by preparing the way in Lithuania for the understanding of the art of Benedetto Croce and H. Taine. His novel Blūdas (Madness), based on the revolution of 1905, is of interest psychologically, politically, and also philosophically.

/270/ Also on the threshold of two generations stands Tumas-Vaižgantas (1869-1933), his first writings still rooted in the period of Aušra and Tēvynēs Sargas, which he founded and directed himself. One of the most popular personalities in Lithuania, clergyman, literary historian, critic, journalist, and novelist, but above all politician--not in the party sense--Vaižgantas enriched Lithuanian literature with an enormous quantity of publications. Unusually well read, educated on long trips to Russia, Sweden, Italy, and America, Vaižgantas had such a strong personality that he assimilated all these impressions within himself without losing his typically Lithuanian basic attitude; his human, artistic, and philosophical formation had been shaped in his homeland. Thus Kuzmickis can say of Tumas-Vaižgantas in his history of literature: "Vaižgantas is undoubtedly of importance in the history of Lithuanian literature. He enriched Lithuanian literature with characteristic Lithuanian creations of great value; he placed Lithuanian literature in a sphere of livelier and more creative work and made idealism his watchword." (3)

3. Zigmantas Kuzmickis, Lietuviu literatūra (Lithuanian Literature), Vol. V (Kaunas, 1934), p. 131.

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Although a personality like Canon Tumas-Vaižgantas cannot be fully understood except in its entirety, only the literary aspect of his creativity will be treated in this context. His belletristic writings stand under the influence of both Russian realism (Turgenev, Tolstoy) and of Polish romanticism (Mickiewicz, Kraszewski). Both trends are intertwined in his works. If we take his most important book, Pagiedruliai (Rays of Light), we see that the source from which he creates is his home village, his parents, the people close to him, and above all the nature of the Lithuanian countryside. And when the poet writes at the end of a legend: "it is pleasant and homely in Lithuania not only because it is so full of variety--but also because the land is interesting and enveloped in mystery. Its nature is a single, complete and perfect /271/ testimony to antiquity: you must learn to read it" (4) --this attitude towards

4. Writings, Vol. IX, p. 113.

nature dominates also the people of his stories, who form an inseparable unity with nature. (5)

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5. Cf. here the introduction by Mykolaitis-Putinas to Vol. X of the Writings (Kaunas, 1929), p. 17.

The subject matter of the belletristic writings of Vaižgantas is very extensive. It almost gives us a chronicle of the development of the country in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Lithuanian village appears in his books in an ideal light, and in one place Vaižgantas characterizes his position himself with the words:

"Our folk art is tender, idyllic; it loves neither what is gruesome nor what is nakedly realistic. To portray poverty would not be fitting

*538 "Above all it is necessary that each person in his soul cultivate true humanity, clarify his consciousness, deepen his feelings, purify his inclinations, strengthen his morality, hold in honor and nourish love and reason, and awaken his conscience." For "a people can only survive when it has spiritual and moral life which it cherishes and strengthens, even though only one single person did this." Among the dramas in which the idea of such a deepening stands out most clearly, we should mention first the dramatic trilogy Amžina ugnis (Eternal Fire), which appeared in 1913, an apotheosis of ancient Lithuanian religion, mystically introduced and concluded by the morning and evening songs of the flames; as well as the trilogy Probočių šešėliai (Shades of the Ancestors), written earlier but not printed until 1908. Here he pictures various phases of Lithuanian history, but the totality of the external events presented here becomes in the end a symbol, as in nearly all of his works.

Of his dramas it can be said quite in general that they do not correspond to what is understood by "dramas"; that is, they contain no conflicts and intrigues and thus also no solutions in the usual sense. They are poems in dialogue form, written sometimes in verse, sometimes in animated prose, filled with enthusiasm and optimism. Even their titles are characteristic: Jūrų varpai (Bells of the Seas), a mystery in three acts, 1920; Žvaigždžių takai (Paths of the Stars), a fairy tale drama, 1920; Likimo Bangos (Waves of Destiny), 1922; and others. Vydūnas gained influence on the aesthetic and ethical development of Lithuanian artistic life and above all on one section of the youth through his poetic, and perhaps even more through his philosophical and contemplative works and essays. (9)

•113 9. Among the philosophical-theosophical works of Vydūnas may be named: Mirtis ir

•113 kas toliau? (Death and What Then?)--Slēpiningoji žmogaus didybė (The Mysterious Majesty of Man)--Žmonijos kelias (The Way of Humanity) and others. His book Litauen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, which appeared in 1916, became known in Germany. The two publications Deutsch-litauischer Wortschatz, 1916, and Führer zur Erlernung der Anfangsgründe der litauischen Sprache, 1924, promote the teaching of the Lithuanian language. In these little manuals Vydūnas employs his own spelling system, which differs from that officially prescribed.

538* /274/ If Vydūnas occupies a unique position in Lithuanian literature both as a personality and as a poet, two further prose writers, who also belong to the prewar generation, lead us back into the realism of the present. Jonas Biliūnas (1879-1907) is the author of numerous tersely written short novelettes and tales. Born into a period astir with revolution, inwardly upheld by a strong social feeling, he was already the leader of a socialist student group at the gymnasium in Libau. Later he was even expelled by the University of Dorpat because of participation in student disturbances, and then took an active part in the socialist movement in Lithuania. An inner transformation was brought about by a visit for study in Leipzig in 1903, his marriage in the following year, and his move to Zürich. Here he studied literature and the history of art, renounced politics completely, and dedicated himself entirely to literary activity. The last two years were the most fruitful for him. In 1907, like many other Lithuanian writers a victim of misery and privation, he died of consumption.

The artistic development of Biliūnas progresses from the pure socialism and materialism of his youth ever more strongly to an idealistic in-

538 terpretation of life, from external presentation to psychological depth. His last works are veiled in resignation. His short stories are written in a concentrated style, which is graphic and effective. Their subject matter is formed by the fate of those who are disinherited and rejected by life, presented by the author in all their somber reality. One of his best tales, "Liūdna pasaka" (Sad News), deals with the revolution of 1863.

Vienuolis-Žukauskas (born 1882) belongs today among the best known writers of the country. He treats principally problems of the present, so that the progress of the intellectual and political /275/ development after the repeal of the prohibition on printing can be clearly followed in his works. Realistic and often satirical in his presentations, he combines a vision gained through wide travelling with a great gift of observation, and for that reason he also became a leader in the field of artistic journalism. Typical of his writing is the individual characterization and psychological depth of the personalities represented. Especially well known among his works are the Kaukazo legendos (Legends from the Caucasus), the novelettes Paskenduolė (The Drowned Woman) and Inteligentų palata, as well as his novel Viešnia iš šiaurės (The Stranger from the North). Dr. G. Wirschubski actually calls him the "Lithuanian Chekhov," (10) but A. Vaičiulaitis correctly stresses

[113] 10. Dr. G. Wirschubski, "Die Entwicklung der litauischen Literatur," in the periodical Osteuropa, June, 1929.

that Chekhov was a foe of any kind of description of nature, (11) which plays an important role in

[113] 11. A. Vaičiulaitis, Natūralizmas ir lietuvių literatūra (Kaunas, 1936), p. 88.

Vienulois writing. Unquestionably, however, a dev-

poems.

536 /280/ A great artistic success has been achieved in the last years by Balys Sruoga, who has already been discussed as a lyricist, with his verse dramas Milžino paunksnej (In the Shadow of the Giant) and Baisioji naktis (The Terrible Night). The first is built around the person of the "giant," Grand Duke Vytautas, who does not make an appearance himself but determines the course of the plot through his personality; (14) the second deals with

[113] 14. The first act is printed in Horst Engert, Aus litauischer Dichtung(Kaunas, 1935), pp. 77-104 (Deutsche Nachdichtungen).

the revolution of 1905, in which it is not the revolution but the lack of understanding in wide circles of its deeper meaning and the absence of a high goal which seems terrible to the author--the night which still enveloped the people at that time. Among the dramas of the last years, the historico-biographical portrait Vincas Kudirka by Inčiura should be named. J. Petrulis achieved the greatest success with his often produced drama Prieš srovę (Against the Stream), in which the period of serfdom comes alive. Finally, the great poems of Krėvė, Šarūnas, Skirgaila, and Likimo keliais (On the Paths of Fate), which will be discussed in the next section, also have dramatic form. Enough of names!

538 In the present context we can only give a brief survey of the Lithuanian literature of the present. Thus in conclusion only two more writers will be mentioned, who seem mature and finished enough in their art to permit a judgment, and who on the other hand can be considered as typical representatives of the Lithuanian art of the present both in their subject matter and also in their treatment of the material--Mykolaitis-Putinas and Krėvė-Mickevičius--the former born in 1894, the latter twelve years

7 [see pp. 302 - 303, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

*538 793 [365] the first World War. As a consequence, even after the founding of the state the Lithuanian clergy played a decisive role in many high state offices. From this results the extraordinary significance of this class at that time and also the breadth of the artistic theme, measured by Lithuanian standards, which Putinas treats in his novel. Concerning the Lithuanian clergyman the author writes in his preface:

> "The Lithuanian clergyman was both farmer and member of a cooperative, financier, politician, diplomat, minister, physican, and--God knows what else. He agitated at public meetings--even today he takes part in the internal deliberations of the political parties. The Lithuanian clergyman was a literary man as well--sometimes a story teller, but more frequently a poet . . .The Lithuanian clergyman, very often forced into the seminary, sometimes also enrolled out of a misunderstanding, attracted by foreign ideals, gathered within himself the most varied gifts and talents . . . And again and again one or another gifted Lithuanian priest feels the necessity to give up the priesthood . . . Here lies a whole series of sociological, religious, and psychological problems."

*538 It is only understandable that the appearance of such a realistic and at the same time artistically fashioned work would lead to lively controversies (16) which /286/ concerned less the

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16. Cf. for example Grinius, "Putino Altoriu šešelyj" (Putinas, In the Shadow of the Altars), Židinys, 1933, Vol. XVII, pp. 46-53 (on the first two volumes). Further: K. Korsakas, Kritika (Criticism), the chapter "Kunigas Liudas Vasaris literatūr-

113

oje ir visuomenėj" (The Clergyman Liudas Vasaris in Literature and in Public), pp. 69-159.

538 artistic structure than the content, particularly the question to what extent the characters presented here and seen sometimes in the light of sharp criticism can be generalized--the latter, the author expressly denies when he writes:

> "He (the author) knew also that the most important figures of his novel are not typical, that they are personalities who differ from the various groups, and perhaps even exceptions."

Artistically the work may be said to represent the first real psychological novel in Lithuanian literature. It is written in a lively fashion with an excellent characterization of the personalities represented, who come to life especially in the dialogues. The plot serves essentially to clarify the inner development of the hero. Along with beautiful lyric episodes--the festival of the youth on the Aukštakalnis--psychological processes undergo an artistic analysis, characteristic of which is, for example, the last temptation of Liudas Vasaris before he takes the vows: years ago as a young seminary student Vasaris saw the picture of a naked slave girl in an illustrated magazine and discussed this picture with the cynic Variokas, who later left the seminary; he is fatigued and distracted by recollections.

On this day, after the common evening prayer, while the rest of the clerics went away, the six remained behind for the usual brief conference with their spiritual father. Their spiritual father spoke about the meaning of their confessions on the following day. But Vasaris

538 from the bench and saw in the glow of the red lamp a tall, black figure before him.

--Why don't you go to bed?--said the spiritual father to him. --You should not exert yourself like this. You are shaking and moaning like a sick man. Is something wrong?

Laboriously Vasaris began to think over what had occurred he was dizzy, but he felt light, since everything had passed.

.....

That night Vasaris slept the sleep of the dead. On the next morning he still had a slight feeling of dizziness, and during the first meditation he slept with open eyes . . .(17)

17. Vol. I, pp. 351-358.

/292/ A second novel of his author, Crisis, leads directly into the events of the present, the great revolution that is going on in all spheres of life. (18)

18. At the time this book was completed the work was not yet available in book form.

Basically different from Putinas, but in his production just as, or perhaps even more, characteristic of what we can describe as typically Lithuanian, appears the somewhat older Vincas Krėvė-Mickevičius, born in 1882, a university professor like Putinas, for many years dean of the humanistic faculty, and a folklorist whose collections of fairy tales, sagas, and songs have also made a name for him in the scientific world. (19)

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19. We may mention, for example, Dainavos krašto liaudies dainos (The Folk Songs of

113 the Province Dainava) (1924). --Sparnuočiai liaudies padavimuose (Winged Creatures in Folk Tradition) (1933). --Aitvaras liaudies padavimuose (The Aitvaras in Folk Tradition) (1933). --Dzūkų poringes (Folk Tales of the Dzūkijans), and others.

538 Vincas Krėvė is the creator of a neo-romanticism that is nourished from the living depths of the folk saga. At the same time he is also a realist, even a naturalist in his psychological tales, which deal with the Lithuanian village of the most recent past.

Krėvė has listened deeply to the world of old sagas and heroic stories which he found still alive today in his home province of Dzūkija. They became for him the foundation of his dramatic poems Šarūnas, Skirgaila, and others. Probably the most important is the poem of Prince Šarūnas (1911), which introduces the reader to the time before the battles of the religious orders. But this Lithuania has nothing realistic about it, historical coloring is unimportant to the author, and his poem takes place "in very ancient times"; it is a mysterious land, as it is reflected in the old sagas, and its people are doers and dreamers at the same time, mystically related to the events and the secret of nature. Mystical and mysterious, a primitive man, passionate, revengeful, an enemy of Christianity, nourished completely from the elemental qualities of his nature, is Šarūnas, the prince, who wants to overcome the local princes of his country, unite the land of Dzūkija, and establish himself as the sole ruler. Bold and ambitious in his plans, also a friend of poetry, Šarūnas is, on the other side, the man who longs for love and happiness. To these two /293/ sides of his character corresponds the double

tragedy of his fate: he is unable to realize his 538
ambitious plans and must leave them to his heir, Mindaugas; and he meets disaster in his personal fate as well, when, blinded by jealousy, he slays his noble wife Vovorē. To be sure, this family tragedy only forms a border around the basic idea of the poem--the uniting of the land of Dzūkija.

"Only one sun stands in the sky, only one ruler shall be in Dainava, or the earth will not retain me alive."

Beside Šarūnas the drawing of the other charcters in the poem pales; he himself is represented above life-size, the way the old folk sagas portray him. (20) The poem is written in

20. Cf. here Krēvē's scholarly investigations on Šarūnas, printed in Mūsų tautosaka (Our Folk Poetry), Vol. I, pp. 90-123. [113]

lyric language.

A second historical poem of Krēvē--Skir- 538
gaila (1925)--forms as to period and content of 536
ideas a sequel to the first. The drama in four acts is based on the relations of this Grand Duke to Poland and the German orders. In the center of the plot stands the daughter of the prince of Lyda, Ona Duonutē, who is loved by the German knight Keller and loves him in turn. In the second act there is a clash between Skirgaila and the knight. Skirgaila forces the princess to become his wife, and through this marriage unites her land with his. The climax of the drama is formed by the third act, in which the grand duke fights a difficult inner battle. He sees the importance of the old pagan gods and the power of the Christian God, he feels himself politically threatened by Poland as well as the orders, and he sees his marriage endangered by the love of his wife for the German knight. Finally the feeling of revenge gains the victory. In the last act

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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793 from a clairvoyant vision, they mediated the disclosures of the de-
771 ceased, convoked the people for gatherings, when such revelations had been received, in order to make them known, in order to arrange festivals, and in order to determine the sowing and the harvesting time. The priests were, therefore, the spiritual leaders of the people, who guided life into its everyday activities from the vantage point of their knowledge of the cosmic interconnections. They were acquainted with the influence of the moon on all births and with the return of the souls after death into its sphere: "that which has died off, which is laid as a seed kernel into the soil of another world," as Creuzer expresses it; an insight, it would appear, into the process of every re-
[796] newed life on earth. A special festival in autumn, the festival of the consecration of the goat, seems to have been an exoteric parallel to the initiation rites in the mystery cults; for on this occasion the priests recited the traditions from the history of the people and absolved the
[821] people of sin. After the harvest a god's image was every year broken and renovated; by this was expressed the experience that the spiritual forces of the cosmos turn towards and away from the earth in the rhythm of the year, and that in winter they collect themselves, renew themselves, in order to be able to come streaming to the growing plant world in the spring. Present-day harvest practices are the final dying echoes of such knowledge of the spiritual forces, vivifying and emanating, that permeate the world and all its parts.

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/33: Illustrations./

000 That it was primarily German poets and scholars who concerned themselves in detail with Lithuanian folk poetry is explained on the one hand by the close relation of the two peoples, on the other hand by the influence which the romanticism of the eighteenth century exercised on German poetry. Thus one can rightly speak of a Lithuanian contribution to German spiritual life.

533 [114] 5. The Lithuanian Folk Song in German Poetry

Around the end of the seventeenth century we hear for the first time from German sources details concerning Lithuanian folk poetry. Around the year 1690 Theodor Lepner, one time pastor in Ragnit, wrote his notable little book: Der Preusche Litauer. It was dedicated to the Electoress Sophie-Charlotte and appeared in 1744 in Danzig. The book is of special cultural-historical interest because Lepner, who in general--this may be added--did not at all esteem the Lithuanians, gives a quite drastic picture of Lithuanian folk customs. [534] He writes: "They have a peculiar type of trumpet or trombone which they call truba. This is made out of fir, with a hollow at the end, fairly /66/ wide and round like a trombone, on the outside tightly wound around with birch bark, over a fathom long. Two kerdels blow on such trombones at the same time, which makes quite a noise. Otherwise they have what the Germans call pig's head (kanklis --a type of zither), strung with nine or twelve brass strings, the drum, the fife and other flutes, a fiddle, and a bass iron; this only they buy at the store, the other pieces mentioned they all make themselves. Such artists are they!

"They are also all composers who give the melodies to their songs themselves, although they have also learned some from the Germans. They are inclined by nature to singing, and are thus fine musici naturales who brought with them into the

533
world the inclination to sing; now there arises from the women and girls at their banquets such howling and humming that one must stop one's ears from it. The kerdels are not especially fond of this science, but only the women and girls, who from morning, from the second cock crow on, until it gets light, make music at the hand mill, since the humming of the mill serves them as it were as a ground bass.

"The material of their songs are love songs, but they are concerned also with such things as just happen to occur to them and stand before their eyes. A few of them also sing spiritual songs at the hand mill, which happens at their banquets in drinking bouts of men and women, concerning which Wilhelmus Martinus, onetime pastor in Mummel, reports cleverly in his Latin poem of praise concerning the Lithuanian song book, which I thus give in /English/:

Lithuanian people, you are, I think, called thus
After a field trumpet, as it is called in Greek:
Your heart burns naturally for sound, song, rime;
You drive your merry cattle, that tears itself from the stall,
Out to the pasture in singing, you shout in walking, in plowing,
/67/ With untiring voice. On your wedding day,
At baptism and other assemblies, at home and in the taverns,
You sing of all that which may be known to you."

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114 A few years after Lepner wrote his little book there appeared a book by Johann Arnold von

533 114 Brand, professor in Duisburg (died 1691): Reysen durch die Marck Brandenburg, Preussen, Churland, Liefland, Plesscovien, Gross-Naugardten, Tweerien und Moscovien. In this book, which was published in 1702 at Wesel by Heinrich Christian vor Hennin, Brand reproduces two fragments of Lithuanian folk songs.

The first fragment, which he describes as "The usual drinking song of the Lithuanians," reads (p. 107):

Let us then, y heisa viva y,
Be merry, y heisa viva y.

The second, "Lament to the Unfaithful Betrothed," reads (p. 108):

Did you not love me?
I cut with you the rye,
I raked with you the hay,
I bound with you the oats.

From that year dates the interest with which German scholars and poets devoted themselves to Lithuanian folk poetry. In 1745 Philipp Ruhig, pastor in Walterkehmen, in his Betrachtungen der litauischen Sprache, published three folk songs, of which one is found in the later collection of Daukantas while another has become known from various anthologies. Ruhig reproduces the texts of these songs solely for linguistic reasons and even apologizes to his readers for claiming their attention with such vanities.

/68/ The translations of Ruhig are interesting inasmuch as they show the abundance of diminutives, so characteristic of the Lithuanian language, although the author obviously had not yet solved the problem of their translation into the German language. Thus the first of the dainos begins with the words: 1

1 [See cat. 116, p. 77 -- Analyst]

533

The mother roasted and cooked it at once,
The roast was delicious and tasty and tender.

Zealously the sisters served it,
Many joyous guests came together.

They sat down at the table and sat there
firmly,
And enjoyed themselves at the hearty
feast.

They ate the sparrow at their leisure
And drank three barrels of beer with it.
(44)

44. A. V. Chamisso, op. cit., p. 138.

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Chamisso's friend, Franz von Gaudy, adapted in 1844 a Lithuanian folk saga, "Die Pestjungfrau," into the German language, and Wilhelm Jordan published in the same year his Littauische Volkslieder und Sagen, which are strongly influenced by Rhesa. A large number of Lithuanian folk songs with melodies and German translations by H. Budrius, Ed. Gisevius, and P. von Bohlen were published in the N. Pr. Prov. Blätter, appearing since 1846. Of German poets then known but today forgotten, who were inspired by the Lithuanian folk poetry, Daumer (1800-1875) and J. F. Soldat may be mentioned. Also to be mentioned is Felix Dahn, whose poem of 1870, "Die Litauer in Frankreich," breathes a genuine Lithuanian mood.

Even this short survey of the influence of Lithuanian folk poetry on German poetry shows well enough that the Lithuanian contribution to the German spiritual /72/ life of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the area of poetry is not unimportant. The first scientific-critical translation of Lithuanian folk songs in the meter

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of the original stems from Nesselman. In spite of the purely scientific purpose of his work, he also succeeded with a few poetically excellent translations (cf. on this point also the end of this chapter). The influence of the Lithuanian folk song appears also in the writings of A. K. T. Tielos: Thanatos (1905), Klänge aus Litauen (1911), Aus der Jugendzeit (1911). W. W. Ulmenried-Naujeck published Litauische Heide-Lieder und Dainos.

The World War, which brought a number of German poets in uniform into direct contact with the Lithuanian people, aroused anew the interest in the Lithuanian folk song in a number of German poets. Only Oskar Wöhrle, Herbert Eulenberg, and Richard Dehmel may be mentioned. (45) In the

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45. The translations of O. Wöhrle are printed in Das Litauenbuch, Eine Auslese aus der Zeitung der X. Armee (1918), pp. 155-159. The poetic imitations of Richard Dehmel, based on the translations of Nesselmann and not always successful, are published in Die neue Rundschau, Vol XXVIII of the Freie Bühne, No. 1, January, 1917. For Herbert Eulenberg cf. Struck und Eulenberg, Skizzen aus Litauen, Weissrussland und Kurland (1916).

German press of those years, too, the great interest which the Lithuanian folk songs found in the broadest German circles is reflected. Unfortunately most of this interest vanished just as quickly as it had sprung up. Only in the most recent time can a slight reawakening be noticed. (46)

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46. From the abundance of mostly popular literature on the Lithuanian folk song, a few essays may be mentioned which appeared

after a conference in Lithuania.

Freedom Fighter "Startas", nailed to a door of the MVD office at Naumiestis (from "borrowed" files).

J. S. Gavedov
The Executioner-in-Chief

Freedom Fighter "Tūzas" in the courtyard of the MVD at Naumiestis ("borrowed" photo).

The situation in Lithuania in 1949 is poignantly depicted by photographs reaching this country from the underground resistance movement. The above is an example. There is scarcely any change since the reports previously published in the *Lithuanian Bulletin*, but conditions have steadily worsened in all phases of life—moral, social, political, economic, cultural and military.

1:Anonymous U-3 (no date)1949 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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p. 1a

000 While the free part of the world is engrossed in the projected Atlantic Pact, a Western Union, the holding of Soviet expansion "within bounds," the staged trials of the Uniate clergy in Czechoslovakia, of a Cardinal in Hungary and of the Protestant clergymen in Bulgaria—the Russians are consolidating and solidifying their conquests and military preparations east of the Königsberg-Sulina line of the real "Iron Curtain."

The crucifixion of a nation is best described in a recent letter of an underground leader.

"Our blood-stained hands reach out to you. It is our own blood. It flows in streams. Our burning homesteads light up the sky, nothing but blood and suffering everywhere. The summer sun does not dry up the blood nor do winter colds congeal it. This blood is only washed away by the tears of our mothers, wives, sweethearts and children as they embrace us. As we look around at the devastation of our homes, as we see the hideous crimes of violence, we forget our exhaustion, a calm, cold fury gives us strength to fight on.

"The bodies of our men, robbed, bared and mutilated lie in piles in town market places for weeks: by such display our oppressors attempt to intimidate us. Our people are spied on through the windows to discover any sorrow on the part of families for their dead. Occasionally, a mother, a sweetheart or a sister breaks down and embraces the corpse of her beloved. Then hundreds of Russians, like a pack of bloodthirsty wolves pounce upon the relatives—new victims for Siberia. There is no place, no school nor factory job for the relatives of the fallen "bandits." There is not a single village nor a home which has not experienced the terrible tragedy of reprisal.

"We shall fight for our homeland to the last. Our lives we shall sell dearly on our own ancestral soil rather than waste away in Siberia. Our bodies will fertilize our beloved soil and succeeding generations will be imbued with a greater love for this—our motherland. We pass into eternity with a mouthful of the sacred soil.

"During the past three years of fighting we have lost hundreds of thousands of lives—some fallen in battle in the homeland, others suffering in Siberia. But the three million of us keep on fighting against the 200,000,000 strong occupant armed with most modern weapons. *And we shall win!*

"Spring will come. Nothing can change the tide of our Nemunas, father of our rivers. All praise to our gallant priests—there were one thousand here in 1945, six hundred have died or are in Siberia or are with us in the forests. All praise to our students. Born freemen in a free homeland, they refuse to become enslaved. Some sixteen-year-olds, with fettered hands and feet, defiantly march to die in Siberia—with heads held high. Inhuman torture has brought about no instance of betrayal: he who has tasted freedom will never become a slave.

"The occupant fears us. Doors are never left unbarred. Our people have produced few traitors—our oppressors bear foreign names. Our own striking squads eventually take care of those few who betray our people.

"We are not cruel but we are dealing with rapacious beasts. Not one Russian died without first being warned to leave our soil. But when they victimize our people without any conscience—we simply defend ourselves.

1:Anonymous U-4 (no date)1949 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

000 "For three years we have listened to ravings regarding the paradise which would follow the Five Year Plan. Yet the situation gets worse every month. Selling our last overcoat, we buy food for our children. We work long hours to earn one tenth of what is needed to fight hunger. Our children no longer know what sugar, butter, or meat look like. After a hard day's work we must go to the *agitpunkt* to listen to what Stalin had said regarding life after five years. We go home at night with clubs in hand lest militiamen or soldiers should attack and disrobe us. A great many lives have been lost because of a well-worn overcoat. The silhouette of an approaching human figure causes us to make a wide detour. The militia "check our papers" at night—in other words, we are robbed by the representatives of "law and order." If one complains, he is accused of being a "counterrevolutionary" by drunken militiamen.

"There is very little electricity. Fences, window sills and partitions were burned for fuel. Roofs are holed. Only ten percent of our production remains in the country, the rest is moved to Russia—to the paradise where father and teacher Stalin feeds everyone with milk and honey, where orange factories are producing in three shifts, where bolognas are mined and where working people live in salons. The communists now tell us that our beautiful structures erected in 1935 and earlier were built by the working people as part of the 5 Year Plan. Should one evince the slightest doubt—he is exiled to Siberia for 10 to 15 years. Lavishly furnished shops for communists sell at black market prices. These are not for us: our one month's earnings are not enough to buy one day's needed supplies. Officially, we are all equal but—communists live extravagantly in sumptuous apartments while in the grace of their masters. They eat in separate restaurants and buy in special stores. Those who earn their bread in sweat—are hungry and ragged.

"Under armed guard we are forced to march in "the demonstrations of joy." The bayonets of the MVD troops prod us to "hail" when passing the reviewing stand. Nevertheless, our heads sag or turn away. . . .

"We are very much surprised at the timidity of the Vatican broadcasts. Why be afraid? We are not afraid to die for our Faith, for our Homeland and for Civilization! Fear not to lift your voice in loud protest! Harbor no fears for us—*nothing could possibly be worse*. We are dying, but in dying we want to know that there are people in the free part of the world who do not fear to raise their voice in behalf of the oppressed. Do not be afraid to drop the atomic bomb which our oppressors fear so greatly—we are prepared to pay this price for Freedom!"

Religion

162 According to the *Statistical Annual of Lithuania for* 1940, Lithuania—including part of the Vilnius District but excluding the Klaipėda Area—at the end of 1940 counted a population of 3,032,863, distributed by nationalities as follows:

Lithuanians	80.60%	Russians	2.35%
Jews	7.15%	Latvians	0.69%
Germans	4.10%	Whiteruthenes	0.21%
Poles	3.04%	Others	1.86%

1:Anonymous U-: (no date)1949 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

162 The population's distribution by religion (1923):

Roman Catholics ..	80.48%	Greek Orthodox ...	2.54%
Protestants	9.54%	Other Christians ...	0.09%
Israelites	7.26%	Other non-Christians	0.09%

167 The situation has undergone a radical change in consequence of the Hitler-Stalin Pacts of 1939-1941, when "exchanges of population" and "repatriation" were applied: nearly all Lithuanian Protestants were "repatriated" to Germany as alleged members of the Germanic race, even though a great many of them had never had any German blood connections. During the German occupation, nearly all—except some 20,000—Lithuanian Jews were either exterminated by the Nazis or deported to Western Europe. The new Russian settlers had fled with the Red Army and the NKVD in 1941, speeded by the Lithuanian insurgents. Repatriates of true Teutonic ancestry had come back with the German troops and again retreated with the Nazis. Some 160,000 Poles were repatriated to Poland by Stalin's orders in 1945 and 1946.

Therefore, when the Russian regime established itself in Lithuania, the invader had to deal with an *exclusively Lithuanian Roman Catholic population*—and the imported Russian and Asiatic hordes of "masters."

795 When the Russians occupied the country in June 1940, the Church of Lithuania was organized into an Archdiocese of Vilnius (under Archbishops Romuald Jałbrzykowski and Mečys Reinys), the Metropolitan Archdiocese of Kaunas (under Archbishop Juozas Skvireckas and Auxiliary Bishop Vincas Brizgys), the Bishopric of Kaišiadorys (under Bishop Juozas Kukta), the Bishopric of Panevėžys (under Bishop Kazys Paltarokas), the Bishopric of Telšiai and the Prelacy of Klaipėda-Memel (under Bishop Justinas Staugaitis and Auxiliary Bishop Vincas Borisevičius), the Bishopric of Vilkaviškis (under Bishop Antanas Karosas and Auxiliary Bishop Vincas Padolskis), and the Bishopric for the Armed Forces with Bishop Teofilius Matulionis as the Chief Chaplain. In addition, Archbishop Emeritus Pranciškus Karevičius and Bishop Petras Pranas Bučys of the Byzantine rite resident in Rome, were in Lithuania. Archbishop O'Rourke of Danzig, former Bishop of Vilnius, had settled in Lithuania since the German annexation of Danzig. Altogether, Lithuania had 13 Bishops and 1 refugee Bishop.

During the war, Bishop Bučys lived in Rome. Bishop Staugaitis of Telšiai died in 1943 and Bishop Pranciškus Ramanauskas was consecrated for that See. Bishop Kukta died in 1942 and Bishop Matulionis assumed the See of Kaišiadorys. The retreating Germans deported Archbishop Skvireckas and Bishops Brizgys and Padolskis to Germany. *Eight Bishops remained* in the country when the Russians again came in 1944.

Thereafter—Archbishop Jałbrzykowski was repatriated to Poland to administer the southern, Polish part of the Archdiocese of Vilnius (with the See at Białystok), Archbishop Karevičius died 30 May 1945 at Marijampolė, and the nonagenarian Bishop Karosas died 7 July 1947 at Marijampolė. Archbishop Reinys "vanished" in June 1947, soon after an alleged "interview" with *Tass*, and Bishops Borisevičius, Ramanauskas and Matulionis were either killed or exiled to

795 Russia. *Only one Bishop*—Paltarokas—was known to be *alive in* 1948, and no information regarding his present fate is available. Administrators who succeeded the martyred Bishops likewise "vanish" in MVD trucks soon after their appointment.

The official Registers of the Church, cited by the Rev. Dr. Kazys Gečys in his "Catholic Lithuania" (*Katalikiškoji Lietuva*, Chicago 1946) gave the following statistics for the year 1940:

Diocese	Deaneries	Priests	Byzantine Rite Priests	Divinity Students	Monastic Orders: Priests	Monastic Orders: Friars	Monastic Orders: Nuns	Parishioners
Vilnius	16	307	5	169	62	184	384	877,838
Kaunas	10	289	2	152				500,000
Kaišiadorys	9	163						220,200
Panevėžys	10	235						418,950
Telšiai	12	237		85	90	387	579	385,872
Klaipėda Prelacy.		11						22,150
Vilkaviškis	12	245		62				351,403
Total	69	1,487	7	470	152	571	963	2,776,422

The total number of clergy, including those of the Byzantine rite, was 1646. One priest was available to minister 1688 souls. The 1586 members of monastic congregations, included the Franciscan, Jesuit, Salesian, Dominican and Marian Orders, and several exclusively Lithuanian Orders.

794 The same author provided the following statistics regarding the number of churches as of 1940.

Diocese	Arch-Cathedral Basilicas	Cathedral Basilicas	Cathedrals	Parish Churches	Filial Churches	Non-Parochial Churches	Chapels
Vilnius		1		185 +Byz. 7	17	34	110
Kaunas	1			91	31	34	84
Kaišiadorys			1	65	2		12
Panevėžys			1	90	27	7	82
Telšiai			1	111	16	14	32
Klaipėda Prelacy ...				5		2	
Vilkaviškis			1	93	5		10
Total	1	1	4	670 +Byz. 7	98	91	330

A total of 1202 churches, embracing 681 parishes. Each church served 2310 souls.

In addition to the Roman Catholic community, Lithuania had 51 churches and chapels with 18 pastors of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, 12 Calvinist (Evangelical Reformed Church) parishes with 7 pastors, 3217 independent sectarians (mostly ex-Lutherans), five Tatar Mohammedan congregations (at Vilnius, 40-Tatars, Kaunas, Reišiai and Vinkšniukai), and two Karaim congregations. Statistics are not available regarding Jewish religious communities.

652 For services rendered in keeping birth, matrimonial and burial records, the state budget of Lithuania for 1939 appropriated the following sums in Litas (1 Litas equaled $0.10 in gold or $0.16⅔ depreciated):

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Roman Catholic Church	Lt. 1,383,278
Israelite Congregation	" 105,500
Evangelical Lutheran Church	" 88,000
Evangelical Reformed Church	" 26,360
Greek Orthodox Church	" 60,360
Old Believers Congregation	" 31,920
Mohammedan Congregation	" 2,400
Karaim Congregation	" 400
Total	Lt. 1,691,718 ($169,171.80 gold or $281,483.86 current exchange rate)

794 Comparison of the situation of the Catholic Church in 1940 with that shown in a *Tass* bulletin of April 1947 and the information provided by the Lithuanian underground resistance movement as of 1948, tells a very eloquent story:

	1940	*Tass* 1947	1948
Archbishops and Bishops	14	2	1
Clergy	1,846	1,332	400
Monastic Order members	1,586	0	0
Churches	1,202	711	ca. 600
Parishioners	2,776,422	"thousands"	most of survivors
Theological Seminaries	4	1	0
Catholic Faculty in Univ.	1	0	0
State assistance	Lt. 1,383,278	0	Ruinous Taxes
Church Taxation	0	?	millions of rubles
Divinity Students	470	ca. 150	0
Killed or exiled clergymen	0	(silence)	75%
Catholic press 1935: number	52	(silence)	0
circulation	7,050,200	(silence)	0
Religious-philosophy books	209	(silence)	0
Sodality-Fraternity Members	800,000	(silence)	0

Naturally, the underground data does not disclose clandestine catechetic instruction by clergymen and laymen, and the secret religious press. Religious books and articles bring highest prices in the black market. All of the Catholic scientific, educational, social, athletic, labor, economic, publishing and charitable institutions, academies, schools, libraries, kindergartens, associations, sodalities, etc., were closed and their property was confiscated by the Russians.

Attempts to Create a "National MVD Church"

795 The Russian Orthodox Church is, to all intents and purposes, a branch of the secret political police—the MVD and MGB. This Church is the only religious organization tolerated in Russia, allotted newsprint and printing facilities, and sponsored by Soviet agents in the annexed and satellite countries. "Archbishop" Sergius had been sent to Lithuania in 1940 to subvert the Greek Orthodox Church of the country. This notorious personality ultimately became an agent of the Gestapo and was liquidated by the Gestapo just before the second Russian invasion. The remaining Russian Orthodox clergymen are docile and loyal servants of the MVD-MGB, inspired in part by a Russian nationalism. The few Orthodox people of Lithuania have no respect for them.

When the Protestants practically disappeared from Lithuania and the few thousand native Jews remaining in the country (some 3,000 plus about 15,000 imported Russian aliens of Jewish race) enlisted in the Soviet service, the only religious opposition is the Roman Catholic Church—which consists of at least 90%

795 of the Lithuanian survivors. *Lithuania is still "the most loyal Daughter of Rome in the North of Europe,"* in the words of the late Pope Pius XI.

661 798 The Russians continue their practice of subjecting the Catholic clergy to periodic and systematic "questioning," accompanied by physical torture and threats. Several priests became apostates. Most of the others were killed in torture chambers or exiled to Siberia, while several dozen priests enlisted with the patriotic guerrillas. Retired emiriti priests were called back to duty—as each priest must now serve 3 to 5 parishes.

874 661 798 One seminary remained for a few years. The number of divinity students was limited to 150. Professors and students were repeatedly summoned to the MVD-MGB and subjected to "pressure" and tortures in order to enlist them as agent-informers. Seminary rectors and their assistants were arrested and exiled as soon as they assumed duties. Students attended classes in churches. They were shadowed and threatened, and their number steadily dwindled as the MVD exercised more "pressure." By 1947, the number of divinity students dropped to 60. Normally 30 to 40 priests die annually of natural causes, but only 7-8 priests were graduated annually to replace the deceased. Finally, during the winter of 1947-48, the seminary was closed.

798 659 661 The surviving priests (about 400 as of the fall of 1948) could discourse on Scriptural texts in their sermons—always mindful that MVD agents were taking down notes and that suspicious Russians in the MVD-MGB offices would summon them to enlarge on translations of the suspect imputed allegories. Attacks on the Church in the official press, over the radio and at mass meetings cannot be answered or discussed: that would be "propaganda." The Stalin constitution warrants freedom of the anti-religious propaganda and of "religious belief,"—not of religious "propaganda."

Priests are continually exposed to provocation. For instance, MVD agents go to "confession" in order to provoke some remark by the priest. Sometimes a priest is summoned "to give last rites to a dying person." When the priest arrives, the "dying person" impersonated by a provocateur becomes a "guerrilla" ("bandit") and the clergyman is arrested "for association with bandits." Priests are forced to disrobe in MVD offices and to be photographed with MVD "girls." Afterward the photographs are circulated among the people. Nevertheless, the faithful are not easily misled by the alien oppressor whom every Lithuanian despises.

In 1947 there was a large scale massacre of the faithful at Kretinga when someone rang the bells of the Franciscan monastery at the time the Russians came to close it. The running people saw Russian troops bringing out the bleeding bayoneted body of a priest. Infuriated, the Lithuanians attacked the Russians with stones and bats. The Russians fired indiscriminately at the mob. . . .

No religious literature—no catechisms, missals, discourses, etc.—is printed: no paper is allotted by the government—and all printing places are state-operated. No priests are permitted to enter hospitals, schools, barracks and prisons to administer the sacraments. The priests enter gaols only as prisoners.

Since 1947, the Russians attacked the Church from another angle—clamoring against the Vatican and demanding creation of a "national Catholic Church."

798 661 Priests were repeatedly summoned and urged to break with "the fascist Vatican"—or be imprisoned for "espionage" and contact with "the Vatican intelligence." In several parishes pastors were arrested and apostate priests installed, without the Bishop's blessing. Bishop's representatives were barred. Local communist officials became ardent and regular "church-goers"—but no one else went there and the Russian venture died a natural death.

659 794 Finally, the Soviet authorities engaged in what may be *the final duel* between the Church and the militant atheism: decrees were published placing all "cultural monuments," viz. church structures, under the supervision of the government. The authorities attempt to impose the so-called *"dvadsatkas"*—committees of 20 members—on each parish to supervise the needs for repairs, pastor's functions, etc. One half of these committeemen are appointed by the government. As to the rest—no specific regulations are disclosed. These "committees" would have the power to dismiss pastors and accept replacements—in effect, they would nullify the episcopal authority and would control every activity of the faithful. To further weaken the opposition, the Bishops were seized and incoming administrators subjected to pressure and deprived of the means of communicatnig with the parishes.

The faithful realize the objective—the clandestine press forewarned them and coupled threats of reprisals against weakening persons together with the explanation of the real meaning of the Russian action. Under such strained conditions, churches go unrepaired rather than enjoy "government assistance" in exchange for acceptance of a *"dvadsatka."* Priests summoned before the MVD refer the officials to the Canonic Law of the Church and direct the Russians to discuss the matter with the Bishops.

A native traitor and atheist, Gailevičius, a former superintendent of NKVD prisons, is presently the "Commissar for Cult Affairs of the Lithuanian SSR." In January 1949 he published a decree in his capacity as custodian of "cultural monuments": churches must not "operate" within 7 kilometers of each other, and if several churches are found within the 7 km. radius, only one church is to be left "operating" and the other churches are to be shut down for use by the state.

In theory, this decree could scarcely affect rural churches. An intolerable situation is arising in cities, however. For instance, there are 17 churches and several chapels in the city of Kaunas. Under this decree, only one church would remain in this city of 150,000 inhabitants, of whom 60% are Lithuanian Catholics. A similar situation is bound to arise in the capital city of Vilnius with its dozens of beautiful churches, or "cultural monuments."

Serious clashes, or rather massacres of women and children, are expected to result during the forcible seizure and closing of the churches to which the foreign invader has no title.

The Italian press recently cited "reliable sources" of January 1949 to the effect that the Russians had confiscated the Cathedral Basilica of Vilnius and converted the edifice into a dance hall. This cannot be verified from Lithuanian sources at this time—but the Gailevičius decree makes this news probable.

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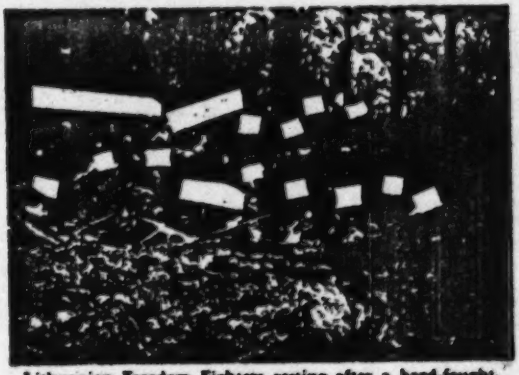

Lithuanian Freedom Fighters resting after a hard-fought battle—in Samagitia.

Religious Practices

798 659 Since the fall of 1947, the Russians abandoned tolerance of the strictly religious functions of the faithful—adults attending church and receiving sacraments. The radio, press and tens of thousands of professional agitators are engaged in blasphemous atheistic propaganda aimed at discrediting the religion as "outdated witchcraft and prejudice" and attributing "fascist conspiracy" to the Vatican. This meant that the first attempt to create a "national Church" by subverting clergy and imposing "dvadsatkas" failed. But the effort was not abandoned.

Vatican, British and American broadcasts are heard —and the more important developments are relayed to the population by the clandestine press. Needless to say that the Lithuanians, facing daily the official attack on their Church and their Catholicism, are very saddened and embittered by the complete silence abroad over the martyrdom of Lithuania—compared with the publicity given the staged trials of various Church dignitaries in the satellite countries. They especially resent the omission of Lithuania from among the Catholic nations listed in foreign broadcasts as victimized by Soviet armed atheism.

All monasteries are shut down and friars-nuns dispersed. Catechetic instruction is banned from schools, the armed forces and from private tutoring within a family circle. In 1946 the Bishops had requested the authorities to permit catechetic instruction of school-age children in church structures but the authorities refused. The parents themselves presently prepare their children for the first communion.

[626] Church-goers are watched by MVD agents conspicuously posted near church doorways, and they are shadowed and questioned. Arrests were repeatedly made inside churches by armed cap-wearing MVD gangsters who loudly profane the churches. All state employees—and all people are state employees with the exception of the "kulaks" or independent smallholders refusing to go into "artels"—receive strict warnings to stop attending religious services ("witchcraft sessions"), or their conduct will be construed as a "demonstration of disloyalty to the existing order."

Students developed a spontaneous custom: on the way to schools they stop in a church to pray. The authorities strive to eradicate this custom by summoning their parents and threatening to expel children from

659 798 schools. Teachers who openly attended churches were summarily dismissed.

[711] In spite of all these restrictions and threats, churches are well attended, especially in rural areas. Churchgoers are mostly women and people not connected with government offices and concerns, less dependent on the bureaucracy. Intellectuals and officials travel to distant places where they are not known personally to attend Mass or for confession. Rural churches, further from cities or where only small MGB-MVD garrisons are stationed, draw the largest attendance.

Religious processions on streets were not banned officially but few people dared to show themselves publicly and face the jeers of the armed blaspheming Russians and a few native traitors. The clergy discouraged public processions exposing the faithful to unnecessary persecution.

[585] Marriages are registered by local Executive Committees. Those who so desire may go through a religious ceremony but a religious ceremony is not recognized by the authorities. Marriages contracted prior to the Russian invasion were not questioned, however.

Several small Protestant congregations are still in existence in the Klaipėda District, but most of the Protestant churches were shut down and converted to other use for lack of communicants. The Calvinist churches of Biržai and Prienai were turned into military horse stables. Protestants are more or less tolerated, because the Protestant Church offers no problem to the occupant.

The pre-war Russian settlers, natives of Lithuania, regularly attend the MVD-dominated Orthodox churches. The new settlers go to churches occasionally out of curiosity.

Since the end of 1947, persons exhibiting religious icons and crucifixes in their homes came under persecution. Religious pictures and statuettes found in homes by the armed searching parties infuriate the Russians and their stooges. Religious objects are smashed, bayoneted, spat upon and trampled by the puny "masters of the world" raging against their Creator.

[65] Living quarters of the pastors—"cult servants"—were requisitioned by the housing authorities and a small nook was assigned to priests. Churches are assessed with exorbitant taxes. Complaints are answered: "If you can't meet state obligations—close up shop." The faithful exerted every effort to contribute the necessary funds and in most cases the tax levies were met. Thereupon the Russians demanded lists of contributors. The pastors answered that they did not list plate contributors—and were arrested and threatened with prosecution for "failure to account from public funds." A number of churches were unable to meet the levies, as all of the people are burdened with excessive taxes, requisitions and perennial "voluntarily assumed contributions to the state" imposed by the armed militiamen.

000 It is not known whether, since comrade Gailevičius claimed all churches as "cultural monuments" subject to his custody, churches would be taxed—that is, churches left "operating."

A church is the only place where a tortured people could find spiritual solace and escape from the blaring loudspeakers and mad ravings of the Russian oppressor.

Mockery by Soviet Embassy in Washington

000 The *USSR Information Bulletin* of the Soviet Embassy in Washington in its issue of 25 February 1949 carries a questionable "Interview with Catholic Priest." Father "Kasimir Kulakas, Dean of the Trakai diocese," was said to have been interviewed by one Josas Bulota (should be Juozas Bulota).

This tendentious compilation of lies was obviously written by a Russian ignorant of Catholic terminology and the geography of Lithuania.

It begins with the statement that in the "diocese" of the Rev. Kulakas the parishioners "attend services in 11 Catholic churches." In 1940, the Lithuanian section of the Archdiocese of Vilnius, embracing Trakai, had 185 Catholic churches, plus 7 of the Eastern rite.

The claim that "religion is not taught in the schools, but priests may give religious teaching to children outside school" is far from the truth, as the situation in the Vilnius Archdiocese (lately administered by the Rev. Kačergis) does no. differ from that in any other part of the country—as told in the preceding columns.

The alleged "interview" attributes to the Rev. Kulakas a vague statement that "the number of priests in my diocese in proportion to the number of parishioners, is sufficient—they are no fewer than in pre-Soviet times."—With more than one-third of the Catholic population of the Vilnius diocese deported and all the priests of Polish nationality repatriated to Poland—the Russians would make us believe that there "are no fewer than in pre-Soviet times" and that the number of priests is "sufficient," for the time being, in the view of the MVD. . . . There had been 192 parish churches and 312 priests in the Archdiocese of Vilnius in 1940—compared with the 11 churches indicated by the Soviet Embassy in February 1949. . . .

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The statement that "a total of 150 clergymen is studying at Kaunas Theological Seminary at present" —is sheer fiction, as the seminary was forcibly shut down in 1948. The professors enumerated in the article—are all in prisons or in Siberia since 1947.

"Priests in Soviet Lithuania pay an income tax on the same conditions as the members of the professions, such as doctors, artists and lawyers. No one may tax a priest more than the law provides."—But there are no free professions under the Soviet rule! Doctors and artists are on state payrolls, and former lawyers are cutting timber in Siberia or digging mines in the Arctic, inasmuch as the MVD provides its own "investigators" from six-month classes where no legal training is given. Churches are taxed 40,000 to 160,000 rubles—while workers earn not more than 450 rubles monthly. . . . As for the Soviet "law"—Soviet officials follow the Mandarine rule: the sky is the limit—and Stalin lives far away. . . .

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"The clergy can be prosecuted for anti-State activities under the laws that apply to all other citizens, but there has never been an instance in which a priest was prosecuted for his profession, nor for carrying out his duties as his calling requires." — But no statistics were given pertinent to prosecution "for anti-State activities" as of to date. Numerous NKVD files brought out by a number of Lithuanian Catholic priests imprisoned and tortured for nothing but their priesthood—are now available in the United States. . . .

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000 "Anti-religious propaganda is not forbidden in Soviet Lithuania, nor is religious propaganda forbidden. Like all Catholic priests, I preach the word of God freely and without hindrance from the pulpit. If anti-religious lectures are given in our city, any citizen does or does not attend as he sees fit—just as every citizen does or does not attend the services at any church according to the dictates of his judgment."

This assertion, of course, violates the wording of Art. 124 of the Soviet Constitution. Constitution, published by the OGIZ State Publishing House of Political Literature at Moscow in 1938, in English, gives the following (inaccurate) translation: "Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens."

875 A direct contradiction is provided by an article of comrade V. Niunka, Minister of Education of the Lithuanian SSR, in the Communist Party organ *Tiesa* of 31 October 1948:

"Most of the teachers of the Ignalina gymnasium . . . did not rid themselves of religious prejudices, they frequently go to church thereby setting a bad example for the pupils. . . . Former director N. Petravičius is a clerical, he practices his religion, he even keeps pictures of the saints in his home . . . and categorically refuses to admit his errors. . . .

"Therefore, the College of the Ministry of Education decrees:

"1) to dismiss the following teachers from teaching duties:

"(a) Nikanoras Petravičius as a clerical and unfit to work in Soviet schools . . ." — and other teachers practicing their religious duties.

000 There was indeed a Casimir Kulak, a Catholic priest of Whiteruthenian extraction. He had been a professor of the Eastern rite liturgy and Orthodox Theology at the Roman Catholic Seminary in Pinsk. He was an erudite man, tolerant in his dealings with the Lithuanians, and a Whiteruthenian patriot—not to be confused with the Lithuanians.

It is feared that the alleged "interview" in the Soviet Embassy Bulletin may be the last we shall hear of this priest—unless from a MVD dungeon. The Soviet Embassy had once before published an "interview" with a Catholic dignitary, the Most Rev. Mečys Reinys, Archbishop of Vilnius,—and he "vanished" within a month thereafter. . . .

Resistance

668 186 Comrade Antanas Sniečkus, the window-dressing "Stalin" of Lithuania—First Secretary of the Communist Party/bolshevik of Lithuania—had this to say in the LKP/b organ *Tiesa* ("Pravda"), No. 300 of 24 December 1947:

"It must not be forgotten that the bourgeois nationalists within the republic's territory are conducting anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation, spreading provocative rumors and, seeking to undermine the work, they attempt to infiltrate in the state apparatus.

"When German fascism lies smashed and is no longer able to aid the Lithuanian bourgeois nationalists, they expect such aid from the Anglo-American imperialists.

". . . They praise the false Anglo-Saxon democracy and idealize the bourgeois system of America and England.

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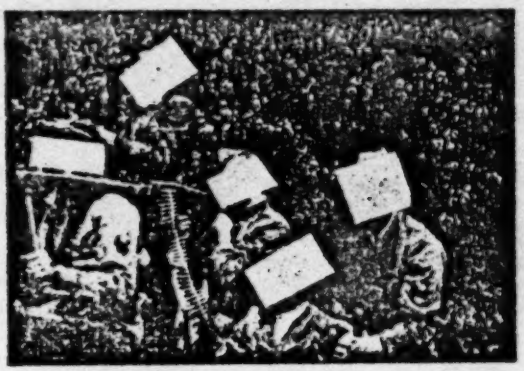

Freedom Fighter recruits undergoing training in machine gun firing—Dainava Area in Lithuania.

668 186 "Among the bourgeois nationalists combating the people, an important part is played by the reactionary section of the Catholic clergy who try to utilize the religious convictions of people in the interest of the exploiting classes.

". . . The interest of the Lithuanian people demands that the bourgeois nationalists be smashed as soon as possible. We have every means to accomplish this.

"The speedy destruction of the bourgeois-nationalist underground depends to a great extent on a successful expansion of combat against the relics of influence of the bourgeois nationalist ideology among certain sections of the population, and on a re-education of our republic's working people in the spirit of Soviet ideology."

665 668 186 A year later, on 14 December 1948, all the major press agencies commented the article of comrade A. S. Trofimov, new secretary of the "Lithuanian" Communist Party Central Committee, in a December 2 issue of "Soviet Lithuania." The Russian comrade called to mobilize the Party's forces for the "liquidation of the remnants of the bourgeois-nationalist underground" which "spreads provocative rumors, and steals into the Government system and into factories," "intimidating and murdering Soviet folk" in an effort "to hinder the great work of restoring and expanding the people's economy."

At long last, comrade Trofimov received a Russian translation of his fellow-secretary's article written a year earlier. . . .

There had been such articles in the Soviet press ever since the imposition of a Russian regime upon Lithuania—and there will be many more such articles as long as the MVD-MGB will maintain the Communist Party in power over any freedom-loving country.

News of a worldwide distribution of "Trofimov's article"—plagiarized from comrade Sniečkus—reached Moscow. Comrade Trofimov's fate is not known—but the first week of January 1949, Soviet broadcasts beamed to Western Europe hastened to proclaim that the Lithuanian "insurrectionist underground" had been "liquidated" and that everything was now in order.

Nevertheless, on 16-19 February 1949, comrade Sniečkus for four hours raved at the LKP/b Congress

1:Anonymous U-3 (no date)1949 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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Field Dinner in honor of the graduating class of Guerrilla Officers School, Tauras Area in Lithuania.

668 186 665 —repeating his call to smash the underground, the reactionary clergy, etc. One need not be a prophet to predict that boasts of "liquidation" and threats, repeatedly made since 1945, will be reiterated for an indefinite time in the future.

Liberation Movement

668 725 Armed and passive resistance will continue until the liberation of the country—or extinction of the Lithuanian People.

The Supreme Lithuanian Committee of Liberation (*VLIK*) is regarded as the country's supreme *political* representative, and its delegation abroad is acknowledged as the Government-in-Exile. It is a coalition of all democratic non-Communist parties and combat organizations.

The actual *resistance* is coordinated inside the country by a non-partisan *BDPS*—the United Democratic Resistance Movement. Its armed forces, called FREEDOM FIGHTERS, are directed by the *VGPS*—the Supreme Command of the Armed Guerrilla Forces.

The objectives are: to counteract the bolshevik spy network; to defend and protect the inhabitants from robberies and murders; to prevent the colonization of the country by foreigners; to curb collectivization and moral lapses; to prevent the wasteful destruction of the forests and other national resources; to keep the population informed of international developments through a press network; to shelter persons passing into outlaw status; to preserve the nation's manpower and traditions of a cultural, political and national entity. In general—the aspiration is to regain state sovereignty under a democratic system, with Lithuania a member of the European Continental Commonwealth and in friendship wtih neighboring countries, including Russia. The main objective is—SURVIVAL OF THE LITHUANIAN PEOPLE. Other objectives flow therefrom.

Resistance tactics constantly change in accordance with the methods and degree of oppression by the Soviet occupant. The country is divided into Areas, and resistance members themselves know but one or two other members. The BDPS Praesidium is formed on the principle of efficiency and personal qualifications, rather than representation of various political ideologies. Force today is applied on rare occasions, whenever its use as a terrorist shock action is justified, for instance, attack on the armed convoys and trains transporting deportees.

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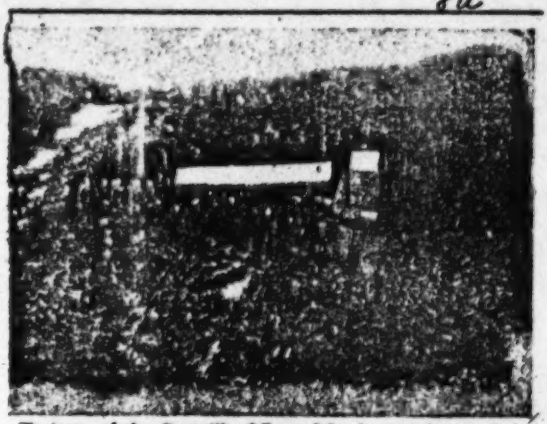

Trainees of the Guerrilla Officers School returning to their camp after field training—Tauras Area in Lithuania.

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725

Large-scale battles are no longer fought—they proved too costly. The Russians claimed to have "liquidated 12,000 bandits" since 1944 and estimate the present forces of the "bandits" at 40,000. The Lithuanian underground concedes considerably greater battle casualties—in excess of 20,000—and estimates the Russian battle casualties at 180,000. This seeming disproportion in battle losses is explained by the fact that the Lithuanians are on the defensive, they strike from ambush in coldly, calculated shock actions, strike a swift blow and retire,—while the Russians storm blindly in massed ranks. There is a case of a former guerrilla unit commander who, after the murder of his entire family and the destruction of his farm by the punitive detachments, enlisted with the guerrillas and accounted for 283 assorted Russians prior to his escape westward.

Unfortunately, armed action is followed by reprisals by Soviet punitive detachments which rage for weeks around the scene of a clash—while the guerrilla unit is far from the place by that time. The havoc caused by Soviet punitive hordes is so great that, despite the insufferable treatment at the hands of the occupant, the Liberation Movement strives to reduce employment of arms to an unavoidable minimum.

Uniformed armed units are maintained in the field but are used as a policing force. The guerrillas—men and women "outlaws" who cannot go back to their homes—are under orders to destroy themselves in an extremity and to take pains to mutilate their faces in death, lest their families and acquaintances should suffer. Consequently, the last hand grenade is reserved for suicidal use: the grenade is placed in the mouth and exploded. Faces of battle casualties are mutilated by comrades of the fallen Freedom Fighters when clandestine burial is made impossible. Some 8,000 men and women met death in suicidal fashion.

In 1947, a group of 8 Freedom Fighters making their way on a mission to Poland, were traced to a dugout by MVD dogs. According to Russian prisoners taken later by the guerrillas, the MVD troops showered grenades and mortar fire around the dugout. When a hole was finally pierced, solemn singing came from inside, followed by a series of explosions: all 8 men had blown themselves to eternity.

668 In the village of M . . . ., several hundred Russians encircled 6 guerrillas. The cornered patriots defended themselves an entire day. Only 3 men survived when their ammunition was exhausted. They managed to crawl toward Russian corpses, and they fought with "borrowed" weapons until all three men were blown out of existence. 60 Russians, including the MVD chief of Prienai, died.

Desecration and Reprisals

661 The behavior of Russian "repression forces" may be illustrated by several examples.

In 1948, a MVD unit called on a farmer in Marijampolė township to make a search. When the door was not opened quickly enough, the Russians fired several series of automatic fire through the door, killing the father. They broke down the door, beat up and raped the widow and her 17-year old daughter, seized everything of value and left. In a neighboring farm, the Russians raped a pregnant woman in her husband's presence, beat up everyone and left. The woman gave birth to a stillborn within a few days.

On 7 February 1947 the MVD troops of Marijampolė saw two German women beggars near the Nendrininkai village. The soldiers opened fire. One woman escaped, the other was raped by 7 men—in the sight of the horrified villagers. The same Russians encountered an elderly German woman beggaring in the Ilgeliškiai village. Learning from her papers that she was German, they killed her with rifle butts and ordered the farmers to bury her.

In Sasnava township, farmer Kukliečius and his son were cutting wood at the forest edge around their farm. Passing Russians shot them on sight, without investigating. They shot farmer Rauba in the Pinkeviškiai village whom they observed chopping wood.

In the village of Naujakaimis, MVD troops killed three youths observed walking together on the street—Valinskas, 17, B. Vyšniauskas, 18, and J. Vyšniauskas, 16. The Russians bayoneted, kicked and struck the bodies with rifle butts and did not permit the bereaved parents to claim the bodies.

In Kamajai town, Rokiškis county, the Russians descended on a widow who was inadvertently feeding seven strangers who proved to be guerrillas—6 men and a nurse. When the guerrillas refused to surrender, the Russians opened fire. The battle of 7 guerrillas against some 60 Russians lasted several hours. The guerrillas and their hostess were killed. The widow's young daughter fainted from fright and was found among the corpses. The troops ordered the neighbors to load the corpses on a truck. These neighbors seeing the girl was living—told the Russians. The latter ordered them to toss the girl with the corpses. The bodies were brought to Rokiškis and dumped on the city market place. The girl revived. She crawled and started running. Several Russian guards overtook her, passed a noose of barbed wire over her neck, and dragged her back to the corpses—strangled. This scene was witnessed by an American citizen now back in the United States.

Thousands of similar incidents are recorded by the underground.

668 661 When the MVD became too active in Marijampolė county in 1947, a guerrilla was assigned to court an

661 MVD employee and he became engaged to her. The engagement party was attended by several dozen top
668 officials, including Chairman of the County Executive Committee, the Prosecutor, the Komsomol Chairman, MVD officials, etc. At an opportune moment, the lone guerrilla liquidated the entire group of Soviet satraps, with the exception of the guest musician. Similar incidents occurred elsewhere, and the Russians now avoid gathering in such groups, unless under strong escort.

Desecration of patriots' corpses continues. Bodies are dumped in market places. Crosses and Lithuanian insignia are cut on the bodies by bayonets and scythes, rosaries "rein" the mouths, eyes are gouged, sexual organs mutilated. Bodies lie in decomposed state for weeks, as the Russians kick and spit on the bodies, dance around them, etc.

Banditry by Russian troops and militia is restrained by the guerrilla units protecting the inhabitants. For over a year Russian bandit gangs of army deserters posed a serious problem but these were eventually destroyed by the guerrillas.

The resistance movement embraces the entire country, although degree of organization differs from place to place. The Russian campaign for a memorial thanking Stalin for the "liberation" failed miserably. Lately, however, to minimize the reprisals, the underground instructed people to report to polling places and to pay lip service to "father of nations," "the great teacher and leader, protector of the working people of the world, Stalin The Sun."

668 Liaison with the underground forces in the neighboring countries is rendered difficult by the extreme nationalism of the Poles and Whiteruthenians. Collaboration is limited to specific objectives, such as assistance for passage of envoys. The underground in Poland is not unified, and there had been cases of betrayal by rival factions. Excellent contact is maintained with the Latvians and Ukrainians. Overtures from "Russian underground sources" were deliberately ignored as too risky—the Russians are so thoroughly cowed by three decades of terror and informer network that no Russian is deemed reliable.

Administration

645 The "boss" of the country is a satrap of the Kremlin—comrade *Shcherbakov*, titled All-Union Communist Party's/bolshevik Plenipotentiary for Lithuania.

In addition to comrade Justas "President" Paleckis, Chairman of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, the Council of Ministers is made up of the following nominal heads:

Prime Minister—Mečys Gedvila (Lithuanian);

Deputy Premiers—First Deputy Pisaryov, Second Deputy Sokolov, Third Deputy Mamayev (all 3 Russians);

Council's Secretary—S. Pupeikis (Lithuanian);

Minister of Food Industry—K. Andrijaitis (Lithuanian);

Minister of Local Industry—S. Shkodin (Russian);

Minister of Fishing Industry—Andrei Zasypkin (Russian) was summarily dismissed "for inefficiency" 3 February 1949 and replaced by an unknown, "V. Mickevičius";

645 Minister of Cattle Industry—V. Augustinaitis (a Russian alien of distant Lithuanian ancestry);

Minister of Construction Materials Industry—M. Lyubimtsev (Russian);

Minister of Meat and Dairy Industry—J. Čygas (Lithuanian);

Minister of Forestry Industry—Ponomarev (Russian);

Minister of Heavy Industry—Teodin (Russian);

Minister of Agriculture—V. Vildžiūnas (Lithuanian);

Minister of Communal Economy—A. Sveschov (Russian);

Minister of Social Security—J. Stimburys (Lithuanian);

Minister of Health Protection—S. Banaitis (Lithuanian);

Minister of National Feeding—Laurinaitis (Lithuanian);

Minister of the Interior (MVD)—General Bartašiūnas (Russian under an alias);

Minister of State Security (MGB)—D. Yefimov (Russian);

Minister of Technical Cultures—V. Aleknavičius (Lithuanian);

Minister of Commerce—A. Ivaškevičius (Lithuanian);

Minister of Education—Vladas Niunka (Lithuanian, replaced J. Žiugžda);

Minister of Finance—A. Drobnys (Lithuanian);

Minister of Foreign Affairs—Ignas Gaška on 27 January 1949 replaced Povilas Ratomskis (Lithuanian);

Chairman of State Planning Commission—Šumauskas (Lithuanian);

First Secretary of the Communist Party/bolshevik of Lithuania—Antanas Sniečkus (all other secretaries are Russians).

Comrade Suslov was promoted to a post in Moscow. Wherever "Ministers" are Lithuanians, the entire business is transacted by their Russian "Deputies." Proceedings of the "Cabinet" are conducted in Russian exclusively, but decrees of the "Party and Government" are published in two languages.

Regardless of the "Constitutional Amendments" of 1944 authorizing "Union Republics" to form national ministries of armed forces and foreign affairs—there is no national Soviet Lithuanian army and no ministry of war. A ministry of foreign affairs exists on paper as a propaganda measure: the policy is transacted by Moscow and the ministry of the Lithuanian SSR is lodged in two rooms adjoining the MVD headquarters. The "minister" Ratomskis, a former clerk of the Soviet Consulate General in New York, was assisted by several Russian clerks. Žiugžda, son of the former education minister, formally trained in Moscow for a diplomatic post in Washington, still walks the streets of Kaunas.

In the upper posts of the administration, the Lithuanians occupy roughly 30%. In the lower posts, the ratio is roughly 50/50. In the cities, Russians and Jews predominate; in rural areas—Lithuanians. In the MVD, the upper personnel is exclusively Russian, in the lower echelons there are natives and interpreters. In the MGB service, the natives make up 10%.

186 The Russian occupation receives no popular support from the masses. Of racial Lithuanians, only a
668 few hardened communists and several thousand released criminals turned collaborators.

There is a definite trend to exclude even Lithuanian communists. In all of the periodic purges, it is the Lithuanian communists who suffer disgrace, expulsion and exile, while Russian embezzlers retain their posts. An "Anti-Cominform" morale is pronounced among the Lithuanian members of the LKP/b. Party and non-Party Lithuanians are still found in the less important "high offices." However, not a single Lithuanian holds an administrative post in any office connected with the military effort. This trend is pronounced even in the distribution of "ministerial" titles.

655 All communications—railroads, waterways, ports, post offices, telegraph, radio, telephone, aviation and highways—are under a centralized "All-Union" control: there are no "ministries" for any communications. A few Lithuanians are still encountered among the MVD railroad guard personnel but their number constantly dwindles.

486 Travel inside Lithuania to a distance of 200 km. is not obstructed, with the exception of the "prohibited zones" along the Polish frontier and the seacoast, where special permits from the MVD are required. Otherwise, traveling permits are issued by employing offices. Of course, every traveler must submit to numerous checkings of the papers by armed patrols.

There is no frontier with East Prussia and Latvia, and the same general travel rules apply to journeys to Latvia and East Prussia. Nevertheless, it is deemed safer to procure a "*komandirovka*" (dispatch orders) even if the destination be less than 200 km.—a "detour" to Siberia must never be overlooked. The Latvian frontier is crossed mostly for black marketing. It is possible to go to Byelorussia and into the interior of Russia with a permit issued by a local MVD or Executive Committee. "*Komandirovka*" is required for travel by air.

[191] Transportation tickets, birth, death and other records are printed in Russian and "local" languages. Nevertheless, it is not a rare phenomenon to hear in response to an inquiry in Lithuanian: "*Neponimayu etovo sobachevo yazika*" (I do not understand this canine language).

Mobilization and Demobilization

727 Of the so-called "Lithuanian Units," only one survives—the 16th Infantry Division stationed in Vilnius. The enlisted and non-commissioned officers personnel is roughly 80% Lithuanian, but the officer cadres are predominantly Russian on all levels. Orders are given in Russian. Colonel Motieka is the Divisional Commander, and political "General" Macijauskas is Deputy Commanding Officer. All other mobilized Lithu-
701 anians are dispersed throughout Russian units.

During the war, men of the classes of (birth) 1895 through 1926 were drafted. After the cessation of hostilities in Germany, a few men were demobilized, others were assigned to various Labor Battalions and moved to Russia. Those serving in MVD units were retained in the service. Men born prior to 1923 were demobilized from strictly military units of the Soviet Army.

701 Mobilization generally failed during the period of hostilities. The majority of men managed to secure themselves in the "armored institutions" exempt from draft, others went into hiding, and a small number reported for duty. Many men in hiding were killed or wounded and exiled during the "*oblavas*" (manhunts and searches).

702 After the war, classes of 1926-1928 were called up for training. Presently, men born in 1929-1931 are in training. The basic training takes place in Lithuania and East Prussia. The trainees wear their own clothing and provide their own food: each week they are drilled 4 days and then are told to proceed home and bring back food supplies for a week. When training is completed, men are dispatched to Russian bases, some are assigned to the 16th Infantry Division stationed in the homeland.

702 There is no officers school for Lithuania specifically. However, in all university and college level schools
874 military training is obligatory for men and women throughout the years of schooling, 4-5 hours weekly. Reserve commissions in respective specialties are given upon graduation—Junior Lieutenantcy to Captaincy, depending on the degree of success in passing the examinations of the Military Chair ("Cathedral"). General Karvelis, a former artillery officer of the Lithuanian Army, heads the military "chair" in the University of Vilnius, assisted by Colonel Purelis. General Vincas Vitkauskas, former commander-in-chief of the Lithuanian Army, heads the military chair in the University of Kaunas. Lectures are given in Russian and Lithuanian, depending on the lecturer's ability to speak Lithuanian and the composition of his class. The lecturing personnel is one-half Russian. Orders are given in Russian.

[872] In secondary schools, military training is likewise compulsory for both boys and girls, beginning with the basic first grade.

War Preparations

712 Klaipėda (Memel) is converted into a major sub-
723 marine and naval base.

During the first half of 1948, regular Soviet Army forces (exclusive of the Navy and MVD-MGB units) stationed in Lithuania numbered about 80,000 men of infantry, artillery, aviation, armored and tank units. The artillery is concentrated along the seacoast.

Airfields are continually expanded to accommodate transport craft but the number of planes shifts—the planes refuel and take off. Nevertheless, some "destroyers" (fighter planes), light bombers, reconnaissance and training planes are permanently stationed. Radar installments are in evidence, but do not seem to be alerted. Three "rocket artillery" airfields were constructed at Lisbergylas-Linksmakalnis in Kaunas, at Vilnius, and in Mažeikiai county in the northwest. Little is known regarding the closely guarded secret weapons of "Toxin Fog" and "Thermite Artillery." Aviation training schools are in operation at Vilnius and Kaunas, but no Lithuanian students are admitted there.

According to Russian officers, Estonia and Karelia form "Zone A of the Strategic Area of the Northern Front," while Latvia, Lithuania and East Prussia form "Zone B, an auxiliary strategic and supply area for the operational area of Poland."

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712 If these officers speak the truth, the Soviet Army
723 seems to place many hopes in the "first line of rocket artillery" resting on bases in Finland, Karelia and Estonian islands, a part of the "Leningrad Offensive Area." Lithuania and East Prussia serve as "the second line and the security zone of the connecting road junctions."

In addition to elaborate installations on the Estonian islands and the tip of Kurzeme, fortifications are constructed along the line running from the port of Liepaja in Latvia, through Mažeikiai, along the upper Venta river, down the banks of the Dubysa southward to the Nemunas river, and up the Nemunas to the stronghold of Gardinas-Grodno. Ramifications of that underground fortified line give an impression of two fortified belts, with extended strong points at intervals. Underground fuel oil dumps, and steel and concrete munitions dumps are constructed. The fortified points are circled by medium sized airfields cleverly masked as "pastures" or "planted fields." Subterranean fuel dumps, more or less 3 meters deep, radiate 2 to 10 km. from such airfields. However, some of these dumps are intended for fuel other than gasoline. Inasmuch as these "magazines" lie near the main communication arteries, it is supposed that these dumps are intended for the long range rocket artillery—a weapon well developed by the Soviets. The sites are closely guarded by MVD garrisons, and labor crews are isolated from the natives. The work was done by military engineer units and labor gangs brought from Russia.

717 A larger airfield is located near Šiauliai. About 30 twin-motored fighter planes of new production are stationed there, in addition to more than a dozen old-type 2-U machines and several long range (up to 2,200
707 km.) bombers of new type. This is said to be the training base of the "Northern Front," where exercises for offensive action against Western Germany, the British Isles and Scandinavia are staged. An auxiliary base was constructed nearby in 1948.

000 Since July 1948, large MVD-MGB units, hospital trains and cavalry brigades were concentrated around Baranowicze and southward to Lviv, and additional air squadrons flew toward Pomerania. Simultaneously, large troop movements by railroad were observed toward Königsberg, and munitions trains rolled westward day and night for several weeks. It seemed that the Russians were expecting hostilities over Berlin and were moving reinforcements and supplies to Germany, and concentrating repression forces for another wave of mass deportations from Lithuania, in accordance with the orders of the Politburo relayed by MGB Abakumov.

Part of these troops were later diverted to Lithuania. A state of insurrection was deliberately provoked in connection with forcible collectivization, and an "operation" of deportations was effected.

Repression Forces

625 The MVD forces stationed permanently in Lithuania number at least 30,000 men, mainly infantry and motorized units. A MVD school is operated on Duonelaitis Street in Kaunas, where MVD officer candidates are trained.

The MGB forces number about 40,000 men, of whom 10% are Lithuanians. A MGB officers school

625 operates on the Gediminas Street in Vilnius, and nearly 30% of its cadets are Lithuanians. Small tank and reconnaissance planes are at the disposal of the MVD and MGB forces.

The People's Militia is part of the MVD, and most of the Lithuanian personnel is found there. The *"Istrebiteli"* ("Exterminators") are a part of the MGB. The "Istrebiteli" were devised in the spring of 1945 to combat "political bandits." Guerrilla activities were widespread at the time, and the Russians attempted to enlist about 30 native "Istrebiteli" in each township. All sorts of inducements and privileges were offered, including exemption from draft. Native Russians, gypsies and Polish-speaking city vagrants enlisted, as well as some Lithuanian youths anxious to escape the draft. The guerrillas, through the underground press and through their relatives, waged a very strenuous campaign against the "Istrebiteli." Recruits were ambushed and killed. Their ranks were depleted in skirmishes, when untrained raw recruits faced the veteran guerrillas. After each skirmish, the guerrillas circulated mimeographed appeals to "brothers," urging the "Stribs" to abandon the enemy and either join the guerrilla forces or seek a legal status somewhere in the country, rather than aid the oppressor in destroying their own people. This campaign was successful: few Lithuanians enlisted and the recruits deserted.

725 625 The Russians used the "Stribs" in collecting compulsory grain quotas and taxes, and these functions made them universally hated. The inhabitants slyly derided the "Stribs" and *"Stribikauliai"* (deformed hips), etc., just as they referred to the "great" comrade Suslov as *"Sullava"* (trash sweepings). The "Stribs," receiving weapons but no uniforms nor food from the government, followed the example of the Russian tutors and engaged in wholesale robberies, murders and thefts. Farmers in no way connected with the resistance defended themselves with axes and scythes.

Such "living standards" rapidly depleted the once formidable force. In most places, only 2 or 3 "Stribs" survived in individual townships. These were finally incorporated in the uniformed MGB units. Township contingents were complemented by Russian aliens, a dozen to several dozen men in each township. Reserve units of the "Stribs" are stationed in county seats. These "operational MGB aktivs" roam the countryside night and day. They search homes, collect taxes, grain quotas, seek the hiding places of the guerrillas, detain people, and shoot suspects on sight—capital punishment was "abolished" in Russia. . . .

Frontier Corps units are stationed along the heavily guarded and fortified Polish frontier, and on the seacoast. MVD railroad units guard railroad stations and depots and check passengers' papers on trains. Combined MGB-MVD patrols (jeeps, armored cars, armored motorcycles, and tanks) control the main highways, especially at night.

War Psychosis

723 722 Preparations for war are in evidence everywhere. New airfields are constructed, old fields are expanded and modernized. Armored units, air squadrons and artillery are constantly in transit. Closely guarded military trains travel by night. The populace is kept in a state of nervous war tension—probably to provoke

723 "latent enemies of the people." Mobilization exercises
722 are periodically staged, to test the apparatus. Speakers addressing mass meetings denounce American and British "imperialists" and "warmongering aggressors." War morale permeates the administrative apparatus, the Party and army circles. Workers are urged to strain every effort for the "defense of the Soviet motherland" and to increase the output.

[207] Radio listening sets are still in existence. Their number is considerably smaller than before the war, inasmuch as permits are required. Such permits are given by the authorities to "loyal citizens" and every applicant would automatically place himself under suspicion. "Radio points" are installed in KP/b clubs, "Red Corners," and loudspeakers blare out the broadcasts from Vilnius and Moscow.

Nevertheless, several hundred unregistered radio receiving sets are owned illegally, and foreign broadcasts are heard.

Population and Minorities

162 Lithuania presently has roughly 2,300,000 inhabitants—a loss of 200,000 within the single year 1948. However, over 200,000 Soviet nationals—armed forces, MGB, MVD, and settlers—replaced the natives. The colonists settled where the long arm of the guerrillas cannot reach them—in large cities and in the areas where there were Russian settlements prior to 1940: in Zarasai county, and at Jonava and Kruonis. Russians are also settled in the Klaipėda District and in the western areas (Samagitia) which were largely depopulated by the retreating Germans and several "operations" of the MVD-MGB. Few Russians settled along the Polish-Lithuanian frontier and some 20,000 Lithuanians "repatriated" from Poland were moved there. East Prussia—in both the Russian and Polish-annexed sections—is settled predominantly by White-ruthenes (Byelorussians), presumably in an attempt to erect a Whiteruthenian "wedge toward the sea" which would finally cut off Lithuania from the Baltic.

Kaunas has a population of 150,000, of whom 60% are Lithuanians. Vilnius has a population of about 160,000, of whom 37% are Lithuanians, 23% are Poles, 40% are Russians and others. There is no longer a separate Polish underground since the "repatriation" of Poles.

There are practically no native Germans left, but there are thousands of German vagrants, mostly women and children who seek food and work on farms. Some Tatars, Karaims and Gypsies survived.

563 About 3,000 native Jews stayed in the country and some 15,000 other Jews arrived from Russia. The Jews settled in the cities and occupy the more important posts in the administration. Their children attend Russian schools exclusively. For these reasons, the natives distrust Jews. Even those Jews whom the Lithuanians had saved from extermination during the Nazi occupation at great personal risk, avoid helping those who aided them. In fact, when now approached for aid to save their benefactors from deportation, they complain that "food had been bad" when they were hiding on Lithuanian farms.

In Butrimonys, where some 100 Jewish families lived before the war, only several families survived. One of the surviving Jews was especially ungrateful toward the farmer who had saved him at great per-

563 sonal risk. when the Russians arrived, the Jew informed them that a person who had secreted a Jew from the Nazis might most likely secret a "bandit" from the Russians—and the poor farmer was executed and his family exiled.

000 This reasoning seems to be generally adopted by the Russians—and no "heroics" are told them. The Russians show no excitement whatever regarding the massacres perpetrated by the Nazis. They conducted no special investigation or excavations—the Nazi practices too closely parallel those of the Soviets. .....Only in instances where they were tipped off that people had been executed clothed and unrobbed—did the Russians make excavations in quest for valuables. . . . They gathered up coins, jewelry, pulled gold from teeth, and ceremoniously reburied the skeletons.

Education

874 The University of Vilnius with medical and chemistry departments, and the University of Kaunas with
871 departments of medicine, architecture, construction, technology and chemistry, are functioning. Both universities provide compulsory instruction in "Marxism-Leninism Science" and military training. A Veterinarian Academy and the lower classes of the Agricultural Academy function at Kaunas. The Pedagoguic Institute and an Art Institute with classes in scultpure, architecture, graphics and painting are open in Vilnius. The Commercial Institute is at Klaipéda. The upper classes of the Agricultural Academy are still housed in the ruins of Dotnuva.

Eighty percent of the faculty staff and student body are Lithuanians. Deputy Rectors, in charge of "political education," are Russian MVD-men. Most of the aliens are concentrated in Vilnius. The total student body numbers about 6,000 (compared with over 2,000 university students in Western Germany).

Of secondary schools, there are about 90 gymnasia and 189 progymnasia with 65,000 students, and about 20 special schools of agriculture, orchardry, gardening, forestry, cattle breeding, bookkeeping, etc. The secondary schools follow an 8-year program—a recession to the antiquated pre-1914 system. The Russian language is taught from the third grade of grammar school. All textbooks are translations of Russian authors exclusively. Prewar textbooks are withdrawn from circulation and systematically destroyed.

186 In 1944 and 1945, the National Anthem of Lithuania was tolerated as a "national song" over the radio and at some official functions, but was banned from schools. It is still sung in some churches but is no longer heard elsewhere.

876 Since 1946, school programs were systematically
626 purged of all "western bourgeois" influence. In libraries, books of western authors were replaced by propaganda "masterpieces" of Russian literature. The Michurin theory is preached, and professors are compelled to publicly "confess" their former heresy. Every dissertation on any subject must faithfully seek some quotation from Stalin and Lenin "science" to prove the infallibility. Only students whose parents never owned more than 18 hectares of land are admitted to universities—others are "outlaws."

The universities demand that matriculating students submit loyalty certificates issued by local Party offices. The University of Kaunas still adheres to the

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Press Section, Baltic Area of the Lithuanian Liberation Army. An underground newspaper in the process of printing in a forest.

876 Lithuanian language, but in Vilnius classes are bi-
626 lingual. Technological training is favored from the top, and students themselves elect such classes for practical reasons. The Marxist-Leninist "science" is obligatory. Nevertheless, of 2,000 students of the University of Kaunas, only 13 were members of the Komsomol in the school year 1947-48.

883 The Komsomol (Communist Youth organization)
665 —just vegetates: there are few Lithuanian recruits. These are found in the cities only. The Komsomol had enjoyed some success during the early days of the second occupation as a "security measure." However, when the authorities began employing the Komsomol personnel for repression, espionage, grain collection supervision, etc., the ranks dwindled. The *Komsorgs* (Komsomol organizers) are pressuring students to join the Komsomol and school directors second the efforts, but there is practically no response: in schools of 500 pupils, only a dozen or so, mostly children of non-Lithuanian race, belong to the Komsomol.

Membership in the "Pioneers"—the parody of boy scouting—is not obligatory but school authorities warn the parents to enroll their children.

In Kindergartens, communist and anti-religious propaganda is forced on little children, and teachers slyly attempt to enlist the little ones as informers on their parents and friends.

Forcible Collectivization and Duplicity

423 Unbelievable official duplicity is practiced by the Kremlin. Thus, *Izvestiya*, the official organ of the Soviet Government, in the issue No. 172 of 22 July 1948 wrote:

"The Agrarian Reform has been consummated in Lithuania. 92,000 former smallholders and the landless have received gratuitously FOR ALL TIME 659,000 hectares of land, tens of thousands horses and cows, over 100,000 houses and other farm structures.

"Prior to the completion of harvesting, over 250 kolkhozes were found in the country."

The final phrase presaged the forcible drive against the "smallholders and the landless" from whom land was seized and redistributed in order to provide statistical data to show a great Soviet "achievement," prior to driving the expropriated "recipients of the land FOR ALL TIME" into the kolkhozes. And yet,

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423 so many solemn assurances had been made on the highest authority that there would be no collectivization. . . .

The Russians well realize that collectivization means a decrease of production and a lowering of living standards. But the Soviet regime—materialistic in all its aspects—does not concern itself with materialistic calculations in its drive for forcible collectization: collectivization is a part of the "ideological drive." That is, a part of perfecting the POLICE REGIME.

There were no "estate owners" or "peasants" in Lithuania: Lithuanian agriculturists were all dignified and self-respecting medium and small FARMERS, HUSBANDMEN, who produced enough to maintain comfortable living standards, provided gradual accumulation of farming machinery, earned income enabling them to send their children to universities. They entered specialized fields of production—dairying, cattle breeding, sugar beet production, fowl raising, pig breeding, etc. Lithuanian agricultural economy enabled the country to export annually increasing quantities of the highest grade butter, eggs, cheese, hams, bacon, canned meat, frozen meats, flax, bristles, casings, lard, etc. The farmers lived in isolated homesteads, rather than in Russian type clustered villages. They enjoyed privacy in their homes surrounded by orchards and flower gardens and crosses.

But, from the Soviet point of view, individual farming tends to maintain "rugged individualism," independent thinking, self-reliance, self-respect, dislike of a police interference. Production by independent farmers cannot be controlled by the most precisely calculated estimates—and the Russians are thinking in terms of simple grain production, rather than specialized varieties of agriculture. Russian officials can never be certain whether the last ounce had been squeezed from an independent farmer.

And a farmer living in his isolated homestead escapes the continual surveillance of the MVD network of spies! Walking off to his orchard, garden or grove, he could maintain liaison with the "people's enemies" and "political bandits"—and every independent-thinking Lithuanian is either a "political bandit" or a "people's enemy" in the Soviet mentality. He could supply the "bandits" with food or clothing, or shelter them at night. This is the most "criminal" aspect of individual farming.

474 In the kolkhoz—it is quite different.

626 Hundreds of families are herded into a closely guarded enclosure where each person is assigned so much "living space" and has no choice in selecting either the "breathing space" or room mates. A few dozen armed MVD troops guard the huge estate bared of all tree vegetation. There is no chance for "hoarding" or secreting a part of the production which is checked in the field by Party officials. No one can enter or leave unnoticed and unquestioned. Every fifth person is an agent informer of the MVD. No one can leave at night or maintain any contacts unsurveyed by the MVD. Everyone can be depended upon to report dutifully for casting his or her ballot at periodic "elections." No one owns any property, except the few pieces of furniture, bedding and personal rags. No one can read the clandestine press unobserved by the agents. No one can own a radio set or listen to clandestine broadcasts. There are "red corners" supplied with ample official propaganda literature and a radio

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474 tuned to either Vilnius or Moscow broadcasts deemed
626 proper by the authorities—and loudspeakers are installed so that no one can escape hearing such news. And there is no church or chapel—no one can leave to attend religious services.

In fact, the kolkhoz is a CONCENTRATION CAMP OF STATE SERFS. The Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union published a decree on 7 July 1948: "No one may leave the kolkhoz or any section thereof without permission of the authorities." The serfs must produce their quotas of work—or face a trial for "sabotage."

The *Izvestiya* article of 22 July 1948 was preceded by a boast of comrade Sniečkus, First Secretary of the LKP/b CK: "659,000 ha. of land were seized from estate owners and redistributed to smallholders and the landless." The gratuitious gift of land "for all time" of 15% of all cultivated land area of the country was coupled with a boast of comrade Sniečkus: 900 farms in Šiauliai county were merged into 32 "co-operative artels."

Soon after the gift of land "for all time," the Riga radio broadcast on 30 August: "Sooner or later, *all* of the farmers of Latvia *must* go into kolkhozes." This tune was immediately echoed in the press of Lithuania: those refusing to go into "co-operative artels" were branded "state traitors." . . .

Collectivization Procedure

474 Prior to 1948, there were 20 kolkhozes established in the depopulated and Russian-resettled District of Klaipéda and areas of Vilnius vacated by repatriates to Poland. Thereafter, the first kolkhozes were established among Russian Old Believer sectarians in the northeast. The first kolkhoz near Utena, in a purely Lithuanian community invaded by Russian settlers, was destroyed by the guerrillas. The serfs scattered.

In the spring of 1948, the collectivization drive was pushed.

[234] It began with the dairying farmers. Thus, the Party organ *Tiesa* announced in its issue of 11 May:

"Formerly, milk delivery quotas were fixed according to the number of cows owned by the farms. Now, milk delivery quotas are assessed according to the ratio of general land area under cultivation. The new system aims at inducing the farmers to develop the cattle industry. Furthermore, this decree is directed against the sabotage by the kulaks who falsify the actual number of cows held by them.

"On the other hand, peasants of the kolkhozes are relieved from any compulsory milk deliveries this year. Collective farms deliver milk from every hectare of land under cultivation—25 kilograms per hectare. Nevertheless, 50% reduction is granted for the years 1948 and 1949."

In the issue of 19 September 1948 comrade Sniečkus announced:

"The urgent desire of farmers to go into collective farms gained during the past spring and summer."

He cited 32 kolkhozes in Šiauliai county and new kolkhozes at Sasnava, Liūbavas and Kalvarija. At the same time he threatened a "relentless drive against kulak saboteurs" failing to meet compulsory grain and produce quotas. Numerous instances of prosecution and "loss of freedom" were cited.

An entire issue of 2 November 1948 of the Party organ was dedicated to describing "the happiness" in the kolkhozes. "More than 300 collective farms are now found in the Republic. Their number increases apace. In a number of counties—viz., Šakiai, Šiauliai, Joniškis, etc.—peasants from entire contiguous areas now work collectively."

Eleven days later the number of kolkhozes was officially placed at 350. On 1 January 1949 the Vilnius radio broadcast that there were 600 kolkhozes in Lithuania. At the Party Congress of 16-19 February 1949 Sniečkus boasted that 22,868 *farm units were merged into 926 kolkhozes.* "Within a year the entire agricultural economy will be completely collectivized." In his four-hour speech, he thundered against "the bourgeois nationalist underground, reactionary clergy, western pernicious influences." . . .

Tiesa of 2 November 1948 quoted the new serfs as perfectly pleased with their degradation. Thus, one G. Misiūnas was quoted as saying that the Soviet regime had given him 15 ha. of land but that lately he entered a kolkhoz. "I keep one cow and am raising a pig." He received 7 hundredweights of wheat for his share of work. He also has an individual garden plot but intends to give it up, inasmuch as "the kolkhoz provides everything."

Another serf, L. Savickas, was quoted as saying that every peasant gets 5 rubles daily for his labor, plus payment in produce: the kolkhoz had already distributed 3 kg. of grains to each peasant and promised an additional 7 kg. He expects to work 516 days annually and calculates that, during a year, he would earn 6 tons of grains and about 2,500 rubles in cash. Other peasants might be working fewer days. Nevertheless, "none would earn less than 2 tons of grains."

This outlook was rudely jolted a week later, in the *Tiesa* of 10 November:

"The basic condition BEFORE the distribution of profit among the peasants of a collective farm is that—all of the duties to the state regarding deliveries and return of seed loans, must be met; obligations assumed under contracts be fulfilled; MTS (Motor Tractor Stations) be paid in produce for their work; taxes and state loan subscriptions be paid, and internal funds of an agricultural artel be created and expanded, as demanded by the regulations of agricultural artels.

"Prior to distribution of profit among the peasants, boards of the collective farms must never overlook the plans for their future development, such as construction of administration buildings, dynamo stations, new hatchery reproductors, cultural demands of the kolkhoz, etc. To overlook such important problems—means to trammel the further development of the farm."—In other words, sabotage.

The farmers know the value of the boasts of "happiness" published in the propaganda press—but do not underestimate the gravity of the warnings.

The propaganda was exported to Party comrades abroad, too. Thus, comrade Kunchin's article was published in the issue No. 181 of *Laisvė* of Brooklyn, N.Y. Comrade Kunchin described the collectivization in Joniškis county. The Party's county organization began an intensive drive for collectivization back in 1947. Farmers of the Žagarė township were forced by 4 local communists to drop all work and listen for hours to the agitators—20 such meetings were held.

474 Grammar school teachers and library managers were enlisted in the propaganda task. At long last, following a year of propaganda, "in the early spring of 1948, the smallholders Gasparaitis, Daugėla and others from Stungiai village of Žagarė township declared a desire to form an agricultural artel in their village. The initiative on the part of the working peasants was immediately supported by the township and county Party and Soviet organs."

The pattern is very clear. Following a full year of terrorization, *two persons* were finally browbeaten "to take the initiative," that is, to sign on the dotted line in the presence of the armed militiamen who had repeatedly searched their farms, requisitioned "excess supplies," beat up and cursed the farmers. The rest of the "organs" immediately "supported the initiative": 56 families at long last capitulated, rather than go to Siberia, and formed the third kolkhoz in the county...

On 18 July, four days before the *Izvestiya* article boasting of landgrants to Lithuanian farmers "FOR ALL TIME," the Moscow radio blared: *"Not a foot of soil must be left in private hands!"*

On 24 July the Vilnius radio seconded: "Individual farms are—hatcheries of kulaks and nationalist bandits," and stressed that "every kolkhoz dweller is deputized by the Communist Party not only to perform his direct duties in the kolkhoz but *assist the Party in controlling the kulak farms* in the neighborhood."

On 9 August the Moscow radio noted that "individual farms, especially in the Baltic republics, were sheltering places for the enemy's agents. . . . It is the supreme duty of the communists of Lithuania to organize kolkhozes and *destroy the centers of bourgeois and Western influence.*"

Resistance to Collectivization

661 474 *The New York Times* of 25 August 1948 published a dispatch from Paris depicting the paced up drive for collectivization. Greatest resistance was believed to exist in Lithuania.

In its issue of 17 October, the *Times* reported that "a new purge of kulaks" was expected in Lithuania. "Last May Soviet militia rounded up many Lithuanian families, ordered them to sign statements that they were moving to Siberia 'voluntarily,' and then sent them east. They were so-called kulaks."

By 14th December, the entire American press published comments on an article of comrade Trofimov complaining that the Lithuanians were dispatching to Lenin some "Soviet folk." Early in January, the Vilnius radio boasted of the *"liquidation of an insurrection" in Lithuania.*

What were the actual facts? The Russian MVD-MGB forces conducted *three "operations" of genocide* and mass deportations in the spring, autumn and winter. These "operations" were planned and ordered by the Kremlin Politburo, and comrade Gavedov was delegated by comrade Abakumov, State Security Minister of the USSR, to execute the "operations." Nevertheless, some gruesome events facilitated the improvisation of an "insurrection."

In consequence of the pussyfooting of the Allied and IRO officials, some simpleton DPs succumbed to the wiles of the Soviet repatriation missions in Western Germany and returned to Lithuania. Some of

661 them, like the 60-year old farmer J. Kaminskas from Oldenburg, were "detoured" to Siberia. Several other
474 families were forcibly repatriated by the Russians from Pomerania—and were executed by the local authorities when they reached their homes. Having identified the former refugees, the Russians at once retaliated against their relatives. Thus, in Sudavia, Rev. Degutis of Virbalis, Rev. Zdanavičius, Rev. Drazdys, township clerk Bieliauskas of Pajevonys, Stasys Aleksa from Jakilkiai, Jonas Micuta from Kunigilkiai were executed. In distant Samagitia, Antanas Ambrozaitis, Antanas Bieliauskas and several other men were exiled to Siberia from Kretinga and their *wives were forced to re-marry*. Similar events have taken place elsewhere.

668 The guerrilla commanders felt obliged to retaliate.
725 On learning that Eugenija Kubiliūtė of Pajevonys had been responsible for some of the Russian-conducted massacres, the guerrillas attacked Pajevonys, found the girl inside the Pajevonys township office, tied her and burned down the structure with the traitor girl inside. The same night the MVD-militia outpost was attacked and destroyed. In the northwest, the guerrillas simultaneously occupied several towns and killed all the communists. Other units invaded the Klaipėda District and seized a Russian arsenal at Šilutė-Heidekrug, including tanks and artillery pieces. Several battalions of the regular Soviet Army sent to combat the guerrillas unexpectedly passed over to the enemy. . . . If there was "insurrection," that was by the regular armed forces of Russia. MVD-MGB troops were moved in and light bombers were summoned to bomb the "bandits" who retreated to the forests. As Russian reinforcements rushed to Pajevonys, a Russian munitions dump exploded. . . .

Then followed the "operation" of May 1948.

Genocide in Operation

474 Rural authorities were instructed to urge the dis-
661 possessed farmers to file applications for land allotments. Of course, none of these instructions were printed in the press. Local officials were instructed to stress that the Soviet regime wanted to endow everyone with land. When petitions were turned in, the officials informed the petitioners that land was allotted to them "in another township" and they must report to certain transportation points. When the farmers and their families, bearing their few worldly possessions arrived at the appointed places, they were encircled by MVD troops, driven to railroad depots and placed on board freight cars bound for Siberia. Conservative estimates placed the number of people deported in this despicable manner at more than 100,000.

Letters began arriving from the deportees telling about the numerous deaths while in transit. People trembled as they listened to threats made by countless agitators. Agricultural work was done listlessly. Fields were neglected. More and more failures to meet taxes and grain delivery quotas were reported in the press, announcing "temporary exile into friendly republics" of the "kulak saboteurs." People became resigned and agreed to go into kolkhozes.

668 The Lithuanian is passionately fond of his soil. How could he leave all his precious belongings and animals to the profane Russians to debase? No: he would rather burn down everything. . . .

000 16a

A unit of Freedom Fighters resting after a battle—Taurus Area, Lithuania.

668 These practices meant "sabotage of a people's economy" and "insurrection." Reproached and heckled in
661 this manner, some people broke down and could no longer stand the tirades and the violence. They seized their pitchforks, axes and scythes and turned on the hated Muscovites. Countless people were murdered. Ablebodied men fled to the forests.

All this time, the Russians were perfecting their preparations to execute the "Abakumov Order" to purge the Baltic States of all hostile element (see the Nov.-Dec. 1948 issue of the *Lithuanian Bulletin*, pp. 4-5). The indignation and desperation of the farmers offered a very convenient excuse for MVD-MGB troops to descend en masse in November and December 1948 in execution of a previously conceived plan of the Kremlin Politburo. After all, the agitators had very definite instructions: rave for hours—and some people's enemies are likely to betray themselves/ . . .

No one knows the manpower losses of the "operation" of the present winter. First reports placed the casualties at 60,000 men, women and children. But the Russians claimed that the "insurrection" was put down only in January 1949, and the "Russian system" entails retaliation against the families and friends of the "people's enemies." This means that the persecution is endless. . . .

However, the crime of genocide perpetrated by the Russians against Catholic Lithuania does not end with simple murder on the ground of a provoked "sabotage" and "insurrection." Genocide takes other forms.

874 One of the refined forms of genocide is reported in
661 the Party organ *Tiesa* of 13 December 1948:

"A serial call of the youths to the FGA (Factory Production Training) schools of Vilnius, Kaunas and Klaipėda began on 10 November. The call-up will last until 15 December 1948. One thousand youths will be called to learn mass construction skills. During the years 1945-48 about 14,000 young skilled workers entered industrial and construction concerns from the trades, railroad and FGA schools."

Graduates of such specialized schools may be sent anywhere in the Soviet Union, to "assist the fraternal republics" needing specified skilled labor groups. They have no choice—they must go where they are directed, and there is unlimited demand for skilled labor in the Asiatic "fraternal republics." Their eventual return to their homeland is doubtful.

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"Master race" gangsters—Russian MGB "istrebiteli" troops (a photograph "borrowed" by the guerrillas).

661 This is a diabolical method to take the youths from their homeland and to separate them permanently from their own people, thus depriving Lithuania of a natural growth of its people. This method entails *double genocide*—the destruction of a *national* and *religious* minority. There is but one lone Catholic church in Russia—in Moscow, for foreigners. The Lithuanian Catholic youths of school age are doomed to live among heathen Russians and Asiatics, far from the influence of the Catholic Church. . . .

Few young people are seen in Lithuania. They are either drafted into the Soviet armed forces and labor battalions, or are working in Russia as skilled workers, or are with the guerrillas in the forests. Natural family life and procreation are made impossible. The Lithuanian People as a nation is being starved, crucified and wiped out by the Soviet aggressor whom Lithuania had considered a friend during the years 1920-1940.

Death March

000 A guerrilla officer vividly described his impressions of viewing a column of the deportees in Vilnius.

"As the last rays of the sun were growing longer, just like our sufferings under the increasing oppression, my hopeless eyes gazed into the street.

"Suddenly, armed soldiers with fixed bayonets turned the corner and chased people off the street. A long column of men was approaching—an ordinary sight these days, the third one I had seen that week.

"Two days earlier, a woman fell into a manhole in her flight when MVD soldiers were chasing the people off the street. She clung to the manhole's edge. The soldiers stopped the column, pulled the woman to the street and mercilessly clubbed and kicked her—I can still hear her cries. . . .

"Two weeks earlier, the 15-year old son of my neighbor was marched past this house. I watched Juozukas passing his home. The boy raised his hand and shouted: "The regime of bandits will eventually come to an end! I shall return, my dear parents, do not fear!"—But a rifle butt was already descending on his shoulders. . . .

"The column came nearer. I strained my eyes to see if I knew anyone.

"Yes—there was my former professor of Lituanistics. A tall man, his head held high, hatless. Doubtless, he carried his hat in hand to be recognized easier. . . .

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000 How tired he looked! His cheekbones protruding, his face yellow, nothing but rags on his emaciated body. And yet—his head was high and he looked straight ahead! He marched as a soldier past the reviewing stand. I was proud of him: he meant what he used to say in those good old days: "Don't be like reeds swaying in the wind. Be firm, be individual personalities!"

"Detained but a month ago, there he was marching past my window to Siberia. . . . He reeled. . . . His comrades quickly grasped him—and the professor marched again, with heavier steps. . . . The column disappeared in the growing dusk. . . .

"I waited by the window. The cursing and stray shots of soldiers died down. . . . I descended to the street and walked toward the railway depot—maybe I could see him once again—just to impart my farewell through eyes.

"But cruel Mongol faces blocked the approaches. I stopped—looked around. An old woman peered anxiously at the long train seen in the distance. A young woman with unshed tears stood nearby. . . .

"Several MVD soldiers came forth and shouted to run for our lives. As they spoke, bullets ricocheted from the walls overhead. . . We ran. . . .

"I found myself climbing the stairs to the shrine of the Blessed Virgin of Aukros Vartai. I knelt and begged Our Lady to help us in our present misfortune. . . .

"Suddenly, as the train whistled, I heard singing from a distance. Our exiles were singing that great hymn of Lithuania: *"Dievas mūsų gelbėtojas ir stiprybė. . . ."* (God, our shelter and strength!)"

Economic Oppression

Latvia and Estonia had been subdued prior to 1948 and little resistance had been offered to the forcible collectivization. Lithuania suffered heavy blows throughout 1948, mostly due to the desperate [181] resistance against collectivization and terror. A proud and stubborn people steeped in traditional sense of human dignity, self-respect, passion for their native soil, for Christianity, and despising the exhibitionist masters of the country—cannot be broken! THE LITHUANIANS WILL EITHER REGAIN THEIR FREEDOM—OR DIE TO THE LAST MAN! Living in individual homesteads or in kolkhozes, they will—unlike the Russians—sporadically rebel whenever the limit of their patience will be reached and their sense of dignity outraged. Russian sadism and cruelty will not affect the people's determination.

423 In 1948, the life of independent farmers was not
656 easy. The land was nationalized. The norm of land parcels left to private "management" by former owners varied in the districts. Arable land was evaluated according to the scale of "third-class land," and a production equivalent of up to 30 hectares was left to private "exploitation." Where the land is of better grade, plots are smaller. Wherever the communists tagged a "people's enemy" classification on the owner, only 5 ha. of land were left.

Norms of compulsory levies "in nature" also vary. The quota is assessed per hectare, and the norm for persons with larger plots is greater per hectare than that levied on managers of smaller plots. A cow-owning urban dweller who does not own a single square foot of soil, must deliver 12 kilograms of butter annually to the state. Payment for "tax in nature" de-

423 656 liveries is niggardly. For instance, 2 pre-reform rubles were paid for a hundredweight of rye, but the state resold the grain to the worker as baked bread at the rate of 3.5 rubles per kilogram. In the black market, the hundredweight of rye sold for 1,200 rubles.

Failure to meet the assessed produce quotas is harshly penalized: cattle are confiscated, families are dispossessed and sentenced to several years of "loss of freedom" at hard labor in concentration camps. And a farmer deals with *two governments*: in daytime with the Russians, at night—with the Lithuanian underground authorities.

A farmer managing 30 ha. farm, must deliver 4,000 kilograms of grains, 4,500 kg. of potatoes, 800 kg. of meat, and specified amounts of hay, wool, eggs, butter and milk to the state. Terms are fixed for such deliveries, usually between fall and Christmas. However, [461] local Executive Committees pay no attention to the fixed terms: they engage in "socialistic competition" to surpass each other in making record deliveries and set the high mark of "voluntary contributions in excess of the quotas." Fixed contingents are not enough: excess quotas are fixed and announced, by armed militiamen, to the exploited farmer as "voluntarily assumed duties of the area inhabitants," plus "voluntary sales to the state" of about 20% in excess of the quota. Detachments of militia ravage the countryside collecting the levies ahead of time. Once the quotas and excess quotas are met,—a distant "sister republic" somewhere in the Altais "challenges" Lithuania to a "socialistic competition." Immediately, tens of thousands of militia and MVD troops descend on the poor farmers to seize "voluntary contributions" in addition to negligently exposed wristwatches, cash, suits, etc. The waylaying of women and girls begins, etc. If "challenges" are repeated, new waves of armed official robbers descend. . . .

This shameless policy of exploitation ruins the farmer. He no longer has bread nor seeds, and is glad to get away from the armed communist terrorists and to settle on a kolkhoz or anywhere out of reach of the collectors of "voluntarily assumed quotas"—but he is fooled, as challenges to "socialistic competition" by distant kolkhozes omit no one. . . . Nothing at all is paid sometimes for the seized stocks, even though the collectors possess signed receipts of payment. And all the time the harrassed farmer must listen to Russian profanity and hear himself called "people's enemy," "kulak," "saboteur," "reactionary," "exploiter," etc.

[511] Workers employed in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes receive but 10% of the minimum standard of living. For this reason, every inhabitant of a state-operated farm and institution MUST steal to protect his family from hunger and nakedness.

The duty of providing "stoykas" is very oppressive. Farmers must provide carriages and horses for postal deliveries, to transport government officials and their Katyushas from place to place, to cut and tote fixed contingents of timber, to transport grain contingents, carry gravel and repair the roads, etc. Of course, a member of the family must accompany the cart. During the German occupation, it was safer for women to accompany the carts. But no woman of any age may risk exposure to Russians. . . . Occasionally the driver and the horse disappear for months—transporting officials to distant places or carting materials for mili-

423 tary constructions. A family owning one horse must
656 transport 30 cords of timber to fixed stations. The owner of two horses must double the quota, in winter.

[311] In 1947, about 40% of arable land of Lithuania was unplanted, and the diet of the rural population suffered a catastrophic decline. Few tractors are available. Threshing machines were nationalized. Bribes are required to gain any assistance from the Russian managers of the MTS stations—and people prefer not to deal with the drunken and greedy representatives of the "master race." Forests are systematically destroyed and forest fires are not combatted. The MVD-MGB troops quite frequently set fire to the forests in order to "smoke out" guerrillas.

There was even less incentive to work for Russia in 1948. At least one half of the arable land went untilled. . . .

Industry

433 Peat production dropped to one-third of the level
377 of the German occupation period. Very little coal is brought to the country. For these reasons, there is a severe shortage of electric power. City dwellers must provide their own heating—for apartments, institutions and schools.

The official press occasionally reports that certain officials "abuse their office" by driving to some village, demolishing "deserted homes" and forcing the neighboring farmers to transport the lumber to the city as fuel. . . . Due to the prevalent bureaucracy and chaos, government buildings and student dormitories go unheated for weeks. Therefore, dormitory inhabitants or the office force of this or that institution mobilize and follow the example of the dignitaries: they descend on and transport deserted homes (in parts) in a "socialistic competition" to keep themselves warm. . . .

433 Brick production dropped for lack of skilled man-
[329] power. The brick works of Rokai and Palemonas produce for the army exclusively. No bricks and no tiles are available for sale to private citizens. Therefore, bricks and tiles figure in a lively black market exchange for horses.

Not a single cement plant is in operation—except on paper, in the boastful reports of "achievements" of the Russian dignitaries. The cement plants of Akmenė and Skirsnemunė are still in the stage of paper planning, though included in the five-year plan to be consummated by 1950.

[288] The textile plants of Klaipėda are idle. The Drobė plant of Kaunas is under reconstruction. The Litex and Audiniai plants began operating. The Linas plant produces for export to Russia exclusively.

The hide tanning plants of Šiauliai and the glass factories of Radviliškis and Aleksotas are operating. Dairies were mostly reactivated. The huge Maistas stockyards and canneries were burned down in Kaunas, and feeble efforts at reconstruction are forging ahead. The Maistas plant in Panevėžys is operating but production is small. The plant at Tauragė still lies in ruins.

The beet sugar refineries of Marijampolė and Panevėžys resumed operations. The paper and cardboard plant produces inferior quality products. The railway yards and repair shops of Kaunas are being expanded. The factories, as a rule, produce for war and export to Russia. The present production level amounts to less than 50% of the 1939 level.

497 Railroad traffic is lively: military trains pass Kaunas every few minutes. A single passenger train circulates daily between Vilnius and Kaunas, and one train operates every other day between Kaunas and Šeštokai.

499 505 Graveled highways go unrepaired, showing ever greater deterioration. Few ships and barges are seen on the Nemunas, as most of the fleet managed to escape to Denmark in 1944.

465 511 All artisans were driven into "artels": excessive taxes did the trick.

[435] Wages are low and working hours are long. Prices are twice as high as in Moscow: one week's wages is spent on a kilogram of butter. In 1945 butter was transported from Lithuania to Moscow in an "airlift operation," by planes. The Muscovites liked Lithuanian butter—and butter is still exported, depriving the Lithuanians of their diet. Numerous deductions are withheld from wages—up to one half, including "voluntary" subscriptions to state loans, etc.

In consequence of the meager pay, every worker attempts to steal whatever he can, and to sell the stolen products in the black market. Lately the bureaucracy—itself most guilty of embezzlement—began penalizing the workers with harsh penalties. Nevertheless, the practice of stealing is universal, and the Russian officials set the pace. Whenever the so-called "exemplary state farms" call for volunteers to assist in planting or harvesting—there are enough volunteers who anticipate a chance to "hook something."

The morale of factory workers is as low as that of the farmers. The living conditions steadily deteriorate. Discontent over "stakhanovite efficiency," long working hours, low pay, lack of clothing, etc. is widespread. In the early part of 1948 the regime abandoned its choicest proffer to workers—the bait of appointment [554] to managing posts. Today, there is a tendency to build up cadres of skilled specialists, a privileged caste of people in uniform—even telegraph post climbers wear uniforms. . . .

Moral Situation

000 Symbols of Russian "culture" and ways of life universally exhibited by the "masters and victors" are—violence, profanity, drunkenness, thievery, deceit and raggedness.

685 Any criminal tendencies among the natives were drastically curbed by the underground authorities. Felonies were penalized by death sentences—and the sentences were carried out. But thieving is uncontrollable in the factories and in the supply services.

273 186 The Russians and their bootlickers revel in continual drunkenness. Vodka is the universal form of bribe. Unfortunately, the brutal conditions of life affected the Lithuanians to a certain degree, too. People are tempted to forget bitter reality for a half hour at least. The resistance movement continually wages a press propaganda against alcoholism ("Don't be like a Russian!"). For strictly practical considerations of maintaining a supply service for its armed units, the resistance movement repeatedly issued orders banning home distilling and any waste of the much needed grains. The Russians, however, pursue a definite policy aimed at demoralizing the natives and weakening their moral standards. Vodka is dumped on the market in unlimited unrationed qualities. But — the Church is still permitted to preach against the evils of drunkenness.

000 Prostitution and rape—are the prevalent preoccupations of the Russian master race representatives in Lithuania. Roughly or -half of Russian males and females are venerics. Venereal diseases are treated gratuitously in governmental "ambulatories," but there is a shortage of sulfa.

186 There is little, if any, fraternization with the Russians. There had been cases of women marrying Russians in the cities, but the rural population, most exposed to Russian excesses, hated them from the start. Cases of desertion of the city "brides" by their Russian husbands who appropriated the "dowry," gained quick fame throughout the country, and such marriages became exceptional cases. There is but one known case of a Lithuanian man marrying a Russian woman—commissar Žiugžda.

000 The best evidence of "the high standards of living and culture" of Russia was provided by observation of the Russian armed forces and of the hordes of "*myeshochniki*" and "black cats"—the masses of ragged Russian men, women and children descending on the Baltic countryside with burlap bags over their backs, beggaring and stealing until the bags are filled, and then departing for home. The nickname of "black cats" originated because these Russians meouw as cats at night to induce the unnerved farmers to open their doors to chase the cats away—the "cats" then rob and kill the poor farmer.

There had been many cases of armed assault and robbery by uniformed army officers, militiamen and soldiers. Complainants recognizing the desk officer as their assaulter are "convinced" to forget the matter. Therefore, at night people walk the streets in groups armed with bats, lest a lone traveler feel the pressure of a pistol against his back and hear an order to "*razdyevatsya*" (disrobe) . . . . In the rural areas, only Russian armed detachments and guerrilla patrols travel by night. University students at Kaunas once captured red-handed an MVD officer stealing their bicycles. When a high dignitary missed his bicycle parked in the hallway of another government office, he was told by the militia: "Comrade, we have more important affairs to attend to. I can assure you that the bicycle will not leave the Soviet Union, and it is no concern of ours whether you or another citizen rides it."

Of course, ever present fear is the most horrible phase of life. One never knows when pistol butts will rap on one's door at night. . . .

A few artists met to view a new painting depicting a harvest scene. One wistfully wondered aloud: "What is there *Soviet* in this picture?" The painter interrupted: "I know—I will say: the reapers. . . . Please observe that they are singing. Of course, they are singing a Soviet song."

At a public function, a factory director praised loyalty to the Party and Stalin. Preiklas, a member of the Party CK, interrupted: "Don't blab. We know that you have the devil in mind. But what of it? We may spit on you just the same. You are slaving for us, and you will continue to slave for us, regardless of the fact that you carry the devil in your head."

With every family mourning one or more of its members or close relatives—the village soirees and dances passed out of existence. No songs are heard. . . .

The curtain of doom seems to have descended on Lithuania and the other Baltic Republics.

The Situation Of The Church In Enslaved Lithuania

Moscow Boasts

659 795 The Information Bulletin of the Soviet Embassy in Washington (April 30), in its "Notes on Soviet Life," describes the alleged freedom of religion in Lithuania:

> The position of the Roman Catholic Church in Soviet Lithuania was described in a recent statement by the Most Reverend Mgr. Reinis, Catholic Archbishop of Vilnius.
>
> "The Catholic Church enjoys perfect freedom in Soviet Lithuania," he told a Tass correspondent. "The local authorities are assisting us in restoring and repairing churches destroyed by the German invaders, and supplying building materials. Our clergy are provided with all necessities.
>
> "There are at present two archbishoprics in Lithuania," Mgr. Reinis went on to explain, "those of Vilnius and Kaunas. The Catholic Church organization has remained unchanged. All 711 churches are functioning with their staffs of 1,332 clergy. The Kaunas Ecclesiastical Seminary, headed by the prominent theologian Ventskus, is graduating scores of young Catholic priests annually. Thousands of believers in Vilnius, Kaunas and other towns and villages gather as usual at Matins and Vespers. All established holidays are observed by the Church."

The Reality

894 794 Before the Russian aggression in 1940, there were 6 dioceses in Lithuania (Archbishoprics of Vilnius and Kaunas, Bishoprics of Kaišiadorys, Panevėžys, Telšiai and Vilkaviškis) and the Klaipėda-Memel Prelacy. Lithuania had three archbishops and seven bishops, including one for the armed forces. There were four theological seminaries (Vilnius, Kaunas, Telšiai and Vilkaviškis) with 850 divinity students. There were Catholic and Protestant Theology-Philosophy Faculties in the Kaunas University, and a goodly number of private denominational high schools and other institutions of learning. A Catholic Academy of Arts and Sciences functioned and a Catholic University was in the process of formation. There were 800 parishes, with about 900 churches and chapels, 1,600 priests, and numerous convents, monasteries and congregations.

000 AND NOW? . . .

The Soviet Bulletin gives the latest statistics: "The Catholic Church organization has remained unchanged . . . 711 churches . . . 1,332 clergy . . . The Kaunas Ecclesiastical Seminary . . . two archbishoprics."

The Soviet Embassy conveniently omits the information regarding the fate of the bishops (of whom only three are probably in the country), the three missing seminaries, 300 priests, and the introduction of *numerus clausus* for divinity students: 150 for a nation of three million. . . The following article by a prominent Catholic layman, a university professor who lived through both Russian occupations and is now a refugee in Germany, will demonstrate bolshevik

2:Anonymous U-4(no date)1947 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

ovr tactics in combatting religion. pg 21A

Soviet Methods

771 Dr. Ladas Natkevičius, the late Lithuanian Minister to the Kremlin, was asked by Stalin in 1939, during the so-called "negotiations for a Mutual Assistance Pact," how great was the influence of the clergy in Lithuania. When he was told that the clergy of all Christian denominations enjoy great authority among the faithful, the Generalissimo thoughtfully remarked
006 —"That is *very important to know.*"

At the time the remark passed unnoticed. A Soviet invasion was not anticipated because of the frequently professed Soviet friendship for Lithuania and Lithuania's excellent record in discharging all treaty obligations.

But the significance of this remark was quite apparent when Justas Paleckis, the puppet "president of Soviet Lithuania," bade farewell to Dr. Hildebrandt, a noted German newspaperman. Paleckis told the departing German quite frankly that he had received instructions from the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. to apply no *direct* pressure on the clergy.

The Soviet regime always fought religion and its institutions, but its tactical methods were different during both occupations.

The First Occupation—Oppression at Full Tempo

718 Immediately after the first total occupation of the
661 Baltic States in June 1940, uniform steps were applied by the three satraps of the Kremlin dispatched to liquidate the sovereign Republics: Vice-Commissar for Foreign Affairs Dekanozov in Lithuania, Deputy-Commissar for Foreign Affairs Vyshynsky in Latvia and Politbureau member Zhdanov in Estonia. The Concordats with the Vatican were abruptly and unilaterally broken off and the Papal Nunzios were expelled.

Then followed the elimination of religion from public life. The Catholic and Protestant Theology-Philosophy Faculties of the University of Lithuania at Kaunas were closed; all Catholic cultural, educational and social welfare organizations, newspapers and publishing concerns were abolished and their properties confiscated; teaching of religion was eliminated from schools; army, school, hospital and prison chaplains were summarily dismissed; crucifixes and other religious insignia were removed from schools, courts and public places and desecrated.

423 Then came the application of the nationalization
798 decree: buildings, landholdings, workshops, libraries,
661 private hospitals and schools, orphanages, kindergar-

[423] tens and personal property owned by institutions and organizations of a religious character were sequestered. 798 In nationalizing land, parishes were given only 3 hectares—although other landlords retained 30 hectares. 661 Buildings owned by parishes and bishoprics, including episcopal residences and seminaries, libraries, printing shops, printed stocks of books were confiscated. Denominational grammar schools, high schools, orphanages, kindergartens and hospitals were converted into state institutions. The stocks of missals, hymnals, prayer-books, rosaries, religious pictures, and other religious articles found stored in book shops and retail stores were desecrated or destroyed.

793 The Soviets considered the clergy a separate "caste," antagonistic to the proletariat and, therefore, to be 651 eliminated. The clergy as well as independent farmers 661 (called '*kulaks*'), were oppressed economically; priests and "cult servants" were heavily taxed. For instance, a tolerated "proletarian" with a monthly income of 200 rubles paid 30 rubles monthly for living space assigned to him, while "cult servants" of the same income class paid 220 rubles monthly, and those with incomes of 350 rubles paid 388 rubles.

651 The Communist Party proposed to levy excessive license fees on churches, similar to motion picture 665 house and cabaret assessments. The taxes depended on 661 the size of the church. Such taxes were already imposed in the sections of Poland annexed to Russia—20,000 to 50,000 rubles. A commissar explained the policy to a pastor of a Lithuanian parish in eastern Lithuania which was annexed by Russia in 1939: "If you can't pay—close down your shop." Consequently, the churches were to be closed by degrees for nonpayment of taxes.

798 The Party also passed a decision to convert the cen- 665 trally located Garrison Church of Kaunas into a "Rev- 661 olutionary Museum." The Museum of Church Art was liquidated and its exhibits, the antique vestments, were used by Red Army troopers to polish their boots.

All that was public anti-religious action. The other phase, shrouded in secrecy, was directed against individual members of the clergy.

The Party instructed its agents to disrupt the internal discipline of churchmen, to enlist agent-informers among the clergymen, to antagonize priests against each other or to compromise them. NKGB Major Gladkov issued a secret directive dated 21 October 1940, directed to all county security chiefs, to institute unbroken surveillance of priests, church employees, friars and nuns, and to enlist students of upper classes for espionage on the private lives of the clergymen. "Remember that some of the priests are not provided for materially and are wavering in their ideological outlook." The secret order of 21 January 1941 directed particular attention to individual discontent and antagonism among members of religious organizations: advantage should be taken of such incidents to disrupt the organizations.

793 After digesting the reports of weakness exhibited by 659 some individual priests, People's Commissar of Jus- 661 tice, Pranas Pakarklis, a native traitor, offered attractive offices to a number of priests, on condition that

793 659 661 they discontinue holding Mass and stop the performance of other priestly duties. A number of priests were arrested and the NKVD attempted to enlist their services by threats and blackmail. Because of these methods, several priests consented—and, immediately after their release, fled abroad. Those refusing to become agents were imprisoned. Soon the number of prisoners grew as many friars, preachers and high school students heroically defended their faith.

626 527 461 The Russians initiated a campaign against religious *traditions*. They began by banning the traditional Corpus Christi processions in the streets. All Saints Day was declared to be a working day, and the authorities banned traditional services and mass visits to cemeteries on All Souls' Day. During Advent and Lent, the bolsheviks encouraged dancing, entertainment and anti-religious lectures. Good Friday and Holy Saturday, as well as the second day of Easter, were designated working days. Those failing to report for work on the second day of Easter were prosecuted. In general, at frequent intervals, ordinary Sundays were periodically declared to be working days, and Saturdays—days of rest.

876 626 The teaching of religion in schools was replaced by classes on biology and the Stalin constitution. Biological lectures popularized "Darwinism." The "science of constitution" was to popularize a "Soviet democracy" and its oft-varying shifts directed by party [883] line. In place of religious sodalities and athletic groups, the bolsheviks attempted to form "*Komsomol*" (Communist Youth) nests directed by political instructors called "Komsorg." Religious sermons were replaced by anti-religious tirades in the communist-controlled press and at mass meetings. Attendance at such mass-meetings to hear blasphemies was made compulsory.

626 661 558 Churches kept open and functioning. However, attendants at religious services were terrorized. The Party posted uniformed and non-uniformed spies at church doors to observe and list the churchgoers. Attendance in church was a sufficient reason for dismissal from higher offices.

000 The anti-religious drive, growing in tempo, began to expand. When Bishops Brizgys and Reuzuauskas called on Pozdniakov, the former Soviet Minister to Lithuania and at present the Kremlin's deputy satrap, to ask for the return of the premises of the Theological Seminary, the Russian attempted to "reason" with them. Pozdniakov stated that they should have no illusions: what had been accomplished in Russia in 20 years, will be achieved in Lithuania within two to three years by experienced administrators. Why should the Seminary "delude" young men? By the time they became priests, there would be no duties to perform—in Russia the priests already have nothing to do. . . .

Lithuanian Resistance to the Anti-Religious Drive

798 771 The Lithuanians had suffered much for religion—murder, imprisonment and exile to Siberia—during

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998 771 the Tsarist Russian occupation. True to tradition, resistance against the anti-religious drive developed into a spontaneous and united movement. The defense of religion embraced even persons who had formerly neglected the church and seemed to be indifferent.

Churches were filled to capacity. A former female communist stated that the church was the only place where one could relax physically, without having to listen to the maddening bolshevik agitation.

Mass singing in churches became a new and precious experience—a plea for help from a persecuted and dying people.

[769] On All Souls' night, the cemeteries were filled with people. The Lithuanians followed their ancient tradition, they paid respect to their dead without priests, regardless of the fury of the Party Militia which arrested many in their mad rage.

On Sundays, declared to be working days, everyone, including civil servants and school children, went to church, knowing full well the penalty. In Prienai, students reporting to school on All Souls' Day found a scribbled message tacked on the door: "Stalin's constitution grants freedom of conscience, therefore believers need not attend classes"—so all the students went to church. Numerous arrests and dismissals from school followed.

Public prayers were a custom during the school year. Now, just as soon as the teachers left the classrooms, they were again recited.

The bishops did not dismiss former chaplains from their duties. Unable to teach the doctrines of the Church in schools, the chaplains transferred their pastoral activities, after classes, into churches and sacristies. The chaplain of Alytus organized a Retreat on Good Friday. To prevent attendance, the Communist Party ordered the faculty of the school to organize an anti-religious lecture on that date and ordered all students to attend the mass-meeting. The teachers and a few pupils showed up. A teacher related afterward: "A little girl sat in front of me during the harrangue reading a booklet in her lap. I was curious and looked over her shoulder. It was the national religious classic of Lent songs—*Graudûs Verksmai*."

The ecclesiastic authorities did not dismiss the students of the seminaries. As some students dispersed, new idealists replaced them. Divinity students lived privately and attended lectures in churches, sacristies and private quarters. The NKVD made preparations to foreclose all private religious instruction, but the war intervened.

727 661 The first Russian occupation lasted one year. Pozdniakov's prophecy of the Soviet regime achieving within a two-three year period the results gained by the anti-religious campaign in Russia during 20 years, did not materialize, because of the spontaneous and determined resistance.

However, a heavy blow was delivered to religious life in Lithuania during the one year: 10% of the priests were eliminated, forcibly separated from their people. Of these, 15 priests were brutally tortured and murdered, 9 were exiled to Siberia. The majority

727 661 of laymen active in Catholic Action were either murdered or exiled to Siberia. 40,000 Lithuanians were deported to Russia during that one lone year, and at least two-thirds of the number were Catholic Action members.

The Second Russian Occupation

659 798 626 As far back as 1942, Comrade Vyshynsky, Deputy Commissar of Foreign Affairs and Liquidator of the Democratic Latvian State, admitted to a foreign statesman that bolshevik tactics in the Baltic States were based on an erroneous policy: the method of violence and compulsion had been a mistake.

In July 1944, the Russians again invaded the Baltic States. However, there was no change in their policy or methods regarding religion: they permitted no Catholic organizations, press or instruction of religion in schools.

[702] The Salesian monastery at Skirsnemunė was encircled by the Red Army and all physically able friars were drafted into the Red Army.

Soon thereafter, the tactics regarding the clergy wavered. Soviet overlords attempted to maintain, to some extent, the propaganda thesis regarding the alleged existence of "freedom of religion" in the Soviet [874] Union. Only one Catholic Seminary, of the former four, was left in Lithuania, but divinity students, as other university students, were exempt from military duty. The number of divinity students was sharply limited to 150—for a Catholic nation of three million —instead of the previous 850.

This measure represented a lull in the anti-religious drive: religion was to be eliminated by other means, by mass deportations of the faithful and their replacement by Communist Russians, so that, in the words of comrade Pozdniakov, the priests would find no employment for their vocation, no audience to listen to them. By effecting the primary aim of the Soviet regime—the liquidation of the Lithuanian people—the secondary aim, that of abolishing religion, would be simultaneously achieved. This explains the change in tactics, not the basic aim.

Furthermore, the new "party line" sought not merely to leave the clergy untouched, but to use them for political interests of bolshevism, as is done in Russia with the Orthodox clergy. In 1946 the NKVD encountered great difficulty with armed Lithuanian guerrilla operations. The NKVD decided to use the bishops and clergy to break the fighters' will to wage war. The Ministry of Interior (NKVD-MVD) demanded that the bishops publish pastoral letters and in sermons condemn the armed resistance and urge an end to it.

The alien regime attempted to attain two purposes: to enlist the clergy's aid to further its plans, and to drive a wedge between the clergy and the fighting nation. However, the plan was too obviously underlined with "red" threads, and the bishops declined to do the NKVD bidding. When the NKVD threatened with repressions, one bishop frankly told the satraps: "It is all the same to me whether I live five more years or less—I shall not soil the authority of the Church."

2:Anonymous U-4 (no date)1947 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

The Anti-Religious Drive Intensified

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When the Church hierarchy refused to be drawn to the "party line," Russian tactics once more underwent a change and returned to the policy of outright oppression.

Half of the surviving bishops of Lithuania were arrested: Bishop Borisevičius of Telšiai, his Suffragan Bishop Ramanauskas, and Bishop Theophilius Matulionis of Kaišiadorys. The latter suffered his second martyrdom at the hands of the Russians: previously he had spent 12 years in Russian dungeons and slave labor camps until, in 1933, he was exchanged for a Soviet spy sentenced in Lithuania for subversive activities.

There are two versions regarding the fate of Bishop Borisevičius. Officially, he was sentenced to death. However, repatriated German prisoners of war state that they saw the bishop in a slave labor gang cutting timber in the Far East, together with several other Lithuanian Monsignori and priests.

The aged bishop of Vilkaviškis, Antanas Karosas, is now living in Marijampolė, retired from active duties. Archbishop Karevičius died soon after the second Russian invasion. Archbishop Romuald Jałbrzykowski of Vilnius was repatriated to Poland to administer the sections of the Vilnius Archbishopric left in a reduced Poland. Archbishop Skvireckas, Metropolitan of Lithuania, together with Bishop Brizgys of Kaunas and Co-Adjutor Bishop Podoškis of Vilkaviškis, are in exile in Western Europe. Bishop Mečys Reinys of Vilnius, according to a *Tass* bulletin, is said to be alive in Vilnius. There is no information whatsoever regarding Bishop Paltarokas of Panevėžys. Mgr. Juodaitis is administering the Bishopric of Telšiai.

If Bishop Paltarokas is still living, only two bishops remain in Lithuania—20% of the pre-war hierarchy. Of course, this does not prevent *Tass* from claiming that "The Catholic Church organization has remained unchanged. . . ."

During the latter part of 1946, the Soviet press vilely attacked the Catholic Church and the clergy. Lithuanian priests were accused of supporting the guerrillas—"political bandits" and "Lithuanian-German nationalists." The NKVD instituted numerous prosecution processes against priests and gave the widest publicity to the charges. Priests were sentenced to 10 years in hard labor prisons and deported to Russia.

The terror, by the end of the year 1946, was greater than during the first occupation: 25 priests were murdered, 40 were sentenced to hard labor and deported, 150 priests are in hiding.

Through murders, imprisonment, deportations and exile, Lithuania has lost the services of at least 350 priests—that is, 22% of all priests in the country in 1940.

Bishop Ramanauskas of Telšiai went to the NKVD in Vilnius to inquire about the fate of his superior, Bishop Borisevičius. He was told that the Bishop was sentenced to death. He returned to Telšiai. He was arrested by the NKVD immediately after hold-

2:Anonymous U-. (no date)1947 R85 Lithuanians

793 ing Holy Mass. With his hands tied behind his back,
661 he was pushed into an auto, driven to the railroad
798 station, and placed on board a train.

Bishop Matulionis was arrested in mid-December 1946. The old martyr bore himself with dignity and firmness. To warnings by well-wishers he replied: "I know the bolsheviks." He had ordained some divinity graduates December 9 and 12th, and appeared very weak. He was arrested a few days later for having issued a pastoral letter warning against the wiles of Komsomol.

Arrests of the clergy are more numerous after several visits to "Prime Minister" Gedvila to protest against limiting the number of divinity students to 150. The seminary's building is being requisitioned: its quarters in Marian Fathers' Charity Church are being turned over to Nurses School.

A favorite Russian method is to promote dissension. When Rev. Nagulevičius, pastor of Obeliai, was arrested, the NKDV lodged a suspended priest in the rectory. This "pastor" refused to admit the priest appointed by the bishop. The Chancellor of the diocese arrived to settle the matter, but the NKVD "pastor" refused to obey. When the Chancellor visited comrade Gailevičius, Adviser on Cult Affairs in Vilnius, the latter said: "At present the people rule. This is apparently the people's will, and we cannot help in this matter."

The NKVD is attempting to install its own "priests" and, eventually, to have a Church administration subservient to the NKVD. Thus far, only one apostate is known.

No priests are admitted to the Klaipėda-Memel District.

[794] Congregations are being evicted from their quarters although, officially, the monasteries are not banned. St. Casimir's Sisters are still in possession at Pažaislis, and the Franciscan Fathers are still left in Kretinga.

[651] Priests and Church property are heavily taxed. For instance, the Cathedral of Kaunas must pay 46,000 rubles, the Cathedral of Panevėžys 40,000, the small Church of St. Nicholas in Vilnius dating back to the 14th century, is taxed 16,000 rubles. The late Mgr. Jokubauskas, administrator of the Bishopric of Kaunas who died in February 1947, was taxed 20,000 rubles. The figures become significant when it is realized that an average laborer earns 200 rubles a month.

Sidelights of Anti-Religious Drive

659 Religious practice is permitted inside the church
626 only: Stalin's constitution grants "freedom of belief"
798 and warrants the liberty of anti-religious propaganda. No religious texts, not even prayerbooks, are permitted to be published—"paper shortage" . . . On the other hand millions of vile pamphlets are printed.

Once more, uniformed sentinels and agents in mufti are ostentatiously posted at church doors. They look over every face and scribble notes in the "blocnotes."
[558] Attendance in church means dismissal from a responsible post in the government. Teachers attending religious services are denounced in the press as "persons of low morality." A high school director inquired of

659 the Ministry of Education whether he could attend
656 religious services. The reply was: "As an individual—
798 yes, as a State employee—No."

Churches in the cities are crowded. In rural areas—the churches are nearly vacant. This is because people are afraid to leave their homes because of robberies and thefts by the Russians and Party members. On Sundays, even uniformed soldiers and militiamen (police) are openly engaging in robberies.

659 A vigorous campaign against priests and the Vatican
798 was instituted since December 1946. The Pope, the
208 Vatican, and Christian morality and ways of life are vilely denounced. In 1947, the Vatican became the "cradle of international reaction": the button pressed in Moscow echoes everywhere under the Russian occupation.

Translators immediately put out literature in the Lithuanian language. *Tiesa*, the official organ of the Communist Party and "government," in its #45 issue denounced the institution of Papacy as a partner of imperialists and exploiters: "The Pope was partner of the gangs of Teutonic crusaders," "During World War II, the Pope supported Hitler, the worst enemy of the Lithuanian people," "the clergy are the worst exploiters and enemies of the people."

Christian morality is also abused but "bolshevik morality" (?) is praised. For instance, *Bolševikinis Kelias* (On the Bolshevik Path, No. 6/12) of 28 February 1947 wrote:

"The working people of a socialist country are creating their own new morality, basically differing from religious morality. Our morality is based on the struggle for Communism. . . . Morality is the means for destroying the exploiting society and uniting the working people around the proletariat which is forming a new Communist society. Hatred for the oppressors and enslavers . . . these are the wonderful peculiarities of our morality."

Certainly, a remarkable resemblance to Nazi "morality". . . .

The people of Lithuania entertain no illusions: the publicity drive against religion presages a new wave of arrests and deportations and purges. Indeed, since February 1947 mass dismissals from State employment—and every concern is a State concern—began.

798 The Lithuanian people met the second anti-religi-
771 ous drive with passive resistance, just as during the
883 first occupation. The "purges" are met with heroic stoicism. Churches remain filled with the faithful, regardless of the "friendly reminders" by Communist overlords to avoid the "inconveniences" and "hardships." Religious conferences for school children go on in churches, and the Komsomol is boycotted. Anti-religious "lectures" are attended only under compulsion. Teachers support the Komsomol only under direct pressure. *Tiesa*, the Soviet official mouthpiece, voiced its concern (12 February 1947):

"Komsomol meetings in the II Gymnasium of Šiauliai are infrequent. The Komsomol youths' attendance is deficient—a recent meeting was attended by only 5 members out of 13. We asked comrade Baravykaitė,

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798 a Komsomol girl, why her sister did not attend. She
771 blushed, did not dare to speak, finally she admitted:
883 'She is afraid.'

"—What do you mean, afraid?

"In the 4th Class there are 2 Komsomol members, but the influence of the reactionary Catholic clergy is very strong among the students of that class. The girls attend church and classes in religion arranged by the priests. Only members of the Komsomol do not attend, and they are persecuted for this reason.

"Reactionary Catholic clergymen built a strong nest in the II Gymnasium. They send out invitations to attend church where religion is taught to students. The teachers could not be unaware of this, yet they do nothing about it."

The Soviet mouthpiece recommended the purging of the teaching staff.

771 The Lithuanian People may suffer long martyrdom for Christianity. Nevertheless, they are encouraged by the sharpening ideological exchanges reflected in the Soviet press. They continue to sing with unfathomable emotion their classic religious hymn:

"Marija, Marija, skaisčiausia Lelija . . .
Palengvink vergiją, pagelbėk žmonijai,
Ilgesėk nuo priešo baisaus . . .

"Oh, Mary, Mary, most immaculate Lily . . .
Ease enslavement, help humanity,
Save from the terrible enemy . . ."

800 If this struggle lasts much longer and the Lithuanians and the other Baltic peoples do not receive help from those who guaranteed to nations and to individuals freedom of worship, then the Baltic peoples will be exterminated. Only their unshakable loyalty to their religious convictions and to liberty, will remain as an example; perhaps to some, more sensitive souls—as a qualm of conscience.

What is taking place in Lithuania and the other Baltic States today is only a reproduction in miniature of the great ideological conflict which is shaking the world: the conflict of religion against anti-religion; a continuation of the conflict of democracy and freedom against totalitarianism and moral and physical slavery. As Mr. Alexander Clifford says in his very significant article in the continental edition of the "Daily Mail" (May 7, 1947): *"Make No Mistake, This Is War—A Holy War."*

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3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

The ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION Of LITHUANIA After 1918

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians

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The ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION Of LITHUANIA After 1918

Anicetas Simutis

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To the Ideals of the

ROOSEVELT-CHURCHILL
ATLANTIC CHARTER

V

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PREFACE

121 The purpose of this study is to contribute to an understanding of all the phases of economic reconstruction of one of the
178 Baltic republics, Lithuania. The subject assumes greater interest when it is taken into consideration that Lithuania was impoverished during the World War, that even its few small industries had been destroyed during the hostilities, and that Lithuania had no natural resources such as gold, silver, iron, and coal. In the comparatively short period of her independence—twenty-two years—Lithuania improved her agriculture, developed her foreign trade, and made very substantial progress in every branch of her economic life. Before the Soviet Russian occupation in June, 1940, Lithuanian agricultural products reached the farthest corners of the world and were known for their excellent quality. Yet most of the valuable enterprises that enabled Lithuania to participate in the world market did not exist before the World War, when Lithuania was part of Russia.

000 The author gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to Dr. Michael T. Florinsky of Columbia University for his generous criticism during the preparation of this volume; to Jonas Budrys, Consul General of Lithuania at New York, for his encouragement and for the use of his library; and to Joseph A. Boley for his courteous assistance in shaping the final form of the manuscript.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

PREFACE

121 Originally this work was completed in 1940 and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University, but since then it has been revised and brought up to date.

ANICETAS SIMUTIS

New York, N.Y.
January, 1942

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

CONTENTS

I. Introduction 3

II. Agriculture 19

III. Industry 66

IV. Foreign Trade 83

V. Finance 102

VI. Summary and Conclusions 112

Appendices

A. The Declaration of Independence 119

B. Extract from the Peace Treaty with Russia 120

C. Lithuanian-Polish Pact 122

D. The Polish Ultimatum to Lithuania, March, 1939 126

E. Lithuanian-Russian Pact for Mutual Assistance 128

F. Foreign Exchange Quotations in Kaunas 132

Bibliography 133

Index 139

Map of Lithuania 2

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLES

1. Nationalities in Lithuania 13
2. Religions 13
3. Occupations 14
4. Land Use in the Baltic States 16
5. Population Density in the Baltic States 17
6. The Land Involved for Redistribution between 1919 and 1939 28
7. Census of Farms 29
8. Coöperative Societies of Lithuania 1937–39 35
9. Sales of the Coöperative Societies 38
10. Total Turnover of Pienocentras 40
11. Exports of Grain 1924–39 43
12. Land Used for Various Crops 44
13. Production of Rye in the Baltic States 45
14. Production of Wheat in the Baltic States 46
15. Production of Oats in the Baltic States 47
16. Production of Barley in the Baltic States 47
17. Production of Various Root Crops in the Baltic States 48
18. Production of Flax in the Baltic States and Poland 50
19. Exports of Lithuania's Flax Products 51
20. The Growth of Coöperative Dairies in Lithuania 54
21. Production of Dairy Products in the Baltic States 55
22. Butter Exports in the Baltic States 57

 [x is Blank]

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

23. Livestock in Lithuania 1913–39 58
24. Export Value of Livestock and Their Products 59
25. Export of Horses 1924–39 61
26. Categories of Lithuanian Cattle in 1930 and 1935 62
27. Export of Pigs and Pork Products 1924–39 63
28. Poultry Production in 1935 64
29. Main Export Items of Lithuania 1920–22 64
30. Exports of Poultry and Poultry Products 65
31. Industry of Lithuania in 1913 67
32. Classification of Industrial Establishments of Lithuania 1927–39 69
33. Aggregate Value of Industrial Production of Lithuania 1937–39 70
34. Industrial Production Index of Lithuania and the World 1929–39 71
35. The Development of the Textile Industry of Lithuania 1927–39 74
36. Imports of the Leading Semifinished and Finished Textile Goods 75
37. The Foodstuffs Industries 76
38. Lumber Industry 79
39. Value of Imports and Exports 84
40. Shifting of Commodity Groups in Exports 1925–39 88
41. Shifting of Commodity Groups in Imports 1925–39 89
42. The Distribution of Lithuania's Foreign Trade with Respect to Countries 1925–38 92
43. Commodities Involved in the Trade with Great Britain 1935–38 94
44. Commodities Involved in the Trade with Germany 1935–38 96
45. Commodities Involved in the Trade with Soviet Russia 1936–38 97

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

46. Commodities Involved in the Trade with the United States 1936–38 100
47. German Obost Notes in Circulation 1917–22 103
48. The Issue Activities of Lietuvos Bankas 1928–39 106
49. Foreign and Domestic Debts of Lithuania at the End of 1939 110

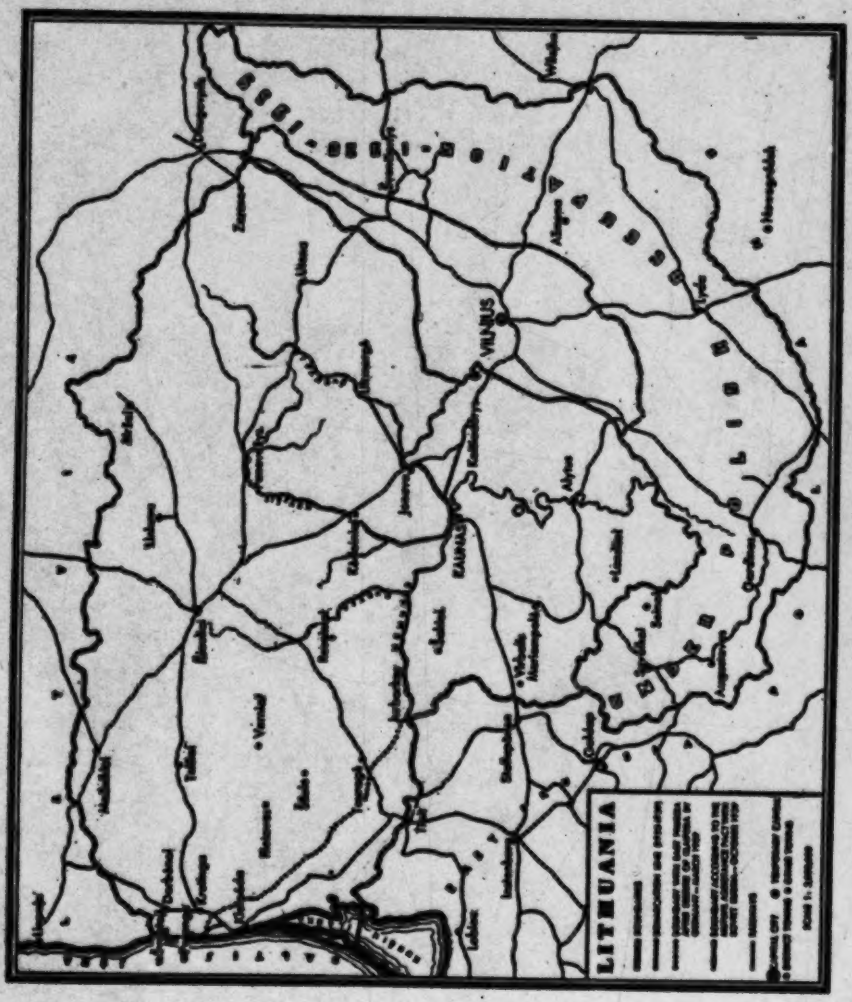
CHARTS

I. Butter Exports of Lithuania 53
II. Change in Exports from Lithuania 86
III. Change in Imports into Lithuania 87

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

The ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION Of LITHUANIA After 1918

102


LITHUANIA
VILNIUS
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Marijampole
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Raseiniai
Kelme
Siauliai
Mazeikiai
Telsiai
Plungeja
Silute
Tauragne
Ignalina
Zarasai
Daugavpilis
Vilnius
Ukmerge
Alytus
Kaunas
Vilkaviskis

3. Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB 5 Lithuanians RB5

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

000 Lithuania as a nation has a great past. Although it has been definitely established that the country was in existence before the twelfth century, there is a long shadowy period preceding her recorded history.

HISTORIC BACKGROUND

197 The Lithuanian people form a distinct race and they speak their own language, which is wholly different from the languages of the neighboring countries of Russia, Poland, and Germany. Philologists find the Lithuanian language very helpful for comparative language studies and research, and some of them have found Lithuanian to be very close to the Sanskrit.

101 The first to mention and describe the people on the Baltic shores was the Roman writer, Tacitus, who at the end of the first century, in his treatise *Germania*, calls them *aestii, aestiorum gentes*.[1]

The Aestii, like most European peoples (Germanic, Slavic, Celtic, Italian, Hellenic), belong to the Indo-European family of nations, although whence the Aestii came to the Baltic shores is still a problem to historians. Philologists find three groups of Aestii: Prussians (Lithuanian *Prusai;* German

[1] A. Sapoka, *Lietuvos Istorija* (History of Lithuania), Svietimo Ministerijos K.L.K. Leidinys, Kaunas, p. 18.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

101 *Preussen;* Latin *Borusi*), Latvians (Lithuanian *latviai;* German *Letten*), and Lithuanians (Lithuanian *lietuviai;* German *Litauer*). The main distinction among these three groups was that they spoke different dialects of the Lithuanian language.

[75] The Prussians were conquered by the Teutonic Order in the thirteenth century. Castles were built in the conquered regions, and around them German colonists settled. Within fifty years (by 1280) the Prussians had virtually come under German control, although they defended themselves vigorously. In 1243 and again in 1260 there were big uprisings. In the course of years the Prussians were partly exterminated, while those remaining were assimilated and eventually adopted the German language.[2] But as late as the eighteenth century Lithuanian was the dominating language of the population in the region stretching from Königsberg north and east to the Lithuanian-German border.

The Latvians (Letts) were divided into several tribes, namely, Kursiai, Zemgaliai, and Latgaliai. Another, wholly distinct, group called Livs (Latin *Libii*) lived in the basin of the Dauguva. This group belonged to the Ugro-Finnic family of nations, to which the Estonians, Finns, and Hungarians belong. When German merchants and missionaries began to visit the natives of the basin of the Dauguva, they first met the Liv tribes, and thereafter they referred to all of that country as Livonia. In this way the Teutonic Knights of that part of the country came to be known as the Livonian Order (*Fratres Militiae Christi* or Livonian Order of
186 Swordbearers). Despite over six centuries of subjugation to
101 the Germans and later to Russian rule and influence, the

[2] A. E. Ewald, *Die Eroberung Preussens durch den Deutschen* (The Robbery of Prussians by Germans), 1884, Vols. I–IV; M. Oeler, *Geschichte des deutschen Ritter Ordens* (The History of the Teutonic Knights), 1908.

3t Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Latvians have preserved their language and their national spirit. After the World War Latvia declared her independence and dropped the name of Livonia.[3] 101 186

The Lithuanians are considered to be the main division of the Aestii. They themselves were divided into Zemaiciai (Samogitians), Sudavai, Jotvingiai, and Aukstaiciai (Highlanders). At the end of the twelfth century the Lithuanians began to form a state, because continual wars with the Teutonic Order in the west (Prussia) and in the north (Livonia) forced them to unite. The first crowned king of Lithuania was Mindaugas (Mindow, Mendog), who conquered all the other chieftains, in 1251 adopted Christianity, which had been brought by the Teutonic Knights, and in 1253 was crowned.[4] 175

At the same time the Samogitians, who continued to fight the Knights of the Livonian Order, succeeded in checking them from making further inroads into the Lithuanian territories. In their effort to conquer the Samogitians, the Teutonic Knights in 1252 built a castle in the vicinity of Klaipeda, to which they gave the German name Memel.

Soon after the death of Mindaugas, Christianity disappeared almost completely in Lithuania.

In the period of 1295–1316 Lithuania was ruled by Vytenis (Witen), who was succeeded by Gediminas (Gedimin), 1316–41. So many Russian territories were incorporated in the latter's state that the new lands greatly exceeded in size ethnographic Lithuania. The title of the ruler in the documents was therefore *Rex Lithuanorum et Multorum Ruthenorum.*[5]

[3] Sapoka, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[4] J. Totoraitis, *Die Litauer unter dem Koenig Mindowe* (The Lithuanians under King Mindowe), 1905.

[5] Sapoka, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

175 Gediminas left seven sons, of whom Algirdas (Olgird) was made grand duke of Lithuania, and Kestutis, whose seal bore the inscription *Sigillum Kynstutte Dux de Tracken*, was made grand duke of western Lithuania. They both carried on negotiations with the Teutonic Knights for the Christianizing of Lithuania, imposing as their chief condition that all the territories inhabited by Lithuanian tribes should be returned to them.

Algirdas at the time of his death (1377) appointed as his successor one of his sons, Jogaila (Jagello), who was supposed to rule Lithuania in coöperation with, and on the advice of, his uncle, Kestutis. However, after Kestutis's death Jogaila did not want to grant even any heritage rights to Kestutis's son Vytautas (Witold, Vitovt; his Great Seal was inscribed *Sigillum Alexandri Alias Witowdi Dei Gratia Ducis Lithuaniae*).

In 1384 a delegation of the Polish nobility offered to Jogaila in marriage the hand of the heiress to the Polish crown, Jadwiga, and in 1385 an agreement in the matter was reached. Close collaboration was established between the two sovereign states, Lithuania and Poland, an association from which Poland benefited.

Lithuania reached the peak of her greatness under Vytautas (1392–1430). During his reign, Lithuania extended from the Baltic Sea at Palanga to the Black Sea between the Dnieper and Dniester rivers. In 1410 he successfully led the Lithuanian armies in the battle of Grünwald at Tannenberg, now East Prussia, in which the joint Lithuanian and Polish forces defeated the Teuton, thereby bringing about the collapse of the powerful Teutonic Order. It is to be noted that this battle was led by two great Lithuanians—Vytautas, as

3t Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

grand duke of Lithuania, and his cousin Jogaila (Jagello-Wladislaw), as king of Poland. 175

Near the end of his reign (1429) Vytautas decided to have himself crowned king of Lithuania. But the Polish noblemen and politicians, wishing to keep Lithuania a grand duchy under the crown of the Polish kingdom, opposed Vytautas's assumption of the crown. The most ardent foes of the creation of a separate kingdom of Lithuania were the Polish clergy under the leadership of Bishop Zbignev Olesnicki. Through the intrigues of Polish politicians the coronation was delayed, and Vytautas died uncrowned on October 27, 1430.

With the death of Vytautas the state began to disintegrate. No one of his successors was capable of ruling that big state so that its harmony and unity would be preserved. Besides, Poles and later Russians knew how to promote dissension among the various peoples residing within its borders.

The Union signed at the Lublin *Seimas* (diet), composed of Polish and Lithuanian representatives, in 1569 was the final act of Lithuania as a separate state. By this agreement a great part of the territory of the grand duchy of Lithuania was given to Poland. The feeling against the Union was intense. Katkewicz, a representative of the grand duchy of Lithuania, with tears in his eyes pleaded with the diet, the Lublin *Seimas*, against the signing of the agreement. The Lithuanian delegates went down on their knees in their entreaty to prevent the action. But in spite of their opposition, the will of the King and the Polish representatives prevailed and the Union was signed.[6]

In the years that followed this unhappy Union, the grand duchy of Lithuania experienced one misfortune after another.

[6] Sapoka, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

3: Simutis 8-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

175 Her greatest disaster came in 1795 when, together with Poland, she was partitioned between Russia and Prussia. The greater part of ethnographic Lithuania was given to Russia and the lesser part, to Prussia.

Even though the Lithuanian-Polish state collapsed, the Lithuanian nation continued to exist, although it was badly impaired and its size diminished by more than two thirds.

642 Lithuanians were under the stern rule of Czarist Russia
648 for 123 years until, on the 16th of February, 1918, the National Council in Vilnius (Vilna) declared Lithuania an independent state, with ancient Vilnius as its capital.[7] On July 12, 1920, during the war between the Soviets and the Poles, Lithuania signed in Moscow with the Soviet government a peace treaty by which the city of Vilnius with the region about it was assigned to Lithuania.[8]

726 But the old Polish scheme began to manifest itself again.
648 After defeating the Soviet troops near Warsaw, the Poles appeared on the southern Lithuanian frontier and precipitated fighting with the Lithuanians. Finding the going more difficult than they expected, the Poles started negotiations which were carried on under the supervision of the League of Nations and resulted in the conclusion of the Treaty of Suvalkai[9] on October 7, 1920.[10] Two days later, however, the special Polish army, commanded by General Zeligowski, took the Lithuanians completely by surprise and occupied the city of Vilnius and the Vilnius region, comprising almost one
648 third of ethnographic Lithuania. This treacherous act re-

[7] See Appendix A for the text of the Declaration of Independence.

[8] Pranas Dailide, *Lietuvos Sutartys su Svetimomis Valstybemis*, Uzsieniu Reikalu Ministerijos leidinys, Tomas I, 1919–29. Recueil des traites conclus par la Lithuanie avec les pays étrangers, Publie par le Ministère des Affaires Étrangeres. I (1919–29), 30–52. See Appendix B for the extract from the text of the peace treaty with Russia.

[9] Dailide, *op. cit.*, pp. 58–61.

[10] See Appendix C for the text of the Treaty of Suvalkai.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RBS Lithuanians RBS

ceived well-merited censure from the League of Nations. 648 Léon Bourgeois, then president of the League, officially referred to this occupation, verbally and in writing to Paderewski, Polish delegate to the League, as "a violation of the undertakings given to the Council."[11] But neither then nor throughout the subsequent years of their country's independent existence did the Polish government once attempt to adjust the grave injustice committed against its neighbor in violation of its own treaty.[12] Instead, the Polish government sought to legalize its *fait accompli* by local elections. In regard to this measure, Hymans, then spokesman for the League of Nations, at the seventh sitting of the Council at Brussels, said:

> In the opinion of the Council, the plebiscite should be taken in conditions of absolute freedom. It should be sincerely and quickly done. But this has become impossible on account of the *coup de force* of General Zeligowski. The League of Nations did not desire a camouflaged plebiscite or the maintenance of these troups in the Vilna region.[13]

But the Polish government managed the elections for the so-called *Vilna Seim* (diet), whose delegates voted an act of incorporation of the Vilnius region into the Polish state. The Council of the League of Nations, however, in its resolutions of January 13, 1922, refused to recognize the legality of the elections conducted under these unfair conditions.[14]

On March 15, 1923, the Conference of Ambassadors put into effect a decision handing over to Poland Vilnius and

[11] *The Vilna Question; Opinion of MM. A. De Lapradelle, Louis le Fur, and Andrew N. Mandelstam concerning the Binding Force of the Decision of Conference of Ambassadors of March 15, 1923.* Authorized Translation from the Original Texts, London, 1929, p. 15.

[12] Lithuanian Information Bureau, *The Vilna Problem*, London, 1922, p. 16. (Hereafter referred to as L.I.B.)

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 24–25.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

648

adjoining districts. This decision, which was met by vehement protests on the part of Lithuania to the League of Nations, was never recognized by the Lithuanian government. According to such an authority on international law as André Mandelstam, the Lithuanian government is not bound by the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors. In his opinion, "The Government of the Lithuanian Republic is not bound, either in law or equity, by the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors of March 15, 1923, regarding the Polish-Lithuanian frontiers." [15]

Thus the Vilnius incident was the first failure of the League of Nations to exact respect for its authority from a recalcitrant member (Poland). This example, which was later followed by other states, poisoned international relations, in the course of years reduced the authority of the League of Nations to the lowest ebb, and finally resulted in the League's complete inability to solve international disputes.

Lithuania, in protest, broke off diplomatic, consular, political, and economic relations with Poland. On March 17, 1938, when the lawlessness in international relations in Europe was nearing a peak, the Polish government, with tacit German consent, delivered to Lithuania an ultimatum, which was backed by the massing of troops on the "demarcation line." [16] Lithuania had no choice but to accept the ultimatum, and relations were restored at least nominally between the two countries. At that time Germany and Poland were on the friendliest terms. Despite Poland's hostile attitude toward Lithuania, the latter kept the most friendly

[15] *The Vilna Question*, p. 91.

[16] See Appendix D for the text of the ultimatum. The "demarcation line" was claimed by the Poles as the legal boundary between Lithuania and Poland but was never recognized by the Lithuanians.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

neutrality toward Poland in the hour of distress during the 648
German-Polish war.

On March 22, 1939, Germany, under the threat of invasion, forced Lithuania to surrender Klaipeda. After Poland collapsed in September, 1939, Soviet Russia seized Vilnius and, according to the Mutual Assistance Pact of October 10, 1939,[17] returned it to Lithuania together with 2,569 square miles of territory. On June 15, 1940, Soviet Russia, subse- 726
quent to its ultimatum, invaded and occupied Lithuania. Almost exactly a year later, on June 23, 1941, the Lithuanians seized an opportunity to start a violent uprising against the Russians, but already the Germans were pouring in from the south and west. They overran Lithuania, dispersed the newly organized Lithuanian government, and started a new period of oppression, Nazi style.

THE POPULATION PATTERN

The Lithuanians were famous from ancient times for 181
their physical health, strength, and vitality. Even today there is still a substantial percentage of elderly persons who have never taken medicine and have never been seriously ill. In general, Lithuanians are farm-loving people, industrious and peaceful. Being great individualists, the Lithu- 369
anians prefer to live on farms because it keeps them close to nature and at the same time affords every man a greater chance of being "his own boss." The cities of Lithuania are therefore inhabited by minorities, mostly Jews. Even in present-day Lithuania, the towns do not show the real character of the nation, as the influx from the farms to the cities has never been strong enough to change the political, economic, and social conditions that have existed for several centuries.

[17] See Appendix E for the text.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

161 According to the census of September 17, 1923, Lithuania had 2,170,616 inhabitants. This number, it was estimated, had increased to 2,575,363 by 1939. However, about 153,-793 were lost by the forced cession to Germany of Klaipeda (Memel) Territory in March, 1939, and about 457,500 were regained through the return of a portion of the Vilnius region in October, 1939. Thus, Lithuania at the end of 1939 had about 2,879,070 inhabitants.[18] But since then still further changes occurred. After the occupation in June, 1940, [697] Soviet Russia started the Sovietization of Lithuania. Those [167] suspected as "enemies of the people" were arrested and deported to the interior of Russia, mostly to Siberia. Conservative estimates put the number of persons so deported at 70,000. In addition, by an agreement concluded between Russian and German governments, about 60,000 persons were "repatriated" by Germany as persons of German extraction. When Germany started the attack on Soviet Russia on June 22, a part of Jewish population fled with the Red Army. Therefore, it is estimated that Lithuania as a consequence of Soviet Russian and German occupation lost about 150,000 inhabitants.

162 About 76.7 percent of the inhabitants live on farms and villages, while the remaining 23.3 percent live in the towns. The towns are not numerous and in most cases are small. The larger and more important are Vilnius, the capital, with 210,000 inhabitants; Kaunas, with about 130,000 inhabitants; Klaipeda, the Baltic port, with 58,000 inhabitants; Siauliai, an important center of communications and the center of the leather industry, with about 30,000 inhabitants; and Panevezys, an old commerçial and administrative center, 000 with 25,000 inhabitants. The average density of the popula-

[18] Centralinis Statistikos Biuras, *Statistikos Biuletenis* (Bulletin of Statistics), Nr. 10., Kaunas, Oct. 1939, p. 1. (Hereafter referred to as S. Biul. 10.)

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

The average density of the population of Lithuania is estimated at 118.6 per square mile. The western and southwestern parts of Lithuania are more densely inhabited, the county of Vilkaviskis having an average population of 147.6 per square mile and the county of Marijampole, 116.8. The southern, northern, and northeastern parts of the country are less densely inhabited than the western. For example, the counties of Seinai, Telsiai, and Zarasai have only 78 inhabitants per square mile.[19] 161

According to nationality, the inhabitants of Lithuania are divided as in Table 1. The religions are shown in Table 2 and occupations in Table 3. 162

TABLE 1

NATIONALITIES IN LITHUANIA

NATIONALITY	NUMBER	PERCENT OF TOTAL
Lithuanians	1,739,489	80.60
Jews	154,321	7.15
Germans	88,568	4.10
Poles	65,628	3.04
Russians	50,727	2.34
Latvians	14,930	.69
White Russians	4,421	.21
All others	40,075	1.86

TABLE 2

RELIGIONS

RELIGION	NUMBER	PERCENT
Roman Catholic	1,129,870	80.33
Lutheran (Evangelist)	207,118	9.56
Russian Orthodox	55,122	2.62
All other Christian	1,889	.08
Hebrew	157,527	7.30
All other non-Christian	1,640	.07

795 162

[19] C.S.B., *La Lithuanie en chiffres 1918–1928*, Kaunas, 1929, p. 2.

3r Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 3

162

OCCUPATIONS

OCCUPATION	NUMBER	PERCENT
Agriculture	1,129,870	76.71
Industry and handicraft	94,731	6.43
Transportation and communication	15,585	1.06
Commerce and credit	37,268	2.53
Civil service and professionals	47,408	3.22
Other occupations	148,083	10.05

From the figures in these tables, it can be seen that Lithuania has comparatively small minorities and is predominantly an agricultural country, with more than 76 percent of the population engaged in farming. The percentage of minorities may have been increased somewhat by the changing conditions. The percentage of Jews, no doubt, has risen with the return of Vilnius, which has a large Jewish population. The total percentage of Poles and White Russians will also be somewhat higher than it was when these figures were compiled.

The figures of the German minority, of course, have been completely altered since 1939. After Klaipeda Territory was seized by Germany the percentage of Germans in Lithuania amounted to not more than one and one-half percent of the entire population. With the subsequent repatriation of all Germans from Lithuania in 1941, this minority has wholly disappeared.

565 Lithuania has no distinctive social classes. Peasants reestablished Lithuania in 1918, and the sons of peasants were running the state affairs until Soviet Russia's occupation on June 15, 1940.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

THE LAND AND ITS RESOURCES

Lithuania is situated on the southeastern shore of the Baltic Sea between 53°35′ and 56°27′ north latitude and between 20°57.5′ and east longitude. The two other Baltic states, Latvia and Estonia, are farther north. 131

The surface of Lithuania is for the most part level, with none of her hills measuring more than 767 feet (234 meters) above sea level. In size, the nation has less than six percent of the territory of Europe, its area being 21,489 square miles. This figure, however, does not include all the territory of ethnographic Lithuania, which is about 33,937 square miles, divided as follows: [133]

	SQ. MI.	SQ. KM.
Lithuania Major	20,389	52,820
Klaipeda (Memel) Territory	1,100	2,850
Lithuania up to March 22, 1939	21,489	55,670
Vilnius Region according to the Peace Treaty of July 12, 1920, with Russia	12,448	32,250
TOTAL	33,937	87,920

According to the Mutual Assistance Treaty between Lithuania and Soviet Russia, concluded October 10, 1939, part of the Vilnius region, about 2,569 square miles (6,656 square kilometers), was returned to Lithuania. However, all figures of economic activity used in this monograph refer to the territory of 21,489 square miles (55,670 square kilometers) that was under the sovereignty of Lithuania from January, 1923, to March 22, 1939. 648 131

Lithuania uses a larger percentage of its land for intensive agricultural purposes than its neighboring Baltic states. This may be seen from the comparative figures given in Table 4. 311

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB1

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TABLE 4

LAND USE IN THE BALTIC STATES

TYPE OF LAND	LITHUANIA		LATVIA		ESTONIA	
	Thousands of Acres	*Per-cent*	*Thousands of Acres*	*Per-cent*	*Thousands of Acres*	*Per-cent*
Arable land	6,667	48.5	5,243	32.2	2,671	23.9
Meadows and pasture land	2,817	20.5	4,094	25.2	4,305	38.5
Forests	2,599	18.9	4,317	26.6	2,315	20.7
All others	1,673	12.1	2,602	16.0	1,885	16.9
TOTAL	13,756 [a]	100.0	16,256 [b]	100.0	11,176 [c]	100.0

[a] 5,567,000 hectares.
[b] 6,579,000 hectares.
[c] 4,523,000 hectares.

000

To enable the reader to gain a better understanding and judgment of statistics about the Baltic states given elsewhere in this work, some comparative figures are given in Table 5 regarding the territory and population of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

L
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Lithuania is lacking in natural resources that are necessary to a well-rounded economic life. One of the country's most serious deficiencies is the absence of its own fuel supply. There is no coal in Lithuania. In 1923 Lithuania imported 5,367,100 litas worth of coal and liquid fuel. By 1928 this figure had almost tripled, imports that year amounting to 14,905,700 litas. The only form of domestic fuel is peat, of which there are 162,221 acres (65,650 hectares). The possibilities of peat have not yet been fully explored, but if peat were made to supplant coal, it is estimated that Lithuania would possess fuel reserves for 132 years.[20]

[20] A. K. Kubilius, *Lietuvos Ukio Perspektyvos* (The Prospects of the National Economy of Lithuania), Kaunas, 1930, p. 190.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries: RB1

TABLE 5

POPULATION DENSITY IN THE BALTIC STATES

L 161 BC 161

	AREA (*Sq. mi.*)	POPULATION	INHABITANTS PER SQ. MI.
Lithuania until March 22, 1939	21,489	2,575,363	117.6
Lithuania after loss of Klaipeda (Memel) Territory	20,389	2,421,570	118.6
Lithuania after the return of Vilnius	22,958	2,879,070	125.4
Latvia (in 1938)	25,395 [a]	1,971,000	78.7 [c]
Estonia (in 1938)	18,354 [b]	1,131,000	61.6 [d]

[a] 65,791 sq. km.
[b] 47,549 sq. km.
[c] 30 per sq. km.
[d] 23.8 per sq. km.

L 135

Lithuania has rich deposits of chalk which prove satisfactory for the making of cement, lime, and alabaster, but this industry is still undeveloped. Clay, suited for the ceramic industry, is to be found all over the country, while the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea has been known since ancient times for its amber, "northern gold."

CLIMATE

L 132

The climate of Lithuania is of the modified humid continental type. The average temperature is 6.5° Celsius (43.7° Fahrenheit), the warmest month being July, with an average temperature 18.3° Celsius (64.9° F.), and the coldest, January, with an average temperature of 4.8° Celsius below zero (23.4° F.). The ground is frozen for about four months.[21]

[21] C.S.B., S. Biul. 10, 1938, pp. 5–12.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

132 In general, the climate of Lithuania is not so favorable for the cultivating of grain crops as it is for the breeding of livestock. An effort has been made in recent years, under the guidance and encouragement of the country's leading economists, to concentrate on livestock breeding and to reduce grain crop culture. The winters in Lithuania are long, although not cold enough to affect winter crops, which are grown in substantial quantities. Heavy rainfall in the au-
[311] tumn aids in the germination of the winter crops. In 1935, 1,258,085 acres (509,140 hectares), or 18.98 percent of all arable land, were used for the growing of winter rye, while 8,723 acres (3,530 hectares) about 0.12 percent of the arable land, were used for spring rye. Because of the long winters and the concentration on grain culture, a great amount of man power is kept comparatively inactive for several months of the year.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Chapter II

AGRICULTURE

When the Lithuanians, at the end of the first World War, were struggling to reëstablish themselves as an independent country, it was argued by some that Lithuania could not survive as an economic entity. Indicative of the opinion prevailing in the world in those days is a remark of John Foster Bass. Speaking of the relations between Lithuania and Poland and the border dispute, he said:

> It would, therefore, have appeared wise for the Poles to accept the Curzon line as a temporary boundary, until a further settlement could be obtained by agreement with Lithuania and a more settled Russia. This would have these advantages:
>
> First, it would have allayed the Lithuanian hostility to Poland.
>
> *Secondly, it would have afforded Lithuania an opportunity to experience the difficulties, political and economic, which confront small, dependent nations.*[1]

There is no doubt that small nations will continue to have political difficulties so long as international relations are governed by armed force. But even large nations are not impregnable against massive hostile forces and modern military equipment, as was amply proven in 1939 and the subsequent years.

It is a known fact that, refusing to accept the terms of

[1] John Foster Bass, *The Peace Tangle*, New York, 1920, p. 249. The italics are mine.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

178 It is a Known fact that refusing to accept the terms of the Curzon line, the Poles occupied more than one third of Lithuania's territory. But even after this blow Lithuania not only survived as an economic entity, but in twenty-two years of independence made much greater progress economically and culturally than during her 123 years as part of Russia, proving that even a small nation enjoying an independent status can make a tremendously greater advance in her economic and cultural life than the same nation when she is forced to accept "protection."

000 Even now, while World War II is being waged, voices are heard blaming the small nations which, it is said, aggressors used as tools, playing them against each other only to destroy them later, one by one. While it is true that the small countries were rendered helpless when the mightier ones which had stood on the side of justice were overpowered by the aggressors, nevertheless these small ones cannot be blamed. The fault lies with those big powers which, by disarming themselves, physically and morally encouraged the belligerents.

It is a known fact that the small countries were the most loyal supporters of the League of Nations, though they did not always gain justice, international law not having been enforced as well as it might have been. Nevertheless, the only hope of small nations is the victory of democracy and the rebirth of the League of Nations which will have authority and will not hesitate to exert it, by force if necessary.

There was nothing fundamentally wrong with the League of Nations prior to this second World War, barring the fact that it had no physical power with which to enforce its decisions and consequently hesitated to act on the side of justice in violations of international law. If the League of Nations had not hesitated to act when Vilnius was seized by Poland

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

in 1920, when Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931, and in many other instances in subsequent years, most likely there would have been no breaking of the Versailles Treaty for the purpose of conquest, and, above all, there would be no war today.

GENERAL OUTLINE AND BASIS OF RECONSTRUCTION

As stated before, Lithuania is entirely an agricultural country. During the first twenty-two years of her independence, she focused her attention on the introduction of scientific methods in farming and the development of industries connected with agriculture. She concentrated on the development and production of raw materials in an earnest endeavor to improve her economic status.

The development of world raw-material production from the latter part of the nineteenth century until 1939 may be divided into four periods:

1.—Pre-World War period of normal progress;

2.—The war and post-war period of disturbed development, 1914–22;

3.—Post-war period of progress, beginning with 1923, a seven-year period of progress with moderate fluctuations along lines that followed the same trend as before the war;

4.—Period of disturbed development during the world depression, and of recovery from 1930 until the war of 1939.[2]

1. The pre-war period.—Lithuania then being under the government of Russia, complete economic statistics of that period are not available. On the other hand, the statistical ma-

[2] League of Nations, *Report of the Committee for the Study of the Problem of Raw Materials*, Geneva, 1937, p. 37.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

433 terial collected by the German professor Skalweit [3] refers to a territory somewhat larger than the Lithuania of 1939. His findings, however, give a fairly accurate picture of the state of agriculture in Lithuania before the World War of 1914–18.

241 The main branches of agriculture in pre-war Lithuania were the cultivation of grain crops, the growing of flax, and the breeding of horses. Dairying, pig breeding, and poultry farming were almost nonexistent.[4]

2. The war and post-war period of disturbed development.—The study of these periods is almost entirely omitted in this volume, as these periods cannot serve for comparison, because almost from the very first days of the war Lithuania was converted into a battlefield for the Russian and German armies. The pursuit of agriculture was impossible throughout most of the period. As late as 1920, when a third of Lithuania was seized by Poland, foreign armies were still trampling the few crops that the farmers were trying to raise. Only after 1920 did Lithuania actually enter upon a comparatively normal economic life.

3 and 4. Post-war periods of progress, depression, and recovery.—Agriculture, the most fundamental economic activity of man, varies from the most primitive cultivation with the hoe to skilled machine-implemented scientific farming. In Lithuania, farming is not mechanized to a great extent, for the use of machinery on small parcels of land is not profitable. Experiments in scientific farming have, however, been undertaken and substantial progress has been
000 made since the World War. Though wheat is mankind's most

[3] B. Skalweit, *Die Landwirtschaft in den litauischen Gouvernements: ihre Grundlagen und Leistungen* (Agriculture in the Lithuanian Gouvernements: Its Foundation and Efficiency), Jena, 1918.

[4] J. Kriksciunas, *Agriculture in Lithuania*, Kaunas, 1938, p. 12.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Though wheat is mankind's most 243
popular cereal food, rye is the first choice in Lithuania. Only 311
about 8 percent of all the arable land is utilized for wheat, while 19 percent of the land is devoted to the growing of rye. Another of the world's largest crops—corn (maize)—is not grown in Lithuania. The same is true of rice. The more popular grain crops, besides rye, are oats, barley, and wheat. Most favored of root crops in Lithuania are the potato and 244
various species of root vegetables. The sugar beet, entirely unknown before the World War, is now quite popular and is grown in sufficient quantities to supply three sugar refineries. Of the fibers, flax is the only one that is widely grown. 248
Hemp is also produced, but in small quantities and only for the consumption of farmers themselves, who use the fiber for ropes and the seeds for several kinds of food.

Another important branch of the agriculture of Lithuania 232
is livestock breeding, which has been vastly improved and extended since the World War.

Economic reconstruction after the World War was not as 433
general among agricultural countries as it might at first ap- 241
pear. Timoshenko points out several unfavorable factors.[5] 651
First of all, the prices of agricultural commodities began to decline early in the period of prosperity. This affected the purchasing power of agricultural and raw-material producing countries. Another adverse factor was the reëstablishment of a system of agricultural protection in the industrial countries of Europe. Cereal production was given less tariff protection during the earlier post-war period than before the war. In some countries of central Europe, including Germany, tariff protection of grain products was completely discontinued during the first post-war years.

[5] Vladimir P. Timoshenko, *World Agriculture and Depression*, Michigan Business Studies, Vol. V, No. 5, University of Michigan, 1933, pp. 541–663.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

433 Since 1924–25 the policy has been changed and the coun-
241 tries of central Europe have returned to the pre-war methods
439 of tariff protection of their cereal production as well as to the protection of their animal husbandry. This has contributed to duplication in production and to the narrowing of the world market for exported agricultural products, while other factors stimulated the further expansion of agricultural production in the surplus-exporting countries. Exports from agricultural and raw-material producing countries increased very little during the years of prosperity because there was no appreciable increase in the demand for these products in the industrial countries. At the same time, the imports of agricultural countries, consisting mainly of manufactured goods, rose rapidly. The payment balance of agricultural countries could be kept in equilibrium only by an increase in indebtedness or by drawing on the surplus of previous years. For example, in 1924 Lithuania's exports exceeded imports by 60 million litas, while in 1927 imports exceeded exports by 19.8 million litas and in 1938 by 34.2 million litas.[6]

000 Data on economic activities in Lithuania cover the period up to 1939. With the war of 1939 another period of "disturbed economic development" started; no attempt can be made to analyze this period in this volume, since economic conditions are very unstable and data on economic activities unavailable.

LAND REFORM

423 One of the factors that contributed most to a complete overhauling of the internal economic and social structure of Lithuania was the land reform, a question which was

[6] Exchange rate: 10 litas to $1.00 until 1933; 6 litas to $1.00, 1935–40.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

raised as far back as 1905 by the Lithuanian deputies at the 423
Vilnius diet. That there was a need for reform can be seen from the fact that before the World War, about 450 families possessed 3.5 million acres or 22 percent of all the land. Each of these possessed at least 2,000 acres.[7]

To analyze the political, economic, and social conditions 423
which caused the great part of the land to fall into the hands 425
of a few landlords would require extensive and long study. It may be pointed out, however, that land conveyance was not always effected in an honest way; too often, transfer was forced on peasants by depriving them of owners' rights and making them merely tenants. After the unsuccessful uprisings against the Russian government in 1831 and again in 1863, many participants were sent to Siberia and their lands were confiscated. Some of these lands were later divided into small parcels and distributed among the Russian colonists, while other lands were consolidated into estates (*latifundia*) and, by special decrees of October 4–16, 1835, and December 6, 1842, turned over to families of Russian nobility as *entailed estates*. An estate in this category could [428] not be sold, but, upon the death of the owner, passed on to his eldest son. It was these frozen estates that were the first to be affected by the land reform begun by the Provisional Government of Lithuania in 1918.[8]

It was ordered that all land converted by the Russian decrees of 1835 and 1842 into entailed estates should temporarily be made the state property of Lithuania, to be dis-

[7] Stasys Elsbergas, *Lietuvos Zemes Reforma* (Land Reform of Lithuania), Kaunas, 1935, p. 7.

[8] Salkauskas, K. *Lietuvos Novelos. Veikiančiuju 1935. III. 16 d. Lietuvos istatymu ir isakymu, paskelbtu Vyriausybes Ziniose 1–476 rinkinys* (The Novels of Lithuania. The Laws and Orders of Lithuania, Published in the Government Gazette No. 1–476, Which Are in Force on March 16, 1935), Spaudos Fondas, Kaunas, 1935, p. 324.

423 posed of eventually by distribution among the landless and
425 the small landowners (those having not more than 12 acres).[9]
[671] This decree was legalized by the Preliminary Land Reform Law of August 18, 1920, and its scope was broadened to permit the republic of Lithuania to assume also the ownership of private forests that were larger than 25 *desimtines*
[804] (one *desimtine* is equal to about 2.7 acres).[10] This law was a tentative one in that it contained no provision for the distribution of the expropriated property.

671 The Land Reform Law in its final draft, consisting of
423 twelve sections and subdivided into seventy-seven para-
[425] graphs, was ratified in 1922.[11] The first section outlines the composition of the lands reserved for distribution, defining particularly the land to be taken into the distribution reserve. This action also enabled the state to take over the private property of those who had served in the post-war German armed bands of Bermont and Virgolicz and of those who had worked or were still working against the independence of Lithuania. Estates exceeding 200 acres and owned by one person or one family were also to be taken for land reform purposes.[12] Later the limit was raised to 321 acres (150 hectares). The second section of the Land Reform Law provides that the biggest and least active estates shall be among the first to be appropriated for land reform purposes. The third section defines the types of prospective recipients of the reapportioned land parcels. It states mainly that heads of families of landless peasants, farm laborers, and small landowners are entitled to share in the land distribution. Those farmers, or their lawful successors, from whom land was

[9] Elsbergas, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[10] *Vyriausybes Zinios*, Nr. 45 eil. 454 (Government Gazette No. 45, Part 454). Hereafter referred to as V.Z.

[11] *Ibid.*, Nr. 83 eil. 721.

[12] *Ibid.*, Nr. 324 eil. 2218.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

seized by the government in 1861 and 1863 are to receive 671
priority over all others. Each head of a family may receive not 423
more than 49.4 acres (20 hectares). Land is also to be distributed to public schools, schools of agriculture, and other in- [657]
stitutions of learning and culture as well as to hospitals, sanatoriums, asylums, and other social and public organizations.

The land is divided into four classes, graded according to 423
the fertility of the soil. The new owners have to pay equal annual installments for their land for thirty-six years. The rate to be paid varies from 180 to 252 litas per hectare (2.471 acres) for first-class land, depending on its location; 90 to 126 litas for second-class; 36 to 54 litas for third-class, and 18 to 27 litas for fourth-class. No interest accumulates on the unpaid balance except on due shares which are not paid in the time prescribed.[13]

The only recipients of land exempted from all payments [729]
are volunteer soldiers in the Lithuanian war for independence and their families.

Former owners of the lands taken for land reform pur- 423
poses were entitled to compensation. Payment was to be 425
made with government bonds bearing three percent interest 652
and redeemable at any time not later than thirty-six years from the date of issue. Paragraph 58 of the Land Reform Law prescribes that the compensation for the land shall be a fair price based on valuations existing in the period between 1910 and 1914. As the Land Reform Law was passed on April 3, 1922, when *Obost* marks [14] were in circulation, the compensation was to be paid in this currency. (One Russian ruble was made equal to two *Obost* marks.) Paragraph 59 provides that the highest amount paid may not exceed

[13] Salkauskas, *op. cit.*, pp. 325–32.
[14] See, p. 102 below, section on Finance.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

423 480 marks per hectare. Because the mark fell in value, the
425 reward was comparatively small when translated into litas.
[652] It is estimated that the total amount paid by the government for expropriated land up to 1935 was 40 million litas.

In accordance with this law, the land transfer up to the end of 1939 involved 1,774,099 acres (717,968 hectares), of which a substantial part was handed over for cultural and other public uses, being given for schools, cemeteries, municipalities, public playgrounds, and so on.

Table 6

THE LAND INVOLVED FOR REDISTRIBUTION BETWEEN 1919 AND 1939

	ACRES
I. Land distributed for permanent ownership	
1. To private schools, organizations, asylums, etc.	2,291
2. To parish churches	3,981
3. For cemeteries	1,003
4. To employees and laborers for homes	8,110
5. To new settlers	893,392
6. Added to small farms	222,951
Total	1,131,728
II. Land distributed for temporary use	
1. To public schools and other governmental institutions	86,070
2. To municipalities and their institutions (hospitals, asylums, public parks, etc.)	6,158
3. To private persons and organizations	26,539
4. For community pastures	72,170
Total	190,937
III. For miscellaneous uses	451,434
Grand total of land affected by the Land Reform Act	1,774,099

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

According to the agricultural census of 1930, the number of farms in Lithuania and their areas are as stated in Table 7. 241 423

TABLE 7

CENSUS OF FARMS

FARM SIZE (*Acres*)	NUMBER OF FARMS	COMBINED AREA (*Acres*)
2.5– 12.5	53,463	380,722
12.5– 25.0	78,237	1,440,338
25.0– 37.5	59,572	1,788,349
37.5– 50.0	33,236	1,408,275
50.0– 75.0	34,197	2,042,511
75.0–125.0	20,597	1,885,111
125.0–250.0 and over	8,078	1,725,742
TOTAL	287,380	10,671,048

Through the land reform, over 45,000 new farms have been established and over 200,000 persons (including new settlers and their families) have been provided with regular occupation and permanent homes. This undoubtedly has brought beneficial results to the social and economic life of the country.[15] Moreover, the land reform has undoubtedly been a means of substantially raising the country's productivity, to the benefit of both the state and the individual farmer. 241 178

When Soviet Russia occupied Lithuania on June 15, 1940, a still more radical "land reform" was proclaimed by the Soviet-appointed puppet government. All land was proclaimed state property. Consequently, the farmer-owners suddenly became only managers of government property and, therefore, could not sell, exchange, or give away their 423 656 471

[15] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 34; Elbergas, *op. cit.*, pp. 64–68.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

423 land. Seventy-four acres (30 hectares) was the maximum
471 allowed each family to manage.
656 Several thousand formerly landless farmers who obtained a few acres through this Soviet "land reform" and whose popular support the Soviet government was seeking found themselves unable to till the allotted land because they had no tools, seed, or livestock and could not secure any aid from the government. The Soviet policy was to force them all into so-called "collective farms" (kolkhoz).

The majority of the farms of 80 hectares (198 acres) or over were not distributed at all but converted into government farms (sovkhoz) controlled through commissars.

Those who were allowed to keep 30 hectares (74 acres) were called "kulaks," and such high taxes were imposed upon them that they were forced to join the government-fostered collective farms.

241 As indicated by Table 7, before the Soviet Russian oc-
423 cupation there were 287,380 separate farms in Lithuania,
656 ranging in area from 2.5 to 250 acres. These farms, on the basis of productive capacity, were classified into three groups.

The first group was comprised of the self-sufficient farms, ranging in acreage from 2.50 to 30 acres. Farmers in this group raised sufficient grain to maintain their families and kept one or two horses for work, one to four milk cows, and some poultry; thus they themselves produced most of their food. They had little to sell and bought little from the town. At the end of 1939, about 160,000 farms or 56 percent of all farms of Lithuania were in this group.

The second group was comprised of farms of between 30 and 70 acres which produced substantial quantities of agricultural products for the market. Although the farming system of this group was similar to that of the first one to the

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians

extent that these farmers produced various kinds of agricultural products, they usually concentrated more specially on one branch of farming, such as dairying or grain raising. About 100,000 farms belonged to this group.

Farms exceeding 70 acres belonged to the third group and stood highest in independent Lithuania from the point of view of the quality and quantity of their products. There were about 27,000 farms in this group. It was mainly this and the second group which supplied the bulk of agricultural products for export. It was also this third group and to a degree the second which first felt the ruin of Sovietization. Most of the farms in the third group were reduced to not more than 74 acres so that the farming inventory and buildings were not suitable to the smaller parcels of land. A substantial part of them was converted into government farms (*sovkhoz*). At the same time pressure was put on the second group by imposing exorbitant taxes in order to make it disintegrate as rapidly as possible.

Taking into consideration the area of land utilized by each group, it might be deduced that in normal times the first group produced 20 percent of the entire amount sold on the market, while the second and third groups produced the remaining 80 percent, or 40 percent each. From this it would appear that the capacity of agricultural production in Lithuania during the Soviet Russian occupation dropped at least 40 percent.

When the Germans occupied Lithuania in June, 1941, they found the Bolshevik-introduced system convenient to some extent for the expropriation of the country economically. They restored the system of private ownership, but had not returned, up to the end of 1941, farms to the original owners. Even those farmers who were left managers of their small

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

423 farms (not exceeding 74 acres) during the Sovietization were not reëstablished as owners but were continued as managers, so that the German masters might conveniently remove them from the farms at any moment.

Latest unofficial reports indicate that several hundred German managers have been sent to Lithuania to manage the former government farms. Apparently Germans are keeping the bigger farms for colonization in the event they win this second world war. No doubt, it will take several years after this war to regain the degree of agricultural production achieved during the peace period after 1918.

COÖPERATIVES

474 Coöperatives are the backbone of progress and of economic reconstruction in Lithuania. Although the first cooperative societies in Lithuania originated as far back as the end of the eighteenth century, the wider coöperative movement was begun only in 1881, when the first consumer cooperative societies were organized by I. Ivanavicius. Ivanavicius acknowledges that his inspiration for coöperative work was obtained through traveling in Western Europe —Denmark, Germany, and Switzerland. He was the initiator and a member of the first coöperative dairy society, Birute, which was organized in 1889 and of which large and influential landowners of the district of Raseiniai were members. In 1912 there were in Lithuania 52 consumer coöperative societies with 8,193 members. For better coördination in this work, these individual coöperative societies attempted to establish a central organization, but they were refused permission by the Russian government.[16]

[16] Petras Salcius, *Kooperacija; Kooperacijos paskaitu kursas* (Coöperation; Lectures on Coöperation), Kaunas, 1931, p. 195.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Vartotoju Bendroviu Sajunga Kooperatorius (The Union of Consumers' Coöperative Societies) was finally organized in 1915, but because of the war it was unable to start its work. 474

The second group of importance before the World War consisted of the credit coöperative societies. They were started in 1871, and in 1889 there were 31 of them in the provinces (gouvernements) of Kaunas, Vilnius, and Suvalkai. By 1915 their number reached 155.

The third group of coöperatives before the World War in Lithuania was made up of the agricultural coöperative societies. Their purpose was to raise the standard of agriculture and to introduce and demonstrate to the farmers modern scientific farming methods. These coöperative societies endeavored to supply farmers with fertilizers and farming machinery. The most successful one in that field was Zagre, which was established in 1907 and had by 1913 twenty branches. There were also numerous small coöperative farm groups.

During the first World War most of the coöperatives collapsed. Yet it was these early organizations that prepared the ground for a country-wide spread of coöperatives after the war.

That coöperative activity was strongly encouraged by the government may be observed from the Union Law of the Coöperative Societies, passed on February 7, 1919, which states:

Our country is a country of farms and there is no big capital concentrated in one place; nevertheless, there is much money in the same place, which may be concentrated and made useful through coöperatives. . . . The Ministry of Commerce and Industry is of the opinion that coöperatives will give the country a useful or-

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

474 ganization for the distribution of goods in markets and will abolish speculation among certain merchants who raise the prices spuriously by storing goods and not releasing them to the markets.[17]

It must be remembered that this opinion was expressed shortly after the war, when the great shortage of goods was felt everywhere.

474 647 In addition, a special Department of Coöperation was created as part of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. Although the government encouraged coöperation, it did not interfere with sound private initiative, particularly in later years, when the post-war conditions were more settled. In 1920 the Department of Coöperation was abolished because coöperation in Lithuania became so strong that it no longer required any special attention from the government.

474 651 Before Soviet occupation in 1940 most of the coöperative establishments enjoyed tax exemption privileges. According to the Commerce, Industry, Credit, and Trade Profit Taxation Law,[18] the following coöperative establishments were to be free from profit taxes:

1. Consumers' coöperative societies whose capital did not exceed 50,000 litas.
2. All credit and agricultural coöperative societies.
3. All kinds of coöperative unions.
4. All those coöperative societies which did business exclusively among their members, even though their capital was in excess of 50,000 litas.

Undoubtedly those exceptions placed coöperative establishments in a somewhat privileged position in the competitive field as compared with private enterprises.

[17] Salcius, *op. cit.*, p. 203.
[18] V.Z., Nr. 168.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Table 8 shows the number and types of coöperative societies in the years 1937 to 1939.[19] 474

TABLE 8

COÖPERATIVE SOCIETIES OF LITHUANIA
1937–39

TYPE OF COÖPERATIVE	NUMBER OF SOCIETIES REGISTERED		
	1937	*1938*	*1939*
1. Credit	408	398	401
2. Stores and consumers' coöperatives	248	251	275
3. Manufacturing	226	228	224
4. Insurance	1	2	2
5. Nonclassified	375	409	430
TOTAL	1,258	1,288	1,332

1. Credit coöperatives.—Credit coöperative societies were the first to be reëstablished, after the war, in towns and townships. Most of them were organized by the Jewish population and served small merchantmen. Among the farmers, they were organized only after the introduction of stabilized currency, the litas. In 1923, 129 credit coöperative societies were organized; in 1924, 107; in 1925, 136. There are in Lithuania three kinds in this category: town coöperatives (mostly Jewish People's Banks), farmer credit coöperatives, and farmer saving and loan associations. The Jewish People's Banks Union (Zydu Liaudies Banku Sajunga) does no active business, but acts rather as an ideological center and coördinator. This union had 101 member banks in 1930. In recent years the number of credit coöperatives diminished somewhat, as may be seen from Table 8. This is partly due 474 452

[19] C.S.B., 1939, pp. 263–65.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

474 to the merging of two or three small units into one. Evidence
452 of this is the fact that membership in these societies increased instead of decreasing. In 1935, there were 119,687 members, of whom 77,553 were farmers; in 1936, 121,169 members, of whom 79,392 were farmers; in 1938, 117,155 members and in 1939, 119,326 members.

The financial position of all the credit coöperative societies in 1939 is indicated by the following statistics: total capital, 14,473,200 litas, of which membership shares accounted for 7,903,200 litas; reserve capital, 3,311,700 litas; and other capital, 1,591,100 litas. Total deposits in credit cooperative societies in 1939 amounted to 29,857,700 litas; borrowings from the banks, 22,554,500 litas; credits to members and the rest, 60,823,900 litas.

The farmer credit coöperatives are assembled in the Coöperation Bank of Lithuania (Lietuvos Kooperacijos Bankas).

474 2. *Stores and consumers' coöperatives.*—In 1939 there were 275 coöperative stores and consumers' coöperative societies, as well as one union, the Central Union of Agricultural Coöperative Societies of Lithuania, known under the trade name of Lietukis. The coöperative stores, as well as consumers' coöperatives, trade in colonial goods, while the Union, with its branches, buys farm products for export (mostly grain crops, linseed, and flax), and sells agricultural machinery, petroleum products, salt, cement, fertilizers, and so on.

The Central Union of Agricultural Coöperative Societies, Lietukis, was established in 1923; financially, it is one of the strongest coöperative unions of Lithuania; and it is the most popular. The Union is the largest exporter of grain in Lith-

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

uania: before the 1940 occupation it handled almost the entire grain export.[20] 474

Lietukis, which comprised 145 coöperative societies in its membership in 1939, maintained 16 branch establishments in Lithuania, in addition to its central establishment in Kaunas. It operated in 1939 three grain elevators, one of 3,000 metric tons' capacity in Klaipeda (Memel), another of 3,250 metric tons' capacity in Siauliai, and a third of 2,250 tons' capacity in Kaunas. Furthermore, it possessed a central flax warehouse at Siauliai and 18 grain warehouses at various other places.[21]

Lietukis handles the largest percentage in the total turnover of many commodities of Lithuania: import of fertilizers, 100 percent; salt import, 92.9; import of agricultural machinery, 80; cement import, 42; import of petroleum products, 40; import of herring, 10; iron import, 5; export of grain, 85; export of flax, 27; sale of sugar, 89.[22]

The growth and expansion of business of coöperative stores, Lietukis, and other coöperative societies in the last eleven years before the second world war is indicated by Table 9.[23]

Furthermore, it is worthy of mention that in 1926 Lietukis,[1] acquired 45 percent of the capital stock of the Maistas Corporation, whose principal business is the keeping of stockyards in which livestock is prepared for export. With the acquisition of this stock interest Lietukis indirectly entered the export trade in meat and live animals. Lietukis was also 474 491

[20] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

[21] *Lietukis, Lietuvos Zemes Ukio Kooperatyvu Sajunga* (Lietukis, the Central Union of Agricultural Coöperative Societies), Kaunas, 1934.

[22] *Report of the Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Crafts*, Kaunas, 1938, p. 113. Referred to hereafter as *Report*.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 112.

1 [i.e: The Central Union of Agricultural Coöperative Societies -- Analyst]

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 9

474

SALES OF THE COÖPERATIVE SOCIETIES

(*In Thousands of Litas*)

YEAR	LIETUKIS	TRADE COÖPERATIVES	PIENOCENTRAS [a]	TOTAL
1928	12,129	23,520	13,662	49,311
1929	29,393	52,255	25,999	108,647
1930	23,117	44,992	43,854	111,963
1931	36,743	44,950	46,102	127,795
1932	28,853	37,314	45,182	111,349
1933	32,063	37,534	36,163	105,760
1934	32,617	37,342	36,329	111,288
1935	60,530	46,427	42,438	149,395
1936	73,715	55,560	55,897	185,172
1937	72,360	65,046	65,730	205,599
1938	113,909	95,165	76,920	283,884
1939	138,911	114,285	67,745	320,941

[a] Reference on Pienocentras is given in Section 3 below, on production cooperative societies.

[471] the initiator of coöperative dairies and creameries, which later developed into a separate Central Union of Dairy Cooperative Societies of Lithuania, the Pienocentras.

[647] After Soviet Russian occupation Lietukis,[1] was made a government agency with all its branches and continued to function until the German invasion. The Germans in turn took control of Lietukis with all its property, and the German Economic Command (Wirtschaftskommando) issued an order on August 23, 1941, to all the branches of Lietukis, as well as to the agricultural and consumers' coöperative societies, to submit reports on fabrics and other merchandise in its possession and at the same time forbade selling any of the merchandise. It would appear that all the merchandise was confiscated by the Germans.

1 [i.e. The Central Union of Agricultural Coöperative Societies --- Analyst]

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

On September 7 the Kaunas radio broadcast an order 474
by German Commissar for Lithuania von Renteln whereby the purchase of grain was permitted exclusively to Lietukis. From this order alone it is obvious that Lietukis has been turned into agency serving German war purposes.

Deserving of mention in this group is Spaudos Fondas, a coöperative publishing concern with branch stores in every larger town throughout Lithuania for promoting the sale of books and stationery. After Soviet Russian occupation it met the same fate as Lietukis. On August 5, 1940, a decision of the Government Nationalization Committee (Valstybine Nacionalizavimo Komisija), dated August 3, was published, announcing that Spaudos Fondas with all its branches was nationalized.[24]

3. Production coöperatives.—A very important and com- 474
paratively young branch of agricultural life in Lithuania, 234
the dairy coöperative societies, forms a part of this third group. As mentioned before, prior to 1926 dairying activities were a department of Lietukis. With the rapid growth of coöperative creameries, it was decided in October, 1926, to withdraw from Lietukis and to organize the Central Union of Dairy Coöperative Societies of Lithuania (Centraline Lietuvos Pieno Perdirbimo Bendroviu Sajunga), known briefly as Pienocentras. The task of Pienocentras is to encourage milk production, develop and improve manufacture, and establish a good rating for Lithuanian milk products in the world market; and to organize coöperative dairies and creameries, coördinate their work, and diminish administration expenses through strong central organization.

In 1938 Pienocentras had a membership of 185 dairy co-

[24] *Tiesa*, No. 44, Aug. 5, 1940. (*Tiesa* [Truth] was the daily of the Lithuanian Communist Party during Soviet occupation.)

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

474 operative societies with 2,105 milk-skimming stations. Pieno-
234 centras also exports eggs, in which branch it has attained an almost complete monopoly. For example, in 1939 it handled over 96 percent of the total egg export. The growth and development of Pienocentras may be seen from Table 10,[25] which shows that the work of Pienocentras is a real

TABLE 10

TOTAL TURNOVER OF PIENOCENTRAS

(*In Thousands of Litas*)

YEAR	TOTAL TURNOVER	TOTAL OF EXPORTS	EXPORTS OF BUTTER	EXPORTS OF EGGS	PIENOCENTRAS'S SHARE IN EXPORTS OF LITHUANIA (*Percent*)
1927	5,981	3,971	3,950	—	1.6
1928	13,662	10,437	10,437	—	4.1
1929	25,999	20,888	20,786	102	6.3
1930	43,854	35,200	34,866	334	10.5
1931	46,102	37,790	37,055	735	13.8
1932	45,182	37,079	36,045	1,034	19.6
1933	36,163	29,909	29,150	789	18.7
1934	36,329	30,231	28,816	1,397	20.5
1935	42,438	35,948	33,866	2,046	23.6
1936	55,897	48,228	42,042	6,151	25.3
1937	65,730	54,470	47,065	5,923	26.1
1938	76,920	65,300	55,131	7,833	24.2
1939	67,745	52,100	43,739	8,196	25.7

success not only in attaining a milk-and-egg monopoly in Lithuania but also in encouraging and developing this branch of agriculture. At the end of 1939 all the dairy coöperative societies of Lithuania had 21,701 members as against 18,372 in 1938 and 14,817 in 1937. In 1939 they had 106,605 regular

[25] C.S.B., volumes for 1927 to 1939.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

milk suppliers as against 101,348 in 1938 and 69,741 in 1934. 474

Pienocentras with all its departments continued to function throughout the Soviet Russian occupation, although it was transformed into a government agency. In June, 1941, when the Soviet Russian occupation was replaced by the German occupation, Pienocentras[1] came under the control of the German Economic Command (Wirtschaftskommando), also as government agency. In September, 1941, German Commissar for Lithuania von Renteln issued an order granting monopoly to Pienocentras in the business of dairy products and at the same time forbidding anybody to trade in milk products. Since Pienocentras has a wide organization throughout Lithuania, it is very convenient for the Germans in their control of milk production and in their efforts to extract from Lithuania a maximum of milk products. Of course no statistical data is available for Pienocentras's economic activities during the periods of German and Russian occupation. 234 [647]

Deserving of mention in this group is a local grocery trade coöperative society in Kaunas called Parama which owns and operates thirty modern grocery stores, as well as the largest and most modern bakery in Lithuania, with an annual production valued at about six million litas. Its fate under the German occupation is similar to that of Pienocentras. 474 444

4 and 5. Insurance and nonclassified coöperatives.—These two groups are of minor importance in the economic life of Lithuania. Insurance, still undeveloped there, is one of the fields open for coöperation in the future. In 1938 there were two insurance coöperative societies with 7,486 members. Insurance premiums collected in 1938 amounted to 355,495 litas, which, compared with the development of other co- 474 452

[1] [i.e. Central Union of Dairy Cooperative Societies of Lithuania --- Analyst]

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

474 operative branches, is a small sum. In the unclassified group
[452] in the year 1939 there were 430 societies with a membership of 4,581. The total membership of all coöperative societies in 1939 was 161,256.

All the coöperative unions and bigger coöperative societies have representatives in the Council of Coöperatives of Lithuania (Lietuvos Kooperatyvu Taryba), which was formally chartered on January 30, 1925. The task of the Council is to encourage coöperative movement, to maintain close ties among coöperatives in Lithuania and in foreign countries, and to represent them in the government institutions and
[204] public organizations. The Council publishes the magazines *Talka* (Coöperation) and *Bendras Darbas* (Coöperative Work).[26]

In short, it may be said that coöperation has played an important role in the economic reconstruction and development of Lithuania since 1918. Coöperative institutions have increased the purchasing power of the farmers, both as producers and as consumers. At the same time they have furthered economic progress both by increasing productivity and by improving the quality of many products.

GRAIN CULTURE

243 Grain culture, which has been known in Lithuania since ancient times, was the backbone of the country's agriculture before the World War of 1914–18. Though there has been a tendency since 1926 to concentrate more on livestock breeding and dairying, grain culture still is the dominating feature of Lithuania's agriculture.

243 In recent years there has been a yearly production of
439 about 1.6 to 1.7 million metric tons of grain, with only a

[26] Salcius, *op. cit.*, pp. 230–31.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

small part of this available for export. Almost half of all the arable land of Lithuania is used for grain culture, a fact that is evident from Table 12. Although the amount of arable land used for grain culture increases slowly, the exports of grain have varied widely. The heavy grain exports in 1935

[311] 439 243

TABLE 11

EXPORTS OF GRAIN 1924–39[a]

YEAR	GRAIN EXPORTED[b] (*Metric tons*)	VALUE (*1,000 litas*)
1924	24,966	10,022
1926	16,541	9,894
1928	12,310	6,377
1930	40,664	11,526
1932	7,035	2,268
1934	25,504	4,682
1935	162,023	20,465
1936	130,562	14,578
1937	5,795	1,628[c]
1938	132,379	21,696
1939	85,365	11,700

[a] In the statistics of grain exports are included not only rye, wheat, oats, and barley but also the seeds of vetch, peas, buckwheat, chick-peas, and lentils.

[b] The metric ton or 10 quintals = 36.743 U.S. bushels of wheat or potatoes, 39.369 U.S. bushels of rye or linseed, 45.931 U.S. bushels of barley, 68.894 U.S. bushels of oats, according to the League of Nations' *Statistical Year Book of 1940.*

[c] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 104, for the period 1924–37.

and 1936, which according to Professor Kriksciunas [27] may be regarded as accidental, were made possible by an exceptionally large yield in 1934 and 1935. The bulk of production is intended for home consumption.

The most popular grain crops in Lithuania are winter

[27] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

243 The most popular grain crops in Lithuania are winter
311 rye, winter wheat, oats, and barley; the respective importance of each is indicated by the proportion of the land used for various crops, as shown in Table 12.

TABLE 12

LAND USED FOR VARIOUS CROPS

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CROPS	1909–13 [a] (1,000 acres)	1938 [b] (1,000 acres)	PERCENTAGE OF ALL ARABLE LAND
Rye (winter and spring)	1,365.0	1,304.8	19.2
Wheat (winter and spring)	202.0	500.5	7.4
Oats	783.8	877.4	13.0
Barley	452.7	536.3	8.1
Buckwheat	16.1	19.6	.3
TOTAL GRAIN	2,819.6 [c]	3,238.6 [d]	48.0
Legumes	140.8	192.7	2.8
Potatoes	294.3	459.7	6.8
Sugar beets, fodder beets, carrots, and turnips	([e])	160.0	2.4
Clover and other grass fodder	([e])	1,378.2	20.3
Flax	([e])	192.5	2.8
Vegetables	136.4	63.1	.9

[a] J. Kriksciunas, *Die litauische Landwirtschaft* (Lithuanian Agriculture), Kaunas, 1933, p. 133.
[b] C.S.B., 1938, pp. 114–17.
[c] 1,141,100 hectares.
[d] 1,310,640 hectares.
[e] Figures not available.

243 In general, there is a tendency to reduce rye cultivation. For instance, the total of 1,365,000 acres used for rye in the years 1909–13 is 7.2 percent greater than was used in the same territory in the post-World War period.

In Lithuania rye is used principally for a special dark

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB1

L 243

bread and various kinds of gruels. That Lithuania is the greatest rye producer of the three Baltic states, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, is shown by Table 13.

TABLE 13

BC 243 L 243

PRODUCTION OF RYE IN THE BALTIC STATES[a]

(*In Thousands of Quintals*[b])

YEAR	LITHUANIA	LATVIA	ESTONIA
1925–29 (av.)	5,175	2,371	1,508
1930–34 (av.)	5,746	3,148	2,013
1935	6,406	3,639	1,728
1936	5,413	2,860	4,215
1937	6,069	4,215	2,115
1938	6,237	3,802	1,880
1939	6,510	4,291	2,280

[a] League of Nations, *Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations*, 1937–38; C.S.B., 1938, p. 114.

[b] One quintal equals 220.46 pounds. See footnote b of Table 11 for equivalent in U.S. bushels.

L 243

Wheat is also one of the important food products of Lithuania. In the pre-war period of 1909–13, 202,000 acres were used annually for wheat, while in 1935, 535,009 acres were used for this crop, of which 414,041 acres, or 77.2 percent, were used for winter wheat and 301,383 acres, or 22.8 percent, for spring wheat.[28] The growing of wheat in Lithuania is increasing much faster than the growing of any other grain. In 1938 about two and a half times more land was used for wheat than in 1909–13. This increase may be observed particularly regarding spring wheat.

From the data of Table 14 we see that Lithuania produces more wheat than either of the other two Baltic states. Since bread in Lithuania is made principally of rye flour, there is

[28] *Lietuvos Surasymas*, 1935, p. 18.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB1

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TABLE 14

PRODUCTION OF WHEAT IN THE BALTIC STATES

(*In Thousands of Quintals*)

YEAR	LITHUANIA	LATVIA	ESTONIA
1925–29 (av.)	1,653	626	275
1930–34 (av.)	2,475	1,498	600
1935	2,747	1,775	617
1936	2,197	1,435	662
1937	2,207	1,715	758
1938	2,512	1,918	861
1939	2,565	1,974	855

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a considerable surplus of wheat; the greater part of this surplus is exported and the rest is used for the feeding of home fowl and livestock. As the climate of Lithuania is favorable for wheat growing, further expansion in the size of the wheat crop may be expected.

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Oats, which are used mostly for livestock fodder, especially for horses, have almost no use in Lithuania as a food for the population. This crop had expanded substantially in the post-World War period. In 1909–13 it was included with fodder mixture, this entire category accounting for 783,801 acres, while in 1938, 877,400 acres were used for oats alone and another 277,246 acres were used for the growing of fodder mixture.

Barley is used in Lithuania chiefly as fodder for pigs. As pig breeding has expanded since the World War, a larger area is being used for barley growing. It is estimated that in the period 1909–13, 452,700 acres were used for that crop; in 1935 the figure increased to 507,963 acres, in 1938 to 536,300 acres, and further expansion was expected under normal conditions.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB1

TABLE 15

PRODUCTION OF OATS IN THE BALTIC STATES

(In Thousands of Quintals) [a]

YEAR	LITHUANIA	LATVIA	ESTONIA
1925–29 (av.)	3,105	2,485	1,211
1930–34 (av.)	3,788	3,453	1,456
1935	3,995	3,859	1,344
1936	3,320	2,844	1,138
1937	3,878	4,050	1,391
1938	4,200	4,454	1,773
1939	4,106	4,498	1,498

[a] Conversion coefficients: see footnote b of Table 11.

L 246 BC 246

TABLE 16

PRODUCTION OF BARLEY IN THE BALTIC STATES

(In Thousands of Quintals) [a]

YEAR	LITHUANIA	LATVIA	ESTONIA
1925–29 (av.)	2,199	1,551	1,113
1930–34 (av.)	2,336	1,969	1,107
1935	2,516	2,046	918
1936	2,330	1,650	868
1937	2,740	2,184	809
1938	2,713	2,107	968
1939	2,571	2,088	899

[a] See footnote b of Table 11 for conversion coefficients.

ROOT CROPS

Before the World War, root crops were not as important as they have since become in independent Lithuania. Although potatoes were grown and used widely before the war of 1914–18, the area given over to potato growing has

L 244

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB1

L 244

expanded more than 45 percent since the pre-war years. The bulk of the potato crop is used as fodder for pigs, a smaller quantity is consumed as food by the people, and the rest goes for distilling purposes.

Beets were grown in pre-war Lithuania, but in small quantities and mainly for human food. With the development of livestock breeding, beet growing for fodder has substantially expanded.

The sugar beet, unknown in Lithuania in the pre-war period, has shown a spectacular rise; 20,000 acres of sugar beets supply the country's three sugar refineries. The following is the record of sugar-beet cultivation in recent years: 1931—6,970 acres; 1932—13,146 acres; 1933—9,887 acres; 1934—9,637 acres; 1935—17,297 acres;[29] 1937—20,336 acres; 1938—21,002 acres; 1939—22,250 acres.[30]

TABLE 17

L 244
BC 244

PRODUCTION OF VARIOUS ROOT CROPS IN THE BALTIC STATES

(In Thousands of Quintals) [a]

YEAR	LITHUANIA	LATVIA	ESTONIA
POTATOES			
1925–29 (av.)	14,645	7,750	7,143
1930–34 (av.)	19,870	12,649	8,683
1935	17,738	14,612	8,927
1936	21,112	16,115	10,306
1937	25,099	17,820	9,856
1938	21,182	17,553	9,976
1939	23,548	16,559	8,740

[29] *Lietuvos Surasymas*, 1935, p. 24.
[30] C.S.B., 1939.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB1

YEAR	LITHUANIA	LATVIA	ESTONIA
SUGAR BEETS			
1928–29	—	20	—
1929–30	—	35	—
1930–31	—	69	—
1931–32	67	94	—
1932–33	164	245	—
1933–34	73	291	—
1934–35	137	539	—
1935–36	198	451	—
1936–37	245	382	—
1937–38	257	442	—
1938–39 [b]	208	296	—

[a] Conversion coefficients: see footnote b of Table 11.
[b] *Revue internationale d'agriculture*, 1940, No. 2.

FLAX

Lithuania is one of the chief flax-producing countries in Europe, for the climate and the soil are very favorable for the cultivation of this crop. It is to be noted that in spite of its small area Lithuania ranks as the third flax exporter of the world, being surpassed only by Soviet Russia and Poland. About 200,000 acres, or a little more than three percent of all the arable land in Lithuania, is used for flax growing. Although this is a comparatively small percentage, the income derived therefrom is high. The income from flax and linseed exports in 1920–36 was greater than that from butter, pigs and pork, eggs, or grain.[31]

Because there are no uniform standards for the preparation of the flax, the export products vary in quality. For example, in southern Lithuania flax is plucked out only after full maturity. Later it is submitted to a process of dew retting

[31] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 103. See Table 19 for figures.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB2
Poland EA2

L 248

instead of being water retted as in other parts of Lithuania. Prepared by such methods, flax fiber is of low quality, although this is offset by a rich yield of valuable linseed. In other parts of Lithuania flax is plucked before reaching full maturity. Flax plucked at this state produces linseed of low quality, but the flax fiber is undoubtedly very strong and fine.[22]

L [474]

The concentration of flax exports since 1932 in the coöperative concern Lietukis has raised the quality and reputation of Lithuanian flax. Continued progress in this respect will no doubt be reflected in better prices and greater profits.

TABLE 18

L 248 BC 248 P 248

PRODUCTION OF FLAX IN THE BALTIC STATES AND POLAND

(In Thousands of Quintals)

YEAR	LITHUANIA	LATVIA	ESTONIA	POLAND
1925–29 (av.)	364	221	100	561
1930–34 (av.)	208	141	66	323
1934	222	162	71	308
1935	319	248	105	398
1936	288	185	87	372
1937	313	231	103	381
1938	258	214	74	399
1939	289	192	62	(*a*)

[a] Figure not available.

L 248 439

The importance of flax, tow, and linseed in the exports of Lithuania may be observed from the fact that in 1924 they constituted 26 percent of Lithuania's total exports; in 1926, 7 percent; in 1928, 20 percent; in 1930, 10 percent; in 1937, 15 percent; in 1938, 11 percent; and in 1939, 17 percent.

[22] Krikscimas, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 19

EXPORTS OF LITHUANIA'S FLAX PRODUCTS 248

YEAR	FLAX AND TOW: QUANTITY EXPORTED (1,000 metric tons)	FLAX AND TOW: VALUE (Millions of litas)	LINSEED: QUANTITY EXPORTED (1,000 metric tons)	LINSEED: VALUE (Millions of litas)
1924	14.0	52.75	18.6	16.29
1926	19.7	56.93	25.8	18.04
1928	13.2	46.59	77.0	6.18
1930	10.2	19.59	20.1	14.21
1932	9.0	9.12	7.7	2.46
1934	10.2	11.19	6.4	2.01
1936	19.7	25.12	23.8	6.80
1937	16.1	24.00	20.7	7.10
1938	18.8	24.82	5.6	1.98
1939	20.0	30.31	10.3	4.16

439

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Butter and cheese were produced in pre-war Lithuania, 234
but these items became available in increasing quantities for export only after the World War. In 1909–14, only some of the bigger landlords (farmers owning 200 acres or more) had their own creameries, but most of the middle-class and small farmers prepared milk products mainly for their own consumption, sending only a small portion to near-by township markets. In 1901, forty-eight landlords organized the [439]
creamery Birute whose yearly exports of butter reached 620,000 pounds. But the World War which disorganized the national economy of Lithuania also ruined the dairy co-operatives. Not only were the dairies destroyed but the country was deprived of its sources of supply, for almost

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

234 half of the cattle were slaughtered for meat by various armies.[33]

Shortly after the World War there was great demand for milk products in Germany and prices were high. It was possible to sell milk and milk products even of low quality, especially in the border districts of Germany. In 1924–25 the conditions began to change. Germany returned to the pre-war methods of tariff protection and adopted the policy of economic self-sufficiency. There were also greater supplies of milk products from other markets, such as Denmark and overseas, which caused a decrease in prices.

Private merchants, interested only in immediate profits and possessing no capital for long-term investments, were unable to improve the quality of milk products. That this quality was low can be deduced from the fact that the butter bought up from the farmers had been prepared in a variety
439 of ways, mostly by primitive methods. The butter was then mixed and packed for export. Naturally, prices for such "mixtures," were low, but eventually it became impossible to sell the product even at low prices.

234 The government was anxious to help the farmers by im-
474 proving milk products and increasing exports. The best way
654 to do that seemed to be by coöperation, a method which in later years fully justified the expectations. Through the initiative of the coöperatives and with government subsidies, the quality of butter was improved so much that in 1936, of all the butter-exporting countries, only Denmark was able to get higher prices than Lithuania. Lithuania's position in this market shows even more creditable progress when we

[33] *Centraline Lietuvos Pieno Perdirbimo Bendroviu Sajunga Pienocentras 1927–1936* (The Central Union of Dairy Coöperative Societies of Lithuania, Pienocentras, 1927–1936), p. 15.

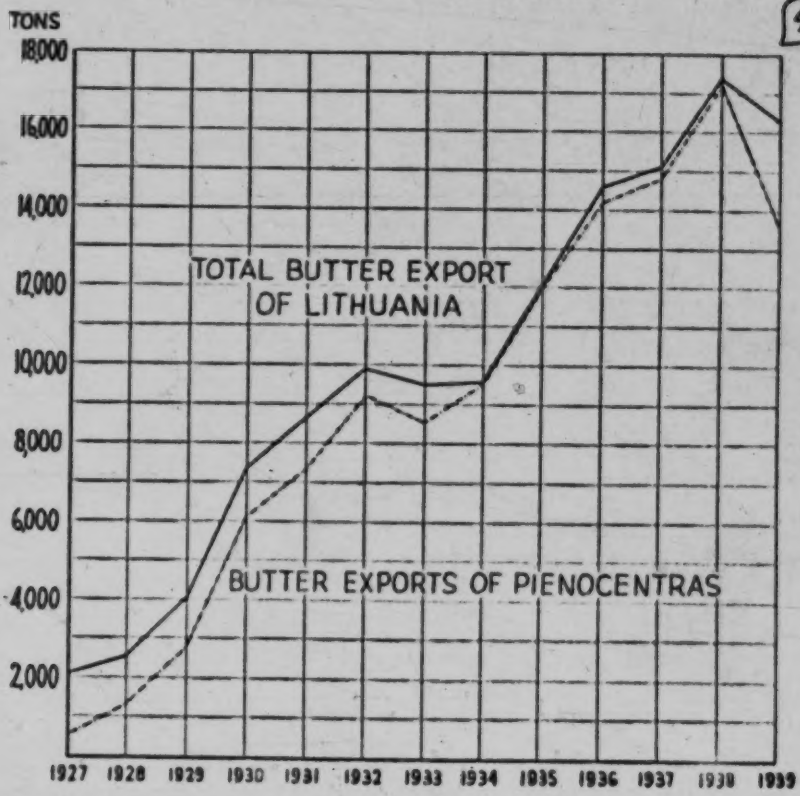
3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

take into consideration the fact that Danish butter had been selling in London for decades and the English consumers had acquired a taste for it.[34]

The first to organize the dairies were the Central Union of the Agricultural Coöperatives of Lithuania (Lietukis) and the Coöperative Society (Gamintojas). In 1923 a separate dairying section was established at Lietukis. The Ministry of Agriculture subsidized the newly organized steam

CHART I

BUTTER EXPORTS OF LITHUANIA



[34] Krikscionas, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

234 dairies (using steam power equipment) to enable them to
474 buy new machinery, granting the dairies twenty-five per-
654 cent of the value of the machinery, the subsidy not to exceed 9,000 litas. Subsidies up to 1,500 litas were also given to hand dairies in the same percentage. The Ministry of Agriculture also provided loans on favorable terms for the construction of buildings for new dairies and from 1925
234 granted subsidies up to 5,000 litas for this purpose. In 1926
474 the dairying section of Lietukis was organized into a separate organization—the Central Union of Dairy Coöperative Societies of Lithuania, known by its trade name, Pienocentras. The growth of coöperative dairies is shown in Table 20.

TABLE 20

THE GROWTH OF COÖPERATIVE DAIRIES IN LITHUANIA[a]

YEAR	NUMBER OF DAIRIES	NUMBER OF SKIMMING STATIONS
1923	3	—
1924	61	—
1925	54	—
1927	153	151
1929	262	660
1931	273	1,610
1933	251	1,825
1935	209	1,771
1937	188	2,052
1938	185	2,105
1939	176	2,159

[a] *Centraline Lietuvos Pieno Perdirbimo Bendroviu Sajunga Pienocentras 1927–1936*, p. 21.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries: RB1

L 234

From 1931 the number of dairies decreased while the number of skimming stations increased. This is due to the fact that some of the dairies were converted into skimming stations because of insufficient machinery. There were many instances of the merging of several small dairies into one large dairy, while the other units were converted into skimming stations.[35] Simultaneously with the increase in the number of dairying establishments, the quantity of milk and butter products increased very substantially.

L 234 BC 234

It will be noted that milk and butter production in the other two Baltic countries, Latvia and Estonia, increased slowly, remaining almost constant in the latter, while in Lith-

TABLE 21

PRODUCTION OF DAIRY PRODUCTS IN THE BALTIC STATES

MILK

(*1,000 Hectoliters*)

YEAR	LITHUANIA [a]	LATVIA	ESTONIA
1928	397	12,650	6,387
1929	725	13,143	6,334
1930	1,512	13,424	7,374
1931	1,910	13,948	7,866
1932	2,430	14,161	7,877
1933	2,321	14,423	7,673
1934	2,537	15,548	7,821
1935	3,057	15,713	7,929
1936	3,773	15,868	7,791
1937 [b]	4,074	16,179	8,134
1938 [c]	5,133	(f)	(f)
1939	6,250	(f)	(f)

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 90.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB1

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234

BUTTER

(1,000 Metric Tons)

YEAR	LITHUANIA [a]	LATVIA	ESTONIA
1928	1.6	14.3	12.2
1929	3.1	17.0	13.7
1930	6.4	20.8	15.5
1931	8.1	22.2	16.1
1932	10.3	22.1	14.5
1933	9.9	18.6	11.5
1934	10.7	18.8	12.6
1935	13.2	20.5	13.3
1936	15.8	22.2	13.8
1937 [d]	17.1	21.7	15.9
1938 [e]	19.6	(f)	(f)
1939	19.9	(f)	(f)

[a] Only milk controlled by dairies is included in this table.
[b] L.N. 1937–38, p. 72.
[c] C.S.B., volumes for 1938 and 1939.
[d] L.N., 1937–38, p. 74.
[e] C.S.B., volumes for 1938 and 1939.
[f] Figures not available.

uania production increased more than tenfold during the ten-year period. The chief cause for this is that dairying in Latvia and Estonia was considerably advanced before the World War, which was not the case in Lithuania. During the recent years, before the Soviet occupation, however, Lithuania not only succeeded in reaching Estonia's level of butter production but even surpassed it. This situation shows how retarded dairying was in Lithuania as compared with Latvia and Estonia, and indicates the great achievement of coöperation in this particular field.

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The expansion of dairying in Lithuania may be observed also from export figures, given in Table 22.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB L

TABLE 22

BUTTER EXPORTS IN THE BALTIC STATES[a]

(*In Metric Tons*)

YEAR	LITHUANIA	LATVIA	ESTONIA
1927	2,051	10,761	9,906
1928	2,643	13,006	11,222
1929	4,084	14,830	12,359
1930	7,357	13,430	14,066
1931	8,705	18,739	14,444
1932	9,926	18,598	12,531
1933	9,580	15,720	9,224
1934	9,671	15,701	10,118
1935	12,154	16,816	10,838
1936	14,629	17,291	10,955
1937	15,058	19,211	13,179
1938	17,413	23,464	14,732
1939	16,386	([b])	([b])

[a] C.S.B., volumes for 1927 to 1939.
[b] Figures not available.

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LIVESTOCK

Livestock breeding is one of the branches of agriculture that suffered greatly in the World War. As soon as the war started in 1914 Russia requisitioned the best horses for the army. Then came the German army, which took what had been left by the Russians. Only horses unfit for army use were left.

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To alleviate a great shortage of food caused by the Allied blockade the Germans requisitioned even the milk cows for slaughter. The reduction in livestock in Lithuania in 1919 as compared with 1913 was as follows: horses, 38 percent; cattle, 47.7 percent; pigs, 44 percent; sheep, 30 percent. The reduction of stock may be clearly seen from Table 23,

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 23

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LIVESTOCK IN LITHUANIA 1913–39

YEAR	HORSES (1,000 head)	CATTLE (1,000 head)	PIGS (1,000 head)	SHEEP (1,000 head)
1913	451	918	1,138	1,152
1919	280	480	750	806
1920	335	604	1,119	894
1921	376	780	1,262	1,036
1925	497	1,339	1,488	1,455
1928 [a]	611	1,128	1,010	1,409
1930	562	1,034	1,207	1,212
1935 [b]	545	1,132	1,223	1,220
1938 [c]	558	1,193	1,249	1,241
1939	521	1,004	1,117	1,224

[a] For the period 1913–28: Kubilius, *op. cit.*, p. 86; C.S.B., 19[illegible]–28, p. 58.
[b] For the years 1930 and 1935: *Lietuvos Surasymas*, 1935, pp. 40–51.
[c] C.S.B., volumes for 1938 and 1939.

which shows also that livestock breeding recovered very quickly after the World War, so that as early as 1925 the number of livestock was even greater than it had been in [439] 1913. Exports of livestock and their products constituted 26.13 percent of the total value of exports as early as 1924 and reached 31.02 percent in 1928 and 61.4 percent in 1939. It may be interesting to analyze the livestock situation according to its various important branches.

231 Horses were bred in Lithuania as far back as historians [523] can trace the Lithuanian people. That horses are beloved by Lithuanians is proved by the many folk songs about them. In the Middle Ages Lithuania needed horses for its wars and bred them in great numbers for that purpose. Some of them were even sold in foreign markets.[36]

[36] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanian RB5

TABLE 24

EXPORT VALUE OF LIVESTOCK AND THEIR PRODUCTS[a]

(In Thousands of Litas)

YEAR	HORSES	CATTLE	PIGS	MEAT, MEAT PRODUCTS	MILK, BUTTER, CHEESE	SKINS	BRISTLES, HAIR, BONES	TOTAL	PERCENT OF NATION'S TOTAL EXPORTS
1924	16,219	5,404	11,773	10,966	6,969	16,022	4,233	71,586	26.1
1925	14,475	7,386	14,119	6,672	12,123	11,731	3,397	69,903	28.9
1926	5,322	9,320	20,895	8,641	16,295	7,123	3,067	70,663	28.4
1927	10,993	6,756	12,864	6,826	17,537	11,315	2,133	68,424	27.8
1928	9,820	7,445	11,533	5,874	25,560	17,160	2,186	79,578	31.0
1930	10,306	12,975	38,753	46,112	52,543	7,790	2,652	171,131	51.3
1935	3,435	106	7,084	25,808	24,878	3,286	1,149	65,746	43.2
1937	4,964	2,189	16,336	31,127	48,193	7,343	1,782	111,934	53.7
1938	5,060	2,837	21,257	36,196	58,110	5,569	1,454	130,483	55.9
1939	3,300	2,436	23,509	39,884	50,056	4,055	1,614	124,854	61.4

[a] C.S.B., volumes for 1924 to 1939.

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3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

231 In recent years horses have been used a great deal for farm work. Lithuania being a country of small farms, it is usually quite impossible for the farmer to invest in expensive machinery. Furthermore, labor is too cheap for mechanized farming to be able to compete with it. Thus, the total number of horses in Lithuania is considerably larger than in the neighboring countries, Latvia and Estonia.

Shortly before the World War, and immediately after it, the small "Samogitian horses" (Zemaitukai) or "Lithuanian horses" were especially famous in western Europe. They are unusually hardy and are of the same breed as those with which Lithuanians in the Middle Ages made their inroads into Smolensk, Novgorod, and Moscow in their wars with the Russians.[37] These horses are especially suited for use in a country of large forests, bad roads, and primitive farming. But at the end of the nineteenth century, and especially at the beginning of the twentieth, conditions changed. More advanced farming with heavier tools required bigger and stronger horses, and horses of this type were crossed with the small "Samogitians." At the present time there are found many breeds of horses, but very few are of a pure breed. After the World War horse raising was vastly improved by establishing free central stations for horse husbandry. The sturdy "Samogitians" were valuable particularly for work in mines.

231 Shortly after the World War, demand for horses being
439 great and prices high, a substantial number of horses were exported, but in recent years the export of horses has been

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 153.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 25

EXPORT OF HORSES 1924–39 231 439

YEAR	NUMBER OF HORSES	VALUE (*In million litas*)
1924	23,204	16.2
1926	10,347	5.3
1928	27,224	9.8
1930	20,647	10.3
1932	8,215	2.2
1934	17,318	4.6
1936	14,900	5.6
1937	13,262	4.9
1938	12,230	5.1
1939	7,130	3.3

on the decline. The greatest importers of Lithuanian horses are Latvia, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Finland. In 1938 the export of Lithuanian horses was as follows:

Latvia	3,254	Belgium	1,041	Germany	378
Netherlands	2,284	Switzerland	837	Czechoslovakia	37
Denmark	1,908	Sweden	698	Estonia	6
Finland	1,277	Great Britain	341		

Cattle breeding is one of the branches of livestock husbandry which not only recovered rapidly from the ravages of the World War but showed both a slight increase in number of head as compared with 1913 and a substantial improvement in quality. Evidence of improved quality is shown by the tenfold increase in butter production. The 1930 and 1935 censuses reveal the various categories of Lithuanian cattle as in Table 26. 231

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 26

231 CATEGORIES OF LITHUANIAN CATTLE IN 1930 AND 1935[a]

	1930	1935
Calves less than one year old	216,890	160,670
Heifers one year old and older	135,670	176,300
Oxen one year old and older	27,200	38,730
Milk cows	654,030	755,830
TOTAL	1,033,790	1,131,530

[a] *Lietuvos Statistikos*, 1935, pp. 43–44.

From this table we see that about 65 percent of all the cattle of Lithuania are milk cows. The total number of cattle increased in 1935 as compared with 1930 by 9.5 percent, while the number of calves less than a year old was substantially smaller.

Pig breeding, another important branch of Lithuanian agriculture, is connected to some extent with dairying. This is because the dairies yield large quantities of skimmed milk, [439] which is always an excellent feed for pigs. Until 1924 the exports of pigs and pork from Lithuania were insignificant, but in later years, especially since 1930, after the Maistas Corporation developed its activities on a wider scale, the exports have increased considerably. In its stockyard at Kaunas about 800 workers were employed before the Russian occupation, while in the establishments at Siauliai, Panevezys and Taurage, smaller numbers were employed.

236 Sheep breeding in Lithuania is mainly for wool production, but wool has not played any great role in the exports of Lithuania, as the bulk was consumed by domestic agriculturists for making cloth at home. After the World War, conditions gradually changed; the farmers began to sell sur-

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 27

EXPORT OF PIGS AND PORK PRODUCTS 1924–39 231 439

YEAR	LIVE PIGS (1,000 head)	BACON (1,000 metric tons) *	FRESH PORK (1,000 metric tons) *
1924	43.5	0.0	1.1
1926	72.0	0.0	2.0
1928	41.8	0.6	1.2
1930	154.1	17.4	3.2
1932	33.7	40.9	5.5
1934	46.1	30.7	4.4
1936	117.0	10.2	5.1
1937	137.7	10.5	3.5
1938	153.1	11.8	1.6
1939	179.7	15.6	1.1

* One metric ton = 2,204.6 U.S. pounds.

plus wool and to buy clothing ready-made in town instead 236
of making it themselves. Since the climate is unfavorable for sheep breeding and the wool from Lithuanian sheep is therefore poor, domestic wool is mixed by the textile industry of Lithuania with imported wool of better quality. The value of wool imports in recent years was as follows: in 1936, 1,859,700 litas; in 1937, 2,558,900 litas; in 1938, 1,681,900 litas and in 1939 1,436,100 litas. The bulk of this wool came from Great Britain. There is perhaps no great future for sheep breeding; on the contrary, it is likely that this branch of livestock production will decrease even more.

POULTRY FARMING

Poultry farming is also a very old branch of Lithuania's 235
agriculture, and the role it has played in the exports picture has not been unimportant. Poultry farming is especially

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

235 suited to countries with small farms, but in Lithuania, compared with Belgium, Holland, and Denmark, it is still undeveloped.[38]

TABLE 28

POULTRY PRODUCTION IN 1935[a]

FOWL	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE OF ENTIRE POULTRY PRODUCTION
Hens	4,614,420	72.4
Ducks	601,450	9.4
Geese	946,510	14.9
Turkeys	210,730	3.3

[a] *Lietuvos Surasymas*, 1935, p. 51.

In the first years of independent Lithuania, egg production, in comparison with the production in other branches of agriculture, was high, but in later years it diminished in importance and relinquished its position to milk products and
439 meat. The highest prices for eggs exported were received in
235 1921–22. In the latter year, egg exports constituted almost a third of the whole export value, as may be seen from Table 29. The main cause of the decrease in exports of eggs after 1922 was, of course, the fall in prices. In 1922 the

TABLE 29

MAIN EXPORT ITEMS OF LITHUANIA 1920–22

	1920	1921	1922
Total value of exports (in millions of marks)	490	631	3,047
Flax (percent of total)	46.4	29.3	7.8
Forest products (percent)	35.5	30.3	39.0
Eggs (percent)	3.6	23.4	32.1

[38] Krikscionas, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

wholesale price for ten eggs in London was 4.90 litas; in 1923, 4.19 litas; in 1922, 3.73 litas; and in 1927, 2.45 litas.[29] From Table 29 it may be seen that in the first years of Lithuanian's independent national existence the most important exports were forest products, flax, and eggs; in later years, when conditions became more settled, these products became of secondary importance. How poultry production and poultry exports changed in value after 1924 may be seen from Table 30. The exports of eggs did not diminish in volume as much as in value, because the most drastic

TABLE 30

EXPORTS OF POULTRY AND POULTRY PRODUCTS

(*In Thousands of Litas*)

YEAR	EGGS	POULTRY [a]	POULTRY MEATS	TOTAL
1924	19,938	4,956	391	24,285
1925	14,872	3,824	308	19,003
1926	13,575	5,206	817	19,597
1927	10,944	4,511	560	16,015
1928	14,435	6,810	157	21,393
1930	11,892	7,759	1,806	21,457
1935	2,117	1	1,369	3,487
1938	7,833	2,283	2,746	12,862
1939	8,196	3,170	3,615	14,981

[a] Geese, hens, ducks, turkeys.

drop in price levels occurred in 1931–32. For a few years before the Soviet Russian occupation experiments were conducted in the improvement of poultry and in the organizing of efficient egg-collection stations. This was done by the coöperatives. At the same time there was considerable improvement in the prices received for these products.

[29] Kubilius, *op. cit.*, pp. 180–90.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Chapter III

INDUSTRY

438 The industry of Lithuania before the World War was gov-
433 erned not by the requirements of the local markets. Its development and structure were more suited to the Russian empire, on whose national economy, politics, and markets Lithuania was dependent. There was extensive development of such industries as leather and metal, which had no basic connections with the markets of ethnographic Lithuania. At the same time, industries closely connected with agriculture were almost nonexistent. There were no slaughterhouses where the livestock surplus could be prepared for export, and there was almost no textile industry; the country's flax had to go to western Europe for manufacture into cloth. Even the timber industry, which was in a very favorable situation, was undeveloped. This same industry was flourishing just across the border, in the port of Klaipeda (Memel) in pre-World War Germany, although it was wholly dependent for its raw materials on Lithuania and the rest of pre-war Russia.[1]

After the World War the remnants of the Russian industries in Lithuania were unsuited to the needs of the newly established republic. And even those remnants were almost completely disabled, because during the hostilities the ma-

[1] C.S.B., 1918–38, pp. 67–90.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

chinery had been destroyed or sent to "unknown destinations." Therefore the industry of the reëstablished republic had not only to be reconstructed but had to be almost entirely reshaped in a manner suited to the needs of an agricultural country. According to the vague pre-World War statistics, there were approximately 3,144 separate industrial units in Lithuania, this number including very small establishments of three to five workers. According to statistics compiled from reports of factory inspectors,[2] the province (gouvernement) of Kaunas had 151 enterprises with 6,603 workers, distributed as in Table 31.

TABLE 31

INDUSTRY OF LITHUANIA IN 1913

NUMBER OF ENTERPRISES	NUMBER OF WORKERS IN EACH
1	1,256
2	600
2	200
2	100–200
12	51–100
7	31–50
13	21–30
34	11–30
78	less than 10

After the World War the leather and metal industries experienced a great setback, while the food, textile, paper, and other industries soon started on the upswing. An idea of the rapid increase in the number of industrial establishments may be gained from the number of government operation certificates issued. In 1920, 2,474 certificates were issued;

[2] Kubilius, *op. cit.*, pp. 222–23.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

438 in 1921, 4,011; in 1922, 4,933; in 1923, 5,402; in 1924, 5,-
433 419; in 1925, 5,941; in 1926, 5,164; in 1927, 5,437; in 1928, 5,742; in 1929, 6,010; in 1930, 5,842; in 1931, 5,796; in 1932, 5,735; in 1933, 5,451; in 1934, 5,710; in 1935, 12,-067; in 1936, 14,750; in 1937, 15,214; in 1938, 15,717; and in 1939, 16,131.[3]

[651] The sudden rise of the number of industrial establishments registered in 1935 and the subsequent years is the result of the extension of the License Tax in that year to even the smallest establishments. The new ruling required that a license be taken out even by concerns with only a single employee. Thus the figures of 1935 and later are not wholly comparable with the previous ones; nevertheless they reflect
[463] the rise of industry in Lithuania. A more detailed picture of the development of industry may be obtained from Table 32, which shows that the largest number, over 20 percent, of wage earners are employed in the textile industry. The food and luxury goods industries, which in 1937 held third position with 5,195 employees, advanced to second place in 1938, with 6,150 workers. The third place in 1938 was held by the timber industry, with 4,852 workers, having enjoyed during the previous year an all-time peak in its record of employment. Fourth place, according to the number of workers employed, belongs to the clay products and stone industry; after it come the metals and machinery industry and the clothing and footwear industry.

When the value of industrial production is taken into consideration we get a very different picture of the situation, with the food and luxury industry in first place, accounting for over 41 percent of the total value of the industrial production of Lithuania. Next follow the textile

[3] C.S.B., 1938 and 1939, p. 186 and p. 194 respectively.

TABLE 32

CLASSIFICATION OF INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS OF LITHUANIA 1927–39[a]

INDUSTRY	1927		1930		1935		1938		1939[b]	
	Establishments	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*
Peat-cutting	7	603	6	541	7	417	16	1,086	19	1,296
Stone, clay products, etc.	94	1,357	108	1,648	82	1,539	130	3,566	130	3,212
Metals and machinery	97	1,895	94	1,975	92	1,711	120	3,327	97	2,981
Chemicals	49	885	53	792	48	940	48	1,583	53	1,695
Leather and fur	40	657	44	648	37	749	58	1,022	50	865
Textiles	55	1,403	57	2,194	61	4,679	81	7,019	84	4,611[c]
Timber	185	3,446	178	3,096	192	4,238	264	4,852	238	2,864[d]
Paper and printing	52	2,115	64	2,323	71	2,195	84	2,615	81	1,613[e]
Foodstuffs	253	3,786	246	3,616	343	4,284	394	6,150	347	5,925
Clothing and footwear	139	1,607	154	1,891	148	1,952	183	3,056	186	2,841
Electricity and gas works	29	648	26	479	31	512	33	590	31	474

[a] C.S.B., *Statistikos Metrastis*, Vol. 1929–39.
[b] All data in this column after seizure of Klaipeda Territory by Germany in March, 1939.
[c] Before Klaipeda Territory cession: 87 establishments with 7,561 employees.
[d] Before Klaipeda Territory cession: 206 establishments with 4,257 employees.
[e] Before Klaipeda Territory cession: 88 establishments with 2,679 employees.

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3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

438 industry with 14.9 percent, the timber industry—9.1 per-
433 cent, and the paper and printing industry—8.4 percent. These facts may be clearly seen from Table 33, which shows

TABLE 33

AGGREGATE VALUE OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION OF LITHUANIA 1937–39

(In Thousands of Litas)

INDUSTRY	1937	1938	1939
Peat-cutting	1,277	1,873	2,932
Stone, clay products, etc.	7,012	9,097	9,389
Metals and machinery	19,298	24,661	23,378
Chemicals	13,939	16,529	20,734
Leather and fur	17,245	16,684	14,306
Textiles	35,656	40,331	40,331
Timber	15,847	16,865	14,341
Paper and printing	17,807	17,543	17,630
Food and luxury goods	151,569	175,470	223,424
Clothing and footwear	20,762	23,658	26,696
Electrical works	10,672	11,738	12,588
TOTAL	311,084	354,449	405,749

that the value of total production in 1939 was 405,749,000 litas against 354,449,000 litas in 1938 and 311,084,000 litas in 1937.

The growth of the industrial production of Lithuania was not even impaired by the world depression of 1929. While world production in 1931 and 1932 had fallen to the lowest ebb, production in Lithuania showed further expansion. Several reasons may be given in explanation of this phenomenon.

438 First, Lithuania exercises a specific customs duties system,
651 which is an advantage to home industry during a period of

3 Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RBS Lithuanians RBS

TABLE 34

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION INDEX OF LITHUANIA AND THE WORLD 1929–39 438 433

YEAR	PRODUCTION OF LITHUANIA [a]	WORLD PRODUCTION [b]
1929	100	100
1930	108.3	88.3
1931	140.7	74.8
1932	153.7	63.0
1933	([d])	71.3
1934	166.5	77.0
1935	185.9	85.4
1936	244.2	95.5
1937	272.0	102.5
1938	309.4	125.8 [c]
1939	354.2	128.7

[a] *Report*, p. 20.
[b] League of Nations, *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, Geneva, June, 1938.
[c] *Ibid., Statistical Year-Book 1939–40.*
[d] Figure not available.

falling prices in the world market, especially when the duties are high as compared with the prices of commodities. Customs duties do not fall in proportion to the fall of prices in the world market, as would be the case under the ad valorem duties system. Thus, home industry benefited from the fall of raw-material prices and was able to supply the home market with cheaper commodities than could be offered by the foreign producers for whose products the customs duties were not lowered to suit the decreased prices. This is proved even by the great decrease in the value of imports, which in 1935 amounted to only 128,597,000 litas, as against 142,176,200 litas in 1933 and 312,415,200 in 1930. 438 651

Second, it is to be noted that the index of industrial pro- 000

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

duction did not suffer as much in the agricultural countries as it did in advanced industrial countries. For example, the index of the industrial production of Germany in 1929 fell from 100 to 85.9 in 1930, to 67.6 in 1931, and to 53.3 in 1932. The index of the United States was 80.7 in 1930, 68.1 in 1931, and 53.8 in 1932. At the same time, the index number of the industrial production of Denmark was below 100 only in 1932, when it was 91, while in 1933 it was 105 and in 1934, 117. The index number of the industrial production of Greece continued to stay over 100: in 1930 it was 103.4; in 1931, 107.0; and in 1932, 100.9, while in 1938 it reached 165.1.[4]

Finally, the industry of Lithuania, even with expanded facilities, does not satisfy the demands of its home market. For this reason even during the depression the rate of industrial expansion was not greatly slackened.

Aside from coöperative concerns, analysis of which has been made elsewhere, a great role in the economic life of Lithuania was played by corporations.

In some of them, as in the Maistas and Lietuvos Cukrus corporations, the majority of stock is held by the government.

At the end of 1939 there were 137 corporations in Lithuania with total capitalization of 205,442,000 litas. The banking group comprised 8 units with total capitalization of 89,000,000 litas or 43 percent of total capital of the corporations of Lithuania. Next in importance comes food industry with 20 corporations and 28,345,000 litas combined capital followed by 4 electricity supply corporations with 25,100,000 litas of capital stock.

[4] League of Nations, *Statistical Year-Book 1939–40.*

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

With the Sovietization of Lithuania by Russia all those corporations were nationalized in August, 1940, and made government establishments. On August 7, 1940, an order was published requesting even the surrender of the shares of capital stock and bonds of private corporations or government.[5] No due compensation was promised. 473

When Russian occupation was substituted by German in June, 1941, the system of private ownership was returned in Lithuania, except private, corporate, or coöperative wealth, which apparently is kept for distribution to German nationals or at least to German sympathizers. 471

THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

The textile industry showed a spectacular rise between 1927 and 1940. But even before this period it had shown considerable advance. It is estimated that in the years 1909 to 1913 this industry in Lithuania employed about 300 workers.[6] In 1927 the number of workers had grown to 1,403, almost five times as many as before the World War, while in 1939 the industry was employing 7,561 workers. 288 433

It is interesting to note that in spite of increasing textile production at home, imports did not decrease proportionately. This may be accounted for partly by the fact that rising living standards increased the demand to such an extent that even the increased production was not sufficient to satisfy it without the aid of proportionately high imports. Lithuania does not export any textile fabrics. [439]

The expanding textile industry modifies the type of textile

[5] *Darbo Lietuva* No. 50, Aug. 13, 1940. (*Darbo Lietuva* [Worker's Lithuania] was a Bolshevik daily in Kaunas, established after the occupation.)

[6] L.G.S.A., 1937, p. 405.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 35

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY OF LITHUANIA 1927–39

KIND OF ESTABLISHMENT	1927		1930		1935		1939	
	Establishments	*Workers*	*Establishments*	*Workers*	*Establishments*	*Workers*	*Establishments*	*Workers*
Linen and jute weaving	3	112	3	163	5	624	5	827
Flax preparation	16	468	9	534	8	288	11	1,296
Woolen and cotton weaving and spinning	6	589	7	1,229	16	2,922	20	4,051
Wool spinning	17	138	20	142	11	67	23	175
Silk weaving	—	—	—	—	3	651	4	964

imports: there is a tendency toward an increase in semifinished textile goods, especially woolen spun yarns, and a decrease in imports of woolen textile materials (fabrics). In cotton-goods imports this tendency is not so pronounced. This may be due partly to the fact that Lithuania has no raw cotton and the entire supply must be imported. The manufacturing of cotton fabrics is, therefore, almost entirely undeveloped. With woolen fabrics conditions are exactly opposite. A substantial part of the wool is produced at home and, although the quality of Lithuanian wool is not as high as that of Australia or New Zealand, the woolen industries, having been at first wholly dependent on the home supply, were better equipped to expand and improve their production than were the cotton factories. If breeds of sheep are improved as were those of cattle, Lithuanian woolen goods will improve in quality as well as increase in quantity.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 36

IMPORTS OF THE LEADING SEMIFINISHED AND FINISHED TEXTILE GOODS 439

(*In Thousands of Litas*)

YEAR	WOOLEN SPUN YARN	COTTON SPUN YARN	WOOLEN FABRICS	COTTON FABRICS	TOTAL
1928	2,188	6,032	12,952	21,118	42,291
1929	2,413	7,449	14,179	18,600	42,643
1930	2,269	12,019	16,543	21,867	52,699
1931	2,576	8,801	14,980	24,082	50,439
1932	2,034	7,916	7,319	11,370	28,639
1933	3,264	8,917	4,430	8,320	24,931
1934	4,334	7,951	3,717	7,132	23,133
1935	4,173	7,364	3,742	7,271	22,550
1936	7,061	8,662	5,067	10,230	31,020
1937	8,433	8,558	5,795	10,213	32,999
1938	8,433	7,761	5,299	9,536	31,029
1939	5,004	5,499	4,564	8,654	23,721

FOODSTUFFS INDUSTRY

Among Lithuanian industries, foodstuffs occupied first 258 place (41.6%) from the point of view of value of product 433 in 1937 and second place from the point of view of number of people employed. From 1927 to 1938 this branch of industry almost doubled in number of employees. Table 37 shows this expansion. The meat, fish, and canned goods branch showed an exceptional rise. In 1939 the number of workers rose to 1,987 or more than five times the number (362) employed in 1927. The Maistas Corporation, with its five stockyards (Kaunas, Klaipeda, Siauliai, Panevezys, and Taurage), has been responsible for most of this progress.

The Maistas Corporation was originally organized in 1923 000

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 37

THE FOODSTUFFS INDUSTRIES

258
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INDUSTRY	1927		1930		1935		1938		1939	
	Establishments	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*
Grain mills	83	778	74	638	83	619	99	761	96	706
Bakeries	21	156	29	212	43	319	53	465	46	469
Sugar refineries	—	—	—	—	1	133	2	262	2	246
Candy and chocolate factories	40	760	42	866	29	583	36	761	28	657
Slaughterhouses and meat, fish, and canned goods establishments	20	362	20	281	21	1,029	25	1,721	15	1,787 [a]
Milk-product plants	4	26	18	114	110	407	114	507	102	458
Breweries	10	350	10	351	10	246	11	602	9	553
Tobacco and cigarette factories	12	734	10	695	9	574	8	569	6	546

[a] Before Klaipeda Territory cession: 26 establishments with 1,987 workers.

The Maistas Corporation was originally organized in 1923

473 for the purpose of concentrating on the export of eggs and dairy products, but later its activities were turned to organizing slaughterhouses and to producing and exporting meat and canned products.[7] The original capital of the Maistas Corporation was 500,000 litas, consisting of 5,000 shares at 100 litas par value. The first years of the corporation were not only nonprosperous, but the balance for July 1, 1924, showed a loss of 463,237.60 litas. This loss was covered by stockholders in proportional payments according to the stock

[7] *Pirmas Maisto Desimtmetis 1923–1933 Metai* (Maistas's First Decade, 1923–1933), Kaunas, 1933, p. 28.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

held. The first loss did not discourage the promoters, however. In 1925 the capital stock of the corporation was raised to 10,000,000 litas. This increase was motivated by the fact that in constructing the first stockyard the corporation had indebted itself to this amount. But even then the prospects of the corporation were not very encouraging. Private owners soon sought to rid themselves of the stock held, which at the end of 1925 was absorbed by such important organizations as the Union of Farmers of Lithuania, 2,250 shares; the Union of Agricultural Coöperative Societies of Lithuania (Lietukis), 2,000 shares; the coöperative society Lietuvos Eksimportas, 670 shares; and by many smaller units subscribing to their proportionate number of shares. Thus the Maistas Corporation, having been founded as a strictly private enterprise, became an important public enterprise. In March of 1930 the by-laws of the corporation were changed to comply with the new laws of the state and on March 22, 1930, the company was newly incorporated. In the same year the government of Lithuania purchased part of the stock of the corporation for 3,000,000 litas and later an additional portion for 4,000,000 litas. The Maistas Corporation therefore became an institution known in English-speaking countries as a mixed enterprise, from the point of view of control. In 1938, as has already been stated, it owned five stockyards in the most important cities of Lithuania. Its meat and livestock export rose from 226,106 litas in 1923 to 35,420,949 litas in 1932 and 42,720,000 litas in 1936, the last amount representing 22.4 percent of the total value of the country's exports.[8]

The organization showed an exceptionally spectacular rise in exports in the last two years before Soviet Russian occu-

[8] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

439 pation. In 1938, Maistas sales to foreign countries rose to 57.85 million litas, while in 1939 it rose to 71.7 million litas, or 24 percent above the 1938 figures.

438 Even in domestic business Maistas showed an impressive rise. Its domestic sales amounted in 1930 to 5.8 million litas and rose every subsequent year until in 1938 they reached 14.9 million litas and in 1939, 18.8 million litas.

257 The sugar industry, which also shows considerable ad-
433 vance, started with one refinery in 1932, employing 67 persons, and in 1939 had two refineries with 246 workers, not counting the many farmers who were engaged in sugar-beet growing and whose incomes were increased through the introduction and development of this branch of agriculture.
257 Inasmuch as the two refineries were insufficient to meet the
471 demands of Lithuania, a third refinery was constructed. All three are owned by the Lietuvos Cukrus Corporation, in which the government participates as owner of a controlling number of shares of capital stock. The first refinery was opened in 1932 in Marijampole and the second in 1935 in Panevezys. The production rose very rapidly: in 1932, 67,000 quintals; 1933, 162,000 quintals; 1934, 82,000 quintals; 1935, 153,000 quintals; 1936, 221,000 quintals; 1937, 272,000 quintals; in 1938, 287,000 quintals [9] and 1939, 208,000 quintals.

234 Another industry in the food-and-luxury category which
433 showed great expansion both in number of establishments and in workers employed is that of dairying, which is covered in the section on coöperatives, above.

438 Other industries, such as grain mills with 761 workers,
433 candy and chocolate factories with 761 workers, and tobacco

[9] C.S.B., 1938, p. 160.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

and cigarette factories with 569 workers, continued to operate at about the same level throughout these past years. 438 433

LUMBER INDUSTRY

Some understanding of the lumber industry may be obtained from Table 38.[10] It will be observed that sawmilling 313 433

TABLE 38

LUMBER INDUSTRY

BRANCH OF INDUSTRY	1927		1930		1935		1938		1939 [a]	
	Establishments	*Workers*	*Establishments*	*Workers*	*Establishments*	*Workers*	*Establishments*	*Workers*	*Establishments*	*Workers*
Sawmilling	131	2,731	114	1,718	124	2,853	175	2,970	170	1,901
Plywood production	—	—	3	443	3	602	3	767	1	27
Cabinet-making	6	90	10	229	8	251	88	963	61	839

[a] After seizure of Klaipeda by Germany.

is the leading branch of the lumber industry, although it does not show great expansion. The same may be said of the plywood industry. The latter felt the greatest setback with the loss of Klaipeda. The lumber industry, producing mainly [439] for export, was hit by the world depression more severely than any other industry.

Before the agricultural products industry was developed 313 for export, lumber was one of the most important items exported from Lithuania. It is to be noted that with the ex- 439

[10] C.S.B., 1938 and 1939, pp. 170–71 and 160–61 respectively.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

313 pansion of the lumber industry the exported products
439 changed. In 1920 69.1 percent of lumber was exported as raw material as against 30.9 percent semifinished items, while in 1921 this percentage changed to 49.9 percent raw as against 50.1 percent semifinished.

In 1939 this industry experienced a severe blow with the seizure of Klaipeda by Germany, the industry having been concentrated in Klaipeda. With the return of the Vilnius region to Lithuania at the end of 1939, the lumber industry was compensated somewhat, but to what extent it was impossible to establish, since seven months later came the Soviet Russian occupation.

PAPER AND PRINTING INDUSTRY

289 The paper and printing industry of Lithuania in 1938 em-
433 ployed 2,615 wage earners and accounted for 8.4 percent of the gross value of Lithuania's industrial production and 10.8 percent of the net value. Therefore, from the standpoint both of the number of wage earners employed and of the value of production, it was in the fourth place. Like the lumber industry, it suffered in 1939 when Germany seized Klaipeda where several of the larger printing establishments were located. Before the German occupation of Klaipeda, Lithuania had 88 establishments with 2,679 workers, while thereafter she had 81 establishments with 1,613 workers.[11]

From the statistics available it may be seen that in 1913 this branch of industry was only in its infancy. In that year there were only 20 establishments with 284 wage earners in the province (gouvernement) of Kaunas, while in 1927, in the same region, there were 52 establishments with 2,115 wage earners. The industry reached its high point in 1930,

[11] C.S.B., 1938 and 1939, pp. 170–71 and 160–61 respectively.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

when it had 64 establishments and employed 2,323 workers.* 289 433

As the world depression of 1929 affected Lithuania much later than it did the more advanced industrial countries, the setback in this branch of industry was not felt until 1931, when the number of establishments decreased to 61 and the number of wage earners to 2,157. The all-time low was reached in 1932 when only 1,924 persons were employed. The next year a slight revival was felt and from that year the industry was on the upswing until in the beginning of 1939 it reached an all-time peak with 88 establishments and 2,679 wage earners.

The chief branch of the paper and printing industry is that of woodpulp and paper production. Although this branch is represented by only five establishments, it is greatest from the standpoint of number of workers employed: it accounts for from 40 to 45 percent of all workers in the paper and printing industry. The number employed in woodpulp and paper production was almost the same in 1938 as in 1927—1,159 and 1,133 respectively—although in 1932 it had dropped to 688. The production of woodpulp as well as paper and cardboard has increased very substantially since 1931.

The printing branch of the industry also showed considerable expansion. In 1927 there were 33 printing establishments, with 658 wage earners. By 1938 the industry had 51 printing establishments and 1,153 wage earners and in 1939, 50 establishments with 843 wage earners. Even the depression of 1929 did not greatly affect this branch of industry. Except for a slight setback in 1934 and in 1935, in which years the number of employed decreased to 801 and 777 respectively, the printing business continued to grow.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB8

289 The other two divisions of the paper and printing industry, cardboard manufacturing and bookbinding, have a large number of establishments, but account for only about 15 percent of all the workers.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Chapter IV

FOREIGN TRADE

The customs boundaries and customs tariffs of Lithuania 439
were established in May, 1919, from which time the statis- 652
tics on foreign trade were compiled. But up to 1923 these statistics were such that the figures are not exactly comparable with those of the later years. The unstable German *Obost* and *Reichsmark* currency, which circulated in Lithuania up to the end of 1922 when the Lithuanian litas currency was introduced, may be regarded among the chief causes for this situation.

It will be noted from Table 39 that the value of foreign 439
trade increased until 1930 when it reached an all-time high of 333,739,000 litas in exports and 312,415,000 in imports. If the year 1923 is taken as a base, with the index number 100 for imports and exports, the index number for exports of 1930 is 227 and for imports 199.

From 1930 foreign trade decreased, the lowest point for exports being reached in 1934 with the index number 100, and for imports in 1935, with the index number at 82. Full revival of foreign trade began in 1936 when the index number for exports was 130 and for imports 100. In 1938 it rose as high as 159 for exports and 143 for imports.

In analyzing these figures it must be recalled that the [652]
litas currency of Lithuania held its original gold parity and there was no devaluation up to the Soviet invasion in 1940.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

VALUE OF FOREIGN TRADE

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TABLE 39

VALUE OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS

(In Thousands of Litas)

YEAR	EXPORTS	IMPORTS	DIFFERENCE
1923	146,795	156,627	— 9,832
1924	266,584	206,534	+60,040
1925	242,715	252,703	— 9,988
1926	253,300	240,761	+12,539
1927	245,929	265,694	—19,765
1928	256,881	291,091	—34,210
1929	329,842	306,422	+23,420
1930	333,739	312,415	+21,324
1931	273,119	277,959	— 4,840
1932	189,126	166,954	+22,172
1933	160,227	142,176	+18,051
1934	147,245	138,690	+ 8,555
1935	152,269	128,579	+23,689
1936	190,485	156,061	+34,424
1937	208,325	212,667	— 4,342
1938	233,198	223,686	+ 9,512
1939	203,194	169,362	+39,832

If the value of imports and exports, commencing with 1932, is translated into dollar currency, a very different index number is obtained. For example, the exchange rate of the litas in January, 1932, was 10.02 litas for $1.00; in January, 1934, 6.42 litas for $1.00; and in 1935, 5.99 litas for $1.00.[1]

It is interesting to note that in 1924 Lithuania had a very favorable trade balance, with exports exceeding imports by over 60 million litas. Three years later the position was ex-

[1] See Apendix F, Foreign Exchange Quotations in Kaunas.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

actly opposite. Starting with 1927 the trade balance for two 439
successive years was unfavorable. In 1927 imports exceeded 451
exports by 19,764,700 litas and in 1928 by 34,210,100 litas. One of the chief causes for this condition may be found in the fact that in 1924 the prices for agricultural products were high, while in 1927 and 1928 they were substantially lower. As Table 39 shows, the trade balance of Lithuania is generally favorable.

SHIFTING OF THE COMMODITIES INVOLVED IN FOREIGN TRADE 439

One of the most interesting things in the foreign trade of Lithuania and one that also shows clearly which way the economic life of Lithuania is going is the shifting of commodities involved. In 1920 the chief exports of Lithuania were lumber and other forest products, which accounted for 40 percent; flax, which accounted for 34.3 percent; linseed, 12.2 percent; eggs, 3.7 percent; and livestock, 1.5 percent. No butter was exported in that year, and food exports generally played a very small role. In the next three years, 1921, 1922, and 1923, the export picture was somewhat changed. Although forest products still retained the most important position, eggs became one of the leading export commodities and in 1921 accounted for 23.5 percent of total exports; in 1922, 20.2 percent; and in 1923, 10.3 percent. But the rise in this commodity proved to be only temporary. In 1927 eggs were down to 4.4 percent of the total value of exports. At the same time there was a constant increase in livestock exports, which rose to 16.2 percent in 1926 [2] and to 21 percent in 1930. After 1925 the statistics of exports of Lithuania were divided into five groups: (1) the livestock group,

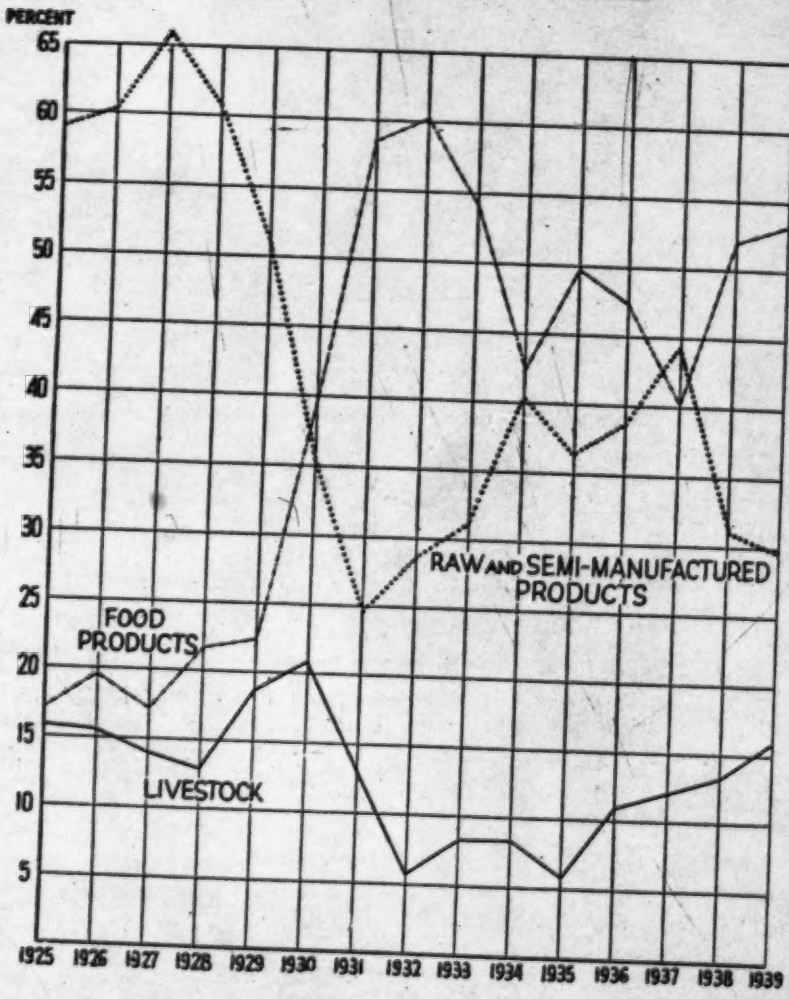
[2] C.S.B., *Lietuva Skaitmenimis 1918–1928*, pp. 91–126.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

439 comprising horses, cattle, domestic and wild animals, and live poultry; (2) the food products group, comprising various kinds of meat, including poultry, dairy products, eggs, fish, grain, vegetables, sugar, liquors, and so forth; (3) the raw and semifinished goods, which consists of raw furs and skins, wool, various livestock products, plants, fodder, tim-

CHART II

CHANGE IN EXPORTS FROM LITHUANIA

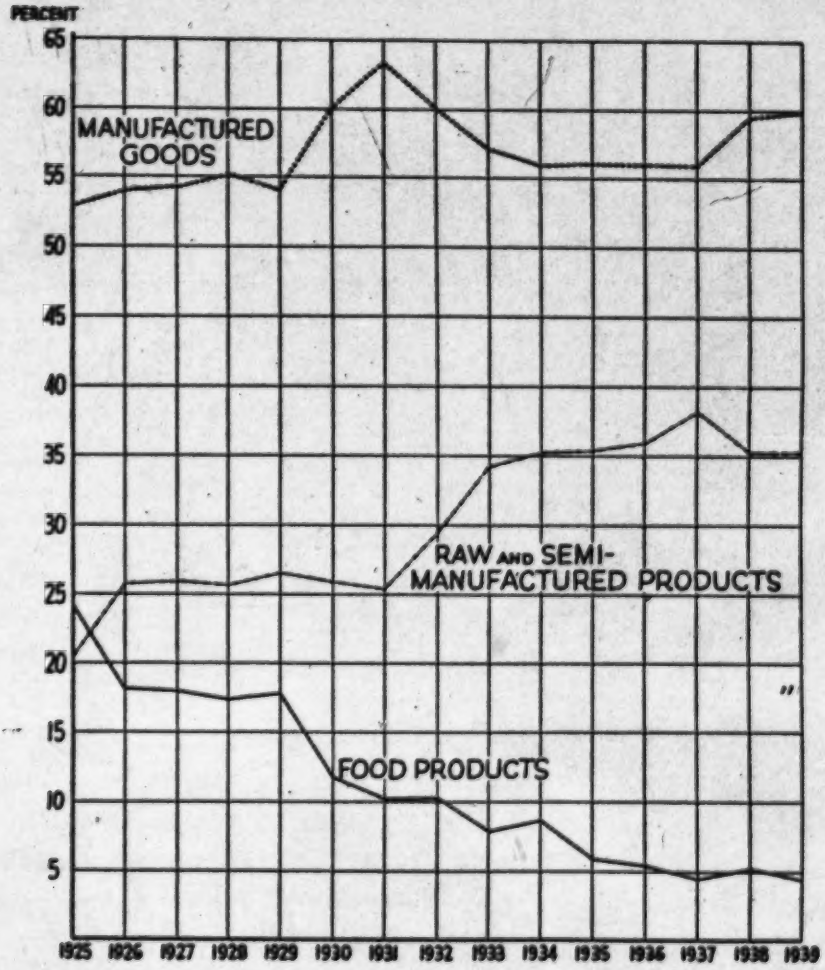


3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

ber, forest products, woodpulp, rags, and so on; (4) the manufactured goods group, comprising cosmetics, paints, medicines, dressed furs and skins, spun yarn, tobacco, cigars and cigarettes, underwear, woodcraft products, paper and paper products, ceramics, machinery, and so on; (5) gold and silver. 439

CHART III

CHANGE IN IMPORTS INTO LITHUANIA



3; Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

439 How the relative importance of these merchandise groups changed in Lithuania's export picture may be seen from Table 40, in which the figures show the percentage that each group bears to the total value of exports.[3] From this

TABLE 40

SHIFTING OF COMMODITY GROUPS IN EXPORTS 1925–39

(*Percent*)

YEAR	LIVESTOCK	FOOD PRODUCTS	RAW AND SEMIFINISHED PRODUCTS	FINISHED GOODS	GOLD AND SILVER
1925	16.56	17.12	59.27	6.96	0.09
1926	16.17	19.77	60.36	3.70	0.00
1927	14.33	17.38	66.10	2.13	0.06
1928	13.61	21.88	61.78	2.67	0.06
1929	18.83	22.72	51.55	6.85	0.05
1930	20.99	39.40	35.82	3.77	0.00
1931	13.13	57.38	24.56	4.92	0.01
1932	6.66	60.16	28.28	4.89	0.01
1933	8.36	54.19	31.49	5.94	0.00
1934	8.46	42.80	40.70	8.03	0.01
1935	6.98	49.53	36.98	6.48	0.03
1936	11.02	47.36	38.09	3.52	0.01
1937	12.02	40.17	44.14	3.67	—
1938	13.48	52.33	31.49	2.69	0.01
1939	16.13	53.04	29.80	1.02	0.01

table we see that from 1925 to 1939 the value of the exports in the food products group increased from 17.12 to 53.04 percent, while the group of raw and semifinished products decreased from 59.26 to 29.80 percent. The livestock and manufactured goods groups showed great variation, but

[3] *Ibid.*, *Lietuvos Uzsienio Prekyba* (Foreign Trade of Lithuania), Kaunas, volumes for 1929, 1932, 1925, and 1938.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

failed to reveal any decided tendency toward increase or decrease. 439

Credit for the increase of exports of food products belongs

TABLE 41

SHIFTING OF COMMODITY GROUPS IN IMPORTS
1925–39

(*Percent*)

YEAR	LIVESTOCK	FOOD PRODUCTS	RAW AND SEMIFINISHED PRODUCTS	FINISHED GOODS	GOLD AND SILVER
1925	0.47	24.44	20.85	53.29	0.95
1926	0.04	18.61	26.88	54.25	1.19
1927	0.05	18.43	26.97	54.52	0.03
1928	0.03	17.43	26.86	55.59	0.09
1929	0.03	18.17	27.71	54.01	0.08
1930	0.09	12.44	26.97	60.48	0.02
1931	0.07	10.03	25.92	63.88	0.10
1932	0.02	10.27	29.41	60.03	0.27
1933	0.04	7.59	34.62	57.30	0.45
1934	0.03	8.02	35.25	56.27	0.43
1935	0.02	6.29	35.64	56.62	1.43
1936	0.05	5.98	36.15	56.63	1.19
1937	0.10	4.89	38.32	56.53	0.16
1938	0.02	5.04	35.21	59.49	0.24
1939	0.01	4.75	35.91	59.82	0.21

to the Central Union of Dairy Coöperative Societies, Pienocentras, in the field of milk products, and to the Maistas Corporation in the field of meat products.

In the exports of Lithuania the commodity items involved are not as varied as they are in the imports. The foreign trade statistics of Lithuania for 1938 show that 1,125 separate items of goods were involved in imports while the export list contained only 500 separate items.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

439 Livestock is not of much importance in the list of imports; the volume is small, livestock being imported only for the purpose of improving Lithuania's breeding stock.

The food products group comprises, among other commodities, salted herring, rice, fruits, coffee, sugar, and salt. Within the period 1924–31 the most significant item of import in the food products group was sugar, which in 1924 amounted to 14.4 million litas. In the same year salted herring accounted for 5.7 million litas; fruits, 2.2 million litas; salt, 2.2 million litas; rice, 1.5 million litas; and coffee, 0.6 million litas. The imports in this group increased further, and in 1927 sugar accounted for 20.5 million litas; salted herring, 9.1 million litas; salt, 2.8 million litas; fruits, 2.1 million litas; rice, 1.8 million litas; and coffee, 1.0 million litas. In later years the value of these staples decreased, so that in 1936 herring amounted to only 3.3 million litas and in 1938, 3.9 million litas. The greatest decrease was in sugar imports, which in 1930 accounted for 31.7 million litas; in 1937, 0.14 million litas; and in 1938, 0.2 million litas. For the decrease in sugar imports credit is given to the local sugar refineries and to the development of domestic sugar-beet growing. The decrease in sugar imports affected the food products group imports so that its percentage value in the total imports decreased from 24.44 in 1926 to 4.75 in 1939. Salt imports do not show any major change; in 1936 such imports accounted for 1.7 million litas and in 1938 for 1.6 million litas.[4] The same may be said of the other merchandise in this group.

In the group of raw and semimanufactured products the most significant import items are fertilizers, metals, liquid

[4] C.S.B., *Lietuvos Uzsienio Prekyba 1929* (The Foreign Trade of Lithuania in 1929) and volumes for 1933–1938.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

fuels, petroleum products, coal, cement, and tobacco. In 1924 the imports of fertilizers accounted for 6.0 million litas; metals, 5.1; coal, 9.5; liquid fuel, 4.4; cement, 1.9; and tobacco, 1.5. Some of these items doubled in imports a few years later. In 1928 fertilizer imports accounted for 13.2 million litas; metals, 10.7; coal, 11.3; liquid fuel, 9.6; cement, 4.7; and tobacco, 3.2. In 1938 the imports were: fertilizer, 10.89 million litas; metals, 17.73; coal, 11.01; liquid fuel, 7.35; cement, 6.26; and tobacco, 1.65. Most of these items are very important necessities and cannot be replaced by substitutes or otherwise supplied. That is why the imports in this group increased from 20.85 percent of total import value in 1925 to 35.21 percent in 1939.

Of manufactured goods imported by Lithuania, the most important are chemical products, textile goods, machinery, metal goods, automobiles, motorcycles, rubber products, and various types of apparatus. This group accounted for 53.29 percent of the total value of imports in 1925 and increased to 59.82 percent in 1939. This type of merchandise undoubtedly will retain its important position in the nation's foreign trade.

LITHUANIA'S FOREIGN TRADE ACCORDING TO COUNTRY

Germany and Great Britain in 1938 accounted for 66.18 percent of the exports and 53.30 percent of the imports of Lithuania. Important also in the foreign trade of Lithuania were Soviet Russia, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Holland, France, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, Latvia, and the United States of America. These countries, together with the United Kingdom and Germany, in 1938 accounted for 95.19 percent of the total value of Lithuania's exports and 89.09 percent of her imports.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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[92]

TABLE 42

THE DISTRIBUTION OF LITHUANIA'S FOREIGN TRADE WITH RESPECT TO COUNTRIES

1925–38

(In Millions of Litas)

YEAR	UNITED KINGDOM		GERMANY		SOVIET RUSSIA		BELGIUM		CZECHOSLOVAKIA		HOLLAND		U.S.A.	
	Exp.	*Imp.*	*Exp.*	*Imp.*	*Exp.*	*Imp.*	*Exp.*	*Imp.*	*Exp.*	*Imp.*	*Exp.*	*Imp.*	*Exp.*	*Imp.*
1925	58.6	20.9	123.2	143.0	6.4	4.1	2.5	2.5	2.4	13.8	5.6	4.8	3.6	18.3
1926	63.1	19.1	118.6	129.5	2.1	3.2	7.2	2.6	10.1	15.1	2.4	8.3	2.1	10.7
1927	61.1	17.9	126.8	141.2	1.1	6.4	4.9	3.2	3.8	13.9	4.3	9.1	4.4	14.5
1928	52.3	19.3	148.3	146.8	3.7	9.1	4.3	3.7	0.8	13.1	5.4	9.2	2.4	20.5
1929	57.4	26.0	195.9	150.2	1.3	13.1	4.3	5.3	0.9	19.3	10.7	10.0	4.4	16.7
1930	65.0	24.1	199.9	151.4	5.2	13.8	6.8	7.4	0.4	18.0	6.8	10.0	2.6	14.7
1931	90.4	19.7	125.4	130.7	8.3	17.2	10.7	7.9	0.2	19.6	4.9	7.3	2.0	11.0
1932	78.3	18.0	74.0	67.2	6.7	10.2	3.4	7.6	0.2	12.6	3.9	4.5	1.0	6.3
1933	71.6	24.3	52.5	51.0	2.7	7.8	4.5	7.5	1.3	8.6	3.8	4.7	5.3	4.2
1934	62.7	35.1	31.8	38.8	7.5	6.0	6.4	7.9	4.4	9.1	4.6	5.0	4.8	4.0
1935	69.5	47.9	5.4	14.7	13.1	13.6	11.9	4.9	5.6	9.2	8.0	6.0	3.0	3.8
1936	92.2	57.0	20.6	14.4	10.1	14.7	10.5	13.7	7.1	7.5	5.5	7.1	6.7	4.4
1937	96.6	59.3	34.5	46.4	11.1	17.9	7.8	16.7	7.0	6.9	9.5	8.9	6.8	7.4
1938	91.8	69.2	62.5	54.7	13.3	15.0	10.7	8.6	9.6	8.5	8.1	10.7	5.6	8.2

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TRADE WITH THE UNITED KINGDOM

439

Although the turnover in goods between Lithuania and the United Kingdom is not inconsiderable, comparatively speaking, there is no commercial treaty, as such, existing between the two countries. In lieu of a treaty there is an understanding arrived at through an exchange of notes in 1922 between the legation of the United Kingdom in Riga and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania. According to this arrangement each country enjoys the privileges provided by the most-favored-nation clause.[5] Of the exports of Lithuania, the United Kingdom was the second importer in 1925, having absorbed 24.15 percent of the total exports. This percentage decreased to 17.41 in 1929 and then rose to 48.38 in 1936. In 1938, 39.38 percent of Lithuania's exports went to the United Kingdom. In so far as imports are concerned, the United Kingdom does not enjoy as high a percentage as in the exports of Lithuania. For example, in 1925 the imports from Great Britain accounted for only 8.28 percent; they fell to 6.75 percent in 1928 and then rose to 37.28 percent in 1935. In 1938 the imports from the United Kingdom accounted for 30.93 percent. As stated above and as may be seen from Table 42, Lithuania's trade with the United Kingdom, having been in second place in 1925, advanced to first place in 1932 and held this position up to the outbreak of the war of 1939. The chief goods involved in the trade with the United Kingdom in recent years are listed in Table 43.

Forest products, raw wool, and cotton fabrics were the only items in the exchange of goods between Lithuania and the United Kingdom that did not show an increase in the period 1935–38.

[5] *V.Z. Nr. 231, eil. 1497.*

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

439

TABLE 43

COMMODITIES INVOLVED IN THE TRADE WITH GREAT BRITAIN 1935–38

(*In Thousands of Litas*)

A. EXPORTS	1935	1936	1937	1938
Total exports	69,514	92,153	96,581	91,824
Bacon	17,405	22,584	22,828	24,051
Butter	18,302	25,541	27,944	31,831
Eggs	1,387	3,660	3,914	4,647
Boards and planks	6,581	5,622	9,145	5,260
Woodpulp	4,570	4,908	4,867	4,329
Veneer	3,638	3,479	3,608	1,610
Flax and tow	5,177	12,434	12,921	12,524
B. IMPORTS				
Herring	2,148	3,224	2,345	3,541
Superphosphates	1,238	1,078	1,130	1,745
Sheet iron	900	1,398	1,506	2,042
Coal	5,252	6,178	7,686	8,452
Cement	1,430	1,512	2,141	4,748
Raw wool	1,633	1,675	2,177	1,524
Woolen yarn	3,648	6,406	6,753	7,534
Cotton yarn	5,210	6,208	5,943	5,306
Woolen fabrics	3,312	4,283	4,400	4,139
Cotton fabrics (raw and bleached)	1,125	1,300	1,325	1,006
Dyed cotton fabrics	3,971	6,406	4,890	3,906

TRADE WITH GERMANY

The trade treaty between Lithuania and Germany was concluded June 1, 1923, ratified July 31, 1924, and put in force May 5, 1926. This treaty expired February 22, 1929.[6]

[6] *V.Z. Nr. 173, eil. 1196.*

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

439 1

From the first years of Lithuania's independence, the dominating country in her foreign trade was Germany, but proper statistics up to 1925 are lacking. In 1925, 50.74 percent of Lithuania's exports went to Germany, while imports from Germany constituted 56.61 percent of Lithuania's total imports. In 1929 the exports to Germany rose to 59.40 percent, while at the same time exports to the United Kingdom fell to 17.41 percent.

The sharp decrease in Germany's share in the foreign trade of Lithuania, caused partly by the introduction in Germany of agrarian protectionist restrictions and partly by misunderstandings of a noneconomic character (the Klaipeda controversy) started in 1932,[7] when Germany tried to obtain political concessions through exerting economic pressure.

The lowest ebb was reached in 1935, with the exports accounting for 3.57 percent and imports for 11.40 percent. In 1936 a new trade treaty was concluded between Lithuania and Germany,[8] after which time the trade between the two countries received a new impetus.

The principal commodities involved in the foreign trade with Germany in recent years are given in Table 44. The total imports from Germany in 1938 amounted to 54,704,000 litas as compared with 46,381,000 litas in 1937 and 14,400,000 litas in 1936. Among the principal commodities imported from Germany in 1938, besides those listed in Table 44, were various fertilizers (3,194,100 litas), cement (968,400 litas), brass products (1,016,600 litas), dynamo machinery (1,228,900 litas), and bicycles (1,619,800 litas).[9]

[7] *Report*, p. 88.
[8] *V.Ž., Nr. 552, eil. 3839.*
[9] *L.U. Prekyba 1938*, pp. 567–613.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

439

TABLE 44

COMMODITIES INVOLVED IN THE TRADE WITH GERMANY 1935–38

(*In Thousands of Litas*)

A. EXPORTS	1935	1936	1937	1938
Total exports	5,435	20,599	34,479	62,493
Live pigs	2	4,046	7,504	10,079
Live poultry	0.6	1,492	1,535	2,282
Beef	3	247	1,169	2,266
Slaughtered poultry and game	670	1,003	1,130	1,319
Butter	63	2,928	7,589	11,146
Eggs	4	542	1,532	2,304
Boards and planks	356	2,291	1,886	2,053
Flax and tow	35	1,384	923	5,893
B. IMPORTS				
Iron rails	—	4	1,661	62
Woolen fabrics	36	112	1,007	617
Cotton fabrics (dyed)	81	128	937	878
Factory machinery	331	316	1,714	1,740
Machine parts	516	502	1,232	1,857
Motor cars	16	122	1,137	1,233
Chassis	50	187	1,196	1,566
Scientific apparatus and instruments	239.5	359	981	1,145

TRADE WITH SOVIET RUSSIA

Although Soviet Russia is close to Lithuania, the exchange of goods between these two countries, up to the war of 1939, was comparatively small. The exports to Soviet Russia, which in 1925 accounted for 2.66 percent of Lithuania's total, in 1929 fell to 0.39 percent. From 1930 the volume of exports to Soviet Russia increased, reaching 8.59 percent

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

in 1935, which ranked her third among countries importing from Lithuania. This place she retained until 1938, in which year exports to Soviet Russia amounted to 13,337,800 litas or 5.72 percent. The number of items exported to Soviet Russia was small, and of these the principal commodities were pigs and hides. 437

TABLE 45

COMMODITIES INVOLVED IN THE TRADE WITH SOVIET RUSSIA 1936–38

(*In Thousands of Litas*)

A. EXPORTS	1936	1937	1938
Total exports	10,087	11,056	13,338
Live pigs over 99 pounds (45 kgm)	7,092	8,645	10,908
Hides for soles	—	1,111	1,390
Calfskins	129	952	650
B. IMPORTS			
Total imports	14,737	17,896	14,954
Salt	1,134	1,048	1,039
Fertilizers	946	1,094	1,487
Lumber	3,017	3,359	2,032
Liquid fuel	3,149	2,936	3,236
Coal	1,231	1,619	1,407
Dyed cotton fabrics	887	958	973

In imports Soviet Russia held a somewhat better position. Thus, imports from Soviet Russia in 1925 accounted for 1.63 percent; in 1929 they rose to 4.28 percent and in 1935 to 10.55 percent. In 1938 the imports from Soviet Russia amounted to 14,954,400 litas, or 6.69 percent of the total imports of Lithuania.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

439 According to the arrangement of September 24, 1928, concluded through an exchange of notes, each of these countries enjoyed the most-favored-nation treatment.[10] On August 29, 1931, a protocol was signed and notes were exchanged regarding the legal status of the commercial representatives of Soviet Russia in Lithuania and on the reciprocal transit communication. Before the occupation in 1940, Soviet Russia looked upon Lithuania, as well as upon the other Baltic states, as an area of competition between German and English capital.[11] After the outbreak of war in 1939, Soviet Russia apparently became interested in the competition between German and English capital, and stepped in as a third rival in preparation to occupy Lithuania. This was evident particularly from the fact that the Mutual Assistance Treaty of October 10, 1939, was followed by a commercial treaty, signed on October 16, 1939, according to which the turnover of goods between Lithuania and Soviet Russia was to be increased to 40 million litas. Conditions for the increase of trade with Soviet Russia seemed favorable, because of the Allied blockade of Germany and the latter's counterblockade, which, of course, jeopardized the trade between Lithuania and the Allies.

TRADE WITH BELGIUM

Trade with Belgium was regulated according to the Provisional Commercial Agreement of August 16, 1928. Belgium's share of Lithuania's exports, 1.01 percent in 1925, rose to 2.82 percent in 1928. Later the trade with Belgium

[10] *V.Z. Nr. 285, eil. 1848.*

[11] Nauchno-Issledovatelskii Institut Monopolii Vneshnei Torgovli, *Torgovie Otnoshenia SSSR s Kapitalisticheskimi Stranami* (Trade Relations of U.S.S.R. with Capitalistic Countries), Moskva, 1938, p. 241.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

increased to such an extent that in 1935 she took 7.82 percent of Lithuania's total exports and was the source of 3.84 percent of Lithuania's imports. In 1938 Belgium accounted for 4.58 percent of exports and 3.86 percent of imports. In 1938 the total exports to Belgium amounted to 10,675,700 litas, with rye, barley, oats, and vetch accounting for 6,179,500 litas. Imports from Belgium in 1938 amounted to 8,630,400 litas as against 16,749,600 litas in 1937. In the long list of goods imported, the largest item is pig iron, which in 1938 accounted for 4,056,600 litas as against 6,626,900 litas in 1937.

TRADE WITH LATVIA

Trade with Latvia is regulated by the Commercial Treaty of April 10, 1935, and the Clearing Agreement of the same date.[12] The latter was amended by the arrangement of November 30, 1936, and ratified on December 14, 1936.[13]

In 1925 Latvia held third place in the exports of Lithuania, in that year accounting for 8.53 percent, and in the following year 10.46 percent. In later years Latvia's share in the trade of Lithuania had decreased until in 1938 it was only 1.17 percent of exports and 1.10 percent of imports. The leading item in exports to Latvia for several years was horses, in 1936 valued at 1,591,000 litas; in 1937, 706,900 litas; and in 1938, 1,208,100 litas.

The more important import items from Latvia were radios, accounting for 125,800 litas in 1938 as against 188,000 litas in 1937; bicycles, 169,400 litas in 1938; glass, 283,100 litas in 1938; and several kinds of machinery.

[12] *V.Z. Nr. 481.*
[13] *V.Z. Nr. 562.*

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

439

TRADE WITH THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Trade with the United States was regulated by a special arrangement through "Exchange of notes between the United States of America and the Republic of Lithuania, embody-

TABLE 46

COMMODITIES INVOLVED IN THE TRADE WITH THE UNITED STATES 1936–38

(*In Thousands of Litas*)

	1936	1937	1938
A. EXPORTS			
Total exports	6,696	6,848	5,624
Meat	1,755	1,993	2,498
Woodpulp	2,800	4,019	2,792
B. IMPORTS			
Total imports	4,386	7,383	8,236
Tobacco	491	392	297
Oil	357	567	767
Raw cotton	494	615	572
Automobile tires and tubes	98	158	254
Cotton fabrics (dyed)	57	553	288
Automobiles	108	707	1,058

ing a commercial agreement between these States"[14] of December 23, 1925, ratified on March 24, 1926.[15] According to this arrangement, each party enjoys "unconditional most-

[14] Pranas Dailide, *Lietuvos sutartys su svetimomis valstybemis. Tomas I. 1919–1929.* (Collection of Treaties Concluded between Lithuania and Foreign States, Vol. I, 1919–1929), Kaunas, 1930, pp. 414–18.

[15] *V.Z. Nr. 231, eil. 1496.*

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

437

favored-nation treatment." Trade relations with the United States were begun in the early years of independent Lithuania. As far back as 1925 the imports of Lithuania from the United States amounted to 18,310,800 litas, or 7.25 percent, while the exports to the United States were only a fraction of this sum, namely 3,593,800 litas, or 1.48 percent. The percentage of exports to the United States in recent years increased somewhat, while that of imports decreased. Thus in 1936 the United States took 3.24 percent of the exports of Lithuania and sent 2.85 percent of the imports. In 1938 the exports of the United States to Lithuania amounted to 5,624,100 litas, or 2.41 percent, while the imports totaled 8,236,400 litas, or 3.68 percent.

Among the other countries trading with Lithuania the most noteworthy were: Czechoslovakia, which in 1938 received 4.13 percent of exports and 3.79 percent of imports; Holland, which in the same years sent 3.47 percent of imports and took 4.76 percent in exports; France, with 2.49 percent of imports and 3.17 percent of exports; and Switzerland, 2.20 percent of imports and 2.84 percent of exports.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Chapter V

THE FINANCE OF LITHUANIA

000 The financial aspect of Lithuania's reconstruction after 1918 involves a discussion of her currency, her state finance, and her public debt.

CURRENCY

436 Up to the time of the World War of 1914–18, Russian ruble notes circulated in Lithuania. As early as 1915, when the first German troops entered Lithuania, a decree was proclaimed which made German marks equally acceptable with the Russian rubles. (Exchange rate: 2.16 marks for 1 gold ruble.) [1]

453 436 On April 17, 1915, by special decree, an institution under the name Darlehnkasse Ost (Loan Bank of the East) was created and made a special department of Ostbank für Handel und Gewerbe. The main function of this bank was to issue *Obost* rubles [2] and to serve as a state bank in the occupied region. The official exchange rate of the *Obost* rubles issued by the Darlehnkasse Ost was as follows: one *Obost* ruble equaled one Russian ruble or two German (or *Obost*) marks. By a decree of August 6, 1916, the German administration promised to redeem *Obost* rubles with genuine

[1] *Lietuvos Bankas, First Decade, 1922–1932*, Kaunas, 1932, p. 2.

[2] One *Obost* ruble equaled two *Obost* marks, one bank note having both inscriptions.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Russian rubles put into circulation by Darlehnkasse Ost. But on March 30, 1917, this promise was retracted and redemption by German marks was promised at the rate of two marks for one ruble.[3] 453 436

After the declaration of independence, February 16, 1918, because of unsettled conditions Lithuania was unable quickly to introduce her own bank notes. The Provisional Government signed with the Darlehnkasse Ost an agreement by which the notes were to remain in circulation until a Lithuanian bank of issue could be organized. The sums in circulation at that time, as estimated by Professor Rimka, are shown in Table 47. 436 [652]

TABLE 47

GERMAN OBOST NOTES IN CIRCULATION
1917–22

YEAR	NOTES IN CIRCULATION (*Millions of Obost marks*)	VALUE IN LITAS [a] (*Millions*)
1917	125.75	186.77
1918 (March 31)	165.65	327.30
1918 (Dec. 31)	290.90	363.62
1920 (July)	546.80	138.50
1921 (July)	779.80	101.70
1922 (July)	2,000.00	63.00
1922 (Sept.)	3,500.00	17.00

[a] One litas equals 0.150462 grams fine gold.

It may be observed that the number of notes in circulation increased very rapidly while their value in litas decreased. In September, 1922, the total of notes in circulation was more than ten times greater than on December 31, 1918, while at the same time their value in litas was only one

[3] *Ibid.*

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

436 twenty-first as great. In January, 1919, the rate of exchange was 8.27 marks to the dollar, while one year later, in February, 1920, it was 98.994 marks, and in the beginning of 1922, 200 marks. On October 1, 1922, the day redemption of the *Obost* marks commenced, one dollar equaled 1,650 marks; on October 2, 1,815 marks. Russian rubles were redeemed on October 1, 1922, at 0.004 litas.[4]

453 A special law for the establishment of Lietuvos Bankas (the Bank of Lithuania) was passed on August 11, 1922.[5] The financial basis of the bank is 12,000,000 litas capital stock consisting of 120,000 shares of 100 litas par value [656] each. Although Lietuvos Bankas, before Soviet occupation, was a private enterprise in its organization, it was under government control and the general director was appointed by the president of the republic upon recommendation of the Council of Ministers. The Law of Establishment of the Lietuvos Bankas grants a special concession to permit the issuance of notes for twenty years, which period may be prolonged by law.

436 With the first issue of litas notes on October 1, 1922, the 652 redemption of the *Obost* marks at the market exchange rate 648 was begun. The Russian rubles at that time were almost worthless, and the value of *Obost* marks was just a fraction of the original value. This caused a great loss to the population of Lithuania, wiping out everybody's savings and creating generally chaotic credit conditions. There is no question but that Germany was responsible for the inflation and loss in the value of *Obost* marks and that Lithuania had the right to demand reparations. Negotiations for that purpose were

[4] Kazys Sruoga, *Die Wirtschaft der Republik Litauen und ihre Notenemission*, Kaunas, 1930, pp. 15–18.

[5] *Lietuvos Bankas, First Decade, 1922–1932*, Kaunas, 1932, pp. 10–14; *V.Z. Nr. 199, par. 1347.*

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

started in March, 1922, in Kaunas. Reparation was sought 436
for the compulsory introduction of *Obost* marks and the use 652
of issuance rights from August, 1916, until November, 1919, 648
when the German army finally withdrew. The loss to Lithuania was estimated at 5,383 million marks, which sum was demanded by the Lithuanian delegation. Due to the fact that the Germans refused to recognize these demands, negotiations were discontinued. They were resumed in Berlin in May, 1923.[6] These negotiations resulted in a treaty concluded on May 31, 1923, of which the first paragraph says: "Both contracting parties agree not to raise any claims against each other, originating from events of the World War."[7]

After three months of operation of Lietuvos Bankas—that 453
is, on December 31, 1922—there were 30.38 million litas in 436
circulation. The coverage in gold of the notes in circulation accounted for 50 percent and that in gold and foreign exchange for 109.1 percent. The amount of litas in circulation grew, while the coverage in gold decreased somewhat, but it was never less than the one-third prescribed by law. Thus on December 31, 1923, there were 60.07 million litas in circulation; in 1924, 92.98; in 1925, 81.92; in 1926, 86.79; and in 1927, 96.61.[8]

The issue activities of Lietuvos Bankas in later years are indicated by Table 48. At the end of 1938 the notes in circulation amounted to 141.70 million litas, exceeding the previous all-time high of 1930, while in April, 1939, it reached 181.65 millions, a new all-time peak. The coverage in gold

[6] A. Moravskis, *Lietuvos Finansai, Pinigai, kreditas ir bankai* Lietuvoje pries kara ir dabar, II dalis. (The Finance of Lithuania: Money, Credit and Banking in Lithuania before the War and at Present. Part II), Kaunas, 1925, pp. 33–35.

[7] Dailide, *op. cit.*, p. 199; *V.Z. Nr. 173, par. 1197.*

[8] *Lietuvos Bankas Bulletin*, Feb. 19, 1932, p. 18.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 48

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THE ISSUE ACTIVITIES OF LIETUVOS BANKAS
1928–39

YEAR ENDING DEC. 31	BANK NOTES IN CIRCULATION (*Million litas*)	GOLD RESERVE (*Million litas*)	FOREIGN BILLS (*Million litas*)	PERCENTAGE OF COVERAGE IN GOLD AND FOREIGN BILLS
1928	84.77	34.27	43.62	91.9
1929	94.83	35.08	78.48	119.8
1930	117.16	39.39	86.32	107.3
1931	108.95	50.14	33.17	76.5
1932	96.21	49.07	15.96	67.6
1933	89.92	52.00	15.34	76.8
1934	88.24	52.14	8.38	68.6
1935	103.50	36.14	9.91	44.5
1936	110.35	73.10	4.08	69.9
1937	116.56	79.04	1.87	69.4
1938	141.70	64.75	4.83	49.1
1939	165.93	57.71	2.50	37.1

and foreign bills was comparatively high, being 49.1 percent.

436 The highest number of notes in circulation and the lowest coverage were reached in November, 1939. This situation was largely due to the disturbed economic conditions in Lithuania in that year. It will be recalled that in March, 1939, Lithuania was forced to give up her only port, Klaipeda. This transaction was executed in great haste, under the pressure of the German war machine, as a result of which it became necessary to support and furnish with food, shelter, and work about 15,000 refugees.

[167] A few months later over 100,000 refugees from Poland poured into Lithuania, as a result of the war between Germany and Poland. Undoubtedly this circumstance caused a great drain on gold and foreign exchange reserves.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

The litas was never devalued, and it held its original gold parity until Soviet occupation on June 15, 1940. Shortly after occupation the financial structure of Lithuania was destroyed entirely. The litas was substituted by the ruble. All savings accounts over 1,000 litas (approximately $165.00) were confiscated. Though the purchasing value of the Soviet ruble was much less than that of the litas, nevertheless the litas officially was rated at 90 kopeks (a kopek equals one-hundredth of a ruble). The Germans who replaced the Russians set the official exchange rate at 50 pfennigs, or half a German mark, to a ruble.

STATE FINANCE

The state finance and the economic policy of the republic of Lithuania were guided by the minister of finance. In 1923, the first year for which statistics are available, the revenue amounted to 166.30 million litas against expenditures of 166 million litas.[9] The following year's revenue increased to 235.79 million litas and expenditures to 232.32, leaving a favorable balance of 3.47 million litas. The highest balance was gained in 1929 when the revenues of 293.79 million litas exceeded expenditures by 26.10 million litas. But in 1931 and 1932 expenditures exceeded revenue. In 1931 the total income amounted to 315.09 million litas, expenditures were 335.30 million litas, and the deficit was thus 20.21 million litas. In 1932 the deficit was somewhat smaller: 12.40 million litas. The budget of 1938 was practically balanced, the revenue amounting to 366.48 million litas, while the expenditures totaled 366.49 million litas. In 1939 revenues amounted to 361.78 and expenditures to 356.54 million litas. The growth of the budget during the years of independence was

[9] C.S.B., volume for 1927.

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652 considerable, the 1938 figures being more than double those of 1923.[10]

652 The greater part of government income is received from
651 indirect taxes, comprising excises, state monopolies, and customs duties. This group in 1936 yielded 22.59 percent of the total revenue; in 1937, 25.74 percent; and in 1938, 24.24 percent. Next in importance is the yield of government enterprises, comprising the revenue from post, telegraph, telephone, railways, and mixed enterprises in which the government has interest. Revenue from this group in 1936 accounted for 16.04 percent; in 1937, 15.60 percent; and in 1938, 14.76 percent. The third source of income according to percentage of the total revenue, is direct taxation, which in 1938 accounted for 14.38 percent.

652 In expenditures, the highest percentage goes to the Ministry of Defence, which in 1938 accounted for 23.24 percent of the total expenses. Second place falls to the Ministry of Communication, which in 1938 used 19.79 percent of total expenditures. Third place is held by the Ministry of Education, with 16.01 percent. Then follow the Ministry of Agriculture with 13.86 percent, the Ministry of Finance with 11.30 percent, and the Ministry of Interior with 8.70 percent.[11]

PUBLIC DEBT

The public debt of Lithuania is comparatively small; it is less than that of either of the other Baltic states, amounting at the end of 1937 to 47 litas per capita, while Latvia's was 80 litas and Estonia's 180 litas per capita.[12]

The debts of Lithuania may be divided into two groups:

[10] *Lietuvos Banko Biuletenis No. 46*, Kaunas, 1939, p. 8.
[11] C.S.B., 1938, pp. 315–19.
[12] Report of C.C.I.C., *Ten Years of Lithuanian Economy*, 1938, p. 146.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

The debts of Lithuania may be divided into two groups: 652 457

(1) debts which originated in the period 1918–22 during the struggle for reëstablishment of the nation's independence and (2) subsequent debts contracted for reconstruction purposes. The debt to the United States for various medicaments, clothing, and foodstuffs obtained from the American military camps in France and from the American Relief Administration belongs in the first group. According to the agreement of September 22, 1924, with the United States, the principal was $4,981,628.03 and accrued interest of 4¼ percent from June 30, 1919, until June 15, 1924, amounted to $1,049,918.94, so that the total debt was $6,031,546.97. Of this amount, $1,546.97 was paid on September 22, 1924, and the remainder, $6,030,000, was to be funded into bonds bearing 3 percent interest until June 15, 1934, and 3⅛ percent after that date until the whole sum was paid. The principal was to be paid in the course of 62 years in fixed amounts each year. Thus, the first amount, $30,000, was due on June 15, 1925, and the last, $227,000, was to fall due on June 15, 1986.[13]

According to the estimate of Moulton,[14] Lithuania, up to June 30, 1931, had paid $1,128,600. The latest payments made by Lithuania to the United States were token payments in the sums of $10,000 on June 15, and $7,000 on December 15, 1933, but after the passage of the Johnson Act Lithuania made no further payments. On May 5, 1934, Attorney General Cummings of the United States pointed out that Lithuania was one among the six foreign governments[15] indebted to the United States government which was not in default under the terms of the Johnson Act, because she

[13] Dailide, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

[14] Harold G. Moulton and Leo Pasvolsky, *War Debts and World Prosperity*, Washington, D.C., 1932, p. 293.

[15] Finland, Great Britain, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Latvia, and Lithuania.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

L52 457

had made token payments as evidence of good faith in connection with her debt installments.[16]

According to later interpretations of the Johnson Act, however, the State Department on May 10, 1934, informed European debtor governments that while token payments

TABLE 49

FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC DEBTS OF LITHUANIA AT THE END OF 1939

	LITAS
A. FOREIGN DEBTS	
Debts to the U.S.A.	38,661,000 [a]
Debts to Great Britain	718,200 [b]
Liberty Loan	2,939,700
Match Monopoly Loan	25,193,500 [c]
Debts for public works	359,500
Short-term loans	1,043,400
TOTAL	68,915,300
B. DOMESTIC DEBTS	
4½% Domestic Loan of 1935	12,260,400
4½% Domestic Loan of 1936	11,893,600
Treasury Bills of 1937	2,138,300
4½% Domestic Loan of 1939	4,439,000
Vilnius Loan of 1939	15,420,500
Debentures of war collections	16,400
Debts for public works	4,063,000
TOTAL	65,231,200
TOTAL PUBLIC DEBT	134,146,500

[a] Total debts to the United States: 41,600,700 litas or $6,864,801.
[b] Total debts to Great Britain: 1,456,700 litas or £50,849.
[c] $4,157,350.

[16] *New York Times*, May 6, 1934.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

652
457

would be acceptable on June 15 when the following installments on the war debts were to have been due, such payments would not serve to free them of being considered in default within the meaning of the Johnson Act.[17] Pressed by adverse economic conditions prevailing in that year, Lithuania was unable to meet her obligation and thus was classified "in default." It must be remembered, however, that exports of Lithuania in that year were the smallest since 1923 and the economic depression in general was at its worst.

Another sum in this group is the debt of 1920 to Great Britain for war material deliveries to the amount of 7,300,000 litas (£150,000). The total debts originating in the period of the struggle for independence amount to 50,700,000 litas.

In the group of debts for reconstruction the greatest item is the Match Monopoly Loan of $4,500,000, which was contracted in 1930 in Sweden for the transfer of the match monopoly to the Swedish Match Manufacturing Company.

[17] *New York Times*, May 11, 1934.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Chapter VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

178 From the facts and figures cited in the preceding pages we see that in the short period of twenty-two years of independence since the World War little Lithuania has lacked neither initiative nor industry. Surveying the devastation left behind by the three neighboring armies which had overrun the country at various periods of the war, Lithuania gathered her tiny forces and resolutely set about the gigantic task of reconstruction. Perhaps it was this grim determination and buoyant enthusiasm in their regained freedom that gave this new republic the necessary momentum. Perhaps it was the inspiration of the glorious days of Vytautas when Lithuania was a world power combined with the well-known native trait of dogged perseverance that enabled this ancient Baltic people to turn from problem to problem with boundless vigor.

That an objective résumé of her efforts and accomplishments does not find the country wanting in creditable results may be seen by even a cursory glance at almost any one of the tables in this book. To compare the Lithuania of 1939 with the Lithuania of the early post-war years is to acknowledge that great strides were made in her agriculture through the well-planned land reform, the development of coöperatives, and the improvement of livestock husbandry

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

and dairying. Furthermore, her war-torn industry has been reconstructed to suit her own particular needs. 178

Her foreign trade has been showing almost continuous expansion. Her increased production, as well as consuming power, bespeak an attendant higher standard of living. All these facts certainly justify Lithuania's participation in the family of nations and her existence as a separate independent economic entity.

The future course of Lithuania's economic development cannot be predicted because of the series of political crises of 1939, 1940, and 1941. On March 22, 1939, Lithuania was forced to agree to the cession of Klaipeda to Germany. Though Lithuania was given a so-called "free zone," the effect was as of being forced to gasp for air with someone else's lungs. Through this cession Lithuania not only lost 703,741 acres of territory (5.1 percent of her total area) but was deprived of 13 percent of her industry, with 26 percent of her wage earners. The total industrial production of Klaipeda territory in 1937 amounted to 116 million litas, or 30.7 percent of Lithuania's total production. 648

Before Lithuania had time to adjust her national economy to the new conditions, the war broke out between Germany on the one side and Poland and the Allies on the other. This upset the normal economic life even more. The immediate result of the war was the partition of Poland between Germany and, as a silent partner, Soviet Russia. This was soon followed by the signing of mutual assistance pacts between Soviet Russia on the one side and Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania on the other. Baltic states actually had no other choice than to sign on the dotted line.

Lithuania signed her pact on October 10, 1939, thereby regaining Vilnius, with 2,569 square miles of territory and

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

648 about 457,500 inhabitants, although according to the Peace Treaty between Lithuania and Soviet Russia of July 12, 1920, Lithuania should have regained 12,448 square miles. Lithuania's industry was partly compensated for the loss of Klaipeda. But the industry in the Vilnius territory is not nearly as developed as that in the Klaipeda region. According to the approximate statistics there are in that part of the Vilnius territory which was returned to Lithuania 159 industrial establishments with 5,900 employees. Also, the agricultural standard in this region is substantially below that in other sections of Lithuania. As a step toward improving agricultural and social conditions, the government of Lithuania was about to put into effect its land reform act of 1922, but the Soviet occupation in June, 1940, interrupted this work.

725 The next blow to the country's fortunes came as a result of the sudden outbreak of war between Germany and Soviet Russia on June 22, 1941. On the following day, Lithuanian patriots arose in rebellion against Bolshevik terrorism and the institution of mass deportations of Lithuanians to Siberia; they were successful enough to drive the Bolsheviks from Kaunas, Vilnius, and other Lithuanian cities. The Lithuanians set up at once a provisional government. But soon the Germans, in pursuit of the retreating Red Army, overran all of Lithuania, dissolved the Lithuanian government, and by autocratic decrees began to shape their economy more to the Nazi-prescribed pattern of "the new order."

000 As the year 1941 drew to a close, all freedom of action in Lithuania—political, social, and economic—was still suspended. The nation is fully conscious that her future holds another struggle for independence and for a new reconstruction. Lithuania, like many other small nations through-

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

out the world and in Europe in particular, is waiting anxiously for liberation that she again may live in peace and freedom among the free nations of the world; she is waiting for the complete realization of the ideals expressed in the Roosevelt-Churchill Atlantic Charter.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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APPENDICES

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Appendix A

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE [1]

642
186
648

The Council of Lithuania in its meeting on February 16, 1918, voted unanimously to address the governments of Russia, Germany, and other states with the following declaration:

The Council of Lithuania, sole representative of the Lithuanian people, in conformity with the recognized right to national self-determination, and in accordance with the resolution of the Lithuanian Conference held in Vilnius from September 18 to 23, 1917, hereby proclaims the restitution of the independent State of Lithuania, founded on democratic principles, with Vilnius as its capital, and declares the rupture of all ties which formerly bound this State to other nations.

The Council of Lithuania also declares that the foundation of the Lithuanian State and relations with other countries will be finally normalized by a Seimas (parliament), elected in a democratic way by the people of Lithuania.

The Council of Lithuania in informing [the nations addressed] to this effect kindly requests recognition of the independent State of Lithuania.

Vilnius, February 16, 1918 *Signed:*

L. Banaitis	P. Klimas	K. Saulys
Dr. J. Basanavicius	Donatas Malinauskas	J. Sernas
M. Birziska	Vl. Mironas	A. Smetona
K. Bizauskas	S. Narutavicius	J. Smilgevicius
P. Dovydaitis	Alfonsas Petrulis	J. Staugaitis
S. Kairys	Dr. J. Saulys	A. Stulginskis

J. Vailokaitis J. Vileisis

[1] Author's translation from the original Lithuanian.

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3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Appendix B

648
728

EXTRACT FROM THE PEACE TREATY WITH RUSSIA

Lithuania on the one part and Russia on the other being determined to base their future mutual relations on justice and right, which would grant to both countries and their peoples the benefits of earnest and peaceful neighborly relations, have to this end decided to start negotiations and have appointed as their delegates:

For the Democratic Republic of Lithuania:

Tomas Naruševičius
Petras Klimas
Simonas Rozenbaumas
Juozas Vailokaitis
Vytautas Rackauskas

And for the Federated States of the Soviet Socialist Republics of Russia:

Adolf Abramovich Ioffe
Ulian Urfovich Marchlevski
Leonid Leonidovich Boblinski

The said delegates, having submitted their credentials to one another and found them in good form and order, have agreed on the following:

ARTICLE I

Pursuant to the declaration made by the Federated States of the Soviet Socialist Republics of Russia to the effect that all peoples have the right to self-determination until they become

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

completely separated from the state of which they are a part, Russia without any prejudice recognizes the self-rule and independence of the State of Lithuania with all the juridical consequences resulting from such recognition and for all time renounces with good will all the sovereignty rights of Russia, which it has had in regard to the Lithuanian nation or territory. 648 728

The fact that Lithuania ever was under Russian sovereignty does not place the Lithuanian people and the nation or territory under any obligations to Russia.

NOTE: This treaty, consisting of nineteen paragraphs, was signed in Moscow on July 12, 1920, and ratified on August 6, 1920, and it became effective on October 14, 1920.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Appendix C

LITHUANIAN-POLISH PACT

648
728

Agreement between Lithuania and Poland with Regard to the Establishment of a Provisional Modus Vivendi Pending a Definite Settlement of Relations between the Two States, Signed at Suvalkai, October 7, 1920 [1]

The Delegation of the Government of Lithuania, composed of:

(1) Representatives of the Lithuanian High Command, Lieutenant General Maksimas Katche, and Commander Aleksandras Sumskis,

(2) Representatives of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Messrs. Bronius Balutis, Voldemaras Carneckis, and Mykolas Birziska,

and the Delegation of the Government of Poland, composed of:

(1) Representative of the Polish High Command, Colonel Mieczyslaw Mackiewicz,

(2) Representative of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Juljusz Lukasiewicz,

met at the Conference held at Suvalkai from September 30 to October 7, 1920, and, after presenting their credentials, which were found to be in good and due form, concluded the following Agreement:

ARTICLE I: THE LINE OF DEMARCATION

(a) A line of demarcation, which in no way prejudices the territorial claims of the two Contracting Parties, shall be fixed and shall be marked by the following points:

[1] Translation from the Lithuanian by the author.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

648
728

From the frontier of East Prussia to the confluence of the Juodoji Ancia (Tcharna-Hantcha) with the Nemunas (Niemen) river, i. e., the line fixed by the decision of the Supreme Council on December 8, 1919; thence along the Nemunas river to the mouth of the Grave river; then up the course of the Grave to the point at which it is crossed by the road Merkyne-Ratnycia (Noretch-Rotnitsa); thence in a straight line to the confluence of the Skruoblis with the Merkys river (Meretchanka); thence along the Merkys to the mouth of the Dereznica (Derechnitsa), leaving the village of Salavarciai (Solovertsy) on the Lithuanian side and the village of Male Dubno on the Polish side; thence along the Dereznica (Derechnitsa) to the spot where it is crossed by the Vilnius-Varena (Vilna-Orany) railway, about two kilometers northeast of Varena station; thence along the road through Bartoliai-Kuciai (Bartole-Kucie), Naujadvaris (Nowy-Dvor), Eisiske (Eishishki), Paditve (Podsitwa), Gorodonka, and the station of Bastunai (Bastuny), leaving this road and the Bastunai station in the hands of the Polish authorities.

(b) When hostilities between the Polish and Lithuanian troops have ceased, in conformity with Article 2 of the present Agreement, the line defined above may not under any pretext be crossed by the troops of the two Contracting Parties. Nevertheless, the existence of this line shall not prevent the farmers from cultivating their fields situated on either side of it.

(c) The marking out on the ground of the line of demarcation in those parts of the territory of the former Government of Suvalkai, which are referred to in the decision of the Supreme Council of December 8, 1919, shall be entrusted to the Commission of Control of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 2: CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES

(a) The two Contracting Parties, confirming and completing the Agreements for the cessation of hostilities between the Polish and Lithuanian armies, which have been accepted during the present Conference, and which have only a provisional character and relate only to certain places, undertake to cease hostilities throughout the entire length of the line of demarcation described

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

648
728

in Article 1, paragraph (a) of the present Agreement from the frontier of East Prussia to the meridian of Paturciai (Paturse), about nine kilometers southeast of Eisiske.

(b) After the withdrawal of the Soviet troops to the east of the Vilnius-Lyda railway, military operations between the Polish and Lithuanian troops shall cease on the sector of the line of demarcation between the meridian of the village of Paturciai and the station of Bastunai inclusively.

(c) As regards the cessation of hostilities and the establishment of a line of demarcation between the Lithuanian and Polish troops in the region to the east of the meridian of the station of Bastunai, these questions shall be settled by a special agreement when the Soviet troops have been withdrawn from that region. In case of failure to arrive at such an agreement, the two Contracting Parties reserve the right to appeal to the League of Nations for a solution of these questions.

ARTICLE 3: THE STATION OF VARENA

(a) The Polish authorities undertake to allow Lithuanian trains (except troop trains and trains conveying war material) to pass in either direction between Alytus and Vilnius and to afford to Lithuanian trains at Varena station all assistance and technical facilities for free movement in either direction.

(b) As an exception, the Polish Government consents to allow trains conveying troops and war materials proceeding from Alytus to pass freely through Varena station, provided that the total number of such trains does not exceed seven, that not more than two trains pass in one day, and that they pass through Varena station between seven and seventeen o'clock [Polish time].

(c) The supervision of the execution of the provisions contained in paragraphs (a) and (b) of the present Article shall be entrusted to the Commission of Control of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 4: EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS

The two Contracting Parties declare that they mutually agree

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

in principle to exchange all prisoners taken by either Contracting Party. The order and date of exchange shall be decided by separate agreement. 648 728

ARTICLE 5: DURATION OF AGREEMENT, ETC.

The present Agreement shall come into force at noon on October 10, 1920. This date, however, shall not affect the cessation of hostilities where this has actually taken place. The Agreement shall remain in force until all territorial disputes between Poles and Lithuanians have been finally settled.

In drawing up the present Agreement the two Contracting Parties have used the German General Staff Map, scale 1 : 100,000.

The present Agreement is done in duplicate in the Lithuanian and Polish languages, and signed at Suvalkai, on October 7, 1920.

For the Lithuanian Delegation:

Lieutenant General M. Katche
Bronius Balutis
Voldemaras Carneckis
Mykolas Birziska
Major Aleksandras Sumskis

For the Polish Delegation:

Colonel M. Mackiewicz
J. Lukasiewicz

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RBS Lithuanians RBS

Appendix D

648

THE POLISH ULTIMATUM TO LITHUANIA, MARCH, 1939[1]

On the 17th of March, 1938, at 9 P. M. the Lithuanian Minister in Tallinn received through the Polish Minister of that capital the following ultimatum:

By order of my Government I have the honour to communicate to Your Excellency the following:

1. The proposal of the Lithuanian Government of the 14th instant cannot be accepted because it does not give sufficient guarantees regarding security on the frontier, particularly in view of the negative results of all previous attempts at negotiations between Poland and Lithuania.

2. In view of this, the Polish Government declare that they consider that the sole solution which corresponds to the gravity of this situation is that of immediately establishing normal diplomatic relations, without any preliminary conditions whatsoever, this being the only way to regulate questions of neighborly relations of all governments truly animated by the will to avoid incidents dangerous to peace.

3. The Polish Government gives the Lithuanian Government forty-eight hours from the time of the delivery of this note to accept this proposal by communicating that they agree to accredit diplomatic representatives at Kaunas and at Warsaw not later than the 31st of March of this year. Up to that date all conversations of technical or other character between the Polish and Lithuanian Governments must be carried on by their envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary at Tallinn.

[1] Author's translation from the French.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

648

The exchange of the notes herewith included regarding the establishment of diplomatic relations must take place before the expiration of the above-mentioned delay of forty-eight hours between the Ministers of Poland and Lithuania at Tallinn.

4. The above-mentioned proposal cannot be the object of a discussion either as regards contents or form—it is a proposition *ne varietur*.

Failure to reply or the proposal of any supplements or reservations whatever will be considered by the Polish Government as a refusal. In this negative case the Polish Government will guarantee the just interests of their State by measures of their own.

ANNEX TO THE NOTE [2]

Excellency, by order of my Government I have the honour to communicate the information that the Lithuanian Government have decided beginning from today to establish normal diplomatic relations between Lithuania and Poland and to this end establish a Legation at Warsaw. The duly accredited Lithuanian Minister will deliver his credentials at Warsaw by 31st March of the present year, at the latest.

The Lithuanian Government for their part guarantee to the Polish Legation at Kaunas the conditions for normal functioning and to this purpose will guarantee, beginning with the 31st of March of the present year, the possibility of direct communication by land, water, air, post, telegraph, and telephone between this Legation and the Polish Government.

[2] This Annex to the Note was signed upon instructions from the Lithuanian Government by the Lithuanian minister at Tallinn, Bronius Dailide, and delivered at the Polish Legation in Tallinn on March 19, 1938, at twelve noon, as demanded.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Appendix E

648

LITHUANIAN-RUSSIAN PACT FOR MUTUAL ASSISTANCE[1]

A treaty on the transfer of the city of Vilnius (Vilna) and the Vilnius region to the Republic of Lithuania and on mutual assistance between Lithuania and the USSR:

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LITHUANIA on the one side and the SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR on the other side;

For the purpose of developing the friendly relations established by the peace treaty of July 12, 1920, and based on the recognition of an independent state existence and nonintervention in the internal affairs of the other party;

Recognizing that the peace treaty of July 12, 1920, and the pact on nonaggression and peaceful settlement of conflicts of September 28, 1926, continue to form a firm basis for their mutual relations and undertakings;

Convinced that a definition of the exact conditions insuring mutual security and a just settlement of the questions of State appurtenance of the city of Vilnius and the Vilnius region, unlawfully wrested from Lithuania by Poland, meet the interests of both contracting parties;

Found it necessary to conclude the following treaty on the transfer of the city of Vilnius and the Vilnius region to the Republic of Lithuania and on mutual assistance between the Soviet Union and Lithuania and appointed for this purpose their authorized representatives:

For the President of the Republic of Lithuania: Juozas Urbsys, Minister of Foreign Affairs; for the Presidium of the

[1] Author's translation from the Lithuanian.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Supreme Soviet of the USSR: Vyacheslaff Molotoff, Chairman of the Council of the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs; 648

And these authorized representatives, on mutual presentation of their credentials, found in due form and good order, agreed on the following:

ARTICLE I

For the purpose of consolidation of friendly relations between Lithuania and the Soviet Union, the city of Vilnius and the Vilnius region are transferred by the Soviet Union to the Republic of Lithuania and included in the territory of the Lithuanian State, the boundary between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Lithuania being established in accordance with a map appended hereto, which boundary shall be specified in more detail in a supplementary protocol.

ARTICLE II

The Republic of Lithuania and the Soviet Union undertake to render each other every assistance, including military, in event of aggression or menace of aggression against Lithuania as well as in event of aggression or menace of aggression against the Soviet Union over Lithuanian territory on the part of any European power.

ARTICLE III

The Soviet Union undertakes to render the Lithuanian army assistance in armaments and other military equipment on favorable terms.

ARTICLE IV

The Republic of Lithuania and the Soviet Union undertake jointly to effect protection of the state boundaries of Lithuania, for which purpose the Soviet Union receives the right to maintain at its own expense, at points in the Republic of Lithuania established by mutual agreement, Soviet land and air armed

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

647

forces of strictly limited strength. The exact location of these troops and the boundaries within which they may be quartered, their strength at each particular point, and also all other economic and administrative questions, questions of jurisdiction, and other questions arising in connection with the presence of Soviet armed forces on Lithuanian territory under the present treaty shall be regulated by special agreements. The sites and buildings necessary for this purpose shall be allotted by the Lithuanian Government on lease terms at a reasonable price.

ARTICLE V

In the event of menace of aggression against Lithuania or against the USSR over Lithuanian territory, the two contracting parties shall immediately discuss the resulting situation and take all measures found necessary by mutual agreement to secure the inviolability of the territories of the contracting parties.

ARTICLE VI

The two contracting parties undertake not to conclude any alliances or participate in any coalition directed against either of the contracting parties.

ARTICLE VII

Fulfillment of this treaty shall not affect in any way the sovereign rights of the contracting parties, in particular their state organization, economic and social systems, military measures, and generally the principle of nonintervention in internal affairs. The locations of the Soviet land and air armed forces (in Article III of this treaty) under all circumstances remain a component part of the territory of the Republic of Lithuania.

ARTICLE VIII

The term of validity of this treaty in regard to the undertakings for mutual assistance between the Republic of Lithuania and the USSR (Articles II and VII) is for fifteen years and

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

unless one of the contracting parties finds it necessary to denounce the provisions of this treaty established for a specified term of one year prior to expiration of that term, these provisions shall automatically continue to be valid for the next ten years.

ARTICLE IX

This treaty comes into force upon exchange of instruments of ratification. Exchange of these instruments shall take place in Kaunas within six days from the day of signature of this treaty. This treaty is made in two originals, in the Lithuanian and the Russian language, at Moscow, October 10, 1939.

JUOZAS URBSYS
VYACHESLAFF MOLOTOFF

Appendix F

436

Foreign Exchange Quotations in Kaunas

DATE	NEW YORK	LONDON	BERLIN	PARIS	RIGA
	Litas to $1.00	*Litas to £1*	*Litas to 100 Rm.*	*Litas to 100 Frs.*	*Litas to 100 Lats*
Jan., 1928	10.06	49.00	240.00	39.41	194.45
Jan., 1929	10.07	48.80	239.69	39.53	194.00
Jan., 1930	10.00	48.74	238.90	39.34	193.07
Jan., 1931	10.01	48.60	238.11	39.27	192.80
Jan., 1932	10.02	35.16	238.91	39.51	189.00
Jan., 1933	10.04	33.74	238.54	39.25	.....
Jan., 1934	6.42	32.20	240.22	39.65	.....
Jan., 1935	5.99	29.24	240.00	39.37	.....
Jan., 1936	5.93	29.39	239.34	39.29	193.48
Jan., 1937	5.95	29.14	238.20	27.72	114.91
Jan., 1938	5.93	29.66	238.20	19.87	117.20
Jan., 1939	5.95	27.82	238.20	15.72	110.11
Oct., 1939	6.01	24.11	238.20	13.68	112.54

Note: The litas, the monetary unit of Lithuania, equals 100 centas and contains 0.150463 grams of fine gold. Its circulation in Lithuania was abolished by the Soviet government after the occupation in 1940.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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113

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[1] The Central Bureau of Statistics, a Department of the Ministry of Finance of Lithuania.

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3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

000

INDEX

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

INDEX

000 Aestii, dwellers on Baltic shores, 3-5
Agricultural coöperatives, 32-42; tax exemption privileges, 34
Agricultural countries, index of industrial production during depression, 72
Agriculture, 11, 19-65; peoples' love of farm life, 11, 12; number engaged in, 14; livestock, 18, 22, 23, 42, 46, 48, 57-63, 85, 88, 89, 90; grain crops, 18, 22, 23, 42-47; general outline and basis of reconstruction, 21-24; pre-World War period, 21; World War and post-war periods, 22 ff.; farming not mechanized, 22; production of flax, 22, 23, 44, 49-51, 66; principal crops, 23; root crops, 23, 47-49; land reform, 24-32; number of farms and areas, 29, 30 f.; coöperatives, 32-42, 51, 52, 54, 65; dairying, 42, 51-57; poultry farming, 63-65; industries connected with, 66
Algirdas (Olgird), grand duke of Lithuania, 6
Ambassadors, Conference of, decision on Vilnius, 9
Amber, 17
Arable land in Baltic States, 16
Aukstaiciai, Lithuanian tribe, 5

Bacon exports, 63
Bakeries, 76
Baltic States, land use in, 16; population density, 17; rye production, 45; wheat, 46; oats, 47; barley, 47; root crops, 48; flax, 50; milk, 55; butter, 56; butter exports, 57; mutual assistance pacts with Russia, 113
Banking corporations, 72
Bank of Lithuania, established, 104
Barley, popular crop, 23, 46, 47; land used for, 44; in Baltic States, 47
Bass, John Foster, on Lithuanian-Polish relations, 19
Beets, 44, 48
Belgium, trade with Lithuania, 91, 92, 98 f.
Bendras Darbas, coöperative periodical, 42
Bermont, Avaloff, heads German and Russian armed band, 26
Birute, first coöperative dairy society, 32, 51
Bookbinding industry, 82
Bourgeois, Léon, on Vilnius incident, 9
Breweries, 76
Buckwheat, land used for, 44
Butter production, in Lithuania, 51, 52, 61; exports, 53, 57, 85; in Baltic States, 56, 57

Cabinetmaking industry, 79
Candy and chocolate factories, 76, 78
Canned goods establishments, 75, 76
Cardboard manufacturing, 81, 82
Carrots, 44
Cattle breeding, 58, 61 f.
Centraline Lietuvos Pieno Perdirbimo Bendroviu Sajunga, dairy cooperative union, 39
Central Union of Agricultural Cooperative Societies of Lithuania, 36-39, 53
Central Union of Dairy Coöperative Societies of Lithuania, 38, 39; organization, 54; increase in exports of milk products, 89

141 [140 is Blank]

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

000

Cereal production, tariff protection, 23, 24
Chalk deposits, 17
Cheese production, 51, 52
Chemicals industry, 69, 70
Chocolate factories, 76, 78
Christianity, 5, 6
Churchill-Roosevelt Atlantic Charter, 115
Cigarette factories, 76, 78
Civil service and professionals, 14
Clay deposits, 17
Clay products, stone, etc., 68, 69, 70
Climatic conditions, 17 f.
Clothing industry, 68, 69, 70; *see also* Textile industry
Clover, land used for, 44
Coal, lack of, 16
Collective farms (kolkhoz), 30
Commerce and credit in Lithuania, 14
Commerce and Industry, Ministry of, Department of Coöperation, 34
Commerce, Industry, Credit, and Trade Profit Taxation Law, 34
Communication and transportation, 14
Conference of Ambassadors, decision on Vilnius, 9
Consumers' coöperatives, 32, 35, 36-39; tax exemption privileges, 34
Coöperation Bank of Lithuania, 36
Coöperatives, 32-42; consumer societies, 32, 34, 35, 36-39; dairy organizations, 32, 38, 39, 54, 89; credit coöperatives, 33, 35 f.; during first World War, 33; agricultural societies, 33; tax exemption privileges, 34; table, 35; store cooperatives, 36-39; sales, 38; production coöperatives, 39-41; insurance and nonclassified coöperatives, 41 f.; Council of Coöperatives of Lithuania, 42; poultry and poultry products, 65
Coöperative Society, organization of dairies, 53
Corn (maize), not grown in Lithuania, 23
Corporations, role in Lithuanian economic life, 72
Cotton fabrics and spun yarn, 74, 75
Council of Coöperatives of Lithuania, 42
Credit and commerce, 14
Credit coöperatives, 33, 35 f.; tax exemption privileges, 34; financial position, 36
Crops, principal varieties, 23; *see also* various crops and Agriculture
Cummings, Homer S., 109
Currency, Lithuanian, 83, 102-7
Curzon line in Lithuanian-Polish relations, 19, 20
Customs duties system, 70, 83
Czechoslovakia, trade with Lithuania, 91, 92, 101

Dairying and dairy products, 39-41, 42, 51-57, 64; coöperative societies, 32, 38, 39, 51, 52, 54, 89; steam dairies, 53; in Baltic States, 55, 56; number of milk cows, 62; milk-product plants, 76
Darbo Lietuva, Bolshevik daily, 73n
Darlehnkasse Ost, issues *Obost* rubles, 102, 103
Dauguva, Liv tribes in basin of, 4
Declaration of Independence, Lithuanian, 119
Democracy, hope of small nations, 20
Denmark, milk products, 52; butter production, 52; imports Lithuanian horses, 61; index of industrial production during depression, 72; trade relations with Lithuania, 91
Depression, effect on Lithuanian industry, 70-72, 81
Domestic debts, 110
Ducks, *see* Poultry and poultry products

Egg production, 64 f.; exports, 64, 65, 85
Electrical works, 69, 70; number of corporations, 72
England, *see* Great Britain
Estonia, location, 15; land use, 16; population density, 17; rye, 45;

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

wheat, 46; oats, 47; barley, 47; root crops, 48; flax, 50; milk, 55; butter, 56; dairying, 56; butter exports, 57; number of horses, 60; public debt, 108; mutual assistance pact with Russia, 113
Evangelist denomination, 13
Exports, 24, 83, 111; Pienocentras's share, 40; of grain, 43; flax, 49; linseed, 49, 50, 51; tow, 50, 51; butter, 53, 57; meat and livestock, 58, 60, 61, 63, 77; horses, 60, 61; pigs and pork products, 63; poultry, 63; main items 1920–22, 64; lumber, 79; value of, 84; shifting of commodities, 85-89; according to country, 91 ff.; to United Kingdom, 93, 94, 95; to Germany, 95, 96; Russia, 96 f.; Belgium, 98, 99; Latvia, 99; U.S., 100, 101; Czechoslovakia, 101; Holland, 101; France, 101; Switzerland, 101

Farmer credit coöperatives, 35, 36
Farmer saving and loan associations, 35
Farm life, Lithuanians' love of, 11, 12
Finance, 102-11; currency, 102-7; state finance, 107 f.; public debt, 108-11
Finished goods, *see* Manufactured goods group
Finland, imports Lithuanian horses, 61
Fish and canned goods establishments, 75, 76
Flax, 22, 23, 49-51, 66; land used for, 44; exports, 49 ff., 64, 85; in Baltic States and Poland, 50; manufacturing establishments, 74
Fodder beets, 44
Food products, 67, 68, 69, 70, 75-79; corporations, 72; exports, 85, 86, 88; imports, 89, 90
Footwear industry, 68, 69, 70
Foreign debts of Lithuania, 110
Foreign exchange quotations in Kaunas, 132
Foreign trade, 83-101; value of, 84; shifting of commodities involved, 85-91; balance generally favorable, 85; according to country, 91-101; with Belgium, 91, 92, 98 f.; with Germany, 91, 92, 94-96; with Latvia, 91, 99; with Russia, 91, 92, 96-98; with the United Kingdom, 91, 92, 93 f.; with the U.S., 91, 92, 100 f.; *see also* Exports; Imports
Forest products, exports, 64; *see also* Lumber products
Forests in Baltic States, 16
France, trade with Lithuania, 91, 101
Fuel supply, 16
Fur industry, 69, 70

Gamintojas, organization of dairies, 53
Gas works, 69
Gediminas, Lithuanian king, 5
Geese, *see* Poultry and poultry products
German Economic Command, 38, 41
Germania (Tacitus), 3
Germans in Lithuania, 13, 14
Germany, political relations with Lithuania, 10, 11, 12, 14, 31, 38, 41, 73, 95, 106, 107, 114; seizure of Klaipeda Territory, 11, 12, 14, 17, 69*n*, 79, 80, 95, 106, 113, 114; war with Poland, 11, 106, 113; tariff protection of grain products, 23; demand for milk products, 52; requisition of Lithuanian livestock, 57; index of industrial production during depression, 72; trade with Lithuania, 91, 92, 94-96, 98; *Obost* notes in Lithuania, 103, 104 f.
Gold and silver, exports, 87, 88; imports, 89
Government farms (sovkhoz), 30, 31
Government Nationalization Committee, 39
Grain, cultivation, 18, 22, 23, 42-47; tariff protection, 23; dominating feature of Lithuania's agriculture, 42, 43; land used for, 43; exports, 43; mills, 76, 78
Grass fodder, land used for, 44
Great Britain, preference for Danish

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

000 Great Britain (*Continued*)
butter, 53; wool exports to Lithuania, 63; trade with Lithuania, 91, 92, 93 f., 95, 98; Lithuania's debt to, 110, 111
Greece, index of industrial production during depression, 72
Grünwald, battle of, 6

Handicrafts in Lithuania, 14
Hebrew denomination, 13
Hemp production, 23
Hens, *see* Poultry and poultry products
Highlanders, Lithuanian tribe, 5
Historic background of Lithuania, 3-11
Hogs, *see* Pigs
Holland, trade with Lithuania, 61, 91, 92, 101
Horses, breeding of, 22, 58, 60 f.; World War requisition of, 57; exports, 60, 61
Hymans, Paul, Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1918–20, on Polish occupation of Vilnius, 9

Imports, 24, 83; wool, 63; value of, 71, 84; textiles, 73-75; shifting of commodity groups, 89-91; according to country, 91 ff.; from United Kingdom, 93, 94; Germany, 95, 96; Russia, 97; Belgium, 99; Latvia, 99; U.S., 100, 101; Czechoslovakia, 101; Holland, 101; France, 101; Switzerland, 101
Independence, Declaration of Lithuanian, 119
Indo-European family of nations, 3
Industry, 14, 66-82; before the World War, 66 f.; textiles, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 73-75; lumber, 66, 68, 69, 70, 79 f.; foodstuffs, 67, 68, 69, 70, 75-79; in 1913, 67; after World War, 67; License Tax, 68; classification of establishments, 69; paper and printing industry, 69, 70, 80-82; effect of depression, 70-72; value of production, 70; industrial production index, 71; role played by corporations, 72; home market, 72
Insurance coöperatives, 35, 41 f.
Ivanavicius, I., organizes first consumer coöperative societies, 32

Jadwiga, 6
Jagello, 6, 7
Japan, invades Manchuria, 21
Jewish People's Banks Union, 35
Jews, 11, 13, 14; credit coöperatives, 35
Jogaila (Jagello), 6, 7
Johnson Act, Lithuanian compliance with, 109, 110, 111
Jotvingiai, tribe of Lithuanians, 5
Jute weaving establishments, 74

Katkewicz, Lithuanian representative, 7
Kaunas, population, 12; industrial enterprises, 67, 80; foreign exchange quotations, 132
Kestutis, 6
Klaipeda (Memel) Territory, surrendered to Germany, 11, 12, 14, 17, 69*n*, 79, 80, 95, 106, 113, 114; population, 12; area, 15; timber and lumber industry, 66, 79, 80; printing establishments, 80
Knights of the Livonian Order, 4, 5
Kolkhoz, collective farms, 30
Kriksciunas, J., on Lithuanian grain exports, 43
Kulaks, join government-fostered collective farms, 30
Kursiai, Latvian tribe, 4

Land and its resources, 15-17; use in Baltic States, 16; land reform, 24-32; great part falls into hands of few landlords, 25; Sovietization, 29 f., 31, 32; used for grain culture, 43; for various crops, 44; for flax, 49
Land Reform Law, 26-29
Language, Lithuanian, 3
Latgaliai, Latvian tribe, 4
Latvia, location, 15; land use, 16; population density, 17; rye production, 45; wheat, 46; oats, 47; barley, 47; root crops, 48; flax, 50;

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

milk products, 55; butter, 56; dairying, 56; butter exports, 57; horses, 60; imports Lithuanian horses, 61; trade with Lithuania, 91, 99; public debt, 108; mutual assistance pact with Russia, 113
Latvians, Aestü group, 4; in Lithuania, 13
League of Nations, Vilnius incident, 9 f.; dependency of small countries upon, 20
Leather industry, 66, 67, 69, 70
Legumes, 44
License Tax, 68
Lietukis, coöperative union, 36-39, 50; sales, 38; dairying section, 53, 54; purchase of Maistas Corporation stock, 77
Lietuvos Bankas, establishment of, 104; issue activities, 105, 106
Lietuvos Cukrus Corporation, majority of stock held by government, 72
Lietuvos Eksimportas, purchase of Maistas Corporation stock, 77
Lietuvos Kooperacijos Bankas, cooperative bank, 36
Lietuvos Kooperatyvu Taryba, cooperatives' council, 42
Linen and jute weaving establishments, 74
Linseed exports, 49, 50, 51, 85
Litas notes, first issue, 104; never devalued, 107
Lithuania, historic background, 3-11; language, 3; principal groups, 3 ff.; Christianizing of, 5, 6; peak of greatness, 6; political relations with Poland, 6 f., 8-11, 19 f., 22, 122-25, 126 f.; greatest disaster, 8; dispute over Vilnius region, 8-11, 12, 15, 17, 20, 80, 113, 128, 129; relations with Czarist Russia, 8, 20, 21, 25, 32, 60, 66; Lithuanian-Polish Pact, 8, 122-25; political relations with Germany, 10, 11, 12, 14, 31, 38, 41, 73, 95, 106, 107, 114; Polish ultimatum, 10, 126 f.; relations with Soviet Russia, 11, 12, 14, 15, 29 f., 31, 32, 34, 38, 39, 41, 56, 65, 73, 77, 80, 83, 98, 107, 113 f., 120 f., 128 ff.; agriculture, 11, 12, 14, 18, 19-65, 66; loss of Klaipeda, 11, 12, 14, 17, 69n, 79, 80, 95, 106, 113, 114; population pattern, 11-14, 17; love of farm life, 11, 12; people famous for health, 11; cities, 11, 12; nationalities, 13; religions, 13; industry, 14, 66-82; minorities, 14; no social classes, 14; mutual assistance pact with Russia, 15, 113 f., 128-31; land and resources, 15-17; location and size, 15; climate, 17 f.; grain culture, 18, 22, 23, 42-47; rye, 18, 23, 44 f.; livestock, 18, 22, 23, 42, 48, 57-63; as an economic entity, 19; general outline and basis of reconstruction, 21-24; raw-material production, 21 ff.; pre-World War period, 21; World War and post-war periods, 22 ff.; farming not mechanized, 22; flax, 22, 23, 49-51, 66; wheat, 22, 44, 45 f.; oats, 23, 46, 47; barley, 23, 46, 47; root crops, 23, 47-49; exports, 24, 40, 43, 49, 50, 51, 53, 57, 58, 60, 61, 63, 64, 77, 79, 83, 84, 85-89, 91 ff., 111; imports, 24, 63, 71, 73-75, 83, 84, 89 ff.; land reform, 24-32; number of farms and areas, 29, 30 f.; coöperatives, 32-42, 51, 52, 54, 89; dairy products, 51-57, 64; Ministry of Agriculture subsidizes dairies, 53 f.; textile industry, 63, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 73-75; poultry farming, 63-65; customs duties system, 70; purchase of Maistas Corporation stock, 77; depression of 1929, 81; currency, 83, 102-7; foreign trade, 83-101; trade balance generally favorable, 85; foreign trade according to country, 91 ff.; finance, 102-11; Polish refugees, 106; financial structure destroyed after Soviet occupation, 107; state finance, 107 f.; public debt, 108-11; foreign and domestic debts, 110; lacks neither initiative nor industry, 112; future economic development, 113; Declaration of

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RBS Lithuanians RBS

000 Lithuania (*Continued*)
Independence, 119; extract from peace treaty with Russia, 120 f.
Lithuania Major, area, 15
Lithuanians, main division of Aestü, 4, 5; number in Lithuania, 13
Livestock, 18, 22, 23, 42, 48, 57-63; use of oats as fodder, 46; pigs, 46, 58, 62, 63; horses, 57, 58, 60 f.; cattle, 58, 61 f.; sheep, 58, 62 f.; exports, 58, 85, 88; imports, 89, 90
Livonian Order of Swordbearers, 4, 5
Livs, 4
Loan Bank of the East, 102
London, preference for Danish butter, 53
Lumber products, exports, 85; *see also* Timber industry
Lutheran (Evangelist) denomination in Lithuania, 13
Luxury goods industry, 68, 70

Machinery industry, 68, 69, 70
Maistas Corporation, capital stock acquired by Lietukis, 37; activities increase, 62; stock held by government, 72, 77; in foodstuffs industry, 75-78; exports, 77, 89
Maize, *see* Corn
Manchuria, invaded by Japan, 21
Mandelstam, André, authority on international law, 10
Manufactured goods group, commodities exported, 87, 88; imports, 89, 91
Manufacturing coöperatives, 35
Marijampole, county of, population density, 13
Match Monopoly Loan, 110, 111
Meadows in Baltic States, 16
Meat, 64; *see also* Livestock
Meat, fish, and canned goods establishments, 75, 76
Memel, origin of city, 5; *see also* Klaipeda (Memel) Territory
Mendog, *see* Mindaugas
Metal industry, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70
Milk production, 39-41, 51-57, 64; demand for products in Germany, 52; in Baltic States, 55; number of cows, 62; Milk-product plants, 76; *see also* Dairying and dairy products
Mindaugas (Mindow, Mendog), 5
Moulton, Harold G., on Lithuania's debt to U.S., 109

Nationalities, 13
Natural resources, 16
Netherlands, *see* Holland

Oats, 23, 46, 47; land used for, 44; production in Baltic States, 47
Obost notes in circulation, 102 ff.; redemption of, 104
Occupations, 14
Olesnicki, Bishop Zbignev, opposes creation of separate kingdom of Lithuania, 7
Olgird, *see* Algirdas

Paderewski, Ignace Jan, 9
Panevezys, population, 12
Paper and printing industry, 67, 69, 70, 80-82
Parama, grocery trade coöperative, 41
Pasture land in Baltic States, 16
Peat, 16, 69, 70
Pienocentras, dairy coöperative society, 38, 39; sales, 38; share in Lithuanian exports, 40; butter exports, 53; organization, 54; exports of milk products, 89
Pigs, 46, 58, 62; exports, 63
Plywood production, 79
Poland, political relations with Lithuania, 6 f., 8-11, 19 f., 22, 122-25, 126 f.; partition of, 8; Lithuanian-Polish Pact, 8, 122-25; seizure of Vilnius, 8-11; ultimatum to Lithuania, 10, 126 f.; war with Germany, 11, 106, 113; flax exports, 49; flax production, 50; refugees pour into Lithuania, 106
Poles in Lithuania, 13, 14
Population pattern, of Lithuania, 11-14, 17; distribution and density, 12; density in Baltic States, 17

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

INDEX

Pork products, exports, 63; *see also* Pigs
Potatoes, 23, 47; land used for, 44; in other Baltic States, 48
Poultry and poultry products, 63-65; exports, 65
Printing industry in Lithuania, 69, 70, 80-82
Production coöperatives, 39-41
Professionals and civil service personnel, 14
Prussia, partition of Poland and Lithuania, 8
Prussians, Aestii group, 3 f.
Public debt, 108-11; debt to U.S., 109-11; to Great Britain, 110, 111
Publishing coöperative, 39

Rainfall, 18
Raw and semifinished goods, commodities exported, 86, 88; imports, 89, 90
Raw-material production, development of world, 21 ff.
Religions, 13
Renteln, von, German Commissar for Lithuania, 39, 41
Rimka, Professor, on *Obost* notes in circulation, 103
Roman Catholic denomination in Lithuania, 13
Roosevelt-Churchill Atlantic Charter, 115
Root crops, 23, 47-49; in Baltic States, 48
Ruble, supersedes litas after Soviet occupation of Lithuania, 107
Russia, partition of Poland and Lithuania, 8; relations with Lithuania under Czarist rule, 8, 20, 21, 25, 32, 60, 66; Soviet relations with Lithuania, 11, 12, 14, 15, 29 f., 31, 32, 34, 38, 39, 41, 56, 65, 73, 77, 80, 83, 98, 107, 113 f., 120 f., 128 ff.; mutual assistance pact with Lithuania, 15, 113 f., 128-31; flax exports, 49; requisition of Lithuanian horses, 57; trade with Lithuania, 91, 92, 96-98; mutual assistance pacts with Baltic States, 113; extract from peace treaty with Lithuania, 120 f.
Russian Orthodox denomination in Lithuania, 13
Russians in Lithuania, 13
Rye, 18; place in Lithuanian agriculture, 23, 44 f.; land used for, 44; production in Baltic States, 45

Samogitian horses, 60
Samogitians, tribe of Lithuanians, 5
Sawmilling, 79
Seasons, 18
Seinai, county of, population density, 13
Semifinished products, *see* Raw and semifinished goods
Sheep, 58, 62 f.
Siauliai, population, 12
Silk weaving establishments, 74
Silver, *see* Gold and silver
Skalweit, B., on pre-World War period in Lithuania, 22
Skimming stations, 55
Slaughterhouses, 66, 76
Sovkhoz, government farms, 30, 31
Spaudos Fondas, coöperative publishing concern, 39
State finance, 107 f.
Steam dairies, 53
Stone, clay products, etc., 68, 69, 70
Stores and consumers' coöperatives, 35, 36-39
Sudavai, tribe of Lithuanians, 5
Sugar beets, in Lithuanian agriculture, 23, 44, 48, 49; in other Baltic States, 49
Sugar refineries, 76, 78, 90
Suvalkai, Treaty of, 8, 122-25
Sweden, trade with Lithuania, 91
Swedish Match Manufacturing Company, 111
Switzerland, trade with Lithuania, 91, 101

Tacitus, description of Lithuanians, 3
Talka, coöperative periodical, 42

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

000 Telsiai, county of, population density, 13
Temperature, *see* Climatic conditions
Teutonic Knights in Lithuania, 4; bring Christianity, 5, 6; collapse, 6
Textile industry, 63, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 73-75
Tiesa, daily of Lithuanian Communist Party, 39*n*
Timber industry, 66, 68, 69, 70, 79 f., 85
Timoshenko, Vladimir P., on economic reconstruction after World War, 23
Tobacco and cigarette factories, 76, 78
Tow exports, 50, 51
Town coöperatives, 35
Trade, *see* Foreign trade
Trade coöperatives, sales, 38
Transportation and communication, 14
Treaty of Suvalkai, 8, 122-25
Turkeys, *see* Poultry and poultry products
Turnips, land used for, 44

Ugro-Finnic family of nations, 4
Union Law of the Coöperative Societies, excerpt, 33
Union of Agricultural Coöperative Societies of Lithuania, purchase of Maistas Corporation stock, 77; *see also* Lietukis
Union of Consumers' Coöperative Societies, organized, 33
Union of Farmers of Lithuania, purchase of Maistas Corporation stock, 77
United Kingdom, trade with Lithuania, 91, 92, 93 f., 95, 98; *see also* Great Britain
United States, index of industrial production during depression, 72; trade with Lithuania, 91, 92, 100 f.; Lithuania's debt to, 109-11
U.S.S.R., *see* Russia

Valstybine Nacionalizavimo Komisija, Government Nationalization Committee, 39
Vartotoju Bendroviu Sajunga Kooperatorius, organized, 33
Vegetables, 44
Vilkaviskis, county of, population density, 13
Vilnius (Vilna), occupied by Poland, 8-11, 20; return of, 11, 12, 15, 17, 80, 113, 128, 129; population, 12; area, 15
Virgolicz, Colonel, heads German and Russian armed band, 26
Vytautas (Witold, Vitovt), grand duke of Lithuania, 6 f., 112
Vytenis, Lithuanian king, 5

Wheat crops, 22, 44, 45 f.; in Baltic States, 46
White Russians, 13, 14
Winters, 18
Wirtschaftskommando, German Economic Command, 38, 41
Witold, *see* Vytautas
Woodpulp production, 81
Wool, production, 62; imports, 63, 75; spinning establishments, 74
World, industrial production index, 71
World War, economic reconstruction among agricultural countries after, 23; effect on dairy coöperatives, 51; livestock, reduced in, 57 f.

Zagre, agricultural coöperative society, 33
Zarasai, county of, population density, 13
Zeligowski, General, occupies Vilnius, 8, 9
Zemaiciai, tribe of Lithuanians, 5
Zemaitukai, breed of horse, 60
Zemgaliai, Latvian tribe, 4
Zydu Liaudies Banku Sajunga, Jewish banking coöperative union, 35

4: Kubliteky G-4, 5 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Wages in Lithuania [9]

466 The average working day in the manufacturing industries in Lithuania is 8 hours and the working week 48 hours. The minimum working week in factories is 4 days as provided by the Government regulations.

465 462 The average daily wages of unskilled industrial workers on July 31, 1937, are shown below, by sex.

	Males (lits) [1]	*Females (lits)*
Chemical industry	7.60	----
Hides and skins	4.25	3.15
Textiles	5.20	4.05
Lumber	5.55	4.55
Paper and printing	7.35	4.50
Foodstuffs	4.50	3.95
Electricity, gas, and water	7.25	----

[1] Average exchange rate of lit in February 1938 and December 1938—about 17 cents.

The average daily wages of skilled workers amounted to 8.75 lits. The daily wages of a seasonal farm hand on May 1, 1938, amounted to 2.40 lits for a man and 1.80 lits for a woman, including board, and 3.35 lits and 2.50 lits, respectively, without board.

Farm hands are hired at Christmas time for 1 year and receive wages in cash and in kind, in conformity with an agreement. The yearly wages of farm hands during 1938 are given below. The farm hands are also provided with free clothing, board, and lodging.

	Total yearly wages (lits)	*Cash wages (lits)*
Male hands	332	310
Female hands	263	243
Junior male hands	220	203
Junior female hands	178	162
Shepherds	118	101

Daily wages in the peat-extraction industry average from 5.50 lits to 8.50 lits for unskilled males and from 3.00 lits to 5.00 lits for unskilled females. Machinists receive from 7.50 lits to 9.00 lits per day.

465 The following are the monthly wages paid in Kaunas by the Railway Administration of the Lithuanian Ministry of Communications. Wages in the provincial districts are 10 percent lower.

	Lits per month		*Lits per month*
Locomotive engineers:		Firemen	277.00
First class	519.00	Conductors:	
Second class	476.00	First class	280.00
Third class	415.00	Second class	240.00
Assistant locomotive engineers:		Third class	180.00
First class	337.00	Station masters:	
Second class	314.00	First class	540.00
		Second class	450.00

[9] Report of Vladimir Kubliteky, clerk of American Legation at Kaunas.

4: Kublitzky G-4, 5 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Station masters—Con.	Lits per month	Baggage agents:	Lits per month
Third class	380.00	First class	300.00
Fourth class	340.00	Second class	280.00
Fifth class	300.00	Third class	240.00
Signalmen	200.00	Unskilled workers	[1] 4.50–6.00

[1] Per day

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Monthly wages paid to Kaunas municipal autobus employees are given below. Wages in the Provinces are 10 to 15 percent lower.

	Lits per month
Drivers	250.00–270.00
Conductors	210.00–230.00
Mechanics:	
First class	300.00
Second class	260.00
Third class	200.00

The figures below show the wages per hour of specified classes of skilled workmen in the building trades throughout Lithuania:

	Lits per hour
Bricklayers, first class	1.50
Bricklayers, second class	1.40
Electricians, ironmongers, and carpenters	1.60–1.70

An unskilled male laborer receives from 5.00 lits to 6.00 lits per day and a female laborer, from 3.00 lits to 4.00 lits per day. [462]

The following wages and salaries are paid to skilled workers in the printing and publishing trades:

	Lits per month		Lits per day
Linotypists	350–550	Mechanics	9
Engravers	350	Stereotypists	9
Assistant engravers	300	Stone polishers	5
Managers, printing room	275	Bookbinders	5
Compositors	250		

Payment for overtime in general amounts to not less than 25 percent of the basic daily wages, provided the rate has not been set forth in the agreement concluded between the employer and employees.

No allowances for dependents or payments in kind are made in Lithuania, except in the case of farm labor. Free housing is given sometimes to watchmen and to one or two skilled indispensable workmen in industrial enterprises. Every laborer after having worked 1 year under agreement is entitled to 12 days' holiday with pay. [466]

In conformity with an amendment to the income-tax law enacted October 9, 1935, a tax on earnings has to be paid by all persons except State employees. This tax varies from 2.00 lits for workmen, either single or married, earning from 101 lits to 130 lits per month, to 53.40 lits for single workers earning from 591 lits to 600 lits. The rates are considerably lower for married persons with a family, the reduction from the single rate amounting to as high as 50 percent where the family consists of 7 or more persons. The income tax for 651

4: Kublitzky G-4, 5 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

651 individuals residing in the rural parts of the country is slightly higher, due to the lower standard of living.

945 An employees' sickness-insurance fund was created in 1928 to provide for medical treatment, especially of the poorer classes. Membership in this organization is compulsory for all workers and employees, except farm laborers and State employees. Monthly contributions, equal in amount, are made by both the employer and the employee, according to wage classes, of which there are six. For wage class I (daily wage, 4 lits; weekly wage, 24 lits; and monthly wage, 100 lits) the monthly payment to the sick fund is 5.40 lits. The payments for each wage class are progressively higher, until for class VI (daily wage, 12.01 lits and over; weekly wage, 73 lits and over; and monthly wage, 301 lits and over) the payment to the sick fund is 21.60 lits. The maximum benefit allowed ranges from 3 lits for wage class I to 14 lits for wage class VI.

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An additional amount (10 percent of the monthly payments made to the sick fund) is contributed in equal shares by the employer and the employee to the Labor Chamber.

647 All State employees contribute 6 percent of their wages to a pension fund. Furthermore, from 4.5 percent to 18.73 percent of the wages of a married State employee are deducted for the special fund created to balance the budget, the deduction of a single employee varing between 11.7 percent to 24.53 percent. These deductions apply to State employees residing in Kaunas, Klaipeda, the Klaipeda Territory, and abroad. The deductions made from wages of State employees residing in the rural parts of the country vary from 9.5 percent to 23.73 percent for married, and from 15.3 percent to 29.53 percent for single persons. These rates became effective on April 1, 1937.

456 945

651 Tax deductions from wages amount to 10 percent; however, a certain amount is exempt from taxation. In the case of a single worker the exemption applies to all wages under 36.50 lits per week. Ten percent of the amount exceeding 36.50 lits per week is subject to taxation and is determined in accordance with the family status of the worker. The result of this, in practice, is that married workers with one child do not pay taxes.

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456 Contributions for social, sickness, accident, old-age, and disability insurance amount in all to 9 percent, 4½ percent of which are paid by the employer and the remaining 4½ percent by the worker.

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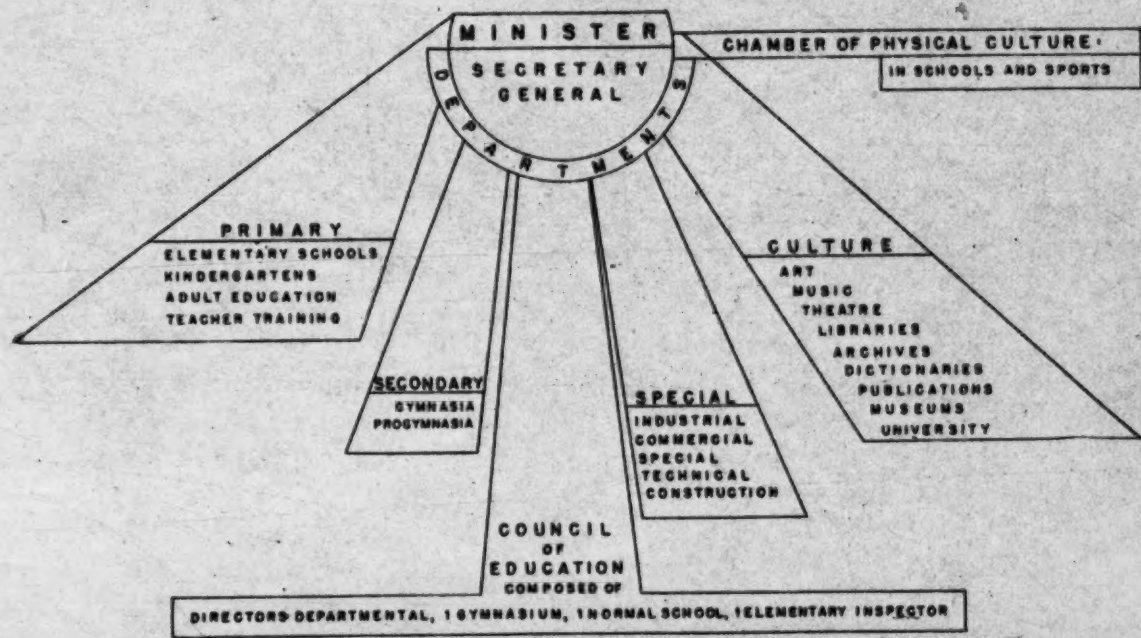
871.

Education in Lithuania

by K. Masiliūnas, Undersecretary of the Ministry of Education, Lithuania



5:Masiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

871 ★★★ The Lietuvos Taryba, or Lithuanian Council, which acted in 1918 in the name of the Lithuanian people to declare the country's independence, adopt a provisional constitution, and set up a provisional government, found a few schools in active operation but no system of education in the territory that is now Lithuania. Everything had to be built new. An adequate teaching staff had to be trained, the scheme of studies organized, textbooks written and printed, educational appliances provided, and school buildings erected. Little could be done during the first 3 years because the Republic was forced to use all its energies in the defense of its newly regained independence.

5:Masiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

First Law

671 The first law on elementary education was
872 passed in 1922 making the Lithuanian primary
875 school of four grades and requiring all children of both sexes between the ages of 7 and 13 to attend it. The general administrative organization was based on the principle of decentralization which granted wide powers to the local authorities and to the children's parents. However, this experience soon showed that under such a system the qualifications of the
[647] teachers left much to be desired. For this reason the law of 1922 was amended in 1925 and the appointment of teachers, their transfer from one school to another, and certain other matters were centered in the Ministry of Education. In the same year the school curricula were drawn up and officially approved. The schools were run under this law up to 1936 when a new elementary school law
[186] was promulgated which declares that the purpose of the elementary school is to provide primary education for the youth of Lithuania, foster their spiritual and physical growth, and teach them to love, cherish, and sacrifice themselves for Lithuania.

872 The present elementary school has six grades. The first four, obligatory for children between 7 and 13, form the first degree of study. The last two, for children 14 and 15 years old, form the second degree which is optional as yet because not enough schools are available. The increase in them began only in 1933. The elementary school subjects of instruction are: Religion taught by clergymen of the various denominations and compulsory for all children, Lithuanian as the language of instruction, arithmetic, knowledge of environment, history, geography,
872 natural history, art, manual arts, music and
186 singing, and physical training. In an ele-
191 mentary school district where the number of children of non-Lithuanian parentage exceeds

5:Masilionas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

872 186 191 30, a school with a language of instruction other than Lithuanian may be established. In it Lithuanian is taught as a distinct subject from the second grade onwards, and from the third grade on instruction in environment, history, and geography is given in Lithuanian. In a school with Lithuanian as the medium, children of non-Lithuanian parentage, if their number is not less than 20, are taught their mother tongue as a separate subject.

Certificates Granted

872 874 At the end of the first and second degrees of study, the pupils are examined and granted the elementary school graduation certificate which, if from the second degree, grants the right to enter, without further examination, the first grade of a secondary school (gymnasium) or a school offering special training for a vocation. Persons who have attended no schools may earn these certificates by passing official examinations embracing the entire course of study.

875 Elementary school teachers are classified as junior, first-degree, second-degree, senior first-degree, and senior second-degree. They are trained in normal schools and pedagogical institutes. Admission to normal schools is accorded those who have completed four grades of a secondary school, and the course extends for 4 years. To the pedagogical institutes only graduates of normal schools or gymnasia are admitted and the duration of studies is 2 years. Each teacher has in charge from 30 to 60 pupils, the average being 55. The average number with which the teacher works in winter is 43, and in summer 30,

875 [872] since not all children in Lithuania attend school all the year. First-grade and second-grade pupils in the rural districts go to school only 4 months; September 1 to November 1, and May 1 to July 1. In winter the country schools are attended only by third-, fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-grade pupils. In urban areas pupils attend throughout the school year.

871 The maintenance of elementary schools devolves on the local authorities. The costs of one school and one grade are around 11,890.-23 and 5,519.6 litas respectively. One lita is 16.93 cents in coinage of the United States. According to the figures of 1937, the cost of keeping one child in an elementary school is 99.4 litas annually. Towards the upkeep of elementary schools an average of 11.48 litas was paid by every inhabitant in 1937.

School Buildings

346 871 The school buildings are for the most part erected by the localities, grants-in-aid being made by the Ministry of Education which assigns in its budget over a million litas yearly for this purpose. At present about 80 new school buildings are constructed each year at an expenditure of two million litas. With the additional sums assigned for the acquisition of equipment and educational appliances, about three millions are spent annually.

871 On January 31, 1938, there was a total of 2,599 schools, 5,613 teachers, and 301,188 pupils or approximately 12 percent of the entire population enrolled in elementary schools.

871 873 The secondary school system was reorganized in 1936 by a special law. The 8-year gymnasia, modeled after the former Russian

5:Masiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

THE BALTIC STATES

871 types, were replaced by 7-year gymnasia to
873 the first year of which pupils who have finished a 6-year elementary school are automatically admitted. Thus final graduation from the secondary school now takes place after a course of study of 13 years, 6 in the elementary school and 7 in the secondary. The first three grades of the gymnasium may be founded independently and such a school
[186] is called a progymnasium. In these schools instruction in the Lithuanian language and literature, and in physical science has been especially strengthened, and French introduced as the first foreign language. The curriculum as it is now arranged for the gymnasia is as follows:

5:Masiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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Subjects of instruction	Hours a week by grades—							
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	Total
Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	14
Lithuanian language and general literature	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	30
French	6	6	4	3	3	3	3	28
Second foreign language (German, English, or Russian)	---	---	---	5	5	5	3	18
Latin	---	---	4	4	4	3	3	18
History	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	17
Citizenship	---	---	---	---	---	---	2	2
Elements of philosophy	---	---	---	---	---	2	2	4
Geography	---	2	2	2	2	2	---	10
Mathematics	4	3	3	3	3	3	4	23
Natural sciences	4	3	2	3	3	3	4	22
Drawing	3	2	2	2	1	2	2	14
Physical culture and premilitary training for boys	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	28
Physical culture for girls	3	3	3	2	2	2	3	18
Manual training and housekeeping for girls	1	2	2	2	2	3	---	12
Music and singing	2	2	2	2	2	---	---	10
Total for girls	32	32	32	36	36	37	35	240
Total for boys	32	31	31	36	36	36	36	238

All the subjects listed are compulsory. Pupils who do not do well in any of them are not granted the secondary school leaving certificate. In the schools of national minorities in which the language of instruction is not Lithuanian, the program is quite different.

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5:Masiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

[563] Instead of the second foreign language, the language of instruction and general literature are taught. There are only 23 weekly lessons in French, 12 in drawing, 25 in physical culture and pre-military training, and 9 in manual training and housekeeping for girls.

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Schools Public or Private

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Nineteen thousand nine hundred and thirty-nine secondary school students were attending 66 gymnasia and 34 progymnasia in 1937; in 1919 there were 5 gymnasia and 33 progymnasia with 9,213 students. These schools may be either State (public) or private. The former are founded and maintained by the State; the latter, with the permission of the Minister of Education, by corporations, ecclesiastical orders, and private individuals. All the private schools are under the control of the Ministry of Education which grants subventions toward their maintenance, sends official delegates to inspect the work carried on in them, and appoints their teachers. The students in some of the private gymnasia enjoy all the privileges extended to students in the State schools. In others they do not, and in order to acquire those rights the students must at the end of their course of study, pass examinations in the State schools or in their own schools in the presence of a delegate of the Ministry of Education. The relative numerical status of the two types of schools is:

Type	Progymnasia	Gymnasia
State	22	33
Private:		
Lithuanian	2	10
Jewish	5	14
German	4	5
Latvian	1	----------
Polish	----------	3
Russian	----------	1

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Nine gymnasia and one progymnasium have been especially set aside for the education of girls, and eight for the education of boys. All

5:Mažiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

562 873 the others are mixed but in the larger schools in which parallel classes exist, separate classes for boys and girls are established.

875 [658] The extension of the network of secondary schools produced in the first years of Lithuania's independence a shortage of teachers, and educating a staff was undertaken by the State. Teachers were trained in foreign universities, and from 1922 onwards in the University of Vytautas the Great in Kaunas, as well. Most of the 1,432 teachers now employed are university graduates and possess the qualifications required by the Ministry of Education. They are classified as junior teachers, teachers, and senior teachers. The rank of junior teacher is granted to persons who have taken a university course in psychology, pedagogics, the history of pedagogics, pedology, and the methodology of their specialties, or have passed examinations in these subjects and have completed their studies in the subjects necessary for the teaching of their specialty. Junior teachers who have taught successfully not less than 2 years and have conducted two probational lessons in their specialty may be elevated by the Ministry of Education to the rank of teachers. Teachers who have taught with outstanding success for at least 5 years may be raised to senior teachers.

School Competitions

873 555 A State physical culture badge to encourage physical fitness, scout troops and circles, camps for students, and travel during the vacation period are all connected with secondary education, but perhaps the most noteworthy activity to promote all-sided scholastic progress and interscholastic cooperation is the school competitions that were organized first in 1935 and take place at the end of the school year.

In these competitions the secondary schools strive for supremacy in the reading and recitation of Lithuanian, French, and German, drawing, singing, and physical culture. In

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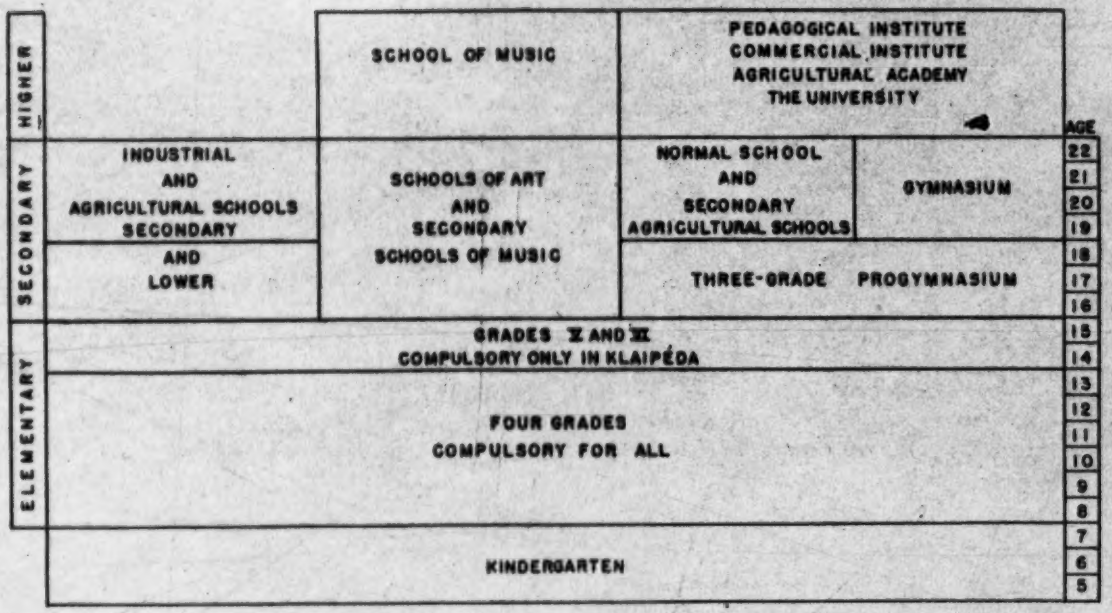

SCHOOL LIFE, *March 1939*

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5:Masiliunas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

873 555 each school near the close of the year, the pupils who have shown the most ability are selected from each class. The pick of these are chosen, in the course of a public performance, to represent the gymnasium in the district contest. The picked teams, usually numbering 1,000 to 1,500 students, meet on an appointed day to compete for first place in the district. From them the best readers, reciters, draughtsmen, choirs, sportsmen, etc., are selected to participate in the finals which take place most often at Kaunas. There the teams from the seven districts into which Lithuania is divided for this purpose, compete for the National first, second, and third places. On this occasion festivities on a larger scale are organized and the winners are awarded special prizes. The competitions have been found to promote a will to work among the students, and give them an opportunity to acquire a better knowledge of their country and to make useful personal contacts with their fellow students.

873 The institutions of higher education are the University of Vytautas the Great, the Veterinary Academy, State Conservatory of Music, and State Art School, all at Kaunas; Agricultural Academy at Dotnuva; and the Private Commercial Institute, Pedagogical Institute, and Music School, all at Klaipeda. They enroll approximately 4,400 students. The university began in 1579 as the High School of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, was later converted into a university, and was closed by the Russians in 1832. As early as December 5, 1918, the Lithuanian State Council passed statutes for this University of Vilnius and it was on the point of reopening in 1919, but military operations intervened and it was not definitely founded until February 16, 1922, at Kaunas. In 1930, when the five hundredth anniversary of the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Vytautas the Great, who ruled over a Lithuania that extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea, was celebrated with great pomp, the university was renamed in his honor. It is an autonomous institution the powers of which are fixed by the statutes. It is maintained by the state and is connected with the Ministry of Education. During the 16 years of its recent existence, the university has developed into an important educational center which devotes special attention to the study of the Lithuanian language and history.

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Technical Instruction

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Up to the Great War there were no technical schools in Lithuania, and technical instruction was received in the course of apprenticeship. The work of reconstruction after the recovery of independence created a great demand for skilled labor and special arrangements had to be made for systematic vocational training. For this purpose the state began to found technical schools but progress was slow until 1926 when a Department of Technical Education was organized in the Ministry of Education and the network of technical schools began to be systematically developed.

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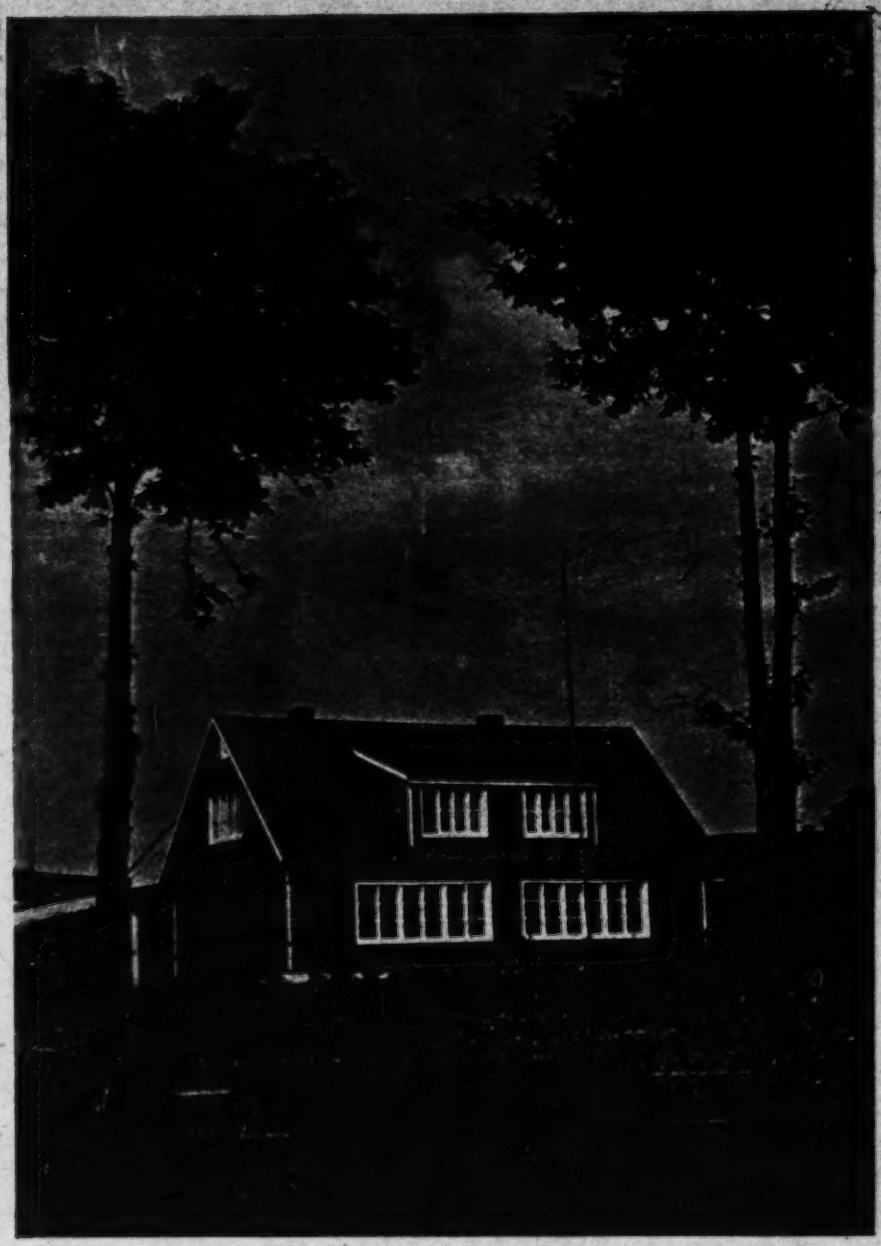

Typical country school.

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of technical schools began to be systematically developed. Since there was no place in the country where teachers could be trained for handicraft instruction, the state granted a number of scholarships to young people for the study of technical instruction in foreign countries.

The Handicraft Law published in 1929 and the Rules in 1932 definitely established that the technical schools were to be of two types: Secondary and lower with a study period of 4 years in each. At first they did not find any

5:Masiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

874 great public favor and often there was a lack of pupils but that initial difficulty has been surmounted and candidates are now plentiful. The schools now have on their registers about 3,000 students of which 24.1 percent are in housekeeping schools for girls and 8.2 percent in commercial schools.

Agricultural schools, all under the Ministry of Agriculture, are intermediate and lower. The four intermediate schools (dairy, cattle-breeding, land-betterment, and forestry) now

874 in operation admit candidates who possess certificates that they have finished four or six grades of a gymnasium, or a lower agricultural school, and give them from 2 to 3 years of training. The purpose of the lower agricultural schools is to raise the standard of the practical training of farmers and farm-wives. Graduates of elementary schools are automatically admitted for a study period of 2 years. The nine State and eight private schools of this class have an attendance of 1,504 and employ 137 teachers.

871 The government of Lithuania assigns considerable sums for educational purposes. For instance, in 1938 the budget of the Ministry of Education carried the figure of 56,656,891 litas (44,580,045 ordinary, and 12,076,846 extraordinary expenditures), or 16.34 percent of the total National budget.

532 The Lithuanian sculptor, Petras Rimša, portrays the "Lietuvos Mokykla" (The Lithuanian School).

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REPORT

of the

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, INDUSTRY AND CRAFTS

TEN YEARS OF LITHUANIAN ECONOMY

p 1

KAUNAS

1938

6: Anonymous U-4,5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

The Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Crafts, erected in 1938. Architect V. Landsbergis-Žemkalnis.

[Frontispiece]

000 Political economy constitutes the foundation of the superstructure of all other national and State forces. This truism explains the interest of all countries in the development and future of their economy. Taking into consideration that both internal and external factors influence the evolution of political economy, knowledge of them is absolutely essential in order to enable us to anticipate the future course of events.

The Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Crafts, which carries out the upbuilding of a series of the most important branches of our political economy, with this Report on the development of Lithuanian economy during the last decade has rendered a service not only to itself but also to all other organizations of our country which are engaged in the task of regulating economic questions.

The interval investigated in this Report is distinctive in this respect that both our own political economy and the entire world economy during the last ten years passed through a period of high trend; thereafter surmounted a severe crisis, and at the present time are once more in the phase of a fresh expansion. This interval therefore affords a suitable basis for the testing of the expediency of various politico-economic measures, which are included in the framework of economic regulation.

Only knowledge of the past and a survey of the future will enable us more confidently and surely to plan political economy for the well-being of the nation and the State.

S. Šilingas

Minister of Finance.

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121 The following Report of the Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Crafts pursues the purpose of a concise and clear review of the history of the development of Lithuanian economy during the last ten years. With the exception of agriculture, it deals with all spheres of economics, i. e. industry, foreign and home trade, goods transport, the State finances, and credit conditions.

433 The synthesis of the dynamic of separate economic branches establishes the conclusion that Lithuanian political economy during the past ten years has achieved great progress. Although under the influence of the world economic crisis in the years 1932—1935 it suffered reverses or was at any rate hindered in its growth, the total balance of the ten years on an average shows a doubling of the real volume. Especially the years 1930—1931 and 1936—1937 were signalized by vigorous promotion and expansion periods. Whereas world economy in the autumn of 1937 once more revealed symptoms of a recession, in Lithuania the rising tendency continued.

The greatest successes were achieved in the domain of industry; its production grew uninterruptedly also during the crisis and has on an average increased two and a half times. The liquidation of Free Trade and the confinement of separate politico-economic spheres within their national boundaries under the operation of the world economic crisis, as in other agrarian countries so also in Lithuania have contributed to intensification of the development of home industry.

439 The Lithuanian foreign trade turnover has suffered loss during the crisis as a result of the fall of prices. Its volume nevertheless remained even during the crisis years above the level of 1929. The introduction of the licence system facilitated the maintenance of the active general trade balance in the crisis years and regulation of the trade balance with individual countries.

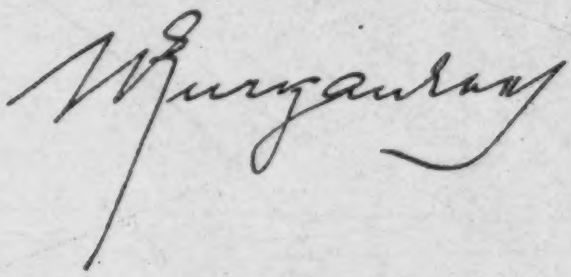
438 In the domain of home trade, the growth of cooperative trade must above all be premised. Private trade is developing unequally; for while intermediary wholesale trade is receding,

p. 4

small distributing trade enterprises are holding their own and increasing. 491

More favourable development is shown by finance and credit conditions; the equilibrium of the State finances and a sound currency and credit policy form the basis on which the superstructure of economy can be reared. 652

The fact that the economic crisis, notwithstanding its protracted duration, was relatively easily overcome, after which a vigorous advance again set in, is to a great extent to be entered to the credit of the economic policy of the Government, which by means of the regulation of export, the support of production of agricultural supplies, the financing of new industrial promotions, and the regulation of prices has ameliorated the effects of the world crisis and furthered a healthy private initiative in the interests of the total political economy. 000



President of the Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Crafts.

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TEN YEARS
OF LITHUANIAN ECONOMY

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I. INDUSTRY

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A. GENERAL SECTION.

1. Total Number of Industrial Undertakings and their Structure.

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The total number of industrial undertakings in Lithuania is estimated at 3 000.

The number of industrial licences issued in 1937 amounted to 15 214, of which, however, 12 981 together were apportioned to the VIII. and IX. categories, which can be assigned to handicrafts. The undertakings of the Memel Territory are not included in these figures.

The statistics of industrial licences for the last ten years are as follows:

1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
5 742	6 010	5 842	5 796	5 735	5 451	5 710	11 904	14 750	15 214

The sudden rise in the number of industrial licences in 1935 is due to the fact that in that year the Patent Tax was extended to small hand-worked concerns without auxiliary power and those with only a single worker, whereas until then only concerns with two employees upwards had been required to take out a licence. The figures for the last three years are therefore not comparable with those for the previous years, but they nevertheless reflect the vigorous rise of Lithuanian economy in 1936 and 1937.

Through the direct computation, which is carried out periodically twice yearly, only such industrial undertakings are included as employ at least five persons. The relevant data on the total number of concerns for the last ten years are as follows:

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1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
1 039	1 044	1 051	1 049	1 105	1 108	1 118	1 136	1 135	1 247

With the exception of 1937, which indicates a big increase of 112, and therefore emphasizes the present-day advance, the remaining modifications in the number of undertakings during previous years are not inconsiderable from a contingent standpoint. They demonstrate that Lithuanian industrial economy did not suffer any serious retrogression in its development through the last crisis. In the very year of the low level of the world crisis (1932), the total number of industrial undertakings in Lithuania actually increased.

433 964 The contingent development of Lithuanian industry is, however, better shown by the total number of industrial workers employed, and still more accurately by that of the effective working days than by the number of concerns. In the concerns already specified above, with a minimum staff of five persons, the following number of workers was engaged in June or July, i. e. at the time when almost all seasonal workers are fully employed:

		i. e. with the following number of working-days:	
1928	18 930		
1929	19 637		
1930 (June)	19 334		
1931 (June)	21 053	1931 (June)	504 979
1932 (June)	19 743	1932 (June)	473 621
1933 (June)	20 660	1933 (June)	472 716
1934 (June)	22 282	1934 (June)	527 244
1935 (July)	23 344	1935 (July)	584 958
1936 (July)	25 844	1936 (July)	647 468
1937 (July)	31 689	1937 (July)	775 984

We see from the foregoing figures that the influence of the economic crisis first made itself perceptible in 1932, since until 1931 the number of employed industrial workers was still on the up-grade. We may therefore select 1931 as a basis year, and on the ground of the figures of working-days calculate the following indices of the employment of the industrial economy of Lithuania:

1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	93.8	93.6	104.4	115.8	128.2	153.7

Already on the basis of these figures (an attempt to compute the production index is undertaken in the following chapter) we may assume that the stagnation in the industrial economy of Lithuania elicited by the crisis which, moreover, did not extend to all industrial branches, began about two years later than in the rest of the world and lasted only two years (world crisis 1930 — 1932, in Lithuania 1932 — 1933) and that the recession of employment amounted to only 6.4% of the erstwhile highest level in 1931. 433 464

The regularly progressive upbuilding of Lithuanian economy, despite the crisis, is likewise disclosed in the statistics for the utilization of engine power by industrial concerns. The relevant data for the last seven years are as follows: 371 433

Utilization of Engine Power.

	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Total number of concerns	1 049	1 105	1 108	1 118	1 136	1 135	1 247
Number of concerns with engine power..	747	788	819	822	842	864	946
Water, steam, and Diesel engines in H. P.	51 862	62 678	67 536	66 776	74 207	74 722	79 830
Electric-motors in H.P.	18 176	21 926	28 215	27 809	31 142	34 912	45 327
Total in H. P.	70 038	84 804	95 751	94 585	105 349	109 634	125 157
in %	100.0	121.1	136.7	135.0	150.4	156.5	178.7

On the basis of these figures we can determine: (a) That the share of mechanized concerns in the total number of industrial undertakings from 1931 until 1937 has risen from 71.2% to 75.9%; (b) That the engine power pertaining to a mechanized concern rose in the same interval from 93.8 H. P. to 132.3 H. P.; (c) That the total energy of the engines employed in Lithuanian industry has grown by 18.7% during the last seven years; the energy of the primary power engines was increased thereby 53.9% while that of electric-motors was more than doubled — it has risen by 149.4%.

*

* *

432 A particularly marked advance is shown by larger undertakings with 50 or more employees*), which represent wholesale industry proper. The following figures illustrate this:

I. Undertakings with 5—49 Employees.

	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Total number of undertakings	969	955	1 015	1 010	1 020	1 038	1 034	1 174
Total number of employees	11 473	11 927	11 402	10 906	11 033	11 072	11 598	13 206

II. Undertakings with 50 and more Employees.

Total number of undertakings	82	94	90	98	98	98	101	125
Total number of employees	11.023	12.433	11.844	13.479	15.123	16.298	18.650	23.387

On the basis of the foregoing figures we can reckon that the medium-sized undertakings during the period from 1930 to 1937, in respect of their total number grew by 15.9%, and in respect of the number of employed personnel, by 15.1%, while the large-scale undertakings in the same time showed an increase of 52.4% in their number and 112.2% in the number of employees.

465 The development of industrial activity is also illustrated by the growth of the total amount of wages paid out. The following figures relate to the months of June and July (in thousands of litas):

1931.VI.	1932.VI.	1933.VI.	1934.VI.	1935.VII.	1936.VII.	1937.VII.
3 636	2 991	2 918	2 927	3 011	3 285	4 237

Compared with the index of the cost of living minimum, these tables show, notwithstanding the decrease of nominal

*) In the „number of employees", the promoters, the workers, and the officials are included.

465 wages, a rise in real wages of approximately 12% since 1931. In various individual branches, moreover, the wages standards of qualified workers were raised not only in 1937 but also in 1935 and 1936, which the above quoted average figures do not indicate, owing to the preponderance of unqualified workers, as a result of the frequent engagement of new employees.

*
* *

464 The internal structure of Lithuanian industry in respect of
433 the number of undertakings and the total number of employed workers in separate industrial branches are shown by the following Table No. 1.

288 On the basis of these statistics we may conclude that the
433 largest number of workers, viz., 20.6% of all industrial workers
464 in Lithuania to-day are employed in the textile industry. On an average, a staff of 88 workers pertains to one textile factory.

The first place in respect of the number of employed workers has, however, been reached by the textile industry in recent years, i. e. since 1935. Among all industrial branches in Lithuania it also shows the most intensive development. In spite of the crisis, the number of employed in the textile concerns since 1928 has steadily grown and in comparison with 1928 its position in 1937 had more than quadrupled (+317.5%).

This high level of the employed reflects, however, only the maximum utilization of labour capacity. Thus in 1937 the textile industry was the only branch that employed three shifts, since according to the number of undertakings, viz., 74, it stands far behind other branches.

313 In the second place stands the timber industry with 16.9%
433 of the total number of workers and 17.6% of the number of
464 undertakings. The size of the staffs rose by 51.1% during the period from 1928 to 1937, the most noteworthy increase having taken place in 1937.

262 In the third place follows the foodstuffs and luxury goods
433 industry with 16.4% of the total number of workers. According
464 to the number of undertakings (353 concerns or 28.3%), it is, however, entitled to the first place. The total number of the staffs in 1937 in comparison with 1928 shows an increase of 35.4%, which took place during the last three years. During

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6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 R95 Lithuanians R95
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Table No. 1.

Classification of Industrial Undertakings of Lithuania according to Branches from 1928 — 1937.

Branches	1928		1929		1930		1931		1932		1933		1934		1935		1936		1937	
	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers
I. Peat-cutting	7	578	4	536	6	541	4	490	5	512	4	482	5	515	7	417	10	578	11	629
II. Earth & Stone Industry	91	1 391	106	1 606	108	1.648	104	2 160	101	1 928	84	1 544	97	1 749	82	1 539	89	1 627	99	2 827
III. Metal & Machinery Ind.	93	1 930	85	1 877	94	1 975	95	1 863	93	1 675	86	1 507	91	1 614	92	1 711	86	2 178	103	2 792
IV. Chemical Industry	51	888	52	981	53	792	48	724	48	642	55	901	48	1 355	48	940	47	1 109	48	1 344
V. Leather Industry	36	639	37	635	44	648	36	693	36	614	45	733	41	760	44	824	40	810	51	1 096
VI. Textile Industry	59	1 562	62	1 952	57	2 194	60	2 287	60	2 517	62	2 974	56	3 442	61	4 679	64	5 576	74	6 522
VII. Timber & Woodwork Ind.	193	3 539	178	3 636	178	3 096	193	4 308	210	3 783	211	4 276	196	4 394	192	4 238	181	4 084	219	5 346
VIII. Paper & Polygraphic Ind.	58	2.160	63	2 209	64	2 323	61	2 157	68	1 924	69	2 032	65	2 141	71	2 195	71	2 316	76	2 559
IX. Foodstuffs & Luxury Goods Industry	255	3 837	262	3 773	246	3 616	238	3 752	286	3 735	286	3 772	311	3 811	343	4 284	341	4 770	353	5 195
X. Clothing & Footwear Ind.	147	1 653	149	1 816	154	1 891	157	1 994	142	1 723	140	1 807	148	1 879	148	1 952	146	2 176	157	2 707
XI. Electricity & Gasworks	31	661	28	504	26	479	30	480	30	465	33	448	34	486	31	512	31	508	32	523

[252] the interval 1928—1934 hardly any changes were experienced
[433] in the dimensions of the staffs.
464

To the three above-mentioned industrial branches (textile, timber, and foodstuffs industries) pertain in all 646 undertakings with 17 063 workers, or more than half the total number of concerns and their staffs.

464 The remaining more important industrial branches range,
433 according to the number of employed workers, as follows: The stone and earth industry, which during the last ten years has doubled its staff; the metal and machinery industry, the growth of whose employed workers in the same period amounts to 44.7%; the clothing and footwear industry, with a growth of 63.6%; the paper and polygraphic industry, the staff of which has grown by 18.5%; the chemical industry, which to-day employs 51.3% more workmen than in 1928, and the leather industry, which also in the last decade has enlarged the extent of its staff, i. e. by 71.4%.

The smallest number of workers is employed in peat-cutting and in electricity works. The staff of the former during the last ten years has grown only a little; that of the latter has suffered even a slight retrogression which, however, was in no wise evoked by a falling-off in production but rather by its rationalization, as we see from the production statistics.

2. Aggregate Value of Industrial Production and the Production Index.

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The aggregate value of the gross production of the concerns comprised in the statistics (from five employees upwards) amounted in 1937 to 428 200 000 litas against 354 500 000 litas in 1936, which in the course of the last year implies an ad valorem growth of 20.8%. Segregation into separate industrial branches gives the following result:

	1936		1937	
	In 1000 litas	Percentage share	In 1000 litas	Percentage share
1. Peat-cutting	969	0.3	1 126	0.3
2. Stone & Earth Industry	5 461	1.5	8 461	2.0
3. Metal & Machinery Ind.	17 125	4.8	22 406	5.2

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4. Chemical Industry	16 713	4.7	21 170	4.9
5. Leather Industry	13 931	3.9	18 189	4.3
6. Textile Industry	52 273	14.8	63 873	14.9
7. Timber Industry	26 576	7.5	38 745	9.1
8. Paper & Polygraphic Industry	27 584	7.8	36 029	8.4
9. Foodstuffs & Luxury Goods Industry*)	161 007	45.4	178 256	41.6
10. Clothing & Footwear Industry	18 037	5.1	22 691	5.3
11. Electricity Works	14 832	4.2	17 293	4.0
Total:	354 508	100.0	428 219	100.0

From the standpoint of production value, the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry holds the first place, while the textile industry and the timber industry stand in the second and third place respectively. In 1937 nearly two-thirds, i. e. 65.5% of the total production value of Lituanian industry pertained to these three branches.

Of the remaining branches there follow in the order named: The paper and polygraphic industry, the share of which in the total production value amounts to over 8%; the clothing and footwear industry; the metal and machinery industry, and the chemical industry, each with a percentage of approximately 5%; the leather industry and the electricty works with a percentage each of 4%; the stone and earth industry whose production value constitutes 2% of the total production; and in the last place, peat-cutting with a share of only 0.3%.

In comparison with the previous year, several changes took place in 1937 in the structural composition of industry, inasmuch as the percentage share of the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry decreased by 4 points; the shares of peat-cutting and electricity works remained almost unaltered, while all other branches raised their shares, inter alia, the timber and paper industries to the greatest extent. The lessening of the share of the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry is to be ascribed

*) N. B. These figures also include the butter and cheese production of the dairy-farming cooperatives. Its value in 1936 amounted to 44 805 000 litas and in 1937 to 51 506 000 litas.

to the quantitative and ad valorem recession of the output of the meat industry. The special increase of the share of the timber and paper industries is due, besides the quantitative advance in production, also to the fact that timber and cellulose prices have risen more sharply than those of other articles, while the slight decline in the share of electricity works has resulted from the reduction of about 5% in the price of current. 433

One cannot, however, draw any general conclusions from the above quoted value figures, as regards their quantitative development, because prices have varied during the period under review, and this variation has proceeded individually in each commodity group. We shall therefore return below to this question in the calculation of the production index and in the analysis of the production of separate industrial branches in the following section.

As already mentioned, the figures contained in the foregoing statement represent gross production value. Under the heading of net production value, the specific gravity of separate industrial branches naturally appears in an altered light, because the scope of the politico-economic growth of value is influenced by the divergent levels of the raw materials share. The following table shows us the structure of Lithuanian industry according to net production value (in thousands of litas):

	Gross Production Value	Raw Material and Fuel used		Net Production Value	Percentage share of Total Value
		Domestic	Foreign		
1. Peat-cutting	1 126	65	2	1 059	0.7%
2. Stone & Earth Industry	8 431	1 006	1 405	6 020	3.7%
3. Metal & Machinery Industry	22 406	2 095	9 822	10 489	6.4%
4. Chemical Industry	21 170	3 805	7 084	10 281	6.3%
5. Leather Industry	18 189	6 139	8 407	3 643	2.2%
6. Textile Industry	63 873	12 783	27 504	23 586	14.3%
7. Timber Industry	38 745	18 977	4 916	14 852	9.0%
8. Paper & Polygraphic Industry	36 029	12 090	6 119	17 820	10.8%
9. Foodstuffs & Luxury Goods Industry*)	178 266	113 892	13 970	50 404	30.6%

*) Since no value figures of the raw materials used for the meat industry are published, they are estimated at 70% of the gross production value.

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10. Clothing & Footwear Industry	22 691	4 339	6 974	11 378	6.9%
11. Electricity Works	17 293	277	1 966	15 050	9.1%
Total:	428 219	175 488	88 169	164 582	100.00

The net production value of Lithuanian industrial output thus amounted in 1937 to 164 582 000 litas, which constitutes 38.4% of the gross production value. The politico-economic value growth, which is derived from the industrial treatment of the raw material, amounts to 62.4%. The relatively restricted magnitude of value growth — in highly industrialized lands such as Great Britain and the U.S.A. it reaches 120% on an average — is due chiefly to the great importance of the foodstuffs industry, wherein, as is well known, the share of raw material is always particularly large.

Comparison of the share of separate industrial branches, reckoned according to gross and net values, shows that, as regards gross value more especially, great weight attaches to the leather industry and the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry on account of the high proportion of raw material; and, on the other hand, as regards net value, to electricity works and the paper and polygraphic industry.

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* *

The ascertained production value for 1936 and 1937 depends upon an uninterrupted grasp of all industrial branches of Lithuania. In view of the fact that the total value amounts obtained for earlier years do not comprise complete data to the same degree, in order to represent the contingent development for the period 1929—1937, only the production amounts of the most important industrial branches, which methodologically supply comparable quantities, can be included. Thus the data placed at our disposal comprising 80% in round figures of the aggregate industrial output are sufficiently representative correctly to depict the general development tendency.

(The year 1933 has been omitted from the appended table because no statistical data on industrial production are available for that year).

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Gross Production Value of the most important Industrial Branches (in 1 000 litas).

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
1. Peat-cutting	1 060	922	878	617	509	599	969	1 126
2. Stone & Earth Industry	5 264	5 717	7 452	5 667	4 535	4 053	4 851	7 424
3. Metal & Machinery Industry*)	10 729	12 465	12 106	9 177	8 764	8 292	12 343	16 449
4. Chemical Industry	21 604	20 897	17 782	14 660	17 963	15 555	16 115	20 637
5. Leather Industry	14 591	15 525	14 601	10 027	8 967	8 781	11 572	15 116
6. Textile Industry	23 223	27 595	27 356	25 205	35 554	40 710	50 440	61 512
7. Timber Industry	35 015	27 038	32 669	25 586	24 575	24 212	26 576	38 745
8. Paper & Polygraphic Industry	42 214	41 174	29 631	21 144	25 017	23 739	27 436	35 807
9. Foodstuffs & Luxury Goods Industry**)	93 480	85 674	132 995	135 537	95 226	92 406	108 336	118 110
10. Clothing & Footwear Industry	10 030	12 173	13 104	10 673	11 720	12 349	15 382	19 619
11. Electricity Works	10 842	11 500	12 500	11 880	11 310	12 068	12 851	15 172
Total:	268 052	260 680	301 174	270 166	244 140	239 764	286 874	349 717

In order to be able to assess the development of the industrial production according to its quantitative extent on the basis of the foregoing figures, we must first of all bear in mind that prices since 1929 on an average have fallen almost by half, in view of which the volume of production discloses actually a much greater increase than that indicated in the foregoing values. Calculated on the basis of an appropriate price index, above mentioned, value amounts of industrial production, expressed in the prices of 1929, show the following figures (in 1 000 litas):

*) Without production of means of communication.

**) Without butter production.

6t Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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	1929	1930	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
1. Peat-cutting	1 060	922	905	1 611	979	1 274	1 977	2 298
2. Stone & Earth Industry	5 264	5 971	7 850	7 247	8 282	7 966	9 789	12 080
3. Metal & Machinery Industry	10 729	13 261	15 324	13 905	14 607	15 356	23 288	24 922
4. Chemical Industry	21 604	21 231	21 169	19 810	30 970	28 731	39 990	36 205
5. Leather Industry	12 591	17 055	17 806	14 324	16 304	18 683	25 156	31 492
6. Textile Industry	25 223	31 278	38 622	41 680	65 087	68 947	102 025	120 356
7. Timber Industry	35 615	26 533	29 538	31 917	43 883	48 424	54 236	61 500
8. Paper & Polygraphic Industry	42 214	43 802	35 275	28 572	43 132	43 961	52 761	62 819
9. Foodstuffs & Luxury Goods Industry	93 480	98 263	166 244	193 624	161 400	174 351	216 672	222 849
10. Clothing & Footwear Industry	10 030	12 826	16 163	15 561	22 194	28 246	33 319	41 439
11. Electricity Works	10 842	13 487	15 049	15 103	17 911	20 643	22 812	28 590
Total	268 052	282 629	363 945	381 954	424 729	454 582	573 005	644 549

The conversion of the value data follows on the authority of the following sources in each instance, viz.,

1. **For peat-cutting**: Price-index, calculated on the basis of the average value of the production statistics of the Central Statistical Bureau;

2. **For the Stone and Earth Industry**:

(a) For the brick production price-index, calculated on the basis of the average value of the production statistics of the Central Statistical Bureau;

(b) For glass production, price-index of Industrial Products of the Lietuvos Bankas (Bank of Lithuania) Bulletin.

3. **For the Metal and Machinery Industry**: Price-index for iron and steel calculated according to the average prices of the Lithuanian import statistics, price-index of Industrial Products of the Lietuvos Bankas Bulletin and the price-index of fuel of the Lietuvos Bankas Bulletin (adjusted arithmetical average according to the ratio 5:5:1);

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

4. **For the Chemical Industry:** Price-index of Industrial Products of the Lietuvos Bankas Bulletin; 433.

5. **For the Leather Industry:** Price-index for sole leather, calculated according to the Price Statistics of the Central Statistical Bureau;

6. **For the Textile Industry:**

(a) For flax treatment, index of flax prices of the Central Statistical Bureau;

(b) For the remaining branches of the textile industry, price-index of manufactured goods of the Lietuvos Bankas Bulletin;

7. **For the Timber Industry:** Price-index for pine-boards calculated according to the price statistics of the Central Statistical Bureau;

8. **For the Paper and Polygraphic Industry:** Price-index for industrial products of the Lietuvos Bankas Bulletin;

9. **For the Foodstuffs and Luxury Goods Industry:** Price-index of provisions of the Lietuvos Bankas Bulletin;

10. **For the Clothing and Footwear Industry:**

(a) For the Clothing Industry, price-index of manufactured goods of the Lietuvos Bankas Bulletin;

(b) For the Footwear Industry, price-index for shoes of the Central Statistical Bureau;

11. **For Electricity Works:** Index of the price of electric current, calculated on the basis of the average value of the production statistics of the Central Statistical Bureau.

The value series, converted in this manner to the prices of 1929, afford an adequately reliable foundation for the calculation of the production index. This course had therefore to be selected because the data at our disposal on the volume of production methodologically differ from one another and are insufficient to enable us to form comparable proportion series for the entire period under review (1929—1937).

Expressed in percentages, the above value figures furnish the following index series of the separate branches of Lithuanian industry (basis year 1929):

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	1929	1930	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
1. Peat-cutting	100.0	87.0	85.4	95.4	92.4	120.2	186.5	216.8
2. Stone & Earth Industry	100.0	113.4	149.1	137.6	156.9	151.3	185.5	229.4
3. Metal & Machinery Industry	100.0	123.6	142.8	129.6	136.1	143.1	217.0	232.3
4. Chemical Industry	100.0	98.3	98.0	91.7	143.3	128.4	143.4	167.6
5. Leather Industry	100.0	114.1	122.0	98.2	111.7	128.0	172.4	215.8
6. Textile Industry	100.0	134.8	166.4	179.9	280.3	296.9	439.3	517.8
7. Timber Industry	100.0	75.8	84.4	88.9	125.3	138.3	154.9	175.6
8. Paper & Polygraphic Industry	100.0	103.8	83.6	67.7	102.1	104.1	124.9	148.8
9. Foodstuffs & Luxury Goods Industry	100.0	102.9	177.8	207.1	172.7	185.4	231.8	238.4
10. Clothing & Footwear Industry	100.0	127.9	161.1	155.1	221.3	261.7	332.2	413.1
11. Electricity Works	100.0	124.4	138.8	139.3	165.2	190.4	210.4	263.7

An analogous conversion of the total amounts would provide a general production index appraised according to the gross value shares. The foregoing inquiry has, however, shown that in consequence of the predominant rôle of foodstuffs production in Lithuanian industry, an appraisement according to gross values would distort the general contingent aspect. An appraisement according to net values, notwithstanding some immaterial nuances, undoubtedly most faithfully portrays the variations of the real economic yield of industry. According to the net value coefficients which, on the basis of the relationships of the gross and net production value for 1937, were correspondingly calculated for each relevant year, adjusted averages supply the following index series of the aggregate industrial production of Lithuania:

Production Index of Lithuanian Industry

1929	1930	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	108.3	140.7	153.7	166.5	185.9	244.2	272.0

These figures generally agree, notwithstanding the deviation in 1932, as regards the development tendency, with the employment index already mentioned and calculated on the basis of the workdays statistics, as also with the index of the

mechanization of Lithuanian industry. For the sake of comparison, we once more quote all three index series, converted to the year 1931: 483

[464]

	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Employment Index	100.0	93.8	93.6	104.4	115.8	128.2	153.7
Mechanization Index	100.0	121.1	136.7	135.0	150.4	156.5	178.7
Production Index	100.0	109.2	·	118.3	132.1	173.6	193.3

The divergent course of the employment index and the production index in 1932, as also the significantly high figure of the latter are the natural result of the enhancement of labour productivity in consequence of the greatly increased mechanization, which the middle index series expresses.

A comparison of the Lithuanian production index with the Index of World Production (without the U. S. S. R.) of the Statistical Section of the League of Nations, published in the „Bulletin mensuel de statistique" in June, 1938, gives the following result:

World Production

1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	88.3	74.8	63.0	71.3	77.0	85.4	95.5	102.5

Production of Lithuania

100.0	108.3	140.7	153.7	·	166.5	185.9	244.2	272.0

This comparison shows that, in spite of the world economic crisis, Lithuanian industry has not been checked in its growth. Thus in 1932, i. e. at a time when world production had suffered a loss of 37% of its position of 1929, Lithuanian production, in comparison with 1929, had risen 53.7%. In the years 1932—1934 the tempo of its development had only slackened, while since 1935 once more a vigorous upward trend has set in, and in 1937 the position of 1929 was more than two and a half times exceeded. This favourable course of Lithuania's industrial production characterizes the foundation period in which the youthful industry of our agricultural land is situated. The re-

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433 tardation of the export of agricultural produce in consequence of the last world economic crisis as also the liquidation of international free trade have, as in many other agricultural countries, also in Lithuania given a stimulus to the accelerated expansion of domestic industry, in order in this way to make good the losses caused by the agrarian crisis.

The enormous discrepancy in the course of both the above compared index series is of course partly attributable to the choice of the basis year, the significance of which is not identical for both the contrasted spheres of production. Whereas for world production 1929 constituted the peak year before the crisis and consequently the starting-point of the new cycle, 1931 was doubtless according to the sense taken as the basis year for Lithuanian industry, as is apparent from the later cited analysis of the production index of separate industrial branches. For the sake of comparison, however, 1932 is the most favourable, because in that year the conjuncture situation of both spheres was relatively most alike. The conversion of both series to the year 1932 furnishes the following result:

1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
World Production								
158.7	140.2	118.7	100.0	113.2	122.2	135.6	151.6	162.7
Lithuanian Production								
65.1	70.5	91.5	100.0	·	108.3	120.9	158.9	176.9

We see from this that in the years 1929—1931 and 1936—1937 Lithuanian production showed a more favourable development than production on a world scale; that in the years 1933—1935 the development of Lithuanian industry lagged behind the tempo of world production; that the production of Lithuanian industry is certainly constantly growing, although its development tempo proceeds more irregularly than that of world production.

The last-named circumstance is still more precisely illustrated by the following comparative figures, which express the occasional percentage variations of production in relation to the past year:

Diagram No. 1.

Index Curve of Lithuanian Industry (1931=100)

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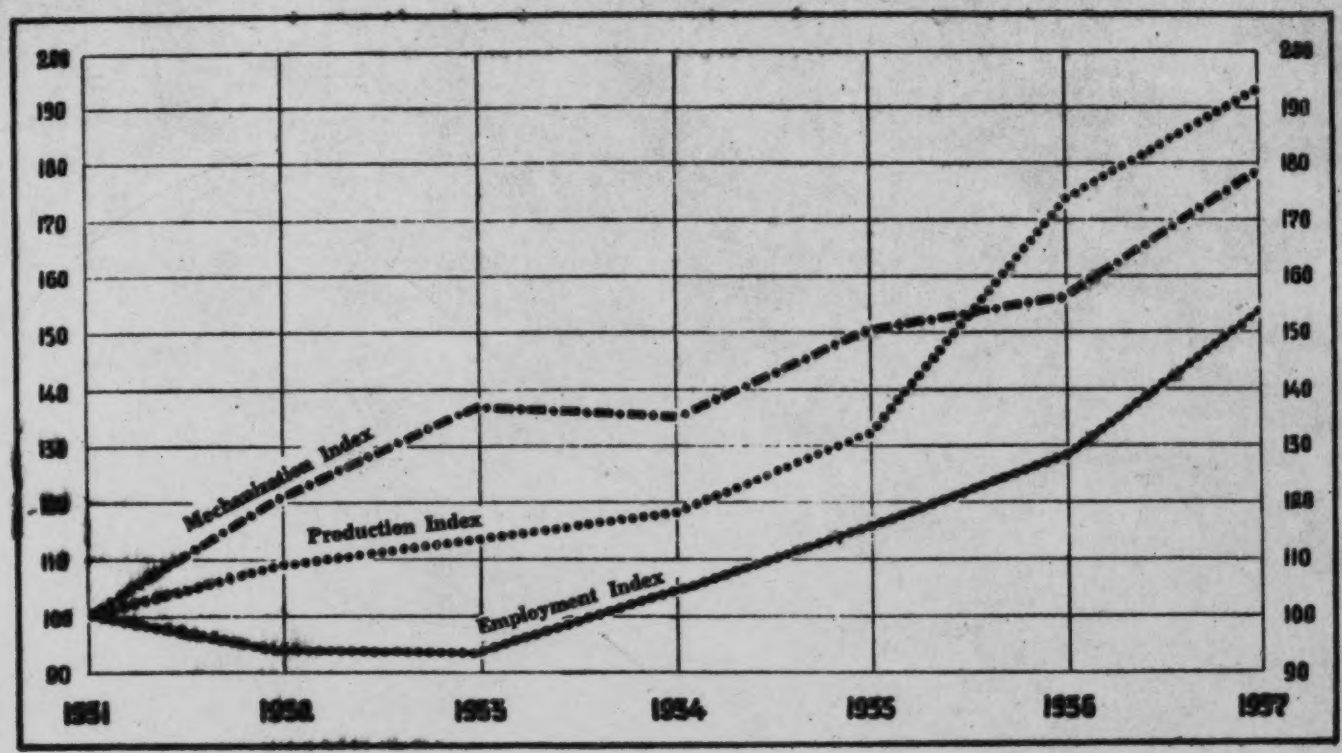

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

433

Production Growth or Fluctuation in Percentages

	1930	1931	1932	1933/34	1935	1936	1937
World	—11.7	—15.3	—15.8	+22.2	+10.9	+11.8	+7.3
Lithuanian	+8.3	+29.9	+9.2	+8.3	+11.6	+31.4	+11.4

To sum up, we may describe as follows the distinctive course of world production and the industrial production of Lithuania disclosed in all three preceding tables:

1. The circumstance that the influence of the world crisis on Lithuanian industry was first discernible in the third year, but that, on the other hand, its restricted operation lasted three years longer, is explained by the agrarian character of the country, while in 1935 also politico-commercial difficulties had a hindering effect.

2. The high final figures of the Lithuanian production index as also its buoyant progress (i. e. in 1931 and 1936) are explained by the low initial stage and new promotions, and the extension of many industrial branches which ten years before were either wholly lacking, viz., the sugar industry, bacon manufacture, rubber goods production, or existed only to a minimum extent, i. e. the textile industry, more particularly, &c.

3. While the slackening of the upward trend of world production in 1937 accentuated the economic crisis which had already in autumn broken out in the United States, the lower percentage of growth of the general index of Lithuanian industrial production in 1937 in comparison with 1936 is to be ascribed chiefly only to the preceding retrogression of corn-milling in consequence of a less favourable harvest and that of meat production in 1937; the restricted upward trend due thereto of the index of the foodstuffs industry was bound to exercise a prejudicial effect upon the development of the general production index, in view of its predominant rôle in Lithuanian industry.

*

* *

The general index of the total industrial production of Lithuania naturally expresses only the average of the occasionally diverse development tendencies of separate industrial branches. Their special production indices show, for example,

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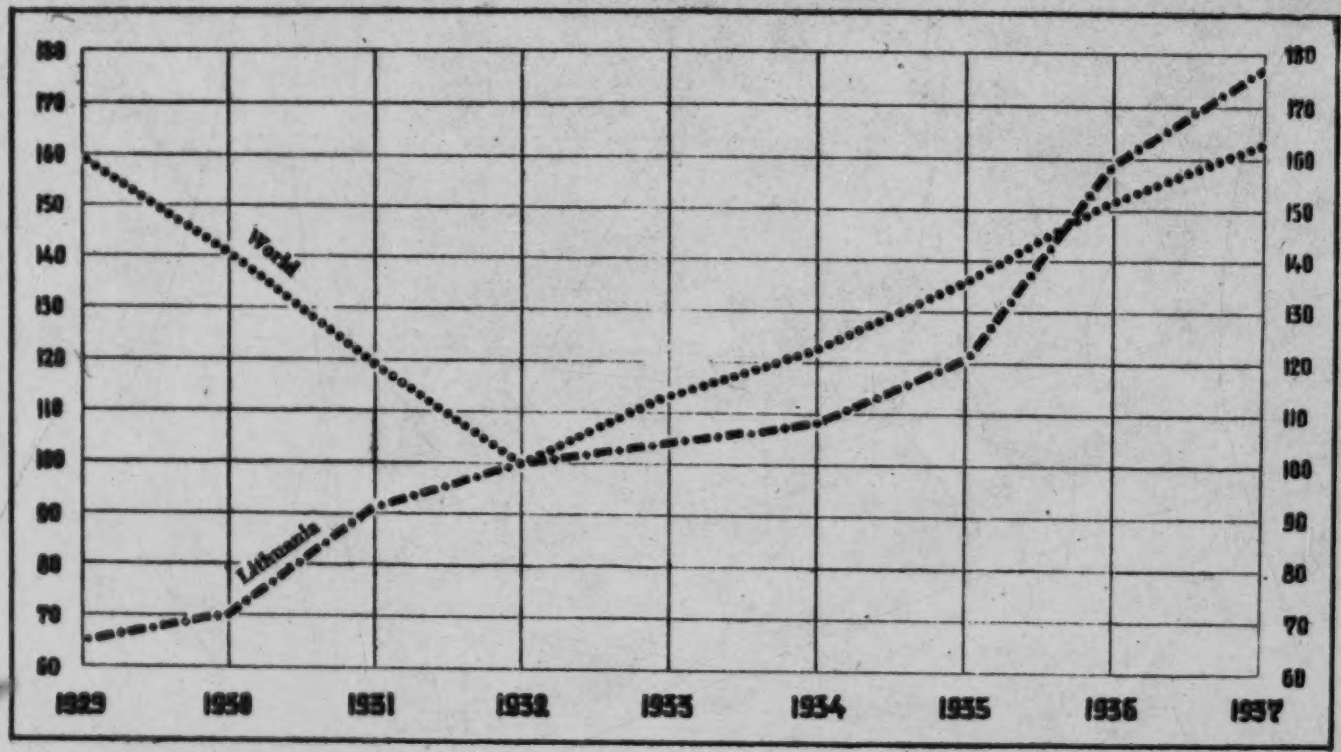
Diagram No. 2

Comparative Indices of Industrial Production (1932=100)



6: Anonymous U-4,5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

433 that several branches had already in 1930 and 1931 suffered a more or less severe recession. The majority, however, grew unhindered until 1931 and for the first time in 1932 the crisis extended to six branches: The stone industry, chemical industry, metal industry, leather industry, paper industry, and clothing and footwear industry. The fact that notwithstanding this stagnation in separate branches of industry, the general production index in 1932 shows no recession, but only a slackening of growth, is in the first place to be ascribed to the establishment of the sugar industry in 1931 and the then upward trend of the meat industry, which since then has not again reached the peak level attained precisely in the crisis years. (In 1937, as already mentioned above, the general contingent aspect of Lithuanian industrial production was influenced in the opposite sense by the foodstuffs industry).

The textile industry and the output of electric current are the separate branches which, since 1929, have uninterruptedly grown. With the exception of the chemical industry and the stone and earth industry, which still in 1935 suffered a setback, the upward trend since 1935 has spread to all remaining branches. The separate branches, however, also now show a more or less divergent development among themselves; they can be correspondingly divided into the following three groups:

1. The first group is composed of the textile industry and the clothing and footwear industry; the production of the former has quintupled since 1929, while that of the latter has quadrupled.

2. The second group belongs to: Electricity works, the foodstuffs industry, the metal and machinery industry, the earth and stone industry, the peat industry, and the leather industry; all these branches have more than doubled their production since 1929.

3. To the third group pertain: The timber industry, the paper and polygraphic industry, and the chemical industry; the production growth for these branches since 1929 amounts to approximately 50—75%.

More detailed data on the development of separate industrial branches are contained in Section B of this chapter (vide „Special Part").

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

3. The Geographical Distribution of Lithuanian Industry

The principal centres of Lithuanian industry are Kaunas, Memel, and Šiauliai. To Kaunas (the city and district) in January, 1938, pertained 37.7%, to the Memel Territory 27.5%, and to the Šiauliai district 10.3%, so that to all three in the aggregate in round figures related three-quarters of all the industrial workers employed in Lithuania. 433 438

The development of the geographical distribution of Lithuanian industry during the last ten years is shown by the following comparison of the relevant statistical data:

	Kaunas		Memel		Šiauliai	
	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers
1929	300	6 762	169	5 695	131	2 525
1930 (June)	315	7 334	182	5 457	129	2 517
1931 (June)	343	7 405	137	5 604	129	2 501
1932 (June)	333	6 868	148	5 094	141	2 340
1933 (June)	339	7 568	139	5 618	129	2 105
1934 (July)	334	8 321	150	6 477	131	2 104
1935 (July)	347	8 435	141	7 215	130	2 214
1936 (July)	354	9 721	141	7 214	132	2 684
1937 (Jan.)	340	10 439	137	7 120	125	2 861
1938 (Jan.)	423	11 972	141	8 354	138	3 126

We see from the foregoing table that the most active development of the Kaunas district shows: The number of the undertakings since 1929 has increased there by 41% and the number of employed industrial workers by 77%. In the Memel Territory during the same interval the number of undertakings has fallen by 16.6%, but the number of workers has risen by 46.7%. Šiauliai displays the smallest increase; the number of undertakings there has risen by 5.3% and the number of workers by 23.8%.

Thanks to this development, the rôle of Kaunas as the most important centre of Lithuanian industry, in comparison with that of Memel and Šiauliai, has not only absolutely but also relatively grown considerably during the last ten years.

From the standpoint of separate industrial branches, there have been concentrated in Kaunas in the first place the metal and machinery industry, the chemical industry (production of rubber goods), the stone industry (glass factories and the treatment of paving-stones), the paper industry, and woven goods manufacture. Besides these preponderating branches, a

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

433 438 considerable part of the wool and cotton spinning and weaving, the timber sawing, furniture manufacture, the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry, &c. is situated in Kaunas.

In Memel is located the largest part of the timber industry (sawing, plywood supply, and cellulose production), the predominant portion of the wool and cotton industry (two-thirds), the artificial fertilizer industry, a considerable share of the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry (meat treatment, tobacco manufacture), &c.

In Šiauliai are concentrated 85% of the Lithuanian leather industry (tanning), nearly 60% of the footwear industry, and two-thirds of the flax treatment industry. In the district of Šiauliai (at Pavenčiai) is situated a sugar factory (the second in Lithuania) which was established in 1935. In Šiauliai itself also four chocolate and sugar ware factories are in operation.

Besides the foregoing three principal centres of industry should also be mentioned: **Panevėžys**, where are situated the biggest Lithuanian milling concerns, also a meat-canning factory of the „Maistas" Company and a large enterprise of the flax treatment industry; **Marijampolė**, with the first sugar factory founded in 1931 and several sawmills; **Plungė** and **Telšiai**, with two of the largest Lithuanian linen factories; **Tauragė**, with a meat wares factory of „Maistas"; **Rokiškis**, with a textile factory (wool weaving) and several dairy-farms; lastly, **Vilkaviškis**, which harbours a third of the Lithuanian underclothing manufacture, an enterprise for fur dressing and the largest bristle treatment concern.

4. The Rôle of the Joint-stock Companies

473

The development of the joint-stock capital invested in industry has proceeded as follows:

Year	Total No. of jointstock Cos.	Share-capital in 1000 litas	Proportion of Foreign Capital
1928	56	69 059	7 600*)
1929	57	70 434	7 400*)
1930	62	85 851	19 400*)

*) Without Memel.

1931	69	89 794	32 433	473
1932	76	90 874	32 547	
1933	84	98 675	34 733	
1934	83	105 979	43 274	
1935	84	105 465	45 207	
1936	85	107 372	44 881	
1937	88	110 883	47 969	

On the strength of these data we may conclude that the financing of industry in the form of share-capital concurrently with the development of wholesale manufacture in Lithuania is constantly growing; it amounts to approximately a third of all capital invested in industry. The number of industrial concerns, which are organized as joint-stock companies, has risen by 57.1% during ten years, from 1928 to 1937, and the total amount of the share-capital by 60.6% in the same period.

The share of foreign capital amounts to 43.3% and is chiefly invested in electricity works, the paper industry, and the chemical industry. The largest portion thereof, i. e. 18 200 000 litas or 35% pertains to-day to Belgium; 12 100 000 litas or 23% to Germany; 6 200 000 litas or 11% to Sweden; and 5 500 000 or 10% to Holland. 471

Approximately 15 000 000 litas represents the investments of the Lithuanian Government, of which the sum of 7 000 000 litas pertains to the „Maistas" Company and 2 700 000 litas to „Lietuvos Cukrus". 652

The share of Lithuanian private capital in the total share-capital invested in industry amounts therefore to 45%. 454

The distribution of industrial joint-stock companies according to individual branches and its development during recent years may be seen from Table No. 2. 473

Thus in 1937 the relatively largest part of the total share-capital pertained to the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry, which possessed 21 undertakings with 27 900 000 litas capital. Among these were 4 mills, 3 chocolate factories, 1 company for sugar production („Lietuvos Cukrus"), 2 undertakings of the meat industry, 3 spirit distilleries, and 4 beer breweries. The number of undertakings has been stationary since 1933; also the capital during the last five years shows only small fluctuations, but in comparison with 1928 it has risen by 66%.

Table No. 2.

The Total Number of Industrial Joint-stock Companies according to Branches and their Capital in 1 000 litas during 1928—1937

	1928		1929		1930		1931		1932		1933		1934		1935		1936		1937	
	No.	Cap.	No.	Cap.	No.	Cap.	No.	Cap.	No.	Cap.	No.	Cap.	No.	Cap.	No.	Cap.	No.	Cap.	No.	Cap.
1. Peat-cutting	1	280	1	280	1	280	1	140	1	140	1	140	1	140	1	70	1	70	1	70
2. Stone & Earth Industry	4	2 610	4	2 610	4	2 480	2	1 250	3	1 430	3	1 430	4	1 530	4	1 530	1	1 330	4	1 450
3. Metal & Machinery Industry	9	19 079	8	18 413	8	16 539	8	16 665	7	18 565	8	16 387	9	16 537	8	16 062	10	16 306	8	16 050
4. Chemical Industry	3	470	5	1 720	5	6 720	5	6 720	7	6 920	10	8 070	9	8 100	9	8 100	9	8 028	10	9 028
5. Leather Industry	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	250	1	250
6. Textile Industry	4	1 850	5	2 400	6	3 600	9	4 860	10	5 260	10	5 360	11	6 560	11	7 035	11	7 055	16	9 705
7. Timber Industry	3	1 762	5	3 168	5	2 062	7	3 162	7	3 662	7	3 662	7	3 662	7	3 662	7	3 662	7	3 185
8. Paper & Polygraphic Industry	6	17 450	7	18 160	8	18 260	9	18 760	11	18 960	12	19 110	10	19 510	10	19 290	9	19 240	8	18 890
9. Foodstuffs & Luxury Goods Industry	21	16 808	16	15 230	16	18 730	19	24 746	19	26 846	21	27 415	21	27 390	21	26 915	21	28 630	21	27 930
10. Clothing Industry	1	750	2	1 250	3	2 240	5	2 890	7	3 190	8	3 700	7	3 150	8	3 300	8	3 300	8	3 225
11. Building Industry	1	500	1	1 000	1	1 000	1	1 000	1	1 000	1	1 000	1	1 000	2	1 100	2	1 100	2	1 100
12. Electricity Works	2	6 000	2	6 000	3	12 400	3	12 400	3	12 400	3	12 400	3	18 400	3	18 400	3	18 400	2	20 000

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanian RB5

473

The next largest item consists of both electricity works with 20 000 000 litas share-capital, which has more than quadrupled during ten years. 473

In the third and fourth place are classed the joint-stock companies from the branches of the paper industry with 18 900 000 litas capital, and the metal industry with 16 000 000 litas capital. The number of related undertakings and therefore also the total sum of capital slightly receded in 1937.

A steep ascent is shown by the number and capital of the companies of the textile branch. The number of companies from 1928 to 1937 rose from 4 to 16 and their capital from 1 800 000 litas to 9 700 000 litas.

The joint-stock companies of the chemical industry during the last ten years also increased from 3 to 10 and their capital rose from 400 000 litas to 9 000 000 litas. In this connexion may be mentioned the foundation of a match company in 1930, „Inkaras" in 1933, and „Guma" in 1937.

The companies of the clothing and footwear industry quadrupled their capital during the last decade, and it now amounts to 3 200 000 litas. Also the share-capital pertaining to the timber industry doubled in round figures during the same interval, and also amounts to 3 200 000 litas.

The capital of the joint-stock companies of the remaining industrial branches is less noteworthy.

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

B. SPECIAL PART

1. The Foodstuffs and Luxury Goods Industry

a. The Structure of the most important Branches

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252

The foodstuffs and luxury goods industry forms the strongest industrial branch of Lithuania. To it in 1937 pertained 28.3% of the total number of concerns (employing 5 or more); 16.5% of the employed workers; 18.3% of the engine horsepower; 41.6% of the gross production value; and 30.6% of the net value of the total Lithuanian industrial output.

The following table illustrates the development of the most important branches during the last ten years:

Special Branches	1927 m.			1931 m.			1937 m.		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Mills	83	778	70	583	4 965	89	713	8 013
Sugar factories	—	—	1	361	3 537	2	1 294	6 820
Sugar wares production	40	760	42	796	686	32	623	800
Meat and canned goods production	20	362	21	620	1 212	22	1 806	3 035
Dairy-farms	4	26	27	129	·	110	438	·
Spirit distilleries	26	284	31	298	1 113	38	283	·
Beer breweries	10	350	9	333	984	11	394	·
Tobacco and cigarettes	12	734	10	733	275	9	594	350

On the basis of the foregoing data, we may arrive at the following conclusions with regard to the development tendency of separate special branches: 433

1. The milling industry showed in 1931, in comparison with 1927, a decline in the number of concerns and their staffs, but in recent years a recovery and an advance ensued. This phenomenon related, however, only to the medium and wholesale concerns appearing in our table, which employ at least five persons. Precisely in the milling industry the small concerns are in an overwhelming majority, and these show quite another development tendency. On the basis of the statistics of the trade licences, we may conclude that the total number of all milling concerns, which in 1928 amounted to 1 334, by 1932 had risen to 1 472, but since then until 1937 a reduction of 1 402 has ensued. It is obvious from the foregoing that the reduction in the number of larger milling undertakings until 1931 was due to the process of decentralization, while, on the other hand, in recent years the concentration tendency, combined with more intensive mechanization, has been in the ascendant. 256 433

2. The creation of the sugar industry followed in 1931, when with the participation of the Government the joint-stock company „Lietuvos Cukrus" was established. The first sugar factory was then put in operation at Marijampolė, and in 1935 the opening of a second factory at Pavenčiai ensued. 257 433 [473]

3. The sugar wares and chocolate industry since 1931 has shown a decline in the number of concerns and of employed workers; but the undermentioned production figures, which reveal constant growth, prove that this phenomenon is solely attributable to centralization and mechanization.

4. The number of concerns of the meat industry is stationary. Its growth is, however, illustrated by the quintupling of the number of employed workers which has taken place since 1927. The joint-stock company „Maistas", to whose capital the Government contributes 7 000 000 litas, assumes a monopoly position. It was founded in 1923, but its activity on a wider scale began in 1930. „Maistas" owns to-day five factories, i. e. at Kaunas, Memel, Šiauliai, Panevėžys, and Tauragė. In each factory the manufacture of bacon takes first place, but sausage wares and ham are also prepared. The concerns at Kaunas and Panevėžys produce also canned goods, that at Kaunas also insu- 253 473 433

253 433 473 lin. Preserving cans are repaired in its own workshops. Moreover, at Kaunas a modern abattoir of „Maistas" has been built for municipal requirements. (The rôle of „Maistas" in our trade is described in the section „Share-capital in Lithuanian Trade").

234 433 5. The dairy-farms show an exemplary growth tempo. The development of Lithuanian butter production is due to the Central Union of Dairy-farming Cooperatives „Pienocentras", concerning whose activity a more detailed report is given in the subsequent section „The Rôle of the Cooperative Societies". The figures contained in the foregoing tables relate moreover only to the larger concerns; the total number of all dairy-farms of the dairy cooperatives included in the production statistics amounted in 1937 to 188.

274 433 6. The number of workers employed in the spirit distilleries remained stationary during the period 1927—1937, whereas the number of concerns rose from 26 to 38.

[464] 7. The development of beer breweries showed no material changes from 1927 to 1931. The number of employed workers since the curtailment between 1932 and 1936 for the first time in 1937 exceeded the figures for 1927.

277 433 8. The number of tobacco and cigarette factories and their staffs has decreased since 1931, which was occasioned chiefly by the decline of consumption during the time of crisis.

From the standpoint of the number of undertakings, the mills and dairy-farms constitute the two strongest groups of the foodstuffs industry. According to the number of employed workers, the meat and canned goods industry and the sugar industry head the list, although it must be borne in mind that as regards the last-named, the production campaign lasts only a few months.

b. The Development of Production

433 The total value of the gross production of the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry in 1937 amounted to 178 300 000 litas and the net production to 50 400 000.

These figures are distributed among separate branches as follows (in 1 000 litas):

Special Branches	1936 Gross Production Value	1936 Share in %	1937 Gross Production Value	1937 Share in %	1937 Value of Raw Material Fuel Consumed Domestic	1937 Value of Raw Material Fuel Consumed Foreign	1937 Net Production Value	1937 Share in %
Mills	18 949	11.4	22 593	12.7	18 431	965	4 196	8.3
Sugar Factories	14 007	8.7	14 301	8.0	8 891	625	4 785	9.5
Sugar Wares	5 860	3.6	6 388	3.6	2 108	1 371	2 909	5.8
Meat and Canned Goods	49 672	30.6	48 580	27.3	34 080*)	519	13 961	27.7
Dairy Farms	44 805	27.8	51 506	28.9	40 895	1 219	9 392	18.6
Spirit Distilleries	3 664	2.3	5 279	2.9	1 886	322	3 071	6.1
Beer Breweries	4 035	2.5	6 602	3.6	952	898	4 752	9.4
Tobacco and Cigarettes	9 239	5.7	9 717	5.5	740	4 663	4 314	8.5

On the strength of the foregoing data, we may conclude that the production values of all special branches of the foodstuffs industry, with the exception of the meat industry, rose in 1937 in comparison with the previous year. The percentage shares of separate branches have also correspondingly shifted. Whereas in 1936 the highest percentage share accrued to the gross production value of the meat industry, in 1937 it fell to dairy-farming. According to net production value, however, the meat industry in 1937 also remained in the first place because the raw material share for butter output constituted almost 80%.

The production index of the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry, calculated on the basis of production value in the previous chapter (excluding price fluctuations), when converted to the basis year 1931, affords the following figure series:

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	116.5	97.1	104.3	130.4	134.1

The foodstuffs and luxury goods industry evinces, in comparison with 1931, the smallest production growth.

The grounds of this development, differing from the other industrial branches, have already been mentioned in the previous

*) Value of the consumed raw material has been estimated at 70% of the gross value.

433 chapter. In the following table are given the data on the production quantities of the most important branches; they fully confirm the accuracy of the development tendency expressed by the index figures.

Production Figures in Tons

	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Wheat and Rye Flour	57 465	54 963	•	48 294	50 576	53 858	48 867
Sugar	6 613	16 191	8 166	15 263	22 136	27 164	28 673
Sugar Wares	•	•	•	1 387	1 484	1 626	1 934
Bacon	19 894	26 869	21 376*)	12 675*)	8 809	10 539	10 153
Other Meat Products	9 770*)	7 660	7 642*)	9 000**)	16 485	16 933	12 858
Butter***)	8 141	10 289	9 854	10 728	13 190	15 835	16 994
Spirits (1000 litres)	3 315	3 016	3 070	2 717	2 723	2 942	5 502
Beer (1000 litres)	11 264	7 194	7 292	6 274	5 284	7 290	14 165
Tobacco (consumed raw tobacco)	983	867	763	697	665	768	769

256 The fluctuations in flour production are naturally connected
433 with the condition of the harvest. The falling-off in production in 1937 was caused by the serious deterioration of the harvest in 1936 in comparison with both preceding years.

257 The youthful sugar industry which, as mentioned above,
433 was first established in the autumn of 1931, had developed its activity to the full only by 1932, and thereby, concurrently with bacon production, brought about the rise of the index, notwithstanding the general crisis, by 16.5 points. After the fluctuations in 1933 and 1934, and in connexion with the opening of a second factory in 1935, our sugar production rose greatly in 1935 and 1936 and to-day, as is clear from the definite curtailment of imports shown in the chapter on foreign trade, fully covers the demand of the domestic market. This also explains the slackening of the further growth in 1937.

439 The fluctuations and the recession of meat production
253 which together with butter production belongs generally to the
234 strongest export branches of Lithuanian economy, while the remaining branches mentioned above serve only the home market, are due to the import quotas and the preference policy of Great Britain, the most important export market for our meat
000 products, vis-à-vis her Dominions. More detailed information

*) Export quantity. In the case of bacon on an average 95% of the production is for export.

**) Estimated.

***) Production of the dairy cooperative societies.

on this subject is contained in the section on the trade turnover of the „Maistas" joint-stock company. 000

The butter production figures specified in the foregoing tables relate only to the quantities supplied by the dairy cooperatives, which are used almost exclusively for export. Nearly the entire domestic demand is covered by the home production of the farmers (the so-called country butter) which it is difficult to judge by statistics. The supply of export butter shows constant growth. In 1937 it doubled in round figures in comparison with 1931, which must be ascribed to the fact that it has held its ground on the world market better than bacon. 234 439 433

Spirit, beer, and tobacco production greatly receded during the crisis. The last two years brought about, in connexion with the general economic revival, a new upward trend; while of course the doubling of beer production in 1937 is to be attributed to the reduction of the price in consequence of the lowering of the excise, and that of spirit supply in part to its compulsory admixture with petrol („Motorin"). 274 277 433

2. The Textile Industry

The textile industry is the second most important industrial branch of Lithuania. It employs the largest number of workers (in 1937, 20.7% of all industrial workers of Lithuania accrued to it); its share in the aggregate engine horse-power amounts to 9.3% and its share in the production value of all Lithuanian industry to over 14% (gross value, 14.9%; net value, 14.3%). 288 432

In the pre-war Lithuania, only approximately 300 workers were employed in this industrial branch. The development of textile undertakings since 1927 is shown by the following comparison: [464]

	1927		1931			1938 (Jan)		1937 (July)
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	55	1 403	60	2 287	2 475	79	7 162	11 673
Including								
Flax Treatment	16	468	10	374	607	10	1 201	1 845
Linen Weaving	3	112	3	200		5	728	
Others								
Textile Industry	36	823	47	1 710	1 868	64	5 233	9 828

288 This table discloses that all branches of the textile industry
433 have appreciably grown since 1927; that the textile industry proper (weaving and spinning) has, however, made much greater progress than flax manufacture. This is explained by the dependence of the latter upon export, whereas the other branches serve only the home market.

Already in the previous chapter it was pointed out that the output of the textile industry since 1929 has shown an unbroken advance, and of all industrial branches of Lithuania has increased the most vigorously. For the sake of comparison with the quantities data, the production index, calculated on the basis of **ad valorem** amounts, is once more quoted as converted to the basis year 1931:

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	108.1	168.4	178.4	264.0	311.2

248 The statistical data on the production quantities of separate
288 special branches are as follows:
433

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Flax and Tow (in tons)	4 550	5 509	1 335	4 331	5 207	5 857
Linen Yarns (in tons)	8.5	44.6	41.6	62.8	91.9	173.8
Cotton Yarns (in tons)	344.1	249.1	391.7	337.9	433.5	973.9
Woollen and Half-Woollen Fabrics (in 1000 metres)	838.8	722	1 335.3	1 384.4	2 466.1	2 411.1
Cotton Fabrics (in 1000 metres)	5 282.4	7 200	11 537.9	12 079.2	14 531.3	15 578.8
Silk Fabrics (in 1000 metres)	61.2	100.1	538.4	771.7	1 139.8	1 240.8

248 In regard to the flax manufacturing industry, it is inte-
439 resting to compare the foregoing production quantities of machine-manufactured flax and tow with the total quantities of our flax exports in the relevant years. These are as follows (in tons):

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
7 710	8 989	10 187	10 427	19 677	16 087

From this comparison it can be seen that the machine- 248
manufactured flax to-day constitutes only a small part of the 433
total exported quantity, i. e. that flax manufactured by the farmers forms the greatest portion. Nevertheless the industrial production shows a relatively more stable course (with the exception of 1934) than the rural supply.

The production of the textile industry proper has since 1931 288
on an average quadrupled. A much more powerful development 433
therein is shown by silk-weaving, which in 1937 produced in round figures twenty times as many silk fabrics as in 1931, owing to the fact that it forms the youngest branch of our textile industry and was founded exactly in 1931.

The growth of the textile industry was undoubtedly pro- 439
moted by the tariff policy (increase of the Customs duty on 651
cotton fabrics in October, 1931, and again in April, 1932, on woollen and cotton fabrics) as also by the licence system (the import of woollen fabrics has been subject to licence since the introduction of the licence system, i. e. since December, 1932; that of cotton and silk yarns since August, 1934). This found expression in the sharp decline in 1932 of the imports of ready-made fabrics by half in round figures of the earlier imported quantity. The textile industry undoubtedly represents, concurrently with the production of knitted goods, the Lithuanian industrial branch best protected by tariff policy, which also explains its rapid growth and the concentration of large-scale undertakings in this branch. Notwithstanding this indisputable fact, it must none the less be recognized that, on the one hand, tariff protection is not equally apportioned (thus, for example, the duties on silk fabrics actually on an average amount to approximately 200% **ad valorem**; on cotton fabrics over 60%; and on linen fabrics only 25%), and that, on the other hand, the high duties on yarns (especially on artificial silk yarn) partially equalize the advantage of the high duties on ready-made fabrics.

3. The Timber Industry

To the timber industry, which may be designated the third 313
most important industrial branch of Lithuania, accrued in 1937 433
16.9% of all the workers employed in the medium and wholesale manufacturing industry; 10.5% of the engine horse-power;

313 9.1% of the gross value, and 9.0% of the net value of the aggre-
433 gate industrial production.

The development of the timber industry since 1927 is shown by the following table:

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	185	3 446	193	4 308	10 676	219	5 346	13 186
Including:								
Plywood production	.	.	3	473	9 812	3	846	11 861
Sawmills	131	2 731	118	2 741		139	3 548	
Cabinet-makers	43	488	60	786	864	64	658	1 325
Other Branches	11	227	12	308		13	294	

It will be seen from the foregoing that the strongest group of the timber industry is formed by the sawmills. Its lower position until 1936 compared with the pre-war period is due to the loss of round timber formerly drawn from the Vilna region.
[464] The vigorous growth of its staff ensued for the first time in 1937. In 1936 the number of workers employed in the sawmills still amounted to only 2 712, a position therefore below the level of 1931. The impetus to the expansion of this branch was given by the greatly increased prices for sawn timber in 1937. The plywood industry, which like the sawmills works for export, had in 1929 already reached the peak of employed workers (851). For the first time in 1937 could the staff be brought again to the same position. The remaining branches, among them the most important, cabinet-making, judged by the dimensions of their staffs, grew only until 1931, and remain, notwithstanding the partial retrieval of the crisis losses, still below the position of that year.

Owing to the exceedingly large share of the special branches of the timber industry working for export, the contingent course of their production has been influenced to a greater degree and more rapidly by the world economic crisis than was the case with other industrial branches. The production index already cited in the previous chapter shows that the timber industry even in 1930 had suffered a setback, and for the first

time in 1934 surpassed the position of 1929. The following index figures, converted to 1931, show indeed constant growth: 313 433

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	105.3	148.5	163.9	183.5	208.0

The data on production quantities are as follows (in 1000 cubic metres):

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Sawn timber	256.5	280.6	304.2	294.7	282.8	335.7
Plywood	5.9	4.7	9.9	9.8	10.0	12.4
Match straws (in tons)	.	.	2 246	2 269	2 322	2 614

It will be seen from these figures that the development of separate production branches does not proceed uniformly. The recovery of sawn timber (this refers chiefly to the working-up of Russian round timber which since 1930 has been imported through the Memel Timber Syndicate) showed from 1932 to 1936 no great changes. For the first time the growth of production quantity in 1937 was able to exceed the position of 1931 by 30%. The plywood supply in 1937 doubled in comparison with 1931. It must, however, be noted in this context that the high position of 1929 (12 425 cubic metres), although caught up, could not be exceeded. The biggest advance is shown by the production of match straws. Its estimated amount in 1931 and 1932 was approximately 1 000 tons, and since then has increased more than two and a half times, i. e. thanks to the expanded export to the United Kingdom and the Dominions (Australia) since 1934. There are no quantity data available in respect of the remaining production branches of the timber industry. The above cited index figures reckoned on the basis of the production value and taking price changes into consideration show that on an average the scope of production of our timber industry has doubled since 1931, but that nevertheless its growth in comparison with 1929 amounts to only 75%.

4. The Paper and Polygraphic Industry.

289 433 464 From the standpoint of importance of its rôle in Lithuanian industrial economy, the paper and polygraphic industry stands in the fourth place. In 1937 there accrued to it 8.1% of all industrial workers; 18.1% of the engine horse-power; 8.4% of the gross value; and 10.8% of the net value of Lithuania's industrial production. According to net production value it ranked correspondingly before the timber industry in the third place. Its development since 1927 is illustrated by the following comparison:

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	52	2 115	61	2 157	8 777	76	2 559	22 602
Including:								
Cellulose and Paper	5	1 133	4	829	8 143	4	1 180	21 675
Paper and Cardboard Wares	9	284	15	365	145	18	371*)	128
Printing Offices and Book-binderies	38	698	42	903	489	54	1 100	799

Already in an earlier chapter it was pointed out that the paper industry belongs to those branches that have grown least since 1929. The index cited therein shows that the paper industry suffered the greatest setback in the crisis years (in 1932 by 32.3%) and in 1937 exceeded its position of 1929 by only 48.8%.

The explanation given in the previous section for the retrogression of timber production holds good also for the [439] paper industry. The cause of the severe recession of the production index of the paper industry in the crisis years lies in the then curtailment of cellulose export (from 60 781 tons in 1929 to 39 384 tons in 1932) and in the high percentage share of cellulose supplies in the aggregate production of the paper

*) Figures for January, 1938, because the July figures do not reflect the complete employment position.

and polygraphic industry which, measured by gross value, in 1937 amounted to 42%, and in 1932, when the paper production proper still hardly existed, to still more. 289 433

In a calculation converted to the basis year 1931, the production index figures for the paper and polygraphic industry are as follows:

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	80.9	122.1	124.5	149.4	177.9

The following statement shows the production quantity figures in tons ascertained for the same years:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Cellulose	39 300	36 800	56 093	53 957	59 208	66 101
Paper	2 800	2 400	6 214	6 921	7 407	8 922
Cardboard	·	830	681	848	1 047	943

On the strength of these data we may conclude that the cellulose production since 1931 has risen approximately 70%, but has exceeded the position of 1929 by approximately only 10%. The rise in the total production of the paper industry by 77.9% since 1931 is due to the growth of paper production which, as a result of the erection of a paper factory at Petrašiūnai in 1933, has since then more than trebled. Thanks thereto our paper imports since 1933 have receded by two-thirds in round figures.

The index figures calculated on the basis of the value amounts naturally reflect also the development of the remaining branches, for which no quantity data are available. This relates in the first place to the printing business, which has vigorously developed in independent Lithuania (the establishment of over 30 new printing offices in the first years of independence), the output of which, however, during the crisis years suffered a setback, which, especially in 1934 and 1935, exerted a restraining influence on the course of the index curve. 2/4

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

5. The Clothing and Footwear Industry.

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The clothing and footwear industry shows in recent years, among all Lithuanian industrial branches, after the textile industry, the most vigorous growth. Its production in 1937 more than quadrupled in comparison with 1929. To this industrial branch in the past year pertained 8.6% of the industrial workers; 5.3% of the gross value; and 6.9% of the net value of Lithuania's industrial output, whereas its share in the aggregate engine horse-power amounted only to 0.7%. The clothing and footwear industry has therefore the weakest degree of mechanization of all industrial branches of Lithuania.

Its structural development since 1927 is shown in the following table:

[464]

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	139	1 607	157	1 994	482	157	2 707	832
Including:								
Output of Woven Goods	20	328	31	669	143	42	1 158	348
Footwear Industry	53	737	43	629	185	48	782	277
Underwear and other Branches	66	542	83	696	114	67	767	207

On the basis of these data one may conclude that while the footwear industry ten years ago represented the leading branch, to-day the woven goods supply (hosiery and knitted wares) heads the list. The number of undertakings of this special branch has doubled since 1927, and the number of its staff almost quadrupled. The total number of workers employed in the production of underwear and in the tailoring and hat industry has since 1927 risen by 43%; and that of the staffs of the footwear industry during the same period only 6%. It would, however, be a mistake to draw therefrom conclusions concerning the development of the scope of production of the two groups. Footwear output, thanks to the construction of its own factories, has grown more vigorously than that of underwear.

Quantity data for the period under review are available only for leather footwear output; they give the following series (in 1000 pairs): 295 433

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
260.4	220.6	270.4	337.2	361.5	532.2

These figures show that footwear production has doubled in round figures since 1931. If, however, we take into consideration the improvement of quality and the introduction of new classes, we may estimate the growth of production at approximately two and a half times, which also the development of the value amounts cited below attests.

Since there are no quantity data available for woven goods production and underwear supply (with the exception of 1937), we must content ourselves with value amounts for the sake of comparison of the development of separate branches of the clothing and footwear industry. Expressed in the prices of 1929, on the basis of the price indices of the Lietuvos Bankas Bulletin for woven goods and of the Central Statistical Bureau for boots and shoes, the following figures (in 1000 litas) afford the relevant production data:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Woven goods	7 217	7 952	11 633	13 374	17 388	20 956
Footwear	6 204	5 080	7 054	9 108	11 660	15 079
Underwear, etc.	2 742	2 529	3 507	3 764	4 271	5 404

These data show:

(a) That the woven goods output also was not checked in its advance during the crisis years and reveals the most vigorous growth, i. e. in 1937 by 190.4% in comparison with 1931;

(b) That the footwear production and the underwear output in 1932 suffered a setback, and that the production growth of the former during the period under review amounted to 143.0% and of the latter to 97.1%.

The average production index of the clothing and footwear industry (appraised according to gross values) adapted to the basis year 1931, gives the following figures:

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	96.3	137.3	162.4	206.2	256.4

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The development of the woven goods and footwear industry was successfully promoted by the tariff policy, i. e. especially by the Laws of October 1931 and August 1934. The woven goods production to-day entirely covers the demand of the home market, and on that account also the imports of foreign goods, which in 1928 still represented 173.3 tons, by 1937 had sunk to only 7.3 tons. The imports of leather footwear, thanks to the consolidation of native production, have also declined, although not by a long way to the same extent. In 1928, they amounted to 36.1 tons; in 1937, on the other hand, to 19.4 tons.

4. The Metal and Machinery Industry.

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The number of workers employed in the metal and machinery industry in 1937 amounted to 2 792 or 8.8% of all the industrial workers of Lithuania. Its share in relation to the total of the engine horse-power amounted to 3.7%; its share in relation to the gross production value to 5.2%; and in relation to the net production value to 6.4%. This industrial branch was in the pre-war Lithuania more highly developed than to-day. In 1913, in the present political territory of Lithuania approximately 4 000 workers were employed in the metal industry. The diminution of the scope of production is due to the curtailment of the outlet for export goods. Nevertheless, during the last two years one can again discern a rapid development tempo.

The comparative figures on the changes in structure since 1927 are shown as follows:

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	94	1 895	95	1 863	3 134	103	2 792	4 677
Including.								
Metal Industry	11	547	20	665	2 781	32	1 190	4 271
Machinery Industry and Means of Transport Production	16	528	19	722		14	1 059	
Mechanical Workshops and Sheet Metal Supply	62	772	51	422	353	46	414	406
Electro-Technical Concerns	5	48	5	34		10	109	

. On the basis of these figures we may conclude that the growth of the staffs relates to the metal and machinery industrial undertakings managed on a factory scale, and to the electro-technical branches, while the more hand-managed locksmith's and tinsmith's workshops slowly but steadily declined. 392 433

The nomenclature of the products of the metal and machinery industry is extremely differentiated, for which reason comparative figures for the production quantities of separate articles are wanting. The most important items consist of nails, wire, zinc-plate, agricultural implements, and various building materials. Nearly a fifth of the ascertained production value of the metal and machinery industry accrues to the output and repair of means of transport (railway-waggons, motor chassis, and shipbuilding), among which, however, the principal rôle devolves upon the workshops of the State Railways. Comparative quantity data for the past years are available only for wire and nails and zinc-sheets; they are as follows (in tons): [397] [396]

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Wire & Nails	4 694	4 421	3 411	3 719	4 324	5 156
Zinc - sheets	.	.	409	495	672	558

The production index of the metal and machinery industry, ascertained on the basis of the ad valorem data and related to the basis year 1931, shows the following course:

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	90.8	95.3	100.2	151.9	162.7

The far more favourable development tendency of the index of total production of the metal and machinery industry than that of wire and nail production, alike in the crisis years and also in relation to the figures for 1937, points to the creation of new branches of production; for example, enamel and aluminium ware has been to a greater extent produced since 1934, &c.

7. The Chemical Industry.

381 433 To the chemical industry in 1937 accrued 4.3% of the industrial workers; 2.3% of the engine horse-power; 4.9% of the gross value; and 6.3% of the net value of Lithuania's industrial production. In pre-war Lithuania there were only two match factories and one fertilizer factory; other branches were almost non-existent. In independent Lithuania many new undertakings are springing up. The development of separate branches proceeds, however, unequally, as we can gather from the following data:

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	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	49	885	48	724	1 244	48	1 344	2 848
Including:								
Match Production	5	326	2	158	213	1	52	140
Soap Production	15	174	15	189	118	12	158	362
Rubber Goods	—	—	—	—		1	620	
Fertilizer Factories	2	109	1	130		1	141	
Colours, Turpentine and Technical Fats	7	69	10	66	913	14	151	2 346
Pharmaceutical and Cosmetic Production	4	30	6	47		9	98	

464 The sharpest decline in the number of undertakings and 381 workers is shown by the match industry. The curtailment in 1931 to two concerns with 158 workers against five undertakings with 326 workers in 1927 may be ascribed to the [655] creation in 1930 of the State Match Monopoly and the transfer [473] of the same to the „Lietuvos degtukų akcinė bendrovė" (Lithuanian Joint-stock Match Company) founded with Swedish capital. The still lower position in 1937 was occasioned by the decrease in consumption, which in the analysis of production 388 will be more closely discussed. The staffs of the soap factories 387 show a slight reduction. The number of the workers employed 464 in the Memel Fertilizer Factory has since 1931 only slightly increased.

increased. Against this, the number of concerns and of workers 278
in the colours and technical fats industry since 1927 has 303
doubled and in the production of pharmaceutical and cosmetic 464
goods trebled. The establishment of a rubber goods factory 383
in 1933 had, however, decisive importance, and to this nearly 464
half of the workers employed in the chemical industry pertained. The second rubber goods factory, established at the end of 1937, was not yet working in the period under review.

The following quantity figures show the development of 381
production of separate branches of the chemical industry for 433
the period 1931—1937:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Matches (in million boxes)	45.8	43.3	39.4	41.1	8.7	14.3
Washing soap and powder (in tons)	3 441	2 226	2 072	2 303	2 595	2 794
Toilet soap (in tons)	.	154	200	200	234	230
Rubber boots (in 1000 pairs)	—	—	772	313	786	986
Superphosphates (in tons)	43 400	37 000	47 100	31 605	18 713	42 972

As has already been explained above, the cutting down of match production has been caused by the decline in consumption during the crisis years. The statistics of sale of matches prove this in a clearer manner. There have been sold (in million boxes):

1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
45.9	42.4	39.4	33.8	26.9	26.9	27.1

The output of washing-soap, which shrank appreciably 493
during the crisis years, has not yet regained the pre-crisis [388]
position in spite of recovery during the last three years. The
production of toilet-soap shows a better course. The produc- [387]
tion of artificial fertilizers proceeds irregularly, and its pro-
gress does not coincide with the contingent economic deve-
lopment. A sharply upward tendency is seen in the production [383]
of the youthful rubber industry. The recession in 1935 was evoked by technical difficulties of the inception period.

In order to be able to form a general idea of the production 387
development of the chemical industry, we must utilize the value 433

381 amounts. The production index of the chemical industry,
433 calculated in this manner and already cited in the previous chapter, shows, converted to the standard of the basis year 1931, the following course:

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	93.6	146.2	131.0	146.3	171.0

The recession in 1932 was induced chiefly by the decline of soap and fertilizer production. The jump in 1934 was prompted by the foundation of the rubber goods factory in the preceding year. The setback in 1935 was caused by the repeated shrinkage of fertilizer production and the transitory stagnation of rubber goods production.

8. The Leather and Hide Industry.

282 In the leather and hide industry in 1937, 1 096 workers or
433 3.5% of the total number of industrial workers were employed.
464 Its percentage share in the volume of engine horse-power amounted to 1.8%; the share in gross production value 4.3%; and in net value of the industrial production of Lithuania, 2.2%. The lower net value rate is due to the high raw material share.

In pre-war Lithuania the leather industry employed nearly 1 500 workers. The present position is therefore, notwithstanding the growth during recent years, still below the pre-war level. On the other hand, more collateral branches are springing up which did not formerly exist, such as fur manufacture, leather ware production, and the bristle industry. Structural variations since 1927 are illustrated in the following comparison:

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	40	657	36	693	2 617	51	1 096	2 313
Including: Leather Output	26	538	22	555	·	22	751	·
Leather Ware Production	1	6	5	29	·	11	78	·
Fur Manufacture	1	5	—	—	—	4	107	·
Bristle Industry	4	43	6	53	·	9	112	·

The leather industry is the sole industrial branch of Lithuania in which mechanization not only has made no progress but the capacity of whose engine horse-power has even declined. The foregoing table likewise shows that the number of undertakings in leather production since 1927 has decreased and since 1931 has remained stationary. Its staffs have, however, increased by 40%. The remaining branches reveal a rapid development tempo, especially fur manufacture. 282 433

Comparative production figures, i. e. both quantity and value data, are available only in a more restricted sense for the leather industry. Since, however, more than 80% of the total production value of this industrial branch accrues to it, the somewhat more animated development of newly-created collateral branches cannot substantially influence the general contingent outlook.

The quantity data on the recovery of the most important kinds of leather since 1931 are collated in the following table:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Sole Leather (in tons)	998	703	1 154	957	1 125	1 366
Chrome leather (in 1000 square feet)	2 149	3 093	2 476	3 443	3 907	4 454
Russia Leather (in tons)	290	264	159	166	319	339
Inner sole Leather (in tons)	225	186	128	217	226	224

The average production index of the leather industry, calculated with regard to the remaining less important kinds of leather, and appraised in accordance with the gross value coefficient, gives the following figures (basis year 1931):

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	80.5	91.6	104.9	141.3	193.3

Sole leather and chrome leather play the most representative rôle, their coefficients on an average constituting 80% of the total value amount of leather production. The somewhat divergent course of the production curve of both these leading

282 classes from 1931 to 1935 has partially been reciprocally com-
433 pensated, which is also expressed in the index figures. The doubling of the scope of production in recent years has also led to a considerable decline of leather imports (in 1933, 59 tons, in 1937, 18 tons), in which connexion a prominent rôle has also been played by tariff policy and import licensing.

9. Electricity Works.

377 In connexion with the constantly progressing mechaniza-
433 tion of industrial concerns, whereby, as was shown in the General Part, the use particularly of electric engines has inten-
464 sively increased (by 149.4% since 1931), the supply of electric energy, together with the textile industry, is the sole industrial branch of Lithuania whose production ascent since 1929 has suffered no recession even in the crisis years. In 1937, there pertained to these branches (in which also gas supply - Memel - managed by the municipalities, and the exploitation of water-works are included) 1.6% of the industrial workers; 30.8% of the engine horse-power; 4.0% of the gross production value; and 9.1% of the net value of Lithuanian industrial production. The far higher net value rate is affected by the share of raw material deductions.

The structural development of this branch since 1927 is shown by the following comparative figures:

1927		1931		
No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H.P.
29	648	30	480	22 799

1937		
No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H.P.
32	523	38 511

377 The data of the production statistics on the energy sold
433 in million kilowatt - hours show the following development of our electric current supply since 1931:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
In Millions of kWh	18.7	18.8	22.3	25.7	28.4	35.6
In 1 000 Litas	12 500	11 880	11 310	12 068	12 851	15 172

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The following indices are calculated on the basis of the foregoing data:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Production Index	100.0	100.5	119.3	137.4	151.9	190.4
Price Index	100.0	94.0	76.1	70.1	67.2	64.2

If we compare the course of this price index with the price - index of industrial raw material and produce of the Lietuvos Bankas Bulletin (vide the chapter on „Home Trade"), we must recognize that the prices of current in 1932 were maintained disproportionately high; that in 1937, on the other hand, the average price in comparison with the previous year, contrary to the general price tendency, abated only negligibly. In the interest, indeed, of mechanization of the industry, a further price reduction would be desirable. [435]

10. The Stone and Earth Industry.

A relatively higher percentage share of the employed industrial workers is apportioned to the stone and earth industry, the most important branches of which consist of brick and glass production. This in 1937 amounted to 2 827 or 9.0%, in which context, however, one must bear in mind that these figures relate only to the summer months, because in winter the brick-kilns are not working. The share in respect of the aggregate engine horse-power was far lower, viz., 3.1%, and the share in respect of the gross production value 2.0% and net 3.7%, which signifies a marked improvement. 324 464 453

This industrial branch in the pre-war Lithuania employed approximately 700 workers. It developed vigorously in independent Lithuania and has during the past decade more than doubled both the number of the staff and the scope of production.

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The structural development since 1927 will be clear from the following table:

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P
Total	94	1 357	104	2 160	2 206	99	2 827	3 826
Brick Production	69	970	74	1 703	2 139	73	2 082	2 924
Glass Production	6	2 077	5	248	67	5	349	902
Other Branches	19	180	25	209		11	396	

It must moreover be observed that during the years 1932—1936 the number of workers suffered a severe recession, and that the position of 1931 was for the first time in 1937 overtaken and surpassed.

The production statistics show the following quantity data:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Brick production (in Millions)	54.4	45.3	42.6	42.2	47.7	60.7
Bottles (in 1 000)	-	2 760	3 780	3 883	4 776	6 762

It is clear from the foregoing that brick output was severely restricted by the crisis and that the upward trend of 1937 exceeds the position of 1931 by only 12%. A far more favourable development is shown by bottle production, which in 1937 was two and a half times as large as in 1932.

The production index of the stone and earth industry, which expresses the average development tendency of separate branches, proceeded as follows (converted to the basis year 1931):

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	92.3	105.2	101.5	124.4	153.8

On the strength of these figures, we may conclude that, on the striking of a balance of production of the total industrial branches, the losses of brick production through the advance of the glass industry were already in 1934 more than compensated. Also the final figures, which signify a growth of 53.8% since 1931, are for the most part to be credited to the account of the glass industry.

11. Peat - cutting.

Peat-cutting forms the weakest industrial branch of Lithuania. In 1937 it employed 2.0% of the industrial workers and disposed of over 1.4% of the engine horse-power. Its production value amounted to only 0.3% of the gross value and 0.7% of the net value of the total industrial production. Its development during the last decade is illustrated by the following statistical data: 382 433 [464]

1927		1931		
No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H.P.
7	603	4	490	612

1937		
No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H.P.
11	629	1 681

Production.

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
In tons	22 799	25 285	24 111	32 614	49 059	57 200
Index:	100.0	111.3	105.7	143.0	215.2	250.9

We see from these figures that the growth of production since 1931 by 150.9% was caused chiefly by the mechanization of cutting, because the number of workers in that time has risen by only 28.4%.

In view of the fact that Lithuania must derive coal from abroad, and that the resources of the peat strata are estimated at 230 000 000 tons, peat-cutting is assured a further advance, the more so that the use of this fuel has been adopted already in more industrial concerns (the sugar factories, for example).

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

A. FOREIGN TRADE

1. Politico-Commercial Review.

651 The general tariff regulations are embodied in the Customs Law of July 19, 1924 (Government Gazette No. 164/1, No. 1153), and the Customs duties in the Customs Tariff of April 3, 1925 (Government Gazette 187/1269); the latter especially has been supplemented and amended by numerous later laws.

[648] On the basis of the decision of the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the three Baltic States to accept the draft of a uniform Customs Tariff elaborated and recommended by a League of Nations Commission, for the purpose of unifying the Customs nomenclature in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, a new Customs Tariff will shortly also be introduced in Lithuania. The preliminary work is already in progress, and a new Lithuanian Customs Tariff will at latest at the beginning of 1940 come into force.

The Lithuanian Customs Tariff recognizes only specific rates, i. e. the duty is levied on the weight of the goods; only for leather footwear and dressed furs is a limited minimum ad valorem duty provided.

Besides the ordinary Customs Tariff, there are also extraordinary Customs rates, which are increased by 200% and are applied to goods from countries with which Lithuania has no commercial treaties.

With the exception of a few articles (untempered iron, round timber, raw wool, raw cotton, artificial fertilizers, agricultural machinery) all goods are subject to duty.

The Customs returns form an important source of State finance, and their share in the total revenues of the Treasury

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651 amounts on an average to 18—19%, whereas all direct taxes, which are paid by commercial undertakings, i. e. the Patent and Profit Taxes altogether attain scarcely more than 2% of the State revenue.

Through this connexion is explained also the finance-customs character of the levies of the Lithuanian Tariff. The majority of the numerous increases of duties, which during the crisis years, chiefly 1931—1934, were enforced, pursued manifestly the object of making good the falling-off in Customs receipts caused by the decrease in imports. Whereas in 1928 the Customs yield represented 20% of the value of the total imports, in recent years it has reached nearly 32%, which was occasioned alike by the decline of prices (under duties on weight the real value of the duty rises when the price of the goods declines) and the raising of the levies.

Among the more important tariff increases with a protectionist tendency during the last ten years should be mentioned:

(a) Increase of duties on leather footwear, cotton fabrics, and knitted goods - the last-named almost doubled - on October 14, 1931 (Government Gazette 365/2487);

(b) Increase of duties on wool and cotton fabrics, on April 11, 1932 (Government Gazette, 385/2654);

(c) Increase of duties on rubber footwear and paper, on May 29, 1933 (Government Gazette, 414/2863);

(d) Increase of duties on paper and knitted goods, on August 14, 1934 (Government Gazette, 453/3160).

The above-mentioned tariff increases pursued chiefly the aim of affording protection to the young home industrial branches of textiles, paper, and rubber wares, which, as is shown further on, has manifested itself in the reduction of the imports of the corresponding articles.

In connexion with the present-day economic upward trend, which has set in especially since 1936 in Lithuania, a tendency to alleviate many rigours of the Customs burden has latterly become noteworthy. To this sphere belong the two following Customs measures:

(a) The lessening, introduced in the interests of the motorization of the country, of the Customs duties on motor-cars, parts and tyres thereof, and duty-free admission of chassis, as from January 28, 1937 (Government Gazette, 566/3926);

(b) Introduction of reduced seasonal duties on tropical 651
fruits for the period from January 1 to June 1, on November 30, 1937 (Government Gazette, 592/4130).

Concurrently with the import duties, on many goods that 439
are subject to export control, in case they are exported not in 651
the prescribed packing or do not conform to the contemplated standard of quality, the export duties are raised and their export is not permitted respectively. The sole object of these measures is to support the fulfilment of standardization and to improve the quality of our export goods. Subject to export control are: Butter, eggs, meat, seeds, potatoes, apples, flax, linseed, casings, bristles, and crayfish.

At the end of 1932, Lithuania was also obliged, in the 651
wake of the import restrictions imposed by other countries, to 439
place her imports under State control. This was effected through the Law of December 22, 1932 (Government Gazette, 401/2751) on the introduction of a licence system, first of all only for the import of 11 articles, i. e. sugar, salt, phosphates, iron, steel, tin, coal, cement, cotton threads and yarn, paper, cardboard, and woollen fabrics. This list of goods subject to licence was appreciably extended by later laws, chiefly by the Law of August 4, 1934 (Government Gazette, 453/3161), whereby the number of articles was increased to 46 and among them knitted goods and cotton fabrics were included; by the Law of February 6, 1935 (Government Gazette, 468/3282), and by the Law of February 15, 1936 (Government Gazette, 523/3631), so that to-day of the 216 articles of the Customs Tariff 134, but actually approximately 85% of the effective imports are subject to licence.

The introduction of the licence system in Lithuania had 457
in view not by any means the stifling of import; it resulted rather only from regard to the structure of the trade-balance. Before the last economic crisis, i. e. at the time when world trade was still not subject to any import and currency restrictions, the question of trade-balances with individual countries played no great rôle because it was easily possible by means of an export surplus achieved with certain countries to equalize an import surplus recorded in trade with others. Ever since, however, foreign trade began to develop chiefly along compensation and accounting lines, the transference of balances has encountered difficulties. Thus in 1932, viz., the last year

457 before the introduction of the licence system in Lithuania, we had only two active and fourteen passive trade-balances with sixteen countries to which accrued approximately 85% of our foreign trade turnover. Thanks to the licence system, already in 1937 eight balances became active. This therefore shows us that the licence system successfully fulfils its purpose. The statistical data in regard thereto are later cited.

Later than elsewhere, for the first time at the end of 1935, likewise with a view to adaptation to the restrictions in force in most neighbouring countries, exchange control was introduced in Lithuania. The Regulations concerning this matter are contained in the Law on Transactions in Foreign Currency of October 1, 1935 (Government Gazette, 501/3480) and in the Decree regarding operations with foreign currency of November 14, 1935 (Government Gazette, 509/3537).

In connexion with exchange control, Lithuania has concluded special clearing agreements with several countries where currency business is also State controlled. Through the Lietuvos Bankas (Bank of Lithuania) accounting accounts are conducted to-day with Germany, Finland, Greece, Italy, Latvia, and Hungary.

648 439 With all the more important trade clients Lithuania has concluded politico-commercial agreements. The following list comprises a comparison of all the ratified and at present valid commercial agreements of Lithuania with 21 States:

List of the existing Valid Commercial Agreements of Lithuania with other Countries.

1. **Belgium - Luxemburg:**

(a) Provisional Commercial Agreement of August 16, 1928 (Government Gazette, 289/1897).

(b) Arrangement on the application of the foreign Commercial Agreement also to the Belgian Congo and the Belgian mandated territory of Ruanda-Urundi, of February 10, 1936, ratified on February 29, 1936 (Government Gazette, 524/3636).

2. **Brazil:**

Provisional Commercial Agreement of September 28, 1937 (Government Gazette, 599/4198).

3. **Denmark and Iceland:**

(a) Commercial and Navigation Treaty with Denmark of March 21, 1930, ratified on March 14, 1931 (Gevornment Gazette, 352/2405). 648 439

(b) Commercial and Navigation Treaty with Iceland, of March 21, 1930, ratified on March 14, 1931 (Government Gazette, 352/2406).

4. **Germany:**

(a) Commercial and Navigation Treaty of October 30, 1928, ratified on February 12, 1929 (Government Gazette, 295/1951).

(b) Goods Agreement of August 5, 1936.

(c) Accounting Agreement of August 5, 1936 (both published in Government Gazette, 552/3839).

(d) Agreement on small frontier communication of August 5, 1936 (Government Gazette, 552/3840); all three Agreements ratified on August 21, 1936.

(e) Arrangement on the extension of the duration of validity of the Economic Agreement of August 5, 1936, signed on June 19, 1937, ratified on August 2, 1937 (Government Gazette, 584/4061).

(f) Arrangement on the extension of the duration of validity of the Economic Agreement of August 5, 1936, signed on June 25, 1938, ratified on July 30, 1938 (Government Gazette, 617/4366).

5. **Estonia:**

Commercial Agreement of January 13, 1934, ratified on April 22, 1934 (Government Gazette, 443/3101).

6. **Finland:**

(a) Provisional Commercial Agreement of October 6, 1928, in force since October 15, 1928 (Government Gazette, 289/1898).

(b) Agreement on the extension of the most-favoured-nation treatment of June 21, 1932, in force since October 1, 1932 (Government Gazette, 398/2731).

(c) Clearing Agreement of April 12, 1938, ratified on May 31, 1938 (Government Gazette, 611/4303).

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7. **France:**

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(a) Modus Vivendi of July 18, 1928, in force since August 15, 1928 (Government Gazette, 283/1810).

(b) Appended Agreement to Modus Vivendi of April 9, 1932, ratified on June 28, 1932 (Government Gazette, 387/2661).

(c) Extension of Modus Vivendi to the French colonies and protectorates, of September 21, 1935 (Government Gazette, 511/3543).

8. **Great Britain:**

(a) Commercial Agreement of May 6, 1922, in force since May 6, 1922, together with Exchange of Notes on its application to the British colonies and protectorates, of April 24 and September 29, 1923, in force since September 29, 1923, ratified on March 24, 1926 (Government Gazette, 231/1497).

(b) Exchange of Notes on the application of the above Commercial Agreement to Canada, of July 17 and August 31, 1928, in force since September 15, 1928 (Government Gazette, 283/1811).

(c) Exchange of Notes on the application of the foregoing Commercial Agreement to India, Ireland, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and Tasmania, of December 11 and 12, 1928, („Lietuvos sutartys su svetimomis valstybėmis" — Treaties of Lithuania with foreign States) — International Treaties, No. 95).

(d) Commercial Treaty of June 6, 1934, ratified on July 17, 1934 (Government Gazette, 454/3162).

(e) Exchange of Notes of February 6, 1935, on the rectification of the Customs duties on oranges in the Commercial Treaty of June 6, 1934 (Government Gazette, 482/3372).

9. **Holland:**

Commercial Agreement of June 10, 1924, ratified on March 24, 1926 (Government Gazette, 231/1503).

10. **Italy:**

Commercial Agreement of September 17, 1927, ratified on January 17, 1928 (Government Gazette, 270/1746).

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11. **Japan:**

Commercial and Navigation Treaty of May 2, 1930, ratified on June 9, 1931 (Government Gazette, 371/2537). 648 439

12. **Latvia:**

(a) Commercial Treaty of April 10, 1935, ratified on April 13, 1935 (Government Gazette, 481/3367).

(b) Clearing Agreement of April 10, 1935, ratified on April 13, 1935 (Government Gazette, 481/3368).

(c) Appended Arrangement to the Clearing Agreement of November 30, 1936, ratified on December 14, 1936 (Government Gazette, 562/3898).

13. **Norway:**

Commercial and Navigation Treaty of December 21, 1923, ratified on July 31, 1924 (Government Gazette, 172/1195).

14. **Portugal:**

Commercial Agreement of April 12, 1932, ratified on May 11, 1932 (Government Gazette, 384/2648).

15. **Rumania:**

Commercial Agreement of March 28, 1931, ratified on June 9, 1931 (Government Gazette, 362/2473).

16. **Sweden:**

(a) Commercial Agreement of February 17, 1924, ratified on March 24, 1926 (Government Gazette, 231/1505).

(b) Arrangement on Certificates of Origin, of July 1, 1937, in force since August 1, 1937 (Government Gazette, 587/4093).

17. **Switzerland and Lichtenstein:**

(a) Provisional Commercial Agreement of October 28, 1922 and

(b) Exchange of Notes on its application to Lichtenstein, of March 15, 1925, ratified on March 24, 1926 (Government Gazette, 231/1506).

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18. **Czecho-Slovakia:**

Commercial Agreement of April 27, 1923, ratified on October 26, 1923 (Government Gazette, 144/1030).

19. **Hungary:**

(a) Commercial and Navigation Treaty of May 16, 1929, ratified on November 12, 1929 (Government Gazette, 314/2118).

(b) Accounting Agreement of November 12, 1937, ratified on December 30, 1937 (Government Gazette, 597/4170).

20. **U. S. S. R.:**

(a) Arrangement on the reciprocal granting of most-favoured-nation treatment, of September 24, 1928 (Government Gazette, 285/1848).

(b) Protocol and Exchange of Notes on the legal status of commercial representatives of the U. S. S. R. in Lithuania and on the reciprocal transit communication of August 29, 1931, ratified on September 20, 1931 (Government Gazette, 306/2499).

21. **United States of America:**

Commercial Agreement of December 23, 1925, ratified on March 24, 1926, in force since July 10, 1926 (Government Gazette, 231/1496).

Trade negotiations are at present proceeding with several other nations, including Turkey, the Argentine, and latterly with Poland.

As regards the contents of the above enumerated agreements, it should be noted that they all without exception contain the most-favoured-nation clause. Nevertheless the most-favoured-nation treatment which, on the part of Lithuania, is assured to the other countries, does not extend to the concessions which Lithuania grants to both the other Baltic States, i. e. Latvia and Estonia.

[651] Reduced treaty Customs duties have been arranged only with Latvia, Estonia, France, and Great Britain.

The overwhelming majority of the commercial agreements quoted in the above list were concluded during the last ten years. An impetus to accelerated conclusion of commercial

agreements with Lithuania was imparted by the introduction of the Extraordinary Tariff through the Law of September 24, 1928 (Government Gazette, 284/1828), whereby goods from non-treaty countries are subject to a double duty on import into Lithuania. Through the later Law of December 22, 1931, (Government Gazette, 372/2544) this Tariff was raised to 300% of the ordinary Customs levies. In connexion therewith an important rôle in the imposition of import duties is played by certificates-of-origin, which must prove that the goods proceed from a country to which the increased duties are not applied. Certificates-of-origin are recognized as legally correct if they are drawn up by the Lithuanian diplomatic and consular representatives abroad or by the chambers of commerce, chambers of agriculture and custom-houses of the country of origin. With Estonia, Italy, Latvia, Sweden and the U. S. S. R. special arrangements on this subject have been effected as the result of which certificates-of-origin drafted by other public bodies are recognized as valid. In lieu of certificates-of-origin, other documents (invoices, bills-of-lading, &c.) may also be submitted, which, however, must be legalized by the Lithuanian representation abroad. Legalization is also required for all certificates-origin which are drawn up in respect of goods intended for re-export, originating from third countries, with the exception of Germany, where certification may be effected through chambers of commerce and agriculture or through a custom-house.

For mail parcels no certificates-of-origin are demanded, if the article is sent direct from the country of origin.

Besides the above enumerated commercial agreements, Lithuania has concluded special compensation arrangements with various countries, including Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Switzerland, and the U. S. S. R. These are renewed annually, and the scope of reciprocal goods traffic and the import quotas respectively determined.

In the goods agreement with Germany the creation of an arrangement unknown in erstwhile politico-commercial practice, i. e. a mixed economic commission, has been provided for, which is to superintend the development of goods traffic at periodical conferences. This new arrangement appears to have justified itself.

2. General Trade Balance.

439 A summarized statement of the development of Lithuania's foreign trade during the last ten years is afforded by the following table:

Lithuania's Foreign Trade from 1928—1937, in Million Litas.

Year	Turnover	Exports	Imports	Balance
1928	548.0	256.9	291.1	—34.2
1929	636.3	329.8	306.4	+23.4
1930	646.2	333.7	312.4	+21.3
1931	551.0	273.1	277.9	— 4.8
1932	356.0	189.1	166.9	+22.2
1933	302.4	160.2	142.2	+18.0
1934	285.9	147.2	138.7	+ 8.5
1935	280.9	152.3	128.6	+23.7
1936	346.5	190.5	156.0	+34.5
1937	420.9	208.3	212.6	— 4.3

We see from these figures that the value peak level of Lithuania's foreign trade turnover, i. e. for both export and import, was reached in 1930. The following years brought a recession, which lasted, as to exports, until 1934, and as to imports, until 1935. During the last two years fresh activity has set in, whereby imports have risen somewhat more rapidly than exports.

With the exception of 1928, 1931, and 1937, the trade balance was active. The total balance for all ten years together is likewise active and amounts to 108 300 000 litas. The passive balance of 1937 is due to the fact that in consequence of the intensive swing of Lithuanian economy and the stimulation arising therefrom of the demand of the home market, our imports of both raw materials for industry and of ready-made goods for consumption, have grown more rapidly than exports.

The above-mentioned **ad valorem** recession of the Lithuanian foreign trade turnover from 1931—1935 probably derives from the general crisis of world trade, but it displays a far more favourable development than the latter. The recession of Lithuania's foreign trade first set in in 1931, and was nothing like so severe as that of world trade. This is clearly shown

439 by the following comparison of the relevant figures (world trade figures according to the data of the League of Nations „Bulletin mensuel de statistique"):

The Ad Valorem Development of World Trade and of Lithuania's Foreign Trade in Indices (1929=100).

	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
World (gold value)	81.0	57.9	39.1	35.2	33.9	34.7	37.4	46.2
Lithuanian (in Litas)	101.5	86.6	55.9	47.5	44.9	44.1	54.4	66.1

We see from the above that in 1937 world trade ad valorem was less than half the level of 1929, whereas the recession of Lithuania's foreign trade amounted to only one-third. The difference in the incidence of the nethermost level (World, 1934; Lithuania, 1935) was not due to contingent but politico-commercial causes, viz., the conflict with Germany.

A still more favourable picture of the development of Lithuania's foreign trade is given by an examination of the volume of trade. The severe ad valorem recession of world trade has notoriously been occasioned not so much by the shrinkage of the quantities as, in the first place, by the decline of prices. The index of trade prices in gold, also calculated by the Statistical Section of the League of Nations, shows the following figures:

1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
87.0	67.5	52.5	46.5	43.5	42.5	43.5	47.5

Taking the foregoing price indices as a basis, we can easily calculate that, expressed in the prices of 1929, Lithuania's foreign trade turnover would demonstrate the following sums (in million litas):

1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
742.8	816.3	678.1	650.3	657.2	660.9	796.5	886.1

We have purposely used for this conversion the gold price-index of the League of Nations and not the Lithuanian price-

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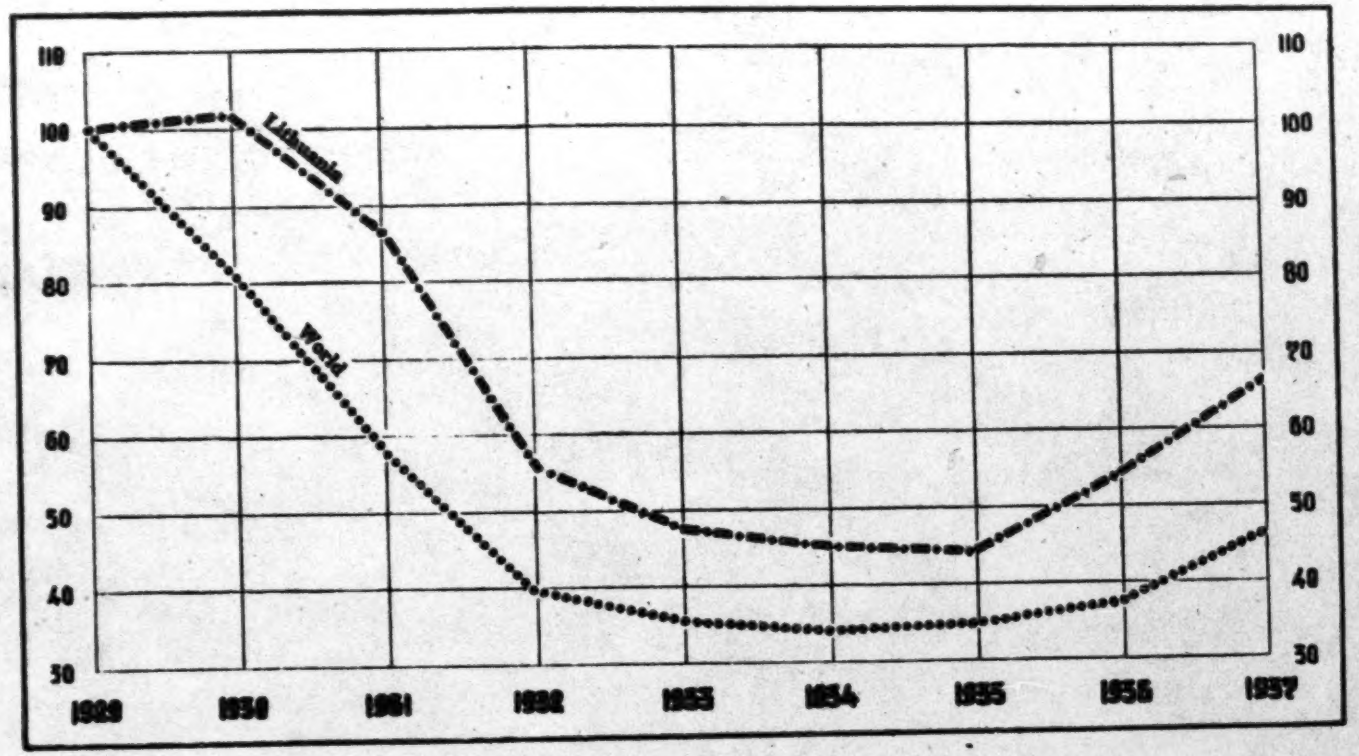
Diagram No. 3. **The ad valorem Development of World Trade and of Lithuania's Foreign Trade in Indices (1929=100).**



6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

index, because the latter is calculated on the basis of the retail prices of the home market, and for foreign trade the world market prices are authoritative. 439

On the basis of the foregoing figures we can now deduce a comparison between the quantitative movement of world trade and that of Lithuania's foreign trade (the figures for the volume of world trade are taken from the League of Nations statistics):

The Development of the Volume of World Trade and of Lithuania's Foreign Trade in Indices (1929=100).

	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
World	93.0	85.5	74.5	75.5	78.0	82.0	85.9	97.5
Lithuania	116.7	128.3	106.6	102.2	103.3	103.9	125.2	139.3

These index figures show us that the development of the quantitative scope of Lithuania's foreign trade from 1932—1935 was, of course, checked in its growth by the influence of the world trade crisis, but that, nevertheless, the scope of Lithuania's foreign trade, even at its nadir in 1933, remained above the position of 1929, and during the entire crisis did not once fall below it. Whereas the volume of world trade even in 1937 could not yet again attain the position of the earlier high trend, Lithuanian foreign trade had already exceeded it by nearly 40%.

In the operation of the development, indicated above, of Lithuania's foreign trade, Lithuania's share in world trade during the last decade has also grown appreciably, i. e. by 75%. This is shown by the following table:

Lithuania's Share in World Trade from 1928—1937 (in Percentages).

	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
In World Trade Turnover	0.08	0.09	0.12	0.14	0.14	0.13	0.12	0.12	0.14	0.14
In World Export	0.08	0.10	0.13	0.15	0.15	0.14	0.13	0.14	0.16	0.14

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

439

In World Import

0.08	0.09	0.11	0.13	0.12	0.11	0.12	0.10	0.12	0.14

Lithuania's share in world export of several separate goods shows, moreover, a considerably higher percentage than the above-quoted figures, and a still greater increase during recent years.

Lithuania's Share in World Export of Several Goods (In Percentages)

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Flax	2.84	3.23	2.91	3.30	2.61	3.64	3.42	5.69	4.66
Live Pigs	3.35	5.23	4.07	1.82	1.41	3.28	6.24	5.53	6.60
Bacon	0.07	0.86	3.18	4.35	4.48	3.22	2.40	2.93	2.63
Butter	0.79	1.38	1.52	1.82	1.67	1.62	1.98	2.35	2.50

All these figures attest in a convincing manner the success of our foreign trade.

3. The Structure of Export and Import.

The inner structure of Lithuanian export and import during the last ten years, i. e. its division according to commodity groups, is evident from the following two tables.

I. Lithuanian Export from 1928—1937 according to Commodity Groups.

Year	Live Animals		Comestibles		Raw Materials & Semi-Manufactures		Ready-made Goods	
	Mil. Lt.	%	Mil. Lt.	%	Mil. Lt.	%	Mil. Lt.	%
1928	35.0	13.6	56.2	21.9	146.0	56.8	19.5	7.6
1929	62.1	18.8	74.9	22.7	170.0	51.5	22.6	6.9
1930	70.1	21.0	131.5	39.4	119.5	35.8	12.6	3.8
1931	35.8	13.1	156.7	57.4	67.0	24.6	13.4	4.9
1932	12.6	6.7	113.8	60.2	53.5	28.3	9.2	4.9
1933	13.4	8.4	86.8	54.2	50.4	31.5	9.5	5.9
1934	12.4	8.5	63.0	42.8	59.9	40.7	11.8	8.0
1935	10.6	7.0	75.4	49.5	56.3	37.0	9.8	6.5
1936	20.9	11.0	90.2	47.4	72.6	38.0	6.7	3.5
1937	25.0	12.0	83.7	40.2	91.9	44.1	7.6	3.7

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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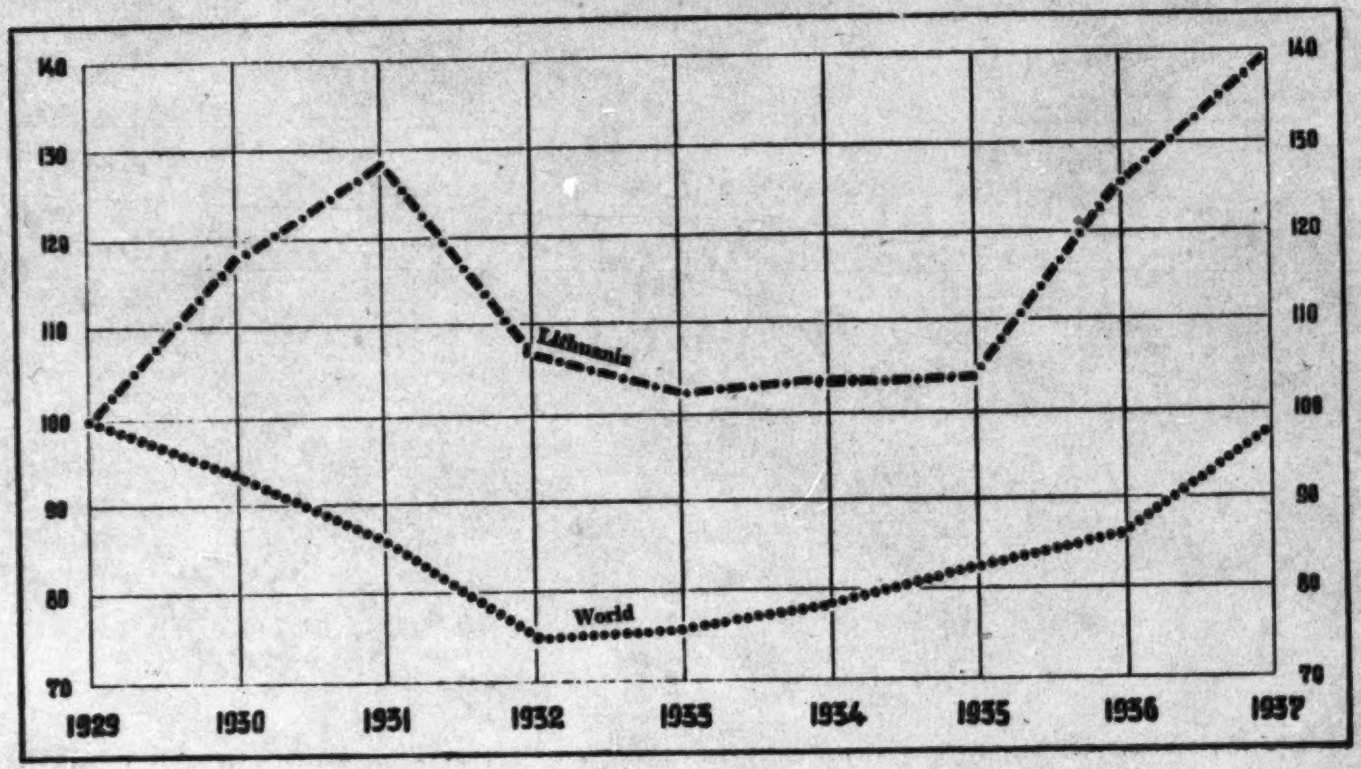
The Development of Volume of World Trade and of Lithuania's Foreign Trade in Indices (1929=100).

Diagram No. 4.



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II. Lithuanian Import from 1928—1937 according to Commodity Groups.

Year	Live Animals		Comestibles		Raw Materials & Semi-Manufactures		Ready-made Goods	
	Mil. Lt.	%	Mil. Lt.	%	Mil. Lt.	%	Mil. Lt.	%
1928	0.1	0.03	50.9	17.4	74.7	25.7	165.1	56.7
1929	0.1	0.03	55.6	18.1	85.0	27.8	165.4	54.0
1930	0.3	0.09	38.9	12.4	84.2	26.9	188.9	60.5
1931	0.2	0.07	27.9	10.0	72.0	25.9	177.6	63.9
1932	0.03	0.02	17.1	10.3	49.1	29.4	100.2	60.0
1933	0.05	0.04	10.8	7.6	49.2	34.6	81.5	57.3
1934	0.03	0.03	11.1	8.0	48.9	35.2	78.0	56.3
1935	0.02	0.02	8.1	6.3	45.8	35.6	72.8	56.6
1936	0.08	0.05	9.3	6.0	56.4	36.1	88.4	56.6
1937	0.2	0.1	10.4	4.9	81.5	38.3	120.2	56.5

The first table shows that to-day approximately half the Lithuanian export accrues to cattle and foodstuffs; more than two-fifths consists of industrial raw materials. During the crisis years the exports of raw materials receded far more rapidly than those of comestibles, which caused the collapse of the percentage share of raw materials from 56.8% in 1928 to 24.6% in 1931, whereas simultaneously the percentage share of comestibles rose nearly three times. In connexion with the revival of world economy, the share of raw materials has again grown, without, however, attaining the pre-crisis position, which has been occasioned alike by the development of the Lithuanian foodstuffs industry and the heightened demand of the home market for raw materials in connexion with the expansion of domestic industry. The fluctuations in the share of live animals are attributable chiefly to the former stagnation of exports to Germany.

The structural changes of import, which the second table illustrates, show an appreciably more regular development than that of export. The explanation of this phenomenon may lie in the fact that export is to a far greater degree dependent upon contingent fluctuations of the world market and is with much greater difficulty amenable to State interventionist measures than import, which is closely associated with the economic development of the home country. The above-quoted figures

reflect the influence of her imports: whereas the percentage share of foodstuffs and luxury goods constantly falls, owing to the rise of home production (sugar, &c.), the share of individual raw materials has risen almost without intermission, even during the period of crisis, since 1931. The imports of ready-made goods have ad valorem and especially quantitatively, in consequence of the increased consumption in recent years, absolutely grown considerably, but their percentage share in the total imports has remained unchanged. 439

4. Analysis of Export according to Goods.

In conformity with the agrarian character of the country, Lithuania exports almost exclusively agricultural products. Lithuanian exports are therefore confined chiefly to a few commodities which, thanks to this circumstance, attain a relatively large percentage share on the world market, as has already been shown above. To the six principal export articles, i. e. live pigs, bacon, butter, flax, timber material, and cellulose, pertain approximately three-quarters of the total export. Divided according to separate economic branches, in the exports of 1937 the commodity ratios were as follows:

Cattle and Poultry Breeding	115.5	mil.	Lt	or	55.4%
Including:					
Pig-breeding	45.1	„	„	„	21.6%
Dairy-farming	42.1	„	„	„	20.2%
Poultry-farming	9.8	„	„	„	4.7%
Forestry	50.3	„	„	„	24.1%
Including:					
Sawn Timber	16.5	„	„	„	7.9%
Cellulose	14.9	„	„	„	7.1%
Vegetable Growing	37.7	„	„	„	18.1%
Including:					
Flax and Linseed.....	31.1	„	„	„	14.9%
Total:	203.5	„	„	„	97.6%

The development of the export of separate commodities during the last ten years is shown in the attached Table No. 3.

437 On the strength of these figures we may conclude that this development in relation to separate commodities proceeds unevenly. Thus, for example, the export of horned cattle in recent years has very greatly receded and in 1937 reached lees than a tenth of the position in 1928. On the other hand, the export of butter during the same period has simultaneously risen about sixfold. The export of live pigs from 1932—1934 considerably receded, but during the last three years has again risen far above the position of 1928. The export of meat, wherein that of bacon has the biggest share, increased approximately sevenfold from 1928—1932, but has since suffered a loss of more than half the position attained in 1932. The export of live poultry maintained a high position until 1933, and since then has receded about two-thirds. Egg export, after the stagnation from 1933—1935, again shows a rising tendency and has gone beyond the position of 1928. Grain export forms a particularly uncertain item of Lithuanian export. In years of good harvest it amounts to over a hundred thousand tons, but when the harvest is bad, it is wholly discontinued or even prohibited. Timber export suffered recessions in 1931, 1932, and 1935; otherwise it remains fairly favourable. In 1937 it stood above the position of 1928, but below that of 1929. More favourable was the development of the export of cellulose and of ready-made wood wares, which since 1934 has stood above the position of 1928 and constantly rises. Flax export, under the influence of the world economic crisis, has suffered very severely. From 1928—1933 it receded by half in round figures. Since 1934, however, it has again increased nearly twofold, and has gone beyond the position of 1928 by approximately 50%, but in connexion with the fall of prices on the world market towards the end of 1937, a new stagnation made itself felt.

Briefly summarizing we may say that the relatively favourable course of the development of Lithuanian export during the world economic crisis has to thank the advance of dairy-farming and the meat working-up industry. It has already been mentioned in the preceding chapter that these are concentrated in both the leading dairy-farming organizations of Lithuania, viz., „Pienocentras" and „Maistas". Their great rôle in export trade will be discussed in the following section.

439

Table No. 3.

The Most Important Commodities of Lithuanian Export from 1928—1937.

Commodities	1928		1929		1930		1931		1932		1933		1934		1935		1936		1937	
	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt
I. Live Animals:																				
Horses in 1000	21.2	9.8	20.7	11.4	20.8	10.3	10.4	5.5	8.7	2.3	17.0	4.3	17.4	4.7	15.3	3.4	14.9	5.6	13.4	4.9
Horned Cattle in 1000	28.1	7.5	39.9	14.5	36.2	12.9	19.5	6.0	16.4	2.5	11.8	2.5	9.3	2.0	0.3	0.1	4.1	1.6	2.5	1.4
Pigs in 1000	44.5	11.5	100.2	28.9	156.0	38.7	109.5	19.3	33.7	2.9	21.7	2.7	46.1	5.2	104.8	7.1	116.9	11.7	137.7	16.3
Poultry in 1000	571.7	6.0	626.6	6.9	720.0	7.8	714.0	4.9	854.7	4.8	766.7	3.9	161.0	0.5	0.3	0.0	246.1	1.5	250.5	1.5
II. Comestibles:																				
Meat (fresh, bacon, &c.)	1 959	6.8	5 394	18.8	13 340	47.9	29 664	81.6	34 905	56.8	29 018	53.4	17 908	37.2	14 495	23.7	15 540	29.8	15 574	31.1
Butter	2 643	20.3	4 084	31.4	7 357	46.9	8 705	47.2	9 926	41.8	9 580	22.9	9 671	14.7	12 154	24.4	14 629	35.2	15 058	41.4
Eggs	3 502	14.4	2 985	12.8	2 958	11.9	3 279	10.0	2 462	6.3	1 560	3.3	1 046	1.7	1 511	2.1	3 793	4 9	4 228	5.9
Grain	5 233	2.8	1 750	0.6	34 315	9.3	22 691	6.2	2 273	0.6	2 321	0.6	17 150	2.7	150 193	17.4	120 810	12.2	—	—
Leguminous plants	6 987	3.3	4 313	1.9	5 657	1.7	8 172	2.2	3 687	0.9	4 313	0.9	8 069	1.7	11 830	3.0	9 752	2.3	5 795	1.6
III. Raw Materials & Semi-manufactures:																				
Raw Hides & Furs	4 465	17.8	2 779	16.0	1 992	8.3	1 364	4.8	1 868	3.0	3 235	3.4	2 657	3.6	2 316	3.5	1 432	4.5	1 728	6.2
Animal Hair & Feathers	213	2.1	228	3.7	167	2.4	138	1.4	154	1.1	167	0.9	151	0.8	179	1.2	243	1.4	251	1.8
Seeds	8 269	9.3	25 764	26.7	21 598	17.9	12 555	9.6	9 202	5.9	7 062	3.4	8 859	6.2	15 833	8.6	26 008	10.9	22 979	11.2
Timber	271 710	33.6	354 960	44.8	268 760	29.1	144 269	15.3	150 659	11.9	290 774	16.1	331 980	19.7	182 205	16.5	232 583	17.6	282 292	29.5
Cellulose	47 880	26.9	60 781	38.3	53 898	32.6	36 173	21.1	39 384	19.4	47 751	15.8	57 334	14.6	52 189	10.3	57 206	10.6	68 621	14.8
Flax	13 176	46.6	11 530	32.1	10 198	19.6	7 710	9.1	8 989	9.1	6 459	7.2	10 187	11.2	10 427	14.1	19 677	25.1	16 087	24.0
IV. Ready-made Goods:																				
Leather	6	0.2	14	0.4	38	0.5	233	3.1	171	2.2	266	1.9	380	2.7	203	1.6	15	0.2	317	1.2
Timber Products	8 466	12.9	9 126	16.7	4 816	8.1	5 124	7.1	3 946	4.5	5 903	5.8	9 819	8.3	11 532	6.5	9 240	5.2	13 085	5.9

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

P 81

81

439

Table No. 4.

The Export of Several more Important Commodities according to Countries.

	1928		1929		1930		1931		1932		1933		1934		1935		1936		1937	
	to	%	to	%	to	%	to	%	to	%	to	%	to	%	to	%	to	%	to	%
Live Pigs, Number	44 524	100	100 249	100	156 030	100	109 491	100	33 669	100	21.768	100	46.130	100	104 832	100	116 952	100	137 675	100
Of which to:																				
U.S.S.R.	—	—	—	—	5 261	3	11 788	10	—	—	—	—	23 360	51	99 172	95	89 927	77	91 946	67
Germany	41 643	93	94 629	94	148 211	95	97 367	89	28 200	84	8 769	40	9 421	20	31	0	23 897	20	44 208	32
Bacon	150	100	316	100	4 104	100	18 157	100	25 132	100	21 378	100	12 675	100	8 605	100	10 287	100	9 878	100
Of which to:																				
Great Britain ..	150	100	316	100	4 048	99	18 157	100	25 132	100	21 041	98	12 675	100	8 567	99	10 158	99	9 857	99
Butter	2 643	100	4 084	100	7 357	100	8 705	100	9 926	100	9 580	100	9 671	100	12 154	100	14 629	100	15 058	100
Of which to:																				
Great Britain ..	168	6.4	672	16.4	1 304	17.7	2 052	23.4	3 777	38.1	5 503	57.4	7 432	76.8	9 234	75.9	10 806	73.9	10 299	68
Germany	2 395	90.6	3 308	80.9	5 863	79.7	5 855	67.3	5 485	55.3	3 016	1.2	414	4.3	837	6.9	1 215	8.3	1 233	8
Palestine	—	—	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	120	31.5	172	1.8	26	0	990	6.7	2 554	17
Flax	13 176	100	11 530	100	10 198	100	7 710	100	8 989	100	6 459	100	10 187	100	10 426	100	19 673	100	16 088	100
Of which to:																				
Great Britain ..	6 403	48.6	4 166	36.1	4 421	43	2 388	31	2 706	31	2 059	32	4 264	42	3 962	38	9 672	49	8 594	53
Czecho-Slovakia	173	1.3	187	1.6	61	0	10	0	44	0	122	2	2 856	28	2 051	20	2 514	13	2 539	16
Sweden	718	5.4	544	4.7	774	7	1 007	13	956	11	598	9	686	7	827	8	1 643	8	1 667	10
France	336	2.6	138	1.2	106	1	164	2	512	6	146	2	178	2	1 420	14	2 347	12	1 427	9

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

p82

439

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

p 83

Linseed	6 993	100	24 660	100	20 124	100	11 157	100	7 709	100	6 016	100	6 401	100	12 749	100	23 807	100	20 679	100
Of which to:																				
Belgium	23	0	114	0	390	2	749	7	340	4	148	2	585	9	973	8	4 637	19	4 337	21
Czecho-Slovakia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 109	9	6 179	26	3 940	19
Holland	118	2	3 921	16	2 751	13	880	8	662	8	373	6	139	2	923	7	2 275	9	3 252	16
France	983	13	492	2	104	0.5	—	—	84	1	170	3	665	10	3 146	25	2 389	10	2 919	14
Cellulose	47 880	100	60 781	100	53 898	100	36 173	100	39 384	100	47 751	100	57 334	100	52 189	100	57 206	100	68 621	100
Of which to:																				
Great Britain ..	14 234	30	26 987	44	27 336	51	19 515	54	15 717	40	15 894	33	16 939	29	24 336	47	26 847	47	25 031	36
U.S.A.	2 397	5	5 883	9	3 825	7	2 918	8	1 912	5	15 384	32	18 323	32	8 502	16	14 797	26	18 357	27
France	463	1	8 649	14	15	0	1 069	3	1 712	4	1 728	4	6 052	11	3 313	6	10 182	18	15 005	22
Planks & Boards	52.452	100	60 539	100	45 195	100	39 679	100	54 054	100	88 666	100	82 759	100	121 796	100	118 019	100	115 002	100
Of which to:																				
Great Britain ..	1 489	3	2 398	4	4 676	10	11 105	28	25 037	46	43 893	49	29 894	36	65 197	53	66 071	57	68 815	60
Holland	—	—	2 115	4	319	0	8 891	25	14 819	27	16 060	18	14 034	17	20 628	17	15 967	14	15 941	14
France	—	—	2 940	5	4 930	11	2 462	6	850	1.5	2 316	3	7 163	8	10 884	9	12 413	10	9 530	9
Germany	49 089	93	44 082	73	27 980	62	12 867	32	12 134	22	17 604	19	15 545	19	2 821	2	9 837	8	7 006	6
Veneer	6 570	100	7 535	100	3 862	100	3 673	100	2 718	100	3 710	100	5 393	100	5 924	100	5 743	100	6 250	100
Of which to:																				
Great Britain ..	2 978	46	3 868	51	2 607	67	2 468	67	1 698	62	2 264	61	3 684	68	4 673	79	5 049	88	5 080	81

439 The distribution of the export of several more important commodities according to country and the changes occurring therein during the last ten years are shown in the attached Table No. 4. According thereto two-thirds of the live pigs are exported to the U. S. S. R. and one-third to Germany. Export to the U. S. S. R. has risen only during the last three years. From 1928—1932 Germany still took approximately nine-tenths of the export quantity. After the stoppage in 1935, Germany's share is again upon the up-grade.

Great Britain alone takes over the entire bacon export.

More than two-thirds of Lithuania's butter export also go to Great Britain. Meanwhile Germany's share between 1928 and 1935 shrank from 90% to nil, and has since during the last two years risen 17%.

Half the flax export in round figures pertains to Great Britain. Among the other more important customers, Czecho-Slovakia, Sweden, and France should be mentioned.

The export of linseed is not so strictly concentrated in separate countries as the above-mentioned goods. It is distributed among Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, Holland, and France.

The same remark applies to cellulose; this is in approximately equal portions exported to Great Britain, the U. S. A., and France. In 1937 Great Britain's share declined and that of both the other countries has increased.

Sawn timber up to 60% goes to England. Holland occupies the second place. Here also is the same re-grouping as with butter worthy of note. Germany's share, which in 1928 exceeded 90%, shrank to 6% during subsequent years.

Veneer is exported chiefly to Great Britan.

5. Analysis of Import according to Commodities

Lithuanian import is more differentiated than export. The most important share pertains to the imports of textiles (raw materials, yarns, and fabrics). In 1937 they amounted to 22%. Then followed iron, various metals, and wares thereof with 18%. In the third place stand machinery and apparatus with 12%, and in the fourth petroleum and coal with approximately 9%.

A detailed review of the development of the import of the most important commodities during the last ten years is afford-

439 ed by the attached Table No. 5. It reflects pretty clearly the course of Lithuania's economic life.

The agrarian crisis in the years 1931—1934, its subjugation, and the fresh economic revival during the last three years are illustrated by the figures on the import fertilizers. During 1930 the imports of phosphates reached 115 000 tons. In 1934 they sank to 55 000 tons, but in 1937 again reached 95 000 tons.

Very characteristic is the development of the imports of industrial raw material and semi-manufactures, which, in connexion with the industrialization of our country even during the general world economic crisis either receded only negligibly or not at all, and during the last two years rose tremendously. This concerns in the first place the imports of coal, petroleum, and combustibles generally; iron and steel, and especially wool, cotton, and yarns, the import of which from 1928 to 1937 has nearly quadrupled.

The import of cement from 1932—1935 showed recession; it did not nevertheless fall below the level of 1929. During the last two years not only were the losses made good, but the position of 1928 has been doubled, owing to the upward trend of construction.

The imports of machinery and motor-cars rose strongly during 1937, i. e. those of the former have doubled, which reflects the rise of industrial production, and of the latter even quadrupled, which was occasioned by the reduction of the duties.

Simultaneously with the rise in the imports of an entire series of articles which are required for the establishment of home industry, the import of many ready-made products has receded, because the demand now either wholly or in part can be covered by domestic production. The relevant statistical data can be seen in Table No. 6.

Thus soon after the establishment of the first sugar factory at Marijampolė in 1931, the imports of foreign sugar fell off approximately by half. After the second factory had been erected at Pavenčiai in 1935, sugar imports almost entirely ceased.

The erection of the rubber factory „Inkaras" at Kaunas and of the paper factory at Petrašiūnai in 1933 has brought about a sharp drop in rubber and paper ware imports.

The development of the domestic textile industry caused the decrease of the import of ready-made fabrics. This, it is

439

Table No. 5.

The Most Important Commodities of Lithuanian Import from 1926—1937.

Commodities	1928		1929		1930		1931		1932		1933		1934		1935		1936		1937	
	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt
I. Comestibles																				
Fish (Herrings, &c)	14 895	9.2	18 616	11,5	15 704	9.9	11 844	6.5	10 718	4.4	7 936	3.1	9 670	2.9	7 258	2.2	9 770	3.4	11 690	4.0
Fruit & Berries	1 646	2.6	1 658	2.8	2 464	3.5	2 600	3.1	1 770	1.8	1 619	1.4	1 539	1.3	1 158	1.1	1 236	1.3	1 385	1.3
Coffee, Cocoa & Tea	596	2.9	662	2.9	671	2.5	675	2.1	618	1.6	563	1.3	533	1.0	689	1.1	689	1.0	622	1.2
Salt	26 345	2.4	30 727	2.3	30 812	2.0	34 031	2.3	34 077	2.2	34 111	2.1	32 910	1.7	39 825	1.9	32 674	1.7	32 515	1.6
II. Raw Materials & Semi-Manufactures																				
Raw Hides & Furs	1 306	5.5	1 636	5.0	1 998	4.6	2 650	4.2	1 652	2.4	1 698	2.7	2 284	3.4	1 499	2.4	2 062	3.9	2 435	6.3
Fertilizers	106 512	15.1	103 964	15.5	115 219	15.8	89 407	10.5	64 331	6.8	65 539	6.7	55 776	5.7	65 546	4.7	71 524	5.6	95 790	7.3
Tobacco	1 088	3.2	1 236	3.8	937	3.2	1 086	3.4	777	2.3	881	2.5	937	3.2	331	1.0	727	1.8	936	2.7
Iron & Steel ..	21 265	7.6	17 882	6.6	24 557	8.3	25 381	6.7	20 516	4.1	24 906	5.3	24 406	5.3	22 958	4.6	32 055	6.4	40 030	11.2
Petroleum	31 414	9.7	31 585	9.9	39 250	11.4	39 896	10.3	38 497	7.9	37 207	6.9	38 743	6.4	38 136	6.2	40 305	6.1	46 188	6.7
Coal	196 684	11.3	268 206	14.6	225 703	12.1	263 588	13.3	244 784	9.9	252 573	8.6	250 965	7.8	242 318	6.8	270 114	8.1	306 203	10.7
Cement	46 902	4.7	50 047	4.6	63 526	5.8	87 994	6.8	67 256	3.7	60 870	2.6	58 483	2.3	57 958	2.3	74 022	2.9	95 744	4.3
Wool	285	1.4	365	2.7	335	1.9	299	1.4	256	1.2	383	1.7	394	2.1	410	1.9	473	2.5	541	3.4
Cotton	226	0.6	196	0.7	259	0.8	369	0.7	327	0.6	272	0.5	480	0.7	1 379	2.3	1 688	2.8	2 453	4.3

III. Ready-made Goods																				
Paints & Varnish	386	1.5	415	1.6	495	2.1	462	1.9	487	1.8	466	2.2	592	2.3	596	2.2	748	2.5	782	2.5
Chemical Products	4 747	5.4	5 220	5.9	4 620	4.8	4 608	4.5	4 504	3.7	5 335	3.8	6 358	4.7	5 861	4.1	6 704	4.2	7 955	4.9
Woollen Yarns..	134	2.2	126	2.4	130	2.3	170	2.6	145	2.0	254	3.3	311	4.3	353	4.2	568	7.0	625	8.4
Woollen Fabrics	392	13.6	364	14.9	448	17.4	467	15.5	292	7.7	198	4.9	176	4.1	213	4.2	264	5.5	259	6.0
Cotton Yarns ..	786	6.0	900	7.4	1 549	12.0	1 525	8.8	1 827	7.9	2 228	8.9	2 138	7.9	1 833	7.4	2 119	8.7	1 944	8.6
Cotton Fabrics.	2 050	28.8	1 569	25.3	1 887	29.4	1 829	25.4	971	11.8	926	10.8	866	9.4	751	7.6	1 165	11.1	1 176	11.1
Paper & Paper Wares	5 064	7.0	5 278	7.2	5 499	7.5	5 491	6.7	5 547	5.2	2 613	2.8	1 699	2.2	1 519	1.9	2 303	2.6	1 993	2.6
Glass E Glass Wares	2 382	2.6	2 071	2.4	2 924	2.9	2 676	2.7	2 849	1.9	1 405	1.2	1 852	1.3	2 283	1.4	2 891	1.6	3 207	1.9
Iron & Steel Wares	16 525	16.4	16 489	17.5	21 085	20.7	26 491	20.6	20 256	11.7	16 382	9.3	14 872	8.6	13 310	7.5	15 364	8.7	30 513	16.5
Electrical Machinery ..	441	1.9	562	2.9	551	3.2	488	2.9	393	2.5	275	1.6	581	2.1	594	2.1	497	1.9	712	2.7
Industrial Machinery ..	3 792	13.3	3 730	14.2	4 415	10.0	5 719	18.8	2 654	8.2	2 034	5.9	2 140	6.5	2 337	6.3	2 132	8.5	4 180	15.4
Agricultural Machinery ..	2 335	4.6	2 126	4.5	2 307	4.5	2 687	5.0	1 415	2.0	1 067	1.3	949	1.1	958	1.1	837	1.2	1 967	2.5
Motor-cars	727	5.5	494	3.6	657	4.8	563	3.9	171	1.2	125	0.8	308	1.6	240	1.1	472	1.9	1 866	7.5
Scientific Apparatus & Instruments ..	212	3.7	177	3.7	205	4.5	235	5.6	174	3.7	152	3.2	169	3.3	275	5.8	255	4.1	361	6.3

439 true, in connexion with the growth of consumption during the last two years, has somewhat risen, but remains nevertheless to-day at approximately a half behind the position of 1928—1931.

The extremely sharp recession of knitted goods import has certainly been evoked directly by protectionist measures (the increase of the duties and the licensing of import). An important rôle was, however, played by the establishment of three undertakings for woven goods manufacture in Kaunas, i. e. the firm of Uljamperliai Bros. and the joint-stock companies „Cotton" and „Diana".

The import of leather and leather footwear has also receded under the influence of the intensification of domestic industry, inter alia the establishment of the „Batas" and „Lithuania" firms, etc.

6. Analysis of Export according to Countries.

The development of Lithuania's export trade from 1928—1937, according to separate countries, is shown by the attached Table No. 7. It contains data on the exports to sixteen countries to which in 1937 in all 97.3% of our exports related.

We see from this table that during recent years almost half Lithuania's export has gone to the United Kingdom.

This high share and the first place among customer-countries for Lithuanian products fell to Great Britain for the first time in 1932, until when Germany had headed the list of Lithuania's foreign markets. The agrarian-protectionist import restrictions introduced in Germany since 1932, on the one hand, and various misunderstandings of a non-economic character, on the other, caused a sharp curtailment of our exports to Germany from 1932—1935. Since the conclusion of a new economic agreement in 1936 Lithuanian - German trade has again revived and shows a fresh upward tendency.

The two following tables illustrate the structure of exports to Great Britain and Germany during the last three years:

Table No. 6.

The Recession of Import of Various Commodities into Lithuania (in tons).

Commodities	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Sugar	20 018	27 384	31 754	25 957*)	15 471	3 199	12 359	3 040**)	3 277	414
Leather	89.8	116.2	118.8	99.5	51.7	58.8	39.0	16.3	16.4	18.6
Leather Footwear	36.1	30.2	43.3	113.9	30.5	48.1	12.6	11.5	16.3	19.4
Rubber Goods	523.0	605.0	636.5	680.2	617.2	652.3	276.7	180.3	191.8	268.2
Soap	181.7	319.3	303.7	162.4	59.6	9.7	32.4	6.7	15.6	26.0
Woollen Fabrics	392	364	448	467	292	198	176	213	264	259
Cotton Fabrics	2 050	1 569	1 887	1 829	971	926	866	751	1 165	1 176
Knitted Goods	173.3	134.5	116.5	77.5	24.9	18.0	14.7	4.2	5.7	7.3
Paper & Paper Wares..	5 064	5 278	5 499	5 491	5 547	2 613	1 699	1 519	2 303	1 993

*) Establishment of a Factory.
**) Establishment of a second Factory.

439

Lithuania's Exports to Great Britain (in 1 000 litas)

Commodities	1935	1936	1937
Total Exports	69 513.7	92 152.9	96 581.3
Including:			
Bacon	17 404.5	22 584.3	22 827.9
Butter	18 301.9	25 541.0	27 944.4
Eggs	1 386.5	3 660.0	3 913.8
Boards & Planks.....	6 580.8	5 622.2	9 144.5
Cellulose	4 569.8	4 907.5	4 866.6
Veneer	3 636.0	3 479.3	3 607.7
Flax & tow	5 177.3	12 434.0	12 921.3

Lithuania's Exports to Germany (in 1 000 litas).

	1935	1936	1937
Total Exports	5 435.2	20 598.9	34 479.3
Including:			
Live pigs	2.3	4 045.9	7 503.8
Live poultry.....	0.6	1 492.1	1 534.9
Beef	2.5	246.5	1 168.9
Slaughtered poultry and game	369.9	1 003.0	1 129.9
Butter	63.1	2 928.3	7 588.9
Eggs	4.1	542.0	1 532.1
Boards & planks	355.6	2 290.5	1 886.4
Flax & tow	34.7	1 384.1	923.1

Until 1931 Latvia occupied the third place in Lithuania's export trade. For example, in 1929 our export to that country reached 30 500 000 litas and a share of 9.2% in the total export trade. To be sure the bulk of the commodities then exported to Latvia (for example, flax for about 7 700 000 litas and linseed for about 6 200 000 litas) was re-exported by Latvian customers, so that actually exports to Latvia were also smaller. The agrarian-protectionist measures introduced since then in Latvia have resulted in a sharp fall of Lithuanian exports to that country.

At present, i. e. since 1934, the U. S. S. R. stands in the third place in Lithuania's export trade. She imports from Lithuania chiefly live pigs and also hides and leather.

439

Table No. 7.

Lithuania's Export Trade from 1928—1937 according to Countries.

Countries	1928		1929		1930		1931		1932		1933		1934		1935		1936		1937	
	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%
Total Export	256.9	100.0	329.8	100.0	333.7	100.0	273.1	100.0	189.1	100.0	160.2	100.0	147.2	100.0	152.3	100.0	190.5	100.0	208.3	100.0
Including:																				
Great Britain	52.3	20.3	57.4	17.4	65.0	19.5	90.4	33.1	78.3	41.4	71.6	44.7	62.7	42.6	69.5	45.6	92.1	48.4	96.6	46.4
Germany	148.3	57.7	195.9	59.4	199.9	59.9	125.4	45.9	74.0	39.1	52.5	32.7	31.8	21.6	5.4	3.6	20.6	10.8	34.5	16.5
U. S. S. R.	3.6	1.4	1.3	0.4	5.1	1.5	8.2	3.0	6.7	3.5	2.7	1.7	7.5	5.1	13.1	8.6	10.1	5.3	11.0	5.3
France	4.2	1.6	3.9	1.2	2.2	0.7	2.6	0.9	2.9	1.6	3.2	1.9	4.3	2.9	7.1	4.7	8.6	4.5	9.8	4.7
Holland	5.4	2.1	10.7	3.2	6.8	2.0	4.9	1.8	3.9	2.1	3.8	2.4	4.6	3.1	7.9	5.2	5.5	2.9	9.5	4.6
Belgium	4.3	1.7	4.3	1.3	6.8	2.0	10.7	3.9	3.4	1.8	4.4	2.8	6.4	4.3	11.9	7.8	10.5	5.5	7.8	3.7
Czecho-Slovakia	0.8	0.3	0.9	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.06	0.2	0.1	1.3	0.8	4.4	2.9	5.6	3.7	7.1	3.7	7.0	3.4
U. S. A.	2.4	0.9	4.4	1.3	2.6	0.8	2.0	0.7	1.0	0.5	5.3	3.3	4.8	3.2	2.9	1.9	6.7	3.5	6.8	3.3
Sweden	3.1	1.2	2.4	0.7	3.9	1.2	1.8	0.7	1.9	1.0	1.0	0.6	2.6	1.7	3.5	2.3	5.6	2.9	4.7	2.2
Palestine	0.08	0.04	0.2	0.05	0.1	0.04	0.1	0.03	0.05	0.03	0.4	0.2	0.8	0.5	2.0	1.3	2.9	1.6	3.4	1.6
Switzerland	0.04	0.02	1.1	0.3	0.6	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.5	0.3	0.7	0.5	2.6	1.7	1.9	1.0	3.4	1.6
Denmark	1.9	0.7	3.9	1.2	4.4	1.3	3.0	1.1	1.1	0.5	2.4	1.5	4.6	3.1	5.7	3.7	5.1	2.7	2.6	1.3
Austria	0.2	0.08	0.05	0.01	0.05	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.1	0.07	1.4	0.9	1.2	0.8	1.7	0.9	2.2	1.0
Latvia	17.4	6.8	30.5	9.2	22.9	6.8	15.1	5.5	4.4	2.3	5.3	3.3	4.8	3.2	3.7	2.4	3.4	1.8	1.7	0.8
Finland	0.02	0.01	0.3	0.09	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.02	0.01	0.04	0.03	0.1	0.1	0.8	0.5	1.4	0.7	1.1	0.5
Estonia	0.14	0.06	0.2	0.06	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.07	0.15	0.08	0.15	0.1	0.4	0.3	1.3	0.9	0.7	0.4	0.9	0.4

439 To France, who holds the fourth place among Lithuania's foreign markets, cellulose, flax, linseed, and sawn timber are predominantly exported.

The principal staples of our exports to Holland are pulp wood, boards and planks, linseed, and calf-skins.

To Belgium go chiefly cellulose, sawn timber, and linseed; to Czecho-Slovakia flax and linseed; to the United States, cellulose and frozen pork; to Sweden, flax; to Palestine, butter; to Switzerland, frozen pork and butter; to Denmark, horses and aspen. The separate items of export to other countries are relatively insignificant.

The development of the distribution of Lithuanian export according to individual countries during the last five years has brought into prominence as a favourable phenomenon the fact that, instead of a concentration of exports on two or three countries, as had formerly been the case, to-day it is capturing an ever increasing number of foreign markets, with the tendency through their simultaneous service to protect itself against sudden reactions, which can occur when, on any ground, export to one market comes to a standstill. The successful fulfilment of this decentralization tendency reveals itself in the fact that whereas until 1932 approximately 80% of export fell to Great Britain and Germany and only 20% to all other countries, in recent years the share of both the above-mentioned countries has sunk to approximately 60%, and that of the remainder has risen to 40%.

7. Analysis of Import Trade according to Countries.

On the strength of the contrasted statistical data in Table No. 8 on the development of Lithuanian import from separate countries during the last ten years, we may conclude that in contradistinction to export, import for long has been less centralized and distributed among a greater number of countries.

The sequence of countries according to the size of import values is, however, not identical with that of export, because between export and import in the trade with separate countries important discrepancies existed and even now still exist.

The problem of our commercial policy is therefore not so much directed to a further decentralization as, on the contrary,

Table No. 8.

Lithuania's Import Trade from 1928—1937 according to Countries.

Countries	1928		1929		1930		1931		1932		1933		1934		1935		1936		1937	
	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%
Total *Import*	291.1	100.0	306.4	100.0	312.4	100.0	277.9	100.0	166.9	100.0	142.2	100.0	138.7	100.0	128.6	100.0	156.0	100.0	212.6	100.0
Including:																				
Great Britain	19.2	6.6	26.0	8.5	24.0	7.7	19.7	7.1	17.9	10.8	24.3	17.1	35.1	25.3	47.9	37.3	57.0	36.5	59.3	27.9
Germany	146.8	50.4	150.2	49.0	151.4	48.5	130.7	47.0	67.2	40.3	51.3	36.1	38.8	28.0	14.7	11.4	14.4	9.2	46.4	21.8
U. S. S. R.	9.1	3.1	13.1	4.3	13.8	4.4	17.2	6.2	10.2	6.1	7.8	5.5	5.9	4.3	13.6	10.5	14.7	9.4	17.9	8.4
France	4.5	1.6	7.2	2.3	9.5	3.0	8.3	2.9	5.6	3.4	4.4	3.1	5.2	3.7	4.4	3.4	4.8	3.1	5.6	2.6
Holland	9.2	3.2	10.0	3.3	9.9	3.2	7.3	2.6	4.5	2.7	4.7	3.3	4.9	3.6	6.0	4.7	7.0	4.5	8.8	4.2
Belgium	3.7	1.3	5.2	1.7	7.4	2.4	7.9	2.8	7.6	4.5	7.5	5.3	7.9	5.7	4.9	3.8	13.7	8.7	16.7	7.9
Czecho-Slovakia	13.1	4.5	19.2	6.3	18.0	5.8	19.6	7.0	12.6	7.6	8.6	6.1	9.1	6.6	9.2	7.2	7.4	4.8	6.9	3.3
U. S. A.	20.5	7.0	16.7	5.5	14.7	4.7	10.8	3.9	6.3	3.8	4.3	3.0	3.9	2.8	3.8	2.9	4.4	2.8	7.4	3.5
Sweden	5.5	1.9	5.7	1.9	7.5	2.4	5.4	1.9	3.6	2.1	2.4	1.7	3.0	2.2	3.1	1.4	4.7	3.0	6.9	3.3
Palestine	0.12	0.04	0.02	0.01	0.1	0.03	0.07	0.02	0.14	0.09	0.1	0.08	0.1	0.07	0.25	0.2	0.15	0.1	0.12	0.06
Switzerland	2.6	0.9	2.5	0.8	3.6	1.2	3.2	1.2	1.9	1.1	1.5	1.0	1.7	1.2	1.9	1.5	2.5	1.6	3.5	1.6
Denmark	3.1	1.1	6.3	2.1	5.4	1.7	3.5	1.3	2.1	1.2	1.9	1.4	2.2	1.6	3.3	2.6	4.7	3.0	6.9	3.3
Austria	1.2	0.4	1.8	0.6	1.7	0.5	1.5	0.5	0.9	0.6	2.2	1.6	2.9	2.1	2.1	1.6	2.5	1.6	1.6	0.8
Latvia	10.3	3.6	10.9	3.6	13.4	4.3	11.9	4.3	7.7	4.6	5.7	3.9	2.5	1.8	1.7	2.3	1.9	1.3	2.1	1.0
Finland	0.6	0.2	1.7	0.5	2.2	0.7	1.8	0.6	1.9	1.1	1.4	1.0	0.7	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.4	0.2
Estonia	4.0	1.4	2.0	0.7	3.5	1.1	3.4	1.2	2.1	1.3	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.3	1.2	0.9	0.9	0.6	0.8	0.4

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

437 to the deflection of import to countries with which we have an active trade balance.

Since 1935 Great Britain has held first place in Lithuanian import trade. Her percentage share, however, notwithstanding a slight rise in the absolute figures, in 1937 again receded and does not by a long way correspond to the considerably larger share of Great Britain in Lithuania's export trade.

During the last three years the following articles more especially were imported from Great Britain (in 1 000 litas):

	1935	1936	1937
Herrings	2 147.7	3 223.5	2 345.2
Superphosphates	1 237.6	1 077.9	1 130.1
Sheet-iron	989.6	1 397.9	1 506.3
Coal	5 251.9	6 177.8	7 685.7
Cement	1 429.7	1 511.6	2 141.0
Raw wool	1 633.4	1 674.8	2 176.9
Woollen yarn	3 647.9	6 406.1	6 752.5
Cotton yarn	5 210.4	6 208.1	5 942.5
Woollen fabrics	3 311.9	4 283.2	4 399.8
Cotton fabrics:			
Raw and bleached	1 124.9	1 300.0	1 325.2
Dyed	3 971.4	6 406.4	4 889.7

Germany, who from 1928 to 1931 still supplied approximately half of all commodities imported into Lithuania and who, despite the later decreases of deliveries, until 1934 remained in the first place in Lithuania's import trade, was in 1935 relegated by Great Britain to the second place, which she also occupies to-day. Her share in imports in 1937 again exceptionally increased (from 9.2% to 21.8%), and considerably surpassed the share in Lithuanian export trade.

The principal articles of Lithuanian import from Germany in recent years were as follows (in 1 000 litas):

	1935	1936	1937
Iron rails	—	4.4	1 660.8
Woollen fabrics	36.1	112.2	1 007.0
Cotton fabrics dyed	81.3	128.4	936.8
Factory machinery	331.3	316.3	1 713.5
Machine parts	516.3	502.0	1 231.5

Motor-cars	15.7	122.2	1 136.7	439
Chassis	49.8	187.3	1 196.4	
Scientific apparatus and instruments	239.5	359.4	980.6	

The nomenclature of Lithuanian imports from Germany is, moreover, extremely elusive and differentiated, which is due partly to the lively frontier trade. The above cited articles constitute only approximately a fifth of our total imports from Germany.

The U. S. S R. supplies Lithuania in the first place with round timber for the Timber Syndicate at Memel; petroleum products, coal, salt, superphosphates, and cotton fabrics. She occupies among countries of supply the third place; also her share in Lithuania's import is higher than in export trade.

In the fourth place comes Belgium, who furnishes chiefly iron and woollen yarns. Our imports from Belgium considerably exceed our exports thither, i. e. more than twofold.

From Holland are imported superphosphates, wireless apparatus, and artificial silk yarns; from Sweden and Denmark, motor-cars; from France, iron; from Switzerland, clocks and machinery; from the United States, petroleum products, cotton, and phosphates. The nomenclature of imports from other countries is sharply differentiated.

In general we can assert that Germany had the largest share in the increase of Lithuanian imports in 1937, owing partly to the fact that deliveries from that country in consequence of the conflict in 1935, had unusually declined, and the present rise has only restored the earlier relation. Otherwise imports from almost all other countries have absolutely increased, although as regards the percentage share, several changes have ensued. Only the imports from Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Estonia, and Palestine evince an absolute and a percentage recession.

8. The Trade-Balance with separate Countries. 457

It has already at the outset been pointed out that the liquidation of free-trade, which ensued during the last world economic crisis, and the transition to the quota system, have

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Table No. 9.

Lithuania's Trade-Balances with separate Countries from 1928—1937 in million litas.

Countries	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Total Balance	—34.2	+23.4	+21.3	— 4.8	+22.2	+18.0	+ 8.5	+23.7	+34.5	— 4,3
Including:										
Great Britain	+33.0	+31.4	+40.9	+70.8	+60.3	+47.2	+27.6	+21.6	+35.1	+37.3
Germany	+ 1.4	+45.7	+48.5	— 5.2	+ 6.8	+ 1.2	— 7.0	— 9.2	+ 6.2	—11.9
U. S. S. R.	— 5.5	—11.8	— 8.7	— 8.9	— 3.5	— 5.2	+ 1.5	— 0.5	— 4.6	— 6.8
France	— 0.3	— 3.2	— 7.3	— 5.7	— 2.6	— 1.2	— 0.9	+ 2.7	+ 3.8	+ 4.2
Holland	— 3.8	+ 0.7	— 3.2	— 2.3	— 0.5	— 0.9	— 0.4	+ 1.9	— 1.5	+ 0.6
Belgium	+ 0.6	— 0.9	— 0.5	+ 2.8	— 4.2	— 3.1	— 1.5	+ 6.9	— 3.1	— 8.9
Czecho-Slovakia	—12.3	—18.4	—17.6	—19.4	—12.4	— 7.3	— 4.8	— 3.6	— 0.3	+ 0.06
U. S. A.	—18.1	—12.3	—12.1	— 8.8	— 5.3	+ 0.9	+ 0.8	— 0.8	+ 2.3	— 0.5
Sweden	— 2.4	— 3.3	— 3.5	— 3.6	— 1.7	— 1.4	— 0.4	+ 0.4	+ 0.8	— 2.3
Palestine	— 0.05	+ 0.14	+ 0.02	+ 0.02	— 0.09	+ 0.26	+ 0.7	+ 1.8	+ 2.8	+ 3.3
Switzerland	— 2.6	— 1.4	— 3.1	— 2.7	— 1.5	— 1.0	— 1.0	+ 0.7	— 0.6	— 0.1
Denmark	— 1.2	— 2.4	— 1.1	— 0.5	— 1.1	+ 0.4	+ 2.4	+ 2,3	+ 0.4	— 4.3
Austria	— 1.0	— 1.7	— 1.6	— 1.5	— 0.9	— 2,1	— 1.5	— 0.9	— 0.9	+ 0.8
Latvia	+ 7.0	+19.5	+ 9.4	+ 3.3	— 3.3	— 0.35	+ 2.2	+ 2.0	+ 1.4	— 0.4
Finland	— 0.6	— 1.4	— 2.2	— 1.8	— 1.9	— 1.4	— 0.6	+ 0.4	+ 1.0	+ 0.7
Estonia	— 3.9	— 1.8	— 3.2	— 3.2	— 2.0	— 0.4	+ 0.03	+ 0.08	— 0.2	+ 0.04

invested with great importance the question of the trade-balance in general and the trade-balances in traffic with individual countries in particular.

The development of Lithuania's trade-balance, both general and with individual countries, is shown in Table No. 9.

The development of Lithuania's general trade-balance is decidedly favourable. It has been in most years of the last decade active. The passive balance of 1937 has been easily covered with other active items of the payment balance.

Less favourable was the aspect of separate trade-balances, particularly in the crisis year 1932, when in trade with the sixteen most important countries, fourteen passive balances were opposed to two active ones. The introduction of the licence system has manifestly shown good results in this context, since already in the following year the number of active balances had increased to five, in 1934 to seven, and in 1935 to eleven.

The passivity of the balance in 1937 brought about a slight recoil in this improvement of the position. The greatest share therein was on account of the worsening of the trade-balance with Germany by 18 100 000 litas; with Belgium by 5 800 000 litas; and with Denmark by 4 700 000 litas. Also with Sweden, the United States, the U. S. S. R., Latvia, and Finland, the trade-balance shifted to the detriment of Lithuania, while in trade with other countries a slight improvement was attained. The long existent passive trade-balance with Czecho-Slovakia has been equalized and even concluded with a small active balance.

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

B. HOME TRADE

473 1. The Total Number and Classification of Commercial Undertakings.

In accordance with the information of the last census, there were in Lithuania between 1923 and 1925 in all 18 164 commercial undertakings with 37 487 employed persons. Of these, 1 581 undertakings with 5 057 persons pertained to the Memel Territory. On the basis of the statistics of the trade licences, 24 380 commercial undertakings were enumerated in Lithuania Major in 1937. Since the number of concerns in the Memel Territory is estimated at 1 800, the total number of commercial undertakings in the whole of Lithuania may amount to over 26 000, which for the last fifteen years implies a growth of over 40%.

A closer analysis of the statistical data forces us, however, to the conclusion that the rising tendency of our home trade-as regards the promotion initiative of individual undertakings-had already in 1931 reached its peak, and that since then the total number of commercial undertakings has materially fallen and still remains below that level.

The following table affords a review of the development from 1927—1937, conjointly with classification according to corporations:

Year	Total	I. Corp.	II. Corp.	III. Corp.	IV. Corp.	V. Corp.	I-III. Corp.
1927	20 959	124	3 584	12 433	3 837	981	16 141
1928	22 581	130	3 703	13 242	4 641	865	17 075
1929	22 429	125	3 679	13 312	4 767	546	17 116
1930	22 652	145	3 589	13 583	4 727	608	17 317
1931	22 767	170	3 615	13 602	4 654	727	17 387

1932	21 505	149	3 248	13 096	4 441	571	16 493	473
1933	20 793	127	2 894	12 482	4 828	462	15 503	
1934	20 177	115	2 629	12 106	4 851	476	14 830	
1935	21 981	110	2 567	11 478	5 745	2 081	14 145	
1936	23 313	105	2 537	11 770	6 497	2 404	14 412	
1937	24 380	120	2 552	12 445	6 793	2 470	15 117	

The figures contained in the first column show for 1937 an appreciably increased total of undertakings in comparison with 1931, but we see that the principal growth, i. e. more than 3 000 concerns, ensued in the years 1935 and 1936. As is known, the Patent Tax for both industry and trade was considerably increased in 1935, the result being that many small traders, who had until then been exempt from the Patent Tax, since 1935 have had to take out a trade licence of the IV. or V. class. This supplementary tax naturally resulted in 1935 and to a great extent also in 1936 in a considerable increase of the total of the trade licences taken out, and solely this circumstance explains the statistical growth of the total figures of commercial undertakings in 1937 over the position of 1931. The figures classified according to corporations show this clearly; only the IV. and V. corporations affected by the supplementary tax since 1935 have appreciably surpassed the level of 1931. [651]

Only the figures concerning the three first corporations afford comparable quantities and only these may therefore be adduced for a description of the contingent development of our home trade. The relevant figures in the last column of the foregoing table show us that the total number of commercial concerns steadily grew until 1931, but from 1932 to 1935 decreased by approximately one-fifth, and during the last two years, especially 1937, has again slightly risen. Although during the period of revival approximately 1 000 new undertakings were promoted, the position of 1927 could not once be reached in 1937; in comparison with 1931 the recession amounted to 13.1%.

The above cited figures relate to all commercial trade-licences, also therefore to the hotel business, credit and insurance companies, &c. It is therefore advisable to examine the statistics on the inner structure of commercial concerns, from which the following data emerge:

6: Anonymous U-45 (no date) 1938 RBS Lithuanians RBS

Structure of the Commercial Undertakings in Lithuania Major and its Development from 1929—1937.

473

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Total number of trade licences	22 429	22 652	22 767	21 505	20 793	20 177	21 981	23 313	24 380
I. Commercial Concerns in a narrower sense	18 018	18 132	17 945	16 937	17 069	16 132	17 056	17 336	18 108
II. Hawker's trade	719	641	535	710	222	496	1 640	2 257	2 135
III. Auxiliary branches of trade (middlemen, &c.)	496	514	746	601	544	600	559	786	907
IV. Hotel Business	2 556	2 693	2 831	2 604	2 283	2 094	1 970	2 055	2 301
V. Credit and Insurance	102	100	90	91	83	78	74	147	149
VI. Other Commercial Undertakings	538	572	620	562	592	597	682	732	780

The figures quoted under paragraph 1, segregated in this manner, of commercial concerns in a narrower sense, depict more accurately the development tendency of our home-trade than the amounts of all trade-licences. Through the segregation of the hawker's trade, the misleading operation of the tax law variations is to a large extent, if not entirely, eliminated. Classified according to categories, the development of commercial concerns in a narrower sense appears as under:

473
442
443

Year	Total	Wholesale Trade (I. & II. Corp.)	Large-scale Retail Trade (III. Corp.)	Small-scale Retail Trade (IV. & V. Corp.)
1929	18 018	3 297	10.958	3 763
1930	18 132	3 179	11 045	3 908
1931	17 945	3 208	10 933	3 804
1932	16 937	2 830	10 760	3 347
1933	17 069	2 481	10 500	4 088
1934	16 132	2 284	10 288	3 740
1935	17 056	2 182	9 852	5 022
1936	17 336	2 220	9 834	5 282
1937	18 108	2 273	10 172	5 663

As regards, in the first place, the last column relating to 473
small-scale retail trade, the fluctuations from 1932—1934 were 442
elicited by transitory statistical-technical difficulties in the 443
separation of the hawker's trade, and for that reason possess no contingent significance. The same remark applies to the buoyant growth in 1935, which is attributable to the augmentation of the patent duty. The two remaining sets of figures regarding wholesale and large-scale retail trade indicate, despite a slight rise, particularly in 1937, a recession, which in comparison with 1929 amounts to 32.8% for wholesale trade, and to 7.2% for large-scale retail trade.

The circumstance that the number of wholesale commercial undertakings has suffered a decidedly more severe percentage recession than that of the large-scale retail concerns, proves that the shrinkage of promotion initiative in the framework of our home-trade cannot be interpreted as a consequence of the general concentration process of wholesale commercial undertakings at the cost of large-scale and small-scale retail trade, as in a certain sense it makes itself observable in the sphere of industry. The total of industrial concerns moreover shows no recession, but on the contrary a steady growth. In the framework of the total number, only the wholesale concerns are growing horizontally and vertically more rapidly than the small-scale retail ones. The dynamic of the development of our home-trade is, however, a diametrically opposite one: the total number of undertakings declines; the small-scale retail concerns show, after rectification of the statistical distortion in 1935-6, even a slight growth. Large-scale retail trade is receding only negligibly; and the number of wholesale commercial undertakings is shrinking most sharply. It may also be not uninteresting in this connexion to compare the figures of the complete categories of commercial and industrial trade licences with one another. This comparison gives the following characteristic result:

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Wholesale Industrial Undertakings (I. — V. Class)	241	263	271	251	246	256	272	349	406
In %	100	109	112	104	102	106	113	145	168
Wholesale Commercial Undertakings (I.—II. Corp.)	3 297	3 179	3 208	2 830	2 481	2 284	2 182	2 220	2 273
In %	100	96	97	86	75	69	66	67	69

473 An examination of the classification of commercial undertakings (in a narrower sense) according to separate branches shows us, however, that the above indicated shrinkage process in the number of undertakings is in no way a generally applicable phenomenon for all branches. On the contrary, the decrease of undertakings is confined to certain special branches only, while other branches are even increasing. The following table best illustrates this development.

Classification of Commercial Undertakings in a narrower Sense according to Separate Branches.

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
1. Foodstuffs and Luxury Goods Trade	11 635	11 783	11 851	11 467	11 489	11 103	11 590	11 681	11 909
2. Agricultural Products	2 574	2 497	2 177	1 756	1 750	1 611	1 641	1 612	1 824
3. Combustibles ..	488	484	370	317	309	323	314	338	383
4. Machinery and Vehicles	234	249	257	154	156	127	122	126	157
5. Metal Wares and Furniture	580	477	532	555	556	514	570	749	768
6. Textiles and Clothing	1 586	1 574	1 664	1 694	1 723	1 576	1 641	1 662	1 813
7. Fancy Goods ..	416	509	571	490	595	500	651	650	686
8. Other Special Trades	505	559	523	504	491	458	514	518	568

The foregoing comparison comprises for the sake of completeness the commercial concerns in a narrower sense of all five corporations together which, it is true, suffers from the drawback that the data for 1932—1934, on the already examined statistical-technical grounds, are slightly distorted (this is chiefly the case for the textile branch) and the final figures of the three last years have been reckoned somewhat too high (especially for agricultural products*). Nevertheless the table correctly reflects the general development tendency. Thus we may assume that there are only three branches in which the employer's initiative was manifestly hampered,

*) For agricutural products in the first three corporations the reduced figures for 1929 amount to 1 271, and for 1937 to 672, which implies a recession of nearly 50%.

while the remaining branches reveal an average firm development tendency. The branches with shrinkage symptoms are: Trade in agricultural products (grain, flax, dairy supplies, eggs, cattle, poultry); trade in combustibles (timber, coal, and naphtha); and trade in machinery and vehicles. There are therefore involved only those branches of trade which, during recent years, have been passing more and more out of the hands of private promoters into the sphere of activity of the commercial cooperatives and the „Maistas" Joint-stock Company, which must inevitably automatically cause a decrease in the number of enterprises of the corresponding branches, the more so since most of the commercial cooperatives are exempt from the Patent Tax and are not included in the total figures of commercial undertakings which are calculated on the basis of the trade-licences issued. The enormous rise of the goods turnover of the „Maistas" Joint-stock Company and the cooperatives is described in the following section. 473

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As regards the geographical distribution of commercial undertakings, besides Kaunas and Memel, Šiauliai and Panevėžys are the most important commercial centres of Lithuania. The following table depicts the development of the geographical distribution of wholesale and large-scale retail commercial concerns in a wider sense (I.-III. Corporations) in Lithuania Major from 1929—1937. 438 473

Geographical Distribution of Commercial Concerns.

Year	Total	Kaunas (City)	Šiauliai (District)	Panevėžys (District)
1929	17 116	2 418	1 846	1 128
1930	17 317	2 453	1 808	1 168
1931	17 387	2 654	1 782	1 172
1932	16 493	2 723	1 773	1 074
1933	15 503	2 674	1 717	1 047
1934	14 830	2 671	1 704	991
1935	14 145	2 532	1 634	949
1936	14 412	2 593	1 666	1 010
1937	15 117	2 690	1 662	1 018

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We see from the foregoing data that notwithstanding the decrease in the total figures, the number of Kaunas concerns in the period under review has grown; in consequence of this the percentage share of Kaunas has also risen from 14.1% in 1929 to 17.8% in 1937. The biggest rise in the number of Kaunas concerns falls to 1931—1932, when in connexion with tariff-technical facilities a number of import firms removed their headquarters from the small frontier town of Virbalis to Kaunas, and to 1936—1937, in the wake of the general economic upward trend. The wholesale commercial concerns, i. e. undertakings of the I. corporation, are, moreover, for the most part concentrated in Kaunas; of the 120 corresponding enterprises of Lithuania, 76 have their headquarters in that city.

While, as shown above, the total number of wholesale and large-scale retail commercial concerns in the rest of Lithuania has suffered an absolute reduction during the past decade, in spite of the revival of the last two years, the growth of commercial concerns in the Memel Territory is estimated at approximately 15%. This phenomenon is to be explained in the first place by the growth of the port trade (see the following chapter for details), which induced various firms to remove their headquarters to Memel or at least to open permanent branches at the port.

2. Total Figures of Goods Turnover

The statistical comprehension of the goods turnover of home-trade in the nature of things encounters greater difficulties than the calculation of the foreign trade turnover. The large number of small undertakings, among them the hawker's trade which with us is still relatively widespread and difficult mathematically to grasp, and most of all the absence still of any sharp cleavage between wholesale and retail business generally aggravate the task of determining the total amounts of the turnover and render their clarification from parallelism quite impossible. The State Central Statistical Bureau on these grounds has hitherto published no relevant data.

One must therefore be content only with substitute figures and estimates. As such may be mentioned: The data on tax receipts; the foreign trade turnover; the reports of the coope-

rative societies (which, however, in the first place reflect only. 473
the constantly growing rôle of the cooperatives in our economic 438
life and therefore do not permit any conclusions on the turnover of the total home-trade) and, finally, the results of an inquiry organized by our Chamber of Commerce.

In the tax statistics contingent postponements during se- 651
parate years are expressed only in a distorted form, because 473
the tax receipts of each single year, besides the taxes assessed on the basis of the turnover in the previous year, contain also arrears from earlier years. Naturally, therefore, the contingent position of the payment year, and not the assessment year, is conclusive for the payment receipts. Bearing in mind the foregoing objections, the tax statistics none the less provide a certain guide and afford us, in the absence of other sources, a summary over a larger series of years.

According to the reports of the State Control, the tax receipts (without the Memel Territory) from trade from 1930—1936, were as follows (in 1 000 litas):

Year	Total	Patent Tax	Profit Tax
1930	8 182.7	2 458.3	5 724.4
1931	8 231.1	2 250.9	5 980.2
1932	7 901.5	2 306.4	5 595.1
1933	7 027.7	1 894.6	5 133.1
1934	6 357.9	2 014.7	4 343.2
1935	6 662.1	2 026.2	4 635.9
1936	6 852.3	1 997,9	4 854.4

The second column respecting the Patent Tax once more confirms the accuracy of the deductions of the former section in regard to the reduction in the number of undertakings of wholesale and large-scale retail trade, and shows that even the extension of tax liability to hitherto tax-free small enterprises in 1935 could not compensate for the decline in the Patent Tax returns.

The third column respecting the Profit Tax, for the reasons above discussed, may only with reserve be regarded as a substitute reflecting the trade turnover. Nevertheless, for the purpose of comparison of the development tendencies of trade and industry, it can, in the first place, be contrasted with the analogous data on the industry tax receipts; the accuracy of the

651 comparison cannot be doubted because equivalent factors are
473 involved. This contrast furnishes the following result:

Profit Tax in 1 000 litas	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
Industry	2 640.6	2 743.3	2 217.5	2 606.7	2 373.3	2 463.2	3 177.2
Trade	5 724.4	5 980.2	5 595.1	5 133.1	4 343.2	4 635.9	4 854.4

On the basis of the foregoing comparative figures, we may reckon that in comparison with 1930 the taxation capacity of industry in 1936 increased by 20%, whereas simultaneously the Profit Tax returns of trade receded by 15%.

This comparison fully illustrates that the position of trade
439 is much more unfavourable than that of industry, which is
473 chiefly due to three factors:

1. The large share of foreign trade in the total goods turnover (direct export and import can be estimated at approximately 40%, and by adding the turnover between wholesale and retail trade the share exceeds 60%) renders our trade to a greater degree dependent upon the fluctuations of the world trend than is the case with our youthful industry, which works chiefly for the home market.

2. For the same reasons, in the sphere of trade, in connexion with the international shrinkage of import, quotas and compensation agreements, private initiative seems far more hampered than in relation to industry.

3. The vigorous growth of the cooperatives, whose object is as far as possible to eliminate intermediate trade, was bound in the nature of things to aggravate the position of private trade in corresponding branches and thereby force down the total turnover amount.

We shall, it is true, in the further course of our deductions see that the decrease in the trade turnover is only an **ad valorem** one, and that its quantitative scope has even increased. This fact, however, in no way prejudices the validity of what has already been stated, because the proportion between the comparative taxation figures relating to trade and industry is not displaced thereby but remains identical.

651 In view of the fact that in crisis years, when the amount
439 of the trade turnover sinks, tax assessments for budgetary
473 reasons as a rule are imposed too high, this circumstance must be taken into consideration for the purpose of the index calcu-

lation of the trade turnover on the basis of the tax statistics, 651
and an appropriate clarification effected. 439

To reinforce this assertion we compare first of all the per- 473
centage development of the Profit Tax receipts from 1930—1936 (the tax is valid at times for the preceding year) with the index already calculated in the previous chapter of the ad valorem development of our foreign trade turnover from 1929—1935. We obtain in this manner the two following sets of figures:

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935
Foreign Trade Turnover..	100.0	101.5	86.6	55.9	47.5	44.9	44.1
Trade Turnover on the basis of tax receipts	100.0	105.5	97.7	89.7	75.9	80.9	84.8

One must bear in mind that the home-trade turnover, [438]
especially in respect of commodities of fixed demand (chiefly foodstuffs) which constitute the relatively most important item of the turnover, is far less subject to trend fluctuations than foreign trade. The growth of domestic industrial production must likewise extend the scope of the home-trade turnover. On the other hand, however, one may not forget that the retrogression of our foreign trade turnover is in the first instance due to the fall of prices, and that its quantitative scope, as has been demonstrated in a previous chapter, even in the crisis years remained above the level of 1929. The fall of prices has approximately in the same manner affected the foreign and home-trade turnovers. If therefore the tax receipts correctly reflected the trade turnover, then this would mean, in consideration of the high percentage share of foreign trade, that the home-trade in inland goods already in 1935 had attained a turnover which, in comparison with 1929, was ad valorem one and a half times, and quantitatively three times larger, which, it goes without saying, cannot correspond to reality.

On the basis of reliable estimates, the turnover assessments 651
of the Tax Inspectorate in the crisis years, in relation to the 438
firms with non-public accounting, were fixed too high. Since on the firms with public accounting, for which the tax is assessed according to the actual turnover, approximately one-fifth of the Profit Tax total devolves, the figures for the total receipts since 1932 have had to be cut down a quarter in round figures in order to depict the real total turnover.

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The tax statistics at our disposal relate to the turnover from 1929—1935. According to our estimates the trade turnover in 1936 in comparison with the preceding year rose by 25% and in 1937 by 15%. After the above discussed correction has been made we get the following index figures of the **ad valorem** development of our total trade turnover:

1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
100	106	98	67	57	61	64	80	92

The above index being based upon estimates cannot lay claim to a hundred per cent accuracy, but its final figures are nevertheless assessed rather too high than too low. To its plausibility **inter alia** testifies the circumstance that it corresponds approximately to the average of the indices of the foreign trade turnover and of the industrial production, taking into consideration the price changes that have ensued since 1929.

The **ad valorem** recession of the goods turnover sums is not, it goes without saying, synonymous with the quantitative recession. The quantitative scope of our goods turnover has, on the contrary, appreciably increased, as the following volume index, calculated on the strength of the price-index of Lietuvos Bankas, shows:

1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
100	122	132	109	105	117	139	174	174

The last index group demonstrates the considerable increase of domestic consumption. Since the volume index of the foreign trade turnover for 1937, calculated in the previous chapter, amounts to only 139.3, this means, if we estimate the share of foreign trade at 40%, that the home trade in domestic commodities has almost doubled from 1929 to 1937, wherein both the rise of home industrial production and the improvement of the standard of living are revealed.

Expressed in absolute figures, according to our estimate, the total trade turnover in the past year (1937) may have reached 900 000 000 litas. The turnover of the Memel Territory is not included in this sum because data are lacking for an estimate in this connexion.

3. Share-capital in Lithuanian Trade

The rôle of joint-stock companies in the total figure of our wholesale commercial undertakings is relatively unimportant. In 1937 there were in Lithuania only 32 joint-stock companies, which were engaged in merchandise trade, in a narrower sense, with a total capital of 8 900 000 litas; and three companies engaged in the warehousing and forwarding business with a share-capital of 300 000 litas. Only a few companies among these have a share-capital of more than a million litas, while for half of all the companies the capital amounts to less than 200 000 litas. The development since 1928 is clear from the following table: 473

Year	No. of Companies	Share-capital in 1 000 litas	Year	No. of Companies	Share-capital in 1 000 litas
1928	14	3 211	1933	32	9 485
1929	19	5 725	1934	32	8 640
1930	22	7 100	1935	31	9 057
1931	28	9 400	1936	30	8 232
1932	32	9 759	1937	32	8 907

We see from the foregoing that the number of commercial undertakings organized as joint-stock companies has remained stationary since 1932, and that the total amount of their capital since then has decreased by 9%.

The development of the participation of foreign capital in our commercial organizations shows, just as the reduction of foreign indebtedness described in another chapter, the progressive emancipation of our economy from alien influence and its financial strengthening. The share of foreign capital has fallen from 24.5% in 1931 to 6.1% in 1937. The following figures illustrate the course of this development: [471]

	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Foreign Capital in Lithuanian Joint-stock Companies, in 1 000 Litas	2 310	2 305	1 870	1 747	920	260	544

In the above quoted total figure of commercial joint-stock companies our most important commercial organization is not

473 included, because, since it simultaneously belongs to the biggest industrial enterprises, it is shown among the latter. This remark refers to the „Maistas" Joint-stock Company, whose rôle in our foodstuffs industry has already been discussed in the relevant section. The following figures relate therefore solely to its share in our trade turnover.

The „Maistas" Company, 69.8% of whose shares are held by the Government, has since 1935 virtually monopolized the entire export trade of Lithuania in meat, cattle, and poultry (the residue pertains to frontier trade) and therefore as a single enterprise in 1937 reached a share of 22.5% in Lithuania's total exports. Its total foreign and home-trade turnover amounted to 60 000 000 litas and was exceeded only by that of the Central Union of Agricultural Cooperatives, „Lietūkis".

473 439 The following table illustrates the course of growth of the share of „Maistas" in our export trade during the last ten years („Maistas" has been operating already since 1923, but began to play an important part in our economy, properly speaking, only after 1930):

Year	Total Lithuanian Exports of Cattle, Poultry, Ham, and Meat Products, in Million Litas	Share in Total Export Trade	Total Export of „Maistas" in Mil. Lt.	Percentage Share of „Maistas" in: Exports of Cattle, Poultry, Meat, Ham, &c.	the Total Export Trade
1928	31.8	12.4%	1.3	4.0%	0.5%
1929	69.1	20.9%	5.9	8.6%	1.8%
1930	107.3	32.2%	24.8	23.2%	7.4%
1931	112.9	41.3%	42.9	38.1%	15.8%
1932	68.5	36.2%	42.8	62.5%	22.6%
1933	63.0	39.3%	42.3	67.2%	26.4%
1934	45.3	30.8%	34.9	77.0%	23.7%
1935	34.4	22.6%	32.7	95.1%	21.5%
1936	48.1	25.2%	42.7	88.8%	22.4%
1937	51.9	24.9%	46.9	90.3%	22.5%

The principal export articles of „Maistas" are bacon and live pigs. Bacon is sold exclusively to England, and live pigs to the U. S. S. R. and Germany. The export of bacon reached its peak precisely in the crisis years 1932 and 1933, and was largely instrumental in equalizing the shrinkage of export of other

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

articles in our trade-balance at that time, which must be entered to the credit account of „Maistas". When after the Ottawa Conference England greatly expanded her imports of agrarian products from the Dominions, to the detriment of her former European suppliers, our bacon exports also receded, whereby the export structure of „Maistas" was materially altered. The following two comparative tables elucidate this relationship:

I. The Structure of English Bacon Imports

	1931	1936	1937
England's bacon imports, in million £ ..	33.1	27.3	29.3
Including in % from:			
Dominions	0.5	15.7	19.2
European countries ...	97.7	84.1	80.7

II. The Bacon Exports of „Maistas"

	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Exports of bacon, in million litas.	30.3	32.5	37.7	27.6	15.0	20.3	20.8
Share of bacon exports in total export of „Maistas" in %	70.6	76.0	89.0	79.1	45.9	47.4	44.4

Although bacon sales in recent years have receded ad valorem by nearly half (and quantitatively by more than half), „Maistas" was able, through the transposition of export to other articles, chiefly live pigs, but also through the building up of poultry and canned goods export, not only to make good the recession of bacon exports, but also in 1937 ad valorem to overtake by 9.3% the pre-crisis position (1931) of its total export trade.

Lithuania's total export of corresponding products during the same period not only, under the operation of the fall in prices, declined ad valorem by 54% but also quantitatively (on the basis of the price-index of Lietuvos Bankas) by 25%.

438 The home-trade turnover of „Maistas", which maintains
473 47 places of sale for meat and canned provisions throughout Lithuania, has constantly grown. In 1927 it amounted to 4 400 000 litas; in 1936 it had already reached 10 100 000 litas; and in 1937 it had risen to 13 100 000 litas.

4. The Rôle of the Cooperative Societies

474 The significance of the cooperatives in our trade can best
438 be illustrated by the fact that their sales in 1937 amounted to more than 200 000 000 litas. During the last ten years they have quadrupled in value, and quantitatively even increased eightfold.

The course of this expansion can be studied in the following table:

Sales of the Cooperative Societies (in 1 000 litas)

Year	„Lietūkis"	Trade Cooperatives	„Pienocentras"	Total
1928	12 129	23 520	13 662	49 311
1929	29 393	52 255	25 999	108 647
1930	23 117	44 992	43 854	111 963
1931	36 743	44 950	46 102	127 795
1932	28 853	37 314	45 182	111 349
1933	32 063	37 534	36 163	105 760
1934	37 617	37 342	36 329	111 288
1935	60 530	46 427	42 438	149 395
1936	73 715	55 560	55 897	185 172
1937	72 823	65 046	65 730	203 599

The Union of Agricultural Cooperative Societies of Lithuania „Lietūkis", which was founded in 1923 and in the first year of its existence counted only 26 cooperative societies as members, and whose annual sales from 1923 to 1929 on an average amounted to 10 000 000 litas, since the revision and amendment of the statutes in 1930, has become the most important commercial undertaking of Lithuania. The aims which it pursues consist, in the sense of the by-laws, in promoting agriculture

and rural industry; organizing trade in agrarian products, and reconciling the interests of consumers and producers. 474 438

To-day „Lietūkis" counts 111 cooperative societies as its members. Besides the central establishment in Kaunas it maintains 16 branch establishments in the provinces; three elevators, viz., at Memel, of 30 000 tons capacity; at Šiauliai, of 3 250 tons capacity; and at Kaunas, of 2 250 tons capacity. Furthermore at Šiauliai it possesses a central flax warehouse, and 18 grain warehouses at various other places. Since the end of 1937 it has managed its own flour-mill at Kalvarija, Suvalkai.

The goods turnover of „Lietūkis", after the overcoming of the crisis years 1932—1933, has constantly grown. The negligible recession in 1937 by 890 000 litas or 1.2% of the turnover was due solely to the reduction of grain export in consequence of the unfavourable harvest.

If, however, we take into consideration that the grain turnover of „Lietūkis" in connexion therewith decreased from 21 300 000 litas in 1936 to 10 600 000 litas in 1937, it should also be pointed out that its turnover with other commodities not only has not receded but, on the contrary, has risen by 10 300 000 litas. Inter alia in 1937, in comparison with the previous year, there increased: The turnover with flax from 4 800 000 litas to 6 700 000 litas; with sugar from 15 500 000 litas to 17 500 000 litas; with naphtha products from 5 900 000 litas to 6 700 000 litas; with agricultural and other machinery from 2 200 000 litas to 3 600 000 litas; with cement from 1 900 000 litas to 2 800 000 litas, &c.

The percentage share of „Lietūkis" in the Lithuanian total turnover of many important commodities amounts to: In the import of fertilizers 100%; in salt import 92.5%; in the import of agricultural machinery 80%; in cement import 42%; in the import of naphtha products 40%; in the import of herrings 10%; in iron import 5%; in the export of grain 85%; in the export of flax 27%; and in the sale of sugar (of inland production) 69%;

The second column of the above quoted table shows the development of goods sales of the trade cooperatives, the number of which to-day amounts to 180. It includes both agricultural cooperative societies, which for the most part are organiz-

474 438 ed in „Lietūkis", but which effect their sales on their own account, and other quite independent consumer unions. Among the latter mention should be made of the following:

1. „Parama", which carries on the grocery trade and in Kaunas and neighbourhood owns 30 sale establishments. Its turnover amounted in 1937 to 5 200 000 litas against 4 800 000 litas in 1936 and 4 500 000 litas in 1935. „Parama" owns also its own bread bakery, the biggest in Lithuania, the production of which in 1937 reached 5 900 000 litas.

2. „Spaudos Fondas" engages in the book and stationery material trade, also in book publishing. It maintains three sales establishments in Kaunas and ten in the provinces. The turnover reached 6 100 000 litas in 1937 against 5 400 000 litas in 1936 and 4 600 000 litas in 1935.

3. „Karių Ekonominė Bendrovė", a military consumers' union, maintains in Kaunas its own organized warehouse-like emporium. In 1937 its turnover reached 2 600 000 litas against 2 900 000 litas in 1936, and 3 100 000 litas in 1935. It is the only cooperative society whose turnover, if only negligibly, has declined.

4. „Marginiai" engages in the sale of articles of folk art and household industry. It maintains a branch establishment at Šiauliai. In 1937 the turnover amounted to 211 334 litas against 158 783 litas in 1936, and 142 320 litas in 1935.

The total turnover of all trade cooperatives, which already in 1929 had reached the amount of 52 200 000 litas, stayed until 1935 below this level. In 1936, however, it rose to 55 800 000 litas and in 1937 to 65 000 000 litas.

The Central Union of Lithuanian Dairy-farming Cooperative Societies „Pienocentras" belongs formally it is true, not to the trade cooperatives but to the production cooperative societies, but in view of its important share in the goods turnover, especially in the export trade, we will describe its rôle in this section.

474 438 439 The union „Pienocentras", which was founded in 1926, counts to-day 192 dairy-farming cooperative societies as members. It disposes in all of over 2 052 milk-skimming stations, and is served by 91 491 milk-purveyors. It owns the monopoly of butter and egg export. Its share in the total export of Lithuania amounted in 1937 to 26.1%. Concurrently it maintains

also inland 17 sale emporia and eight breakfast rooms and in 1937 attained on the home market a turnover of 7 200 000 litas. 438

The growth of the goods turnover of „Pienocentras" and its structure are shown in the following three tables: 439

1. The Structure of the Total Turnover of „Pienocentras" (in 1 000 litas)

Year	Total Turnover	Whereof A. Export	Including: 1. Butter	2. Eggs	Percentage Share in Total Lithuanian Export	B. Domestic Sales
1927	5 981	3 971	3 950	—	1.6	2 010
1928	13 662	10 437	10 437	—	4.1	3 225
1929	25 999	20 888	20 786	102	6.3	5 111
1930	43 854	35 200	34 866	334	10.5	8 653
1931	46 102	37 790	37 055	735	13.8	8 312
1932	45 182	37 079	36 045	1 034	19.6	8 103
1933	36 163	29 909	29 150	789	18.7	6 245
1934	36 329	30 231	28 816	1 397	20.5	6 098
1935	42 438	35 948	33 866	2 046	23.6	6 490
1936	55 897	48 228	42 042	6 151	25.3	7 668
1937	65 730	54 470	47 065	7 375	26.1	7 187

2. Butter Export of „Pienocentras"

Year	Total Butter Export of Lithuania, in Tons	Butter Export of „Pienocentras", in Tons	Percentage Share of „Pienocentras"
1927	2 051	551.2	26.9
1928	2 643	1 374.6	52.0
1929	4 084	2 810.4	68.8
1930	7 357	6 024.4	81.9
1931	8 705	7 480.9	85.9
1932	9 926	9 280.9	93.5
1933	9 580	8 674.2	90.4
1934	9 671	9 589.9	98.9
1935	12 154	12 101.2	99.6
1936	14 629	14 302.4	97.8
1937	15 058	14 964.4	99.4

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3. Egg Export of „Pienocentras"

Year	Total Export of Eggs from Lithuania, in 1 000	Egg Export of „Pienocentras", in 1 000	Percentage Share of „Pienocentras"
1929	55 509	361	0.6
1930	55 188	1 567	2.8
1931	60 998	4 815	7.9
1932	45 790	8 757	19.1
1933	28 796	7 523	26.1
1934	19 247	16 074	83.5
1935	27 798	26 758	96.3
1936	67 184	66 542	99.0
1937	77 063	74 136	96.5

On the basis of the data contained in the foregoing tables, we may form the following conclusions:

1. The total turnover of „Pienocentras" since the foundation year until 1931 grew uninterruptedly. Owing to the crisis years, this growth was interrupted; yet the falling-off in the turnover was not quantitative but evoked by the fall of prices. During the last two years, however, the position of 1931 has also been appreciably exceeded, in 1937 by 42.5%.

2. Nearly 90% of the total turnover of „Pienocentras" devolves upon export. Of this percentage approximately 85% consists of butter export and 15% of egg export. Butter export already since 1934 and egg export since 1935 have been conducted by „Pienocentras" on a monopoly basis. Foreign trade statistics show that simultaneously with the growth of the share of „Pienocentras", Lithuania's total export of corresponding commodities has considerably grown, which proves that the extension of our butter export trade more particularly must be entered solely to the credit account of „Pienocentras". Since 1927, that is, since the time when „Pienocentras" began to engage in butter export, the Lithuanian butter exports have grown quantitatively more than sevenfold, and during the last four years alone, since „Pienocentras" enjoyed a monopoly, amount to an increment of 57%.

[438] 3. The domestic sales do not reveal so favourable a development as export. Ad valorem they were in 1937 still below the level of 1931, although, having regard to price variations, their quantitative scope has risen approximately by 30%.

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanian RB5

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At the end of this section we furnish one more comparative table, which shows us the development of the share of our three largest commercial organizations, viz., „Lietūkis", „Pienocentras", and „Maistas", in Lithuania's total export trade.

Year	Export of „Pienocentras", in 1 000 Litas	Export of „Maistas", in 1 000 Litas	Export of „Lietūkis", in 1 000 Litas	Total in 1 000 Litas	Share in Lithuania's Total Export Trade, in %
1928	10 437	1 266	1 000	12 703	4.9
1929	20 888	5 948	1 000	27 836	8.3
1930	35 201	24 849	10 986	71 036	21.3
1931	37 790	42 904	8 127	88 821	32.5
1932	37 079	42 814	952	80 845	42.7
1933	29 909	42 323	1 431	73 663	45.9
1934	30 231	34 880	2 520	67 631	45.9
1935	35 948	32 734	18 949	87 631	57.5
1936	48 228	42 723	18 209	109 160	57.3
1937	54 470	46 855	8 603	100 928	52.8

The figures of the foregoing tables confirm the accuracy of the assertion expressed in the chapter on foreign trade, that the relatively favourable development of our export trade during the crisis years should be entered to the credit account of „Maistas" and „Pienocentras". („Lietūkis" exports chiefly grain and its export is therefore, in dependence on the nature of the harvest, subject to severe fluctuations). Indeed, precisely in the years 1931—1935, when the value amount of our export trade was constantly sinking, did the share of our public commercial institutions grow most vigorously, whereas during both last years of the upward trend, when also private initiative began more strongly to manifest itself, it receded in a percentage sense.

5. The Dynamic of Price Development.

In the valuation of industrial production and the calculation of its index as well as in the estimate of the volume of the foreign and home-trade turnover, we have already been able to

435 determine the important rôle of price variations during the last ten years. In the specific structure of Lithuanian economy, i. e. the economy of an agrarian land, which must procure the most essential industrial supplies from abroad in exchange for its agrarian products, price equalization, or the so-called „scissors" between the prices of agricultural and industrial staples, is the most important factor of contingent development. Since our industry heretofore has as yet provided hardly any means of production, the production of articles of consumption could cover only a part of the domestic demand, and since the portion of the population engaged in industry is as regards percentage negligible, the industrial crisis in Lithuania, which for the rest had only a slight and short-lived course, must be considered merely as a secondary phenomenon of the agrarian crisis. The causes of the economic stagnation, as Lithuania experienced it from 1932 to 1935*), repose in the sphere of foreign trade. In the chapter on foreign trade we saw, however, that our foreign trade turnover quantitative ly even in the crisis years remained above the level of 1929. This proves that the crisis was occasioned chiefly by the disturbance of the equilibrium of prices. [457] Our trade-balance indeed remained active in the crisis years, thanks to the licence system. We must, however, bear in mind that just as in foreign trade, on the home-market also equilibrium is disturbed by the price scissors, when every farmer must deliver correspondingly more of his produce in order to obtain an equivalent quantity of industrial supplies, whereby inevitably both his consumption is stifled and his zest for production discouraged.

The development of prices in Lithuania is shown by the following index groups, which are taken from the „Lietuvos Bankas Biuletenis" (1926—29=100):

Year	Total Price-Index	Agrarian Products	Industrial Raw Materials and Supplies	The Scissors
1927	100	100	101	— 1
1928	102	105	99	+ 6
1929	97	99	95	+ 4

*) The autumn of 1931 is to be taken as the beginning of the crisis, which has already influenced many year-end figures of that year.

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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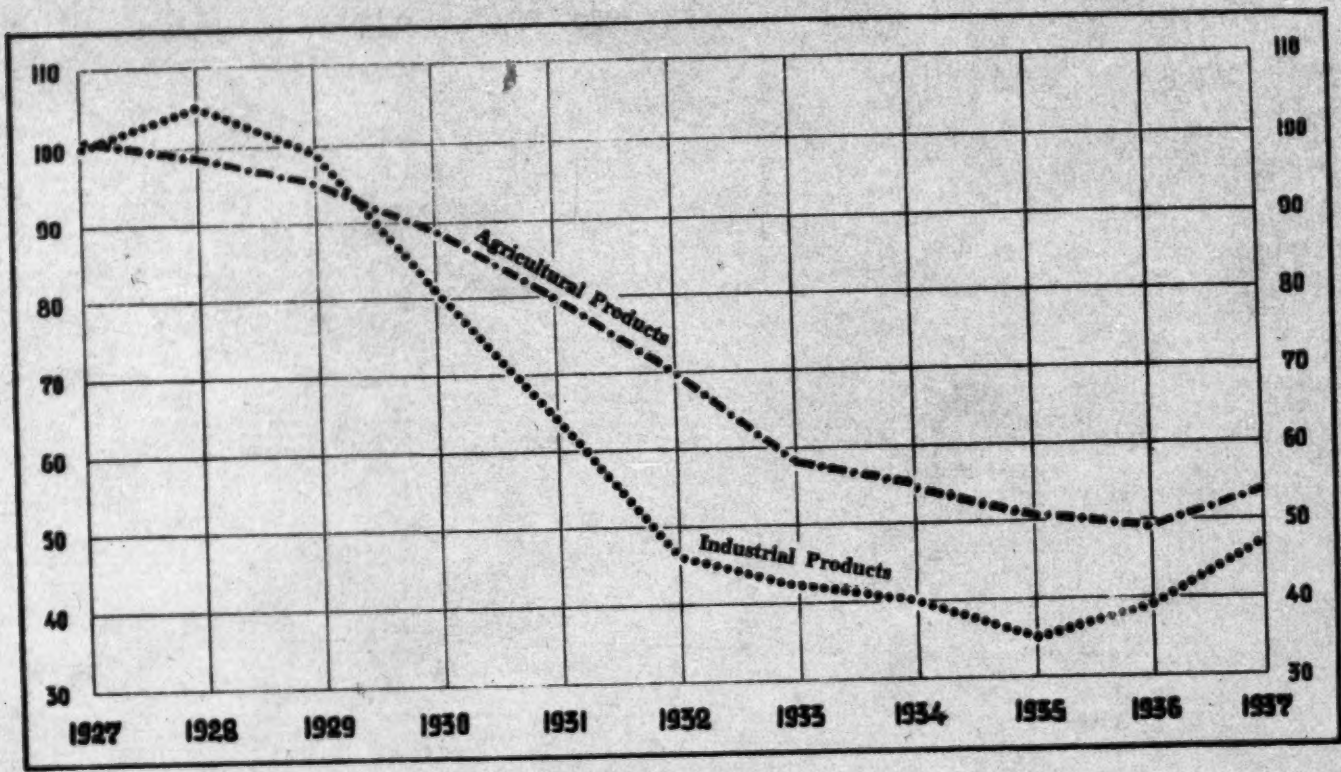
Diagram No. 5.

The Price Scissors of Agricultural and Industrial Products (1926—1929=100).



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1930	84	81	89	— 8
1931	72	64	80	—16
1932	59	46	70	—24
1933	52	42	58	—16
1934	50	40	55	—15
1935	45	35	51	—16
1936	45	39	49	—10
1937	51	47	54	— 7

The development course of the scissors confirms the accuracy of what was said at the outset: at the time of the most favourable trend the scissors were inconsiderable or even to the advantage of agrarian prices; during the crisis they amounted to 15 to 24 points, and after their subjugation at the time of the new advance, they sank to seven points.

For the sake of comparison, we adduce below the index figures of the world market prices calculated by the Statistical Office of Germany and converted by us to the basis year 1927. They show:

Year	Agrarian Products	Industrial Supplies	The Scissors
1927	100	100	—
1928	98	97	+ 1
1929	91	103	—12
1930	68	87	—19
1931	49	65	—16
1932	38	53	—15
1933	35	50	—15
1934	34	47	—13
1935	34	48	—14
1936	38	49	—11

The comparison shows us that the final figures of both index groups of the world market prices agree with our price-index, but that the course of development was a more diverse one. This distinction explains to us also one of the principal reasons why the last crisis began in Lithuania two years later than on a world scale. On a world scale the scissors' extension of 12 points had already been reached in 1929, but in Lithuania one of 16 point for the first time in 1931. The fact that the maximum extension with us counted 24 points, but on a world

scale only 19 points is due to the agrarian character of our 435
country and its dependence upon export.

In order to ameliorate the disadvantageous operation of the 656
scissors, the Government since 1931 has introduced fixed prices 435
for several of the most important staples, such as grain, butter, eggs, and live pigs, whereby the difference between the world market price and the prices established for the home-market is made good by the State Treasury. The cost of this support for the period until the end of 1937 amounted to 133 800 000 litas and for the last three years alone to over 50 000 000 litas, in which context it should, however, be mentioned that in consequence of the attraction of world market prices for pigs, their subvention was suspended two years ago.

For a series of important commodities prices are regulated by a Price Controller. The fixing of maximum prices, especially for imported industrial goods, is undertaken on the basis of the world market prices and pursues the object only of putting a stop to a speculative bull movement and of checking dishonest competition.

The above-mentioned politico-economic measures of the Government have indubitably contributed to the relatively easy bridging over of the crisis.

The development of our retail prices for several of the more 435
important characteristic commodities from 1929 to 1937 is shown by the following table collated on the basis of data of the Central Statistical Bureau:

A. Prices of Agrarian Products, in Litas.

Year	Rye, 50 klgrs.	Linseed, 1 klg.	Flax, 1 klgr.	Live Fattened Pigs, 50 klgrs.	Bacon, 1 klgr.	Unsalted Butter, 1 klgr.
1929	22.80	0.79	2.10	115.00	3.20	6.85
1930	11.30	0.68	1.50	96.00	3.05	6.00
1931	12.60	0.40	0.95	66.00	2.15	5.05
1932	12.30	0.26	0.84	50.00	1.45	4.10
1933	9.10	0.30	1.00	47.00	1.30	3.30
1934	9.00	0.32	0.95	44.00	1.25	3.10
1935	6.20	0.27	1.28	29.00	0.85	2.75
1936	7.20	0.24	1.12	35.00	1.05	2.80
1937	9.80	0.28	1.27	46.00	1.40	3.05

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B. Prices of Industrial Supplies, in Litas.

Year	Soft Sugar, 1 klgr.	Sole Leather, 1 klgr.	Printed Calico, 1 metre	Spruce Boards, 1 m^3	Coal, 100 klgrs.	Iron, 1 klgr.
1929	1.15	15.90	2.65	119.40	12.80	0.50
1930	1.10	14.50	2.55	124.00	12.00	0.49
1931	1.10	13.10	2.25	115.00	11.20	0.42
1932	1.25	11.20	1.95	97.00	10.40	0.32
1933	1.30	9.50	1.50	71.00	9.00	0.28
1934	1.30	8.80	1.50	67.00	8.40	0.27
1935	1.26	7.45	1.35	59.50	7.80	0.28
1936	1.00	7.40	1.32	58.00	7.60	0.28
1937	1.00	7.70	1.37	75.00	8.10	0.39

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

III. GOODS TRANSPORT

p. 123 [p 124 is blank]

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

1. Railway Goods Transport.

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The total length of our railway lines amounts to 1 778 kilometres. Of this total 1 230 klms. pertain to the broad-gauge lines and 548 klms. to the narrow-gauge lines. Of the newly-constructed lines finished during the last ten years, for goods transport the most important is the Telšiai - Kretinga Railway completed in 1930—1932. The object of this line, which it fulfils, is to provide better connexion between the port of Memel and the hinterland. This new line is 71 klms. in length.

The railway rolling-stock to-day disposes of 4 351 goods waggons. In 1937 1 567 waggons were equipped with more modern ventilation. Moreover, 20 new goods trucks were built; 20 cattle transport waggons and 22 refrigerator waggons acquired, and 67 goods waggons converted into refrigerator waggons.

The following comparative figures show the development of railway goods transport:

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Total annual quantity, in 1 000 tons	2 079	1 993	2 164	1 599	1 722	1 853	2 003	2 193	2 352
Monthly average, in million ton-klms	28.3	28.0	31.9	22.0	20.6	23.4	24.7	25.8	28.3

The figures of the first row strikingly reflect the contingent development of our economy. After the peak reached in 1931 followed the sudden drop in 1932 caused by the crisis; then the compensation for losses until 1935 and finally a new ascent in 1936 and 1937, far above the level of 1931.

The circumstance that the monthly average reckoned in ton-kilometres in 1937 also still remains below the position of

496 the years 1929—1931 is attributable chiefly to the cessation of Russo-German goods transit through Lithuania which-as described later-since 1931 has been entirely suspended, and to whose credit, thanks to the intersection of the entire territory of the country in earlier years, the higher number of ton-kilometres must be laid. The rise of inland navigation on the Nemunas (see below) and the extension of motor-lorry traffic may also have played a definite rôle. The number of registered motor-lorries, especially in 1937, has appreciably risen, as we can see from the following data:

1929	1931	1935	1936	1937
309	431	322	393	564

496 429 The appended table illustrates the most important commodities of railway goods transport and the development of their share in recent years:

Railway Goods Transport (in 1 000 tons).

	1929	1931	1935	1936	1937
Timber	609.7	620.5	447.1	459.7	639.2
Grain	198.4	139.2	295.2	250.2	81.5
Animals and Poultry	29.9	42.2	147.2	180.0	185.5
Sugar-beets	—	57.9	110.1	125.1	123.9
Fertilizers	139.9	113.7	100.3	109.3	130.5
Coal	115.0	116.2	108.8	105.9	153.1
Bricks & Clay Products	57.3	160.6	75.2	75.3	102.3
Cement	50.0	71.8	48.4	57.5	76.4
Molasses	—	—	24.6	53.4	55.2
Naphtha Products	42.1	47.5	41.8	43.6	45.5

The apportionment of goods transport among separate railway stations shows an extremely characteristic development:

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Goods Transport of the Most Important Railway Stations (in 1 000 tons).

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	1929	1931	1935	1936	1937
Memel	473.1	611.5	795.3	831.6	823.3
Kaunas	419.2	492.3	401.8	452.3	513.8
Obeliai	425.4	611.8	260.8	224.9	213.8
Joniškis	149.7	116.6	152.5	139.9	213.0
Pagėgiai	594.5	435.4	119.8	119.4	218.3
Virbalis	274.5	212.6	45.4	69.5	88.7

The recession of the goods turnover of both Lithuanian-German frontier stations, Pagėgiai and Virbalis, in 1935 and 1936, reflects first of all the shrinkage shown in the previous chapter of our foreign trade communication with Germany. Since the normalization of Lithuanian-German commercial relations a revival tendency in the turnover was observable in 1937. Above all, however, we see in the foregoing table the tremendous advance of transport to and from Memel, which is due to the ever-increasing importance of that port in our economic life. The importance of our new line of communication, Telšiai - Kretinga, which was opened in 1932, has already been pointed out. The building of this line, as also the [651] introduction of the reduced goods transport tariff in traffic to and from the port of Memel, whereby a more favourable differential rate was granted, has to a great extent contributed to the increase of railway goods transport via Memel during recent years.

The decline of goods transport via Obeliai, the Lithuanian-Latvian frontier station, over which formerly goods transit between Germany and Russia developed, is to be ascribed to the suspension of transit from Germany via Lithuania since 1931.

2. Memel Port Traffic.

The importance of the port of Memel for Lithuania's 504 economic life appears from the fact that, according to the data of the Customs Statistics, in 1937 via Memel 75.5% of our export trade and 68.2% of our import trade were conveyed.

504 Under German rule, Memel, as the northernmost situated port, which lacked a hinterland, did not acquire full importance, and served exclusively timber transport. For the first time under the Lithuanian regime a rising period began for Memel port. The indispensable investment works, which for the first time rendered the port accessible to the navigation of larger oceangoing vessels, demanded heavy outlays, the redemption
653 of which will take a long time. The Government during the
504 past fifteen years has laid out 39 000 000 litas on construction work and cost of up-keep of the port, while during the same time the receipts reached only 9 500 000 litas. Besides these directly invested sums for the extension of the port, no less considerable amounts have been expended on the erection of warehouses, petrol tanks, refrigerators, and similar installations. Certainly the receipts show a rapid rise: whereas until 1935 they fluctuated between 500 000 litas and 800 000 litas annually, in 1936 they already amounted to 1 360 000 litas and in 1937 to over 1 500 000 litas.

[502] The most important construction work consisted in the deepening of the harbour on an average by 2 metres, in order to render it navigable for ocean steamers. Thanks to these works, the harbour depths to-day in many places are from 8 to 9 metres and in the new dock of the winter port from 7 to 7.5 metres. In the next few years, moreover, further deepening of the harbour to 10 metres is planned.

The already mentioned new dock of the winter port comprises an area of 96 000 square metres and is accessible to large vessels with a displacement of 10 000—15 000 tons. Among other works should be mentioned: The strengthening of approximately 2 000 metres of quays with ferro-concrete and iron reinforcement; the creation of a yacht harbour; extension of the railway track in the port by 4 300 metres; erection of three modern electric cranes; building of new port warehouses with 73 000 cubic metres storage capacity; the completion of the electric power station, &c.

505 The development of Memel shipping since the attachment of the Territory to Lithuania is shown by the following figures:

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Shipping Movement at Memel Port from 1924—1937.

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Year	Entries Vessels	Entries 1 000 net reg. tons	Clearances Vessels	Clearances 1 000 net reg. tons
1924—28*)	762	367.8	764	367.3
1929	807	502.8	802	501.5
1930	960	499.8	960	500.1
1931	981	445.5	982	448.0
1932	1 113	519.7	1 117	516.9
1933	1 069	600.6	1 088	605.3
1934	1 030	622.8	1 039	625.5
1935	1 225	691.3	1 249	692.0
1936	1 371	788.5	1 395	790.1
1937	1 414	844.7	1 433	847.1

We gather from these data that the number of entries and clearances during the period under review has risen by 86.6% and their net registered tonnage by 130.1%. This advance ensued preponderantly during the last five years.

The distribution of the shipping entries at Memel according to national flag is as follows:

	1924—28*)	1935	1936	1937
Lithuania	15	48	96	107
Germany	408	480	544	527
Sweden	125	221	247	231
Great Britain	58	95	114	131
Denmark	51	116	128	117
Holland	6	74	80	83
Norway	25	53	55	65
Estonia	9	35	35	29
Latvia	51	27	20	19

The doubling of the number of vessels sailing under the Lithuanian flag in 1936 is due to the fact that the year in question marked an important expansion of the Lithuanian mercantile marine. Until that year only three vessels belonging to the Memel shipping firm Schwederski, „Friesland",

*) Yearly average.

505 „Holland", and „Gotland", sailed under the Lithuanian flag, their total capacity being 3 000 gross registered tons. First of all at the beginning of 1936 the „Maistas" Joint-stock Company, with a view to the favourable expansion of its meat export to England, acquired three vessels with refrigerating plant, and a total capacity of 1 723 gross registered tons, whereby the number of ships under the Lithuanian commercial ensign was doubled. At the end of 1936 the Lietuvos Baltijos Lloydas Joint-stock Company was floated with preliminary share-capital of 2 000 000 litas, later raised to 3 500 000 litas, which took over the three abovementioned vessels from „Maistas", and later purchased two others in Denmark of 1 880 gross registered tons, and finally one more in Norway of 1 566 gross registered tons.

Moreover, the Memel shippers „Sandėlis" in 1936 procured a vessel of 990 gross registered tons and at the beginning of 1938 a second of 1 128 gross registered tons.

Our mercantile marine therefore consists to-day of eleven steamers of a total capacity of 10 299 gross registered tons. They are:

„Utena",	542	gross	registered	tons
„Kretinga",	642	„	„	„
„Maistas",	641	„	„	„
„Šiauliai",	939	„	„	„
„Marijampolė",	941	„	„	„
„Gotland",	990	„	„	„
„Nida",	990	„	„	„
„Holland",	991	„	„	„
„Friesland",	1 029	„	„	„
„Neringa",	1 128	„	„	„
„Kaunas",	1 566	„	„	„

505 439 The development of our foreign trade traffic via Memel port from 1931 to 1937 is shown by the following figures:

Import and Export via Memel.

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	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Import, in 1 000 tons	426.0	611.3	696.7	738.6	666.0	810.7	968.9
Export, in 1 000 tons	194.9	222.1	258.4	275.8	441.1	462.8	370.1

These figures, in which of course transit traffic is also included, show that under the operation of the above-mentioned factors (extension of the port and creation of a home mercantile marine) the goods turnover of Memel port during recent years has doubled. As regards the structure of the goods turnover via Memel, export consists chiefly of the following items (in 1 000 tons):

	1924—28*)	1935	1936	1937
Timber	43.2	154.0	178.7	193.1
Cellulose	68.1	48.4	56.7	73.1
Sulphur sticks	17.2	15.4	13.3	21.1
Linseed	3.3	9.9	21.4	17.9
Butter	0	10.2	15.2	15.8
Meat	0	13.1	13.5	12.6
Flax	3.5	2.1	7.5	7.0
Plywood	4.7	5.5	6.2	5.7
Eggs	0.1	1.7	5.1	5.5
Grain	—	163.4	126.4	5.2

The most important articles imported via Memel (in 1 000 tons) were:

	1924—28*)	1935	1936	1937
Timber	11.3	152.9	247.5	262.3
Coal	146.4	214.3	216.3	229.6
Cement	32.8	55.4	72.9	89.7
Metal & Metal Wares	10.3	34.1	42.8	70.2
Fertilizers	71.2	42.3	45.2	60.6
Sulphur pyrites	31.8	15.9	23.7	49.4
Petroleum	9.3	22.0	29.2	44.4
Limestone and Lime	32.9	43.0	30.5	44.2
Salt	9.2	28.1	25.8	23.5
Herrings	1.3	6.2	9.8	11.2

*) Yearly average.

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The bulk of the goods exported via Memel went in 1924-28 to Germany (51%), Great Britain (15.5%), Latvia, Sweden, Belgium, Holland, and Danzig. On the other hand, in 1937 the sequence was: To Great Britain (46.5%), Holland (10.6%), Germany (8.2%), Belgium, United States, Denmark, and Sweden, which the re-grouping of our export trade during the last ten years reveals.

The goods imported via Memel in 1924-28 originated for the most part from Germany (32.6%), Great Britain (15.3%), Sweden, Danzig, Holland, Norway and Belgium. In 1937 Great Britain took the first place among countries of supply (32.8%), followed by the U. S. S. R. (21.9%), Finland (12.2%), Belgium, Sweden, and for the first time in the sixth place Germany, with only 5.6%.

In conclusion are cited a few comparative figures regarding shipping in the larger neighbouring ports (number of ships):

	1936	1937		1936	1937
Danzig	5 404	5 935	Tallinn	1 589	1 659
Königsberg	4 258	3 332	Memel	1 371	1 414
Riga	1 563	2 054	Libau	520	602

3. Inland Water Traffic.

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The total length of the Lithuanian waterways amounts to 2 774.3 kilometres of which 683.3 klms. are accessible to steamer communication, while on the remaining 2 091 klms. only timber-rafts can be carried.

The principal traffic of steamers and tug-boats takes place on the Kaunas - Memel line. The following data on the goods turnover of our three most important river ports (in 1 000 tons) illustrate the development of inland navigation goods traffic:

Year	Memel	Smalininkai	Kaunas
1931	153.1	109.8	62.7
1932	278.9	91.3	54.7
1933	269.5	148.2	58.7
1934	341.6	162.1	41.4
1935	340.9	91.8	34.4
1936	420.2	140.9	70.7
1937	400.5	154.6	77.6

The goods turnover of the port of Smalininkai most strikingly characterizes inland communication; then in the turnover of Memel port transit traffic with Germany (via Tilsit - Ragnit) is also included. On the inland waters downstream chiefly timber, and upstream coal and iron are conveyed. 505

Timber-rafting takes place mainly on the Nemunas and to a lesser extent also on the Neris, Jūra, Minija, and Nemunėlis. The quantities of round timber, pulp wood and firewood carried on the waterways were as follows (in cubic metres):

1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
206 669	412 902	360 000	473 706	441 396	266 292	468 966

Shipping on the Nemunas to-day serves predominantly inland traffic. In connexion with the regulation of economic relations with Poland, the possibility of increased utilization of these waterways for transit trade is to the fore.

4. Roads and Highways.

In 1918, i. e. at the time of the foundation of the independent Lithuanian State, the total length of roads amounted to 1 190 kilometres, but in this connexion it must be borne in mind that the majority of them were in an almost impassable condition, and that many bridges were destroyed. In 1928 already 1 701 klms. and at the end of 1937, 1 956 klms. were available, of which 1 265 klms. were under the jurisdiction of the State Highways Board and the remainder under that of the local administrations. The total length of roads during twenty years had therefore increased by 766 klms. which had been achieved partly by means of the improvement of old routes and partly by the construction of new ones. In that time a total of 1 247 klms. of roads had been fundamentally repaired, 213.5 klms. newly built, and 937 bridges constructed. The cost of this work amounted to 60 000 000 litas, of which 40 000 000 litas was on account of road and 20 000 000 litas on account of bridge construction. Besides the above-mentioned roads, there are also 31 530 klms. of country roads. The total length of all roads and highways is therefore 33 486 klms. 491

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

5. Goods Transit.

489 By virtue of her geographical position Lithuania is destined to be a transit country. Owing, however, to special political relations, our transit traffic could not heretofore be developed to the fullest extent, and has also been subject to big fluctuations.

The following table shows the development of our goods transit traffic during the last ten years:

Goods Transit Traffic on Railways and Waterways from 1928—37, in Tons.

Year	Total Quantity	On Railways	On Waterways	To Germany	From Germany
1928	280 839	.	.	.	199 395
1929	431 384	.	.	235 718	208 702
1930	431 297	362 130	69 254	257 632	176 203
1931	345 205	343 980	1 225	226 086	118 942
1932	195 501	13 969	181 532	177 573	18 075
1933	191 627	56 751	134 876	184 948	5 986
1934	263 279	70 494	192 785	231 062	2 722
1935	185 735	50 208	135 526	182 882	1 982
1936	295 534	55 387	240 147	291 935	2 757
1937	308 177	129 225	178 952	305 787	2 241

On the basis of the foregoing data we may reach the following conclusions:

1. Our transit traffic, owing to the erstwhile closing of the frontier with Poland, has developed only in two opposite directions, viz.,

A. As transit for German goods to Latvia, the U. S. S. R., and other Eastern countries;

B. As transit for Latvian, Russian, and other goods to Germany.

The transit traffic of the first category, that is, the transit from Germany, has, however, since 1933 almost entirely ceased, so that to-day 99% of the goods transit falls to transit to Germany. The cessation of the transit traffic from Germany has, it goes without saying, resulted in a sharp curtailment of

the total volume of our goods transit which, however, during the last two years has again displayed a rising tendency. 489

2. Until 1931 our transit traffic had developed mainly on the railways, whereas water traffic was inconsiderable. Since 1932 this relation has diametrically changed, and for the first time in 1937 railway transit again grew somewhat more rapidly without, however, being able to reach the scope of goods transit on the waterways.

According to countries of origin our goods transit traffic has proceeded as under (in tons):

	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Transit to and from Latvia	38 000	63 068	45 624	50 958	126 736
Of which on Railways	38 000	63 068	45 620	50 958	126 716
U. S. S. R.	116 131	170 924	105 500	216 577	37 748
Of which on Railways	103 594	166 405	103 361	216 114	37 624
Other Countries	37 496	29 286	34 610	27 998	143 694
Of which on waterways	31 282	26 380	32 162	24 033	141 308

These figures show that the total transit from Latvia takes place on the railways and that Latvia's share in the total volume of our goods transit by rail has grown rapidly in recent years. In 1933 it amounted to 66.9%; in 1937 it was already 98.1% of our transit traffic on the railways of the consignments from Latvia.

The transit traffic from other countries has accordingly developed preeminently on the waterways, i. e. principally on the Tilsit - Ragnit line. Until 1936 Russia had the largest share in this goods transit, while among other unspecified countries the most considerable part fell to Sweden. In 1937 in connexion with the curtailment of Russian pulp wood deliveries to Germany, Russian transit has receded, and the first place has been taken by Finland. The allocation of our transit on sea and river ways among separate countries appeared as follows in 1937:

489

From	Finland	109 658	tons or	61.3%
„	U. S. S. R.	37 624	„ „	21.0%
„	Sweden	31 646	„ „	17.7%

As regards the internal structure of goods transit through our country, pulp wood constitutes the most important item, claiming as it does on an average 80% of both the railway and waterways transit. Of the remaining goods, fertilizers play an important rôle in railway transit, and in transit on the waterways limestone from Sweden. The remaining consignments are inconsiderable.

It is as yet difficult to judge how the resumption of traffic with Poland will affect water transit, but possibilities of expansion of transit, especially on the riverways, are undoubtedly available.

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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IV. FINANCE AND CREDIT CONDITIONS

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6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

I. The State Budget.

652 Our State Budget is based upon the fundamental principle that expenditure must conform to revenue. Actually since 1924 in the financial history of independent Lithuania, it has always been possible not only to defray all ordinary expenditure from current receipts, but even to realize a surplus. The State loans have been incurred without exception solely for the defrayal of extraordinary outlays, chiefly for the purpose of valuable investments.

The contrast between revenue and expenditure during the last ten years is shown in the following table (in million litas):

	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Revenue	319.8	338.5	347.7	340.1	292.0	256.9	264.4	279.9	302.8	329.9
Expenditure	280.5	269.9	320.6	335.3	278.2	249.7	251.8	276.9	287.7	318.2
Surplus	+39.3	+68.6	+27.1	+4.8	+13.8	+7.2	+12.6	+3.0	+15.1	+11.7

The Budget figures cited above faithfully reflect the contingent course of our economy; 1930 was the record year for revenue, while the recession in 1931, amounting to only 2.2%, was due solely to the lower figure of extraordinary receipts, as will be clear from the subsequent table. Expenditure also reached its peak in 1931, and on that account, that year, in harmony with other important economic curves also from the standpoint of the finances, must be regarded as the high trend year before the crisis. Like the employment of industry, both the Budget series also reached their lowest level in 1933, and the years 1934 and 1935 were signalized by a slight improvement. Both last years show a rapid advance, without, however, again attaining the record figures of 1931, which is explained by the erstwhile serious recession.

652 We can determine the structure of the State revenue and
651 the not entirely uniform development of its separate categories on the strength of the following table:

The Structure and Development of the State Revenue from 1928 to 1937 (Million Litas).

	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
1. Direct Taxes	35.2	37.8	41.8	42.6	39.1	40.4	39.2	38.5	44.1	48.7
including:										
(a) Land Tax	16.9	18.1	19.6	19.1	17.1	18.6	18.5	16.2	17.9	18.1
(b) Urban Real Estate Tax	5.0	5.0	6.1	6.7	6.9	6.9	6.5	7.0	8.1	8.6
(c) Patent and Profit Tax (Trade & Industry Tax) ..	9.7	10.1	11.2	11.3	10.5	9.9	9.0	9.5	10.5	13.1
(d) Labour Profit Tax	....	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.8	1.6	2.5	3.2	4.7	5.6
2. Indirect Taxes	120.5	122.6	134.8	138.5	110.8	94.2	98.5	91.6	98.4	120.0
including:										
(a) Excise	18.2	19.3	17.7	20.6	20.6	20.1	19.5	24.1	19.0	29.6
(b) Monopolies	44.0	41.7	42.4	42.4	32.8	28.1	26.0	25.6	30.0	35.1
(c) Customs Duties ..	58.3	61.5	74.7	75.5	57.4	46.1	53.0	41.9	49.4	55.3
3. Dues	9.6	20.8	20.6	20.1	18.3	17.8	17.1	17.0	19.2	22.1
4. State Undertakings	53.9	64.0	60.4	68.0	50.8	46.0	46.3	45.4	48.6	51.5
5. Properties & Capital	37.6	36.3	33.1	31.0	22.0	22.2	24.5	17.6	26.5	33.7
6. Other Ordinary Revenue	21.8	14.5	11.3	11.7	11.1	7.9	10.2	8.7	9.1	9.4
7. Extraordinary Revenue	41.2	42.5	45.7	28.3	39.9	28.4	28.6	61.0	56.9	44.5

Direct taxes play a relatively small rôle in our Budget, since their share in 1937 amounted to only 14.8% of all State revenue. The principal items consist of indirect taxes and the income from State undertakings. Nevertheless both the share of direct taxes and their relation to indirect taxes are constantly increasing, which proves that our taxation system is ever more and more emancipating itself from the tradition of earlier Russian financial methods and approaching the West European system. The ratio of direct to indirect taxes in the old Russian Empire amounted to 10:59; in independent Lithuania, on the contrary, in 1928 it was already 10:34, and in 1937 only 10:25. In Great Britain the ratio of direct to indirect taxes is only 10:9. Also the share of the total yield of direct taxes in the State revenue has risen during these years: in 1928 it amounted to 11.0%, and in 1937 already to 14.8%.

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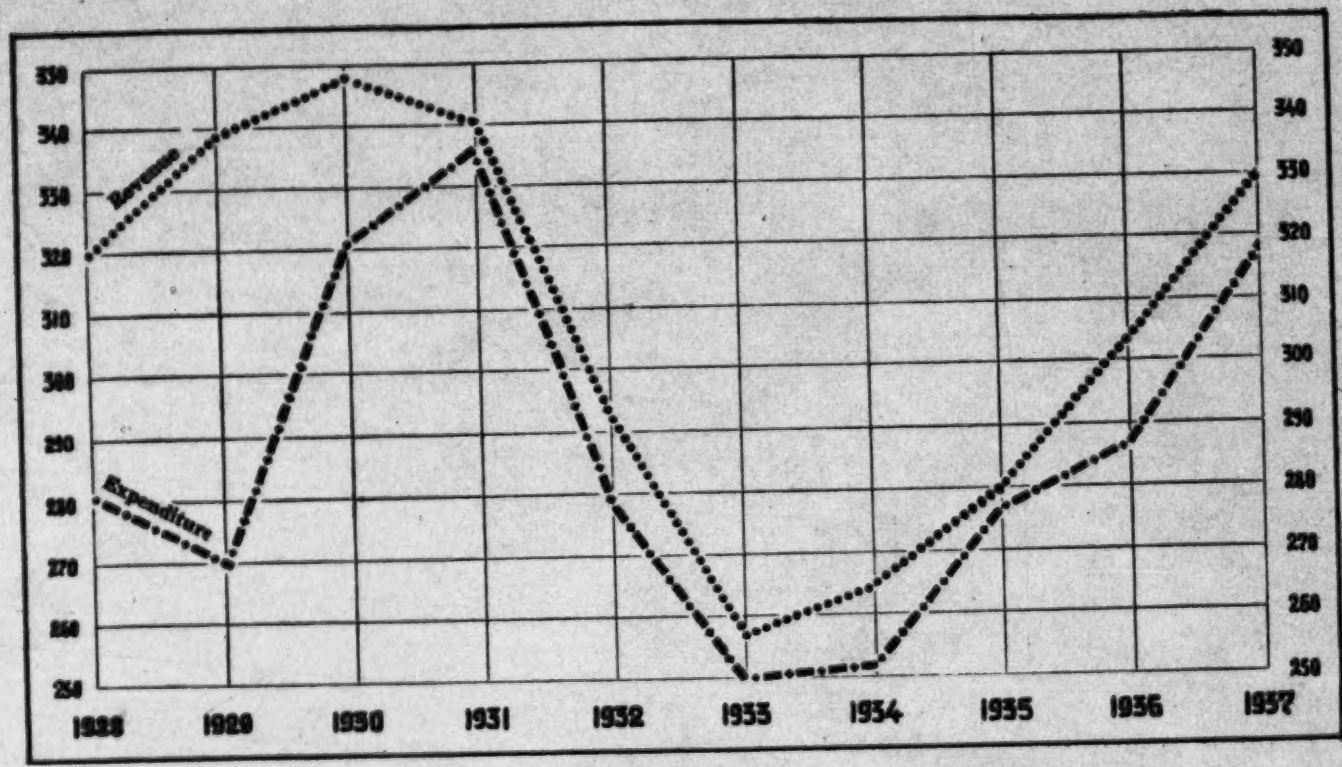
Diagram No. 6.

State Revenue and Expenditure in Million Litas.



6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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The development of receipts from direct taxation is less dependent upon the contingent economic position than, for example, the yield of the State Monopolies. This rigidity is in the first place due to the fact that the Land Tax constitutes the principal item, which is assessed not according to the yield but the number of acres; therefore the fluctuations of the Land Tax receipts, which clearly appear from the table, are to be ascribed to the circumstance that in years of a favourable trend generally taxes are paid more punctually than during a crisis. The Land Tax payments reached their peak in 1930; but the year 1932 first brought about a considerable recession. Following the nadir reached in 1935, the receipts during both last years have again improved, but still remain below the level of 1933 and 1934.

The series of the Urban Real Estate Tax affords an interesting study; its almost uninterrupted upward curve reflects the intensive building activity which during the last two years has greatly increased. The series of the Patent and Profit Tax, which is collected from commercial and industrial undertakings, is wholly adjusted to the course of the economic trend. In the chapter on Home Trade, it has already been demonstrated that the rise of payments in 1937 over the position of 1931 pertains solely to the share of industry, because the yield from trade taxes still remains below the level of 1931.

The increase of the total amount of direct taxes during recent years and therewith also the improvement of their share to a great extent depend upon the introduction of the Labour Profit Tax in 1932, which until that year, known under the style of the Personal Earnings Tax, had been collected merely to a restricted degree, i. e. only from commercial employees. The increase of revenue from 1933 to 1936 is explained by the repeated raising of taxation and the reduction of the cost of living minimum in 1935. The advance in 1937 reflects, on the other hand, the amelioration of the economic situation and particularly the growth of the number of workers and employees.

Indirect taxes constitute the most important item of revenue; they are, it goes without saying, highly dependent upon contingent fluctuations. Their absolute peak level was

reached in 1931, in which year their percentage share was also the highest, viz., 40.7%. The recession in the crisis period was most marked in 1935, i. e. in comparison with 1931 by 46 900 000 litas or a third in round figures. The last two years, but especially 1937, brought about a recovery by 28 400 000 litas. The share in the total revenue that year amounted to 36.4%. 651 652

Among indirect taxes the Customs duties are the most productive. In 1937 they alone defrayed 17.4% of all State disbursements. The strikingly sharp decline of Customs receipts in the crisis years (in 1935 by 44.5% in comparison with 1931) and the relatively low present position, notwithstandig the advance during the last two years, are not due to the quantitative curtailment of import (it has, on the contrary, grown) but to the change in their structure. To-day more raw materials are imported, and fewer luxury articles, which naturally are subject to higher duties.

The receipts of the State Monopolies (Spirit, Matches, and Playing Cards) reflect very faithfully on the whole the development of the purchasing power of the population, but their estimate nevertheless necessitates consideration of the circumstance that the price of spirit during the period under review, in sympathy with the course of other commodity prices, decreased. Although therefore the total receipts of the Monopolies in 1937 stand below the level of the years 1930—1931, the actual sales of whisky through the Monopoly retail establishments in 1937 were 121 000 litres or 2.3% higher than in 1931. The recovery of the losses of the crisis period followed only during the last two years, in which the sales in comparison with 1935 grew by 1 275 217 litres or 31.1%, which characterizes the development tempo of the present-day advance. 652 655

The figure sequence of the excise receipts is, from the contingent standpoint, largely upset by the circumstance that in 1932, as the consumption of excisable goods began to decline in consequence of the outbreak of the crisis, the domestic production of sugar set in, whereby the decreases of excise dues from beer, tobacco, &c., were more or less equalized. The fluctuations in the receipts of the last three years are explained by the fact that in 1935 a portion of the sugar 652

652 excise for the following year was paid in advance and in 1937 the residue for the expired year was paid in retrospect.

[655] The third important group of State revenue consists of the income from State undertakings, such as the railways, posts, telegraphs, and telephones.

Their percentage share in the total amount of State revenue in 1931, i. e. before the crisis period, represented 19.9%; in 1937 it amounted to only 15.6%. This group shows the sharpest decline of receipts, which has been caused chiefly by the sinking of railway earnings since 1932, and was partly elicited by the recession of goods transit.

The income from State Properties is regulated in the first place by timber sales from the State forests and is therefore dependent upon the movement of timber prices. In 1937 it overtook the pre-crisis level, which, however, was attained, in addition to the price trend, through more intensive timber felling.

The extraordinary revenue is composed chiefly of the carrying-over of the previous years' surplus and of the salary deductions for State officials introduced since 1932 for the crisis period. The latter item during the last three years amounted to approximately 24 000 000 litas. In 1935 and 1936 also the taking up of State debts to the amount of 18 000 000 litas and 15 000 000 litas respectively figures in this group; furthermore in 1936 the revenue from the Coinage Fund to the amount of 17 000 000 litas. The percentage share of extraordinary revenue, which in 1931 amounted to merely 8.3%, rose in 1935 to 21.8% and in 1937 again declined to 13.5%.

State Expenditure from 1928—1937 (in million Litas).

	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
State Council	4.2	4.0	4.8	5.5	4.4	4.7	4.8	4.8	5.2	5.9
Ministry for National Defence .	49.1	49.3	55.9	55.5	46.4	38.9	49.9	65.5	76.8	81.4
Ministry of Agriculture	44.8	35.0	41.6	63.7	50.7	38.0	42.2	46.5	44.9	36.2
Ministry of Finance	49.1	46.9	58.8	46.4	31.9	25.7	23.7	30.0	26.1	34.5
Ministry of Communications ..	59.0	60.4	71.4	72.2	62.9	54.0	51.5	51.2	51.8	63.7

Ministry of Home Affairs	23.3	24.3	26.6	28.1	25.2	24.6	25.0	24.9	26.1	29.8	652
Ministry for Foreign Affairs ..	4.5	4.4	5.7	6.3	5.1	4.6	3.9	4.5	4.8	5.6	
Ministry of Education	35.3	34.3	43.3	45.6	40.4	38.6	39.5	38.0	39.5	47.6	
Ministry of Justice	9.8	9.9	11.2	10.7	10.0	9.4	10.2	10.4	11.3	12.4	
State Control	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.1	1.1	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.1	

The structure of State expenditure and its development since 1928 are show in the foregoing table. We see therefrom that until 1934 the Ministry of Communications held the first place in State outlays; then disbursements for purposes of national defence have advanced to the top in the last three years. The high share of expenses for purposes of communication - this amounted in 1931 to 21.5% and in 1937 to 20.0% - is to be ascribed to the heavy investment costs of the expansion of the railway network, road building, and expansion of Memel port.

Then follow outlays for agriculture. Their share reached 654
its peak level in 1931, viz., 19.0%, and then declined to 15.6% 652
in 1936 and 11.4% in 1937. Their high share in the pre-crisis period is due to prolific reclamation works. During the crisis approximately half the disbursements devolved upon relief measures for the purpose of improving the prices of grain and other agricultural products, about which we have already spoken more in detail in the chapter on the Home Trade (section on Development of Prices). With the amelioration of the economic situation, the subventions naturally decreased, which explains the reduction of the percentage share of 1937.

The expenditure of the Ministry of Education also 652
represents a considerable proportion of the total. In 1937 both actually and in percentage it reached its peak level and exceeded the pre-crisis position. Its share in 1937 amounted to 15% in round figures against 13.6% in 1931.

The outlays of the Ministry of Finance during the last six years show a lower level than from 1928—1931; this is chiefly the result of the changes in the development of credit operations.

The remaining expenditures (State Council, Ministries of Home and Foreign Affairs, Justice, and State Control), in view of their State political character, are far more stable and therefore show no considerable variations.

2. State Debts.

652 Public debts play no weighty rôle in Lithuanian State finances. At the end of 1937 they amounted to 47 litas per capita of the population, whereas in Latvia the proportion is 80 litas and in Estonia 180 litas per capita.

The development of the debt position and its structure are clear from the following table: —

Year	Foreign Debts	Domestic Debts	Total
	in Million Litas		
1927	80.6	1.0	81.6
1928	86.7	1.0	87.7
1929	85.3	0.9	86.2
1930	108.3	0.8	109.1
1931	136.6	2.5	139.1
1932	150.5	2.5	153.0
1933	114.8	1.7	116.5
1934	90.1	1.7	91.8
1935	82.1	19.7	101.8
1936	81.1	35.9	117.0
1937	78.5	40.1	118.6

The most distinctive characteristic of the variations in the structure of our public indebtedness disclosed by the foregoing table is the decline in the total amount of the foreign debts and the taking up for the first time of more domestic debts during the last three years, whereby the relation of foreign and domestic indebtedness has been displaced. The foreign debts, which in 1932 reached their peak level - they then amounted to 98.4% of the total public debt - have since then receded by half, i. e. 72 000 000 litas, and since in the interim the sum of 37 600 000 litas domestic debt has been taken up, the share of foreign debt has decreased to 66.2%. A larger portion of the decline of foreign obligations is of course explained by the depreciation of the American dollar, because most foreign debts were contracted in dollars; nevertheless the redemption payments actually disbursed from 1933—1937 amount to the considerable sum of 26 800 000 litas. This structural development of our State Debt reflects the growth of the capital energy

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of the native population and the progressive consolidation of 652
our economic independence.

The following table shows the position of the foreign and 652
domestic debts on December 31, 1937 (in 1 000 litas): 457
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I. Foreign Debts.

Debts to the U. S. A.	44 222.5
Debts to Great Britain	1 161.8
Liberty Loan	3 675.5
Match Monopoly Loan	25 738.9
Debts for the Administration of the Memel Territory	1 232.5
Debts For Public Works	2 507.8
Total:	78 539.0

II. Domestic Debts. 652

4½% Domestic Loan of 1935	16 195.0
4½% Domestic Loan of 1936	15 000.0
Treasury Bills of 1937	3 029.5
State Debt Debentures	57.9
Debts for War Charges	1 620.4
Debts for Public Works	4 192.6
Total:	40 095.4
Total Public Debt	118 634.4

Our State Debts can be divided into two categories: 652

(a) Debts from the time of the struggle for freedom and 648
the first years of independent Lithuania; this period terminated 457
approximately in 1923;

(b) Debts of a later period, which were contracted solely for the purpose of economic reconstruction.

To the former group belong:

1. The debt to the United States, which originated from 1919 and was contracted for various medicaments, clothing,

652 648 457 and foodstuffs obtained from the American military camps in France and from the American Relief Administration. The residue of the debt was fixed by the Treaty of 1924 at 60 000 000 litas ($ 6 000 000).

2. The debt to Great Britain of 1920 for war material deliveries to the amount of 7 300 000 litas (£ 150 000).

3. The Liberty Loan was realized between 1919 and 1925 in America from the local Lithuanians for the purposes of organization of defence of Lithuania and for goods purchases, to the amount of 18 500 000 litas ($ 1 850 000).

4. The debt to the Allied Powers for the administrative costs of the Memel Territory was consolidated in 1930 for 9 100 000 litas, of which 8 900 000 pertained to France and 200 000 litas to Great Britain.

652 5. The promissory-notes of the State Treasury, which between 1921 and 1923 were issued to the amount of 36 600 000 Ost mark.

6. The so-called War Money Charges Certificates, a sort of extraordinary tax, which in the first years of Lithuanian independence were obtained from the urban population and all commercial and industrial undertakings. These tax certificates are redeemed according to a specified plan at 50% of the face value.

Of the above-mentioned debts belonging to the category of the liberation period there remains at present still unredeemed a total of 50 700 000 litas.

Of the second group, that is of the loans that were utilized for economic investment, the following are noteworthy:

(a) The Match Monopoly Loan, which was contracted in 1930 in Sweden for the transfer of the Match Monopoly to the Swedish Joint-stock Match Manufacturing Company, to the amount of 60 000 000 litas ($ 6 000 000), of which, however, only 45 000 000 litas ($ 4 500 000) was realized, and

(b) The debts for public works which were incurred for the construction of the Telšiai - Kretinga Railway, to the amount of 15 700 000 litas; for the expansion of Memel port, to the amount of 4 200 000 litas; and for the erection of two bridges in Kaunas, to the amount of 1 700 000 litas;

(c) The two domestic loans, viz., of 18 000 000 litas in 1935 and of 15 000 000 litas in 1936.

The loans of the second category were employed exclusively 652
for investment. They were applied to purposes which themselves assure their regular redemption, as, for example, the Swedish loan, which almost in toto (40 000 000 litas) was placed at the disposal of the Žemės Bankas (Land Bank) for extension of agricultural credit. The position of all these economic loans at the end of 1937 amounted to 67 900 000 litas.

3. The Payment Balance.

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The payment balance reflects most faithfully the general financial situation of the country. The aspect of the Lithuanian payment balance shows that the situation of our finances can be regarded as healthy and satisfactory.

The following table contains data for several years, which are most characteristic for the changes that have occurred during the last dacade.

The Lithuanian Payment Balance.

(in Million Litas)

	1929	1930	1933	1934	1936	1937
Revenue:						
1. Export	331.3	323.8	156.9	145.4	191.8	229.4
2. Interest & Dividends	2.9	3.4	2.0	2.2	0.9	0.6
3. Other current items	91.5	74.3	39.0	35.8	31.2	27.8
4. Capital Operations ..	11.3	35.4	5.5	12.4	7.5	20.1
Total:	437.0	436.9	203.4	195.8	231.4	277.9
Expenditure:						
1. Import	312.0	322.9	147.7	150.7	163.9	239.2
2. Interest & Dividends	7.9	12.1	6.1	5.2	4.5	3.0
3. Other current items	56.7	63.9	31.4	21.6	22.5	26.3
4. Capital Operations ..	48.6	20.7	18.2	18.2	9.2	6.3
Total:	425.2	419.6	203.4	195.7	200.1	274.8
Balance:	+11.8	+17.3	—	+0.1	+31.3	+3.1

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652 The first two years, 1929 and 1930, belong to the high trend period; 1933 and 1934 represent the low level position of the crisis, and both last years show the present-day economic advance.

On the basis of the foregoing figures we can first of all conclude that our payment account even during the crisis could be closed without a passive balance.

The most important item on the revenue and expenditure side consists of the foreign trade turnover, the figures of which do not, however, agree with those of the foreign trade statistics. The export figure is raised by the value of the fish exported from the Kurisches Haff, which do not pass the Customs, and the import figure in relation to contraband corrected. The changes in the value of the foreign trade turnover, in connexion with the price development treated in preceding chapters, were the main cause of the recession of the total sum of our payment balance in comparison with the pre-crisis position. Also the descent of the active balance in 1937, in comparison with the previous year, was evoked by the passive balance of the trade account; the corrected trade account in 1936 had an active balance of 27 900 000 litas, and, on the contrary, in 1937 a passive balance of 9 800 000 litas.

The second most important item consists of the services (transport, postal communication, freights, harbour dues, tourist expenditures) as also the funds and remittances of emigrants, which in our table are indicated as „Other current items".

On the revenue side before the crisis, inter alia the remittances of emigrants played the most considerable rôle, but these have since been severely curtailed. Thus in 1929 the money remittances from America amounted to 30 500 000 litas; in 1933 to 9 700 000 litas; and in 1937 to only 6 200 000 litas. The sharp recession of railway goods transit since 1932 has likewise contributed to the decline of the corresponding receipts. On the expenditure side in this group in the first place stand the outlays of Lithuanian tourists abroad, the money exported by Lithuanian emigrants as also the transport costs. The decline of the first two categories is explained by the economic crisis, while the shrinkage of transport costs is attributable to the extension of the Memel harbour and the

creation of a home mercantile marine. All these factors 652 explain why the amount of the so-called „Other current items", as also of our payment balance on the debit and credit side, has sharply diminished.

The items „Capital Operations" and „Interest and Dividends" have also in recent years declined on the expenditure side, which has in part been brought about by the introduction of currency regulation. On the revenue side, on the other hand, in 1937 the increase in the influx of foreign capital has to be noted.

4. Operations of the Lietuvos Bankas.

Lithuania belongs to the few States that have maintained their currency quotation on the level of gold parity. The retention of sound currency, notwithstanding the crisis and devaluation in almost all countries of the world, has materially contributed to the fact that the passing accumulation tendency of foreign exchange in 1935 which, moreover, had more psychological than real grounds, by recourse to foreign bills regulation, was easily eliminated, and the normal situation rapidly restored.

The emission activity of Lietuvos Bankas will be clear from the following comparison:

Year End Dec. 31	Banknote Issue	Gold Reserve	Foreign Bills	Cover Ratio in Gold and Foreign Bills in %
		in Million Litas		
1928	84.77	34.27	43.62	91.9
1929	94.83	35.08	78.48	119.8
1930	117.16	39.39	86.32	107.3
1931	108.95	50.14	33.17	76.5
1932	96.21	49.07	15.96	67.6
1933	89.92	52.00	15.34	76.8
1934	88.24	52.14	8.38	68.6
1935	103.50	36.14	9.91	44.5
1936	110.35	73.10	4.08	69.9
1937	116.56	79.04	1.87	69.4

The last column of the above table shows that the cover ratio has never fallen below the legally prescribed norm of

152 33 1/3%, because even the lowest position reached in 1935 which, moreover, afforded the occasion for the introduction of foreign bills regulation, still remained 11 points above the norm. The present cover ratio is indeed, when percentaged, lower than in the pre-crisis years, but the cover must nevertheless be deemed far more favourable, if one takes into consideration that in 1937 67.8% and in 1929, that is, in the year of the highest cover ratio, only 36.9% of the banknote emission were covered with gold. The gold reserve of the Lietuvos Bankas has grown 125.3% in comparison with 1929, i. e. chiefly during the last two years.

The volume of the emission reflects approximately the contingent development of the economic situation, taking into account, it is true, the circumstance that the quoted numerals represent the monthly figures at the end of December of the actual year; thus, for example, the banknote circulation in October, 1931, amounted still to 120 650 000 litas against 118 280 000 litas in October, 1930, which proves that the crisis first began at the end of 1931.

This is shown us also by the first two columns of the following table, which contain other most important data on the activity of the Lietuvos Bankas (in million litas):

Year	Annual Turnover	Total Monetary Circulation: Year's Average	Deposits	Loans	Discount
			December 31		
1928	5 560.4	102.0	80.39	91.49	7
1929	5 662.0	102.3	99.55	84.14	7
1930	6 094.6	117.2	102.67	101.62	7
1931	6 492.3	127.1	77.99	109.11	8 1/2
1932	5 056.6	112.7	57.17	91.96	7
1933	4 163.6	105.8	60.80	83.79	7
1934	4 004.1	101.1	68.51	101.03	6
1935	4 417.2	111.4	45.78	103.01	6
1936	4 781.8	124.1	78.01	105.37	5 1/2
1937	5 565.4	131.9	91.75	119.42	5 1/2

The development of the figure series of the general annual turnover and of the total monetary circulation is not quite proportionate. The difference is noticeable chiefly during the

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last two years. Expressed in indices they show the following course: 652

	1931	1936	1937
Annual turnover	100.0	73.6	86.0
Monetary circulation	100.0	97.6	103.8

The vigorous development of the monetary circulation exists in connexion with the credit policy of the Lietuvos Bankas. The sum of loans granted in 1937 rose by 9.5% in comparison with 1931. The increased fluidity of the money market is moreover emphasized in the reduced discount rate. The figure series of the monetary circulation shows us therefore the development of the credit situation, while the annual turnover more accurately characterizes the economic situation. On the basis of the turnover development and taking into consideration the price variations, we may assume that the real value of the total operations of the Lietuvos Bankas has doubled in comparison with 1928 and has risen by 40% in comparison with 1931, which clearly discloses the rapid advance of economy, particularly in recent years.

The distribution of loans granted by the Lietuvos Bankas according to separate economic branches is shown in the following comparative table:

Year	Agriculture		Industry		Trade	
	Mil. Lts.	Percentage Share	Mil. Lts.	Percentage Share	Mil. Lts.	Percentage Share
1934	34.83	40.9%	26.81	31.5%	5.00	5.9%
1935	41.21	40.7%	30.36	30.0%	5.55	5.5%
1936	44.88	43.4%	31.84	30.8%	5.70	5.5%
1937	50.19	47.5%	27.72	26.2%	5.61	5.3%
1938	50.57	42.3%	30.67	25.7%	9.35	7.8%

As is clear from the foregoing figures, credits were in the first place provided for agricultural purposes. They were for the most part granted to the corresponding cooperative societies. In industry and trade, the branches working for export were chiefly considered. Moreover, in the years 1930—1933, a lower special discount rate (6%) was also fixed for export credits.

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5. The Situation of Credit Institutions.

453 The Lithuanian credit institutions can be classified in the following groups:

1. Žemės Bankas (Land Bank). It was founded in 1924 with 50 000 000 litas share-capital, of which 48 000 000 litas was taken up by the Government. Its object consists in the promotion of agriculture through the granting of mortgage loans. Together with the Lietuvos Bankas it is the second largest public credit establishment in the country.

The most important balance items for the last ten years are collated in the following table (in million litas):

Year Dec. 31	Balance Amounts	Deposits & Current A/cs	Loans & Discounts	Including Mortgage Loans
1928	49.84	14.21	39.54	23.11
1929	66.98	11.33	52.99	30.00
1930	95.17	17.12	81.33	54.46
1931	122.29	16.93	110.06	83.49
1932	125.30	21.35	115.32	91.94
1933	135.35	19.88	121.20	102.39
1934	141.95	21.91	125.47	107.01
1935	140.40	22.54	127.68	112.39
1936	149.39	22.18	132.57	116.79
1937	158.07	34.17	144.28	121.74

The mortgage business was properly speaking more widely expanded after 1930, since when the Žemės Bankas, under the amended statutes, has been granted the right of mortgage-deeds issue. The circulation of these amounted at the end of 1937 to 73 500 000 litas. The quotation of the recently issued VII Series at 4.5% amounts to 89—90 per 100 face value.

The course of the balance items quoted in the foregoing table shows that the crisis certainly restricted the development of the operations of the Žemės Bankas without, however, entailing any losses.

A circumstance that was largely instrumental in enabling the Bank to bridge over the crisis was that through the Government the sum of 40 000 000 litas from the Match Monopoly or the so-called Swedish loan was placed at its disposal. The credit business, and inter alia chiefly mortgage

loans show an uninterrupted rising tendency. Since 1928, the amount of the latter has increased sixfold, and since 1931 it has grown by nearly 50%. 453

The rate of interest for mortgage loans amounted in 1930 to 7½%; in 1933 to 6%; in 1935 to 5%; and since July 1, 1936, to 4%. In connexion with the raising of the rate of interest on mortgage-deeds in 1937 to 4½%, the rate of interest on rural credits was also increased to 5%, and on urban mortgage loans to 5½%.

II. To the second group belong 13 commercial banks and 15 associations of mutual credit. Among them 11 banks are organized as joint-stock companies with a capital-stock of 30 700 000 litas. The most important are: Ūkio Bankas (with 15 000 000 litas capital-stock); Kooperacijos Bankas, Komercijos Bankas, Kredito Bankas, Tarptautinis Bankas, Jüdische Zentralbank - all in Kaunas; and Klaipėdos Bankas, Landschaftsbank, Raiffeisenbank A. G. and Tautinis Lietuvių Bankas in Memel.

The most important balance items of the Kaunas credit institutions from 1928 to 1937 are shown in the following table (in million litas):

Year Dec. 31	Capital-stock	Balance Amounts	Deposits & Current A/cs.	Loans & Discounts
1928	26.50	119.57	56.82	74.06
1929	27.28	134.92	76.99	80.41
1930	27.29	156.74	98.27	108.40
1931	27.81	137.57	73.02	86.87
1932	26.93	125.55	72.98	75.75
1933	29.24	126.79	67.21	80.53
1934	28.89	124.11	61.59	80.64
1935	28.85	116.15	54.03	75.99
1936	29.06	133.02	68.84	85.06
1937	29.05	153.35	83.23	103,27

The corresponding figures for the Memel credit establishments are as follows:

453

Year Dec. 31	Capital-stock	Balance Amounts	Deposits & Current A/cs.	Loans & Discounts
1928	4.56	53.33	30.46	39.04
1929	4.89	54.49	35.80	41.11
1930	5.00	62.60	43.27	48.38
1931	4.79	62.44	32.06	51.83
1932	4.30	52.23	27.80	41.61
1933	4.29	46.83	22.31	35.52
1934	4.51	40.38	15.23	31.46
1935	4.04	35.43	12.27	29.08
1936	3.99	41.30	14.67	33.47
1937	3.87	44.73	19.73	37.08

On the basis of both the foregoing tables, we can draw the following conclusions:

(1) The capital-stock of the Kaunas institutions has been stationary since 1933, but in comparison with 1928 shows a slight growth. The capital-stock of the Memel establishments has sunk below the level of 1928.

(2) The last two years have entirely adjusted the crisis losses of the Kaunas banks, while the Memel institutions also show a revival though not at the same tempo. The deposits there more particularly remain far behind the pre-crisis position.

474
452

III. The third group consists of the credit cooperative societies, which are chiefly spread over the rural districts and possess an old tradition. The first cooperative society was already founded in 1873, and until the World War there were in Lithuania under Russian alien domination 207 credit cooperative societies with 88 900 active membres.

The activity of the credit cooperative societies, interrupted by the World War, was speedily resumed in independent Lithuania, although the erstwhile organizations had been destroyed and new foundations had to be effected. The Government also contributed largely to the expansion of the credit cooperative societies, in which context, since 1930, long-term loans at 3% interest have been granted from State resources.

The development of the activity of the credit cooperative societies, with the exception of the Memel Territory, since 1928 is shown in the following table:

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474
452

Year Dec. 31	No. of Cooperatives	No. of Members	Balance Amounts	Deposits	Loans
			(In million litas)		
1928	417	89 816	52.24	21.42	39.01
1929	407	98 380	63.29	30.18	46.59
1930	399	96 968	74.47	39.12	56.98
1931	397	107 535	80.68	38.46	63.64
1932	403	112 105	81.07	38.40	62.53
1933	399	117 809	79.87	37.46	63.74
1934	382	111 647	76.35	34.00	60.83
1935	369	111 909	71.69	29.48	56.83
1936	337	107 796	74.33	32.94	57.31
1937	322	111 582	82.16	39.99	61.64

The decrease in the total number of the cooperative societies is attributable to the amalgamation of smaller unions. The rising development tendency is obvious from the circumstance that the balance sum has already surpassed the pre-crisis level.

The financing of the credit cooperative societies is provided for by the Kooperacijos Bankas (Cooperative Bank), which since 1933 has been re-organized as a joint-stock company with capital-stock of 3 000 000 litas; 2 500 000 litas thereof has been taken up by the Government while the remaining shares remain in the possession of 180 cooperatives.

A less favourable development is shown by the balance-sheets of the cooperative societies of the Memel Territory, which are organized as Raiffeisen loan banks. They are summarized in the following table:

Year Dec. 31	No. of Cooperatives	No. of Members	Balance Amounts	Deposits	Loans
			(In million litas)		
1928	43	12 135	17.10	12.09	13.99
1929	43	12 304	21.51	15.32	18.18
1930	43	12 202	25.71	18.63	22.33
1931	43	12 315	27.89	20.13	24.96
1932	41	11 064	24.60	15.37	21.52
1933	41	10 029	23.60	12.67	20.22
1934	41	9 446	20.28	9.92	17.95
1935	41	8 816	18.99	8.73	16.64
1936	41	8 359	17.99	7.47	15.80

453 IV. To the fourth and last group belong the State savings
152 banks in Lithuania Major and the savings banks of the Memel Territory. The following tables elucidate their activity:

152 **A. The Activity of the State Savings Banks (in million litas):**

Year Dec. 31	Balance Amounts	Savings Deposits	Loans
1928	3.85	0.86	3.04
1929	5.66	2.07	4.76
1930	12.52	11.00	11.98
1931	26.82	24.80	25.06
1932	36.70	34.17	31.73
1933	41.36	38.75	35.03
1934	46.69	43.12	37.84
1935	47.21	42.90	35.68
1936	57.38	52.29	32.79
1937	66.34	60.12	30.37

453 **B. The Activity of the Savings Banks of the Memel Territory (in million litas):**

Year Dec. 31	Balance Amounts	Savings Deposits	Loans
1928	11.71	9.23	4.21
1929	14.04	11.64	4.86
1930	19.99	15.65	6.81
1931	24.01	18.65	8.09
1932	30.24	23.96	9.06
1933	26.58	19.32	6.48
1934	23.19	15.26	6.73
1935	20.39	11.87	6.57
1936	21.61	13.82	5.70
1937	28.12	18.61	5.32

152 The percentage distribution of the savings deposits in the State savings banks according to vocation is also characteristic of the growing well-being of the working population. The figures are as under:

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	1935, Jan. 1	1936, Jan. 1	1937, Jan. 1	1938, Jan. 1
Public Institutions	40.64	44.85	38.87	33.6
Officials and Employees	13.09	13.11	14.72	16.6
Farmers	12.52	12.67	14.40	15.6
Merchants & Industrialists	11.22	8.93	8.64	9.0
Liberal Professions	7.99	7.90	7.50	8.2
Workers	2.49	2.53	3.01	3.7

* * *

Summarizing the figures of the Lietuvos Bankas and the Žemės Bankas, the commercial banks and the associations of mutual credit of Kaunas and Memel, the credit cooperative societies and the Raiffeisen loan funds banks, as also of the State savings banks and the savings banks of the Memel Territory, we obtain the following result of the development of deposits and loans in all Lithuanian credit institutions during the last ten years (in million litas):

Dec. 31	Deposits	Loans
1928	225.46	304.38
1929	282.83	333.04
1930	345.73	437.83
1931	302.04	479.62
1932	291.20	449.48
1933	278.40	446.51
1934	269.54	461.95
1935	229.60	451.48
1936	290.22	467.35
1937*)	347.60	501.38

These figures show that both deposits and loans in 1937 again reached and exceeded the pre-crisis position (1930—31). Whereas, however, the deposits in conformity with the contingent situation of economy in the crisis years have suffered a severe setback, the fluctuations of the loans were negligible,

*) Without Raiffeisen loan banks of Memel Territory.

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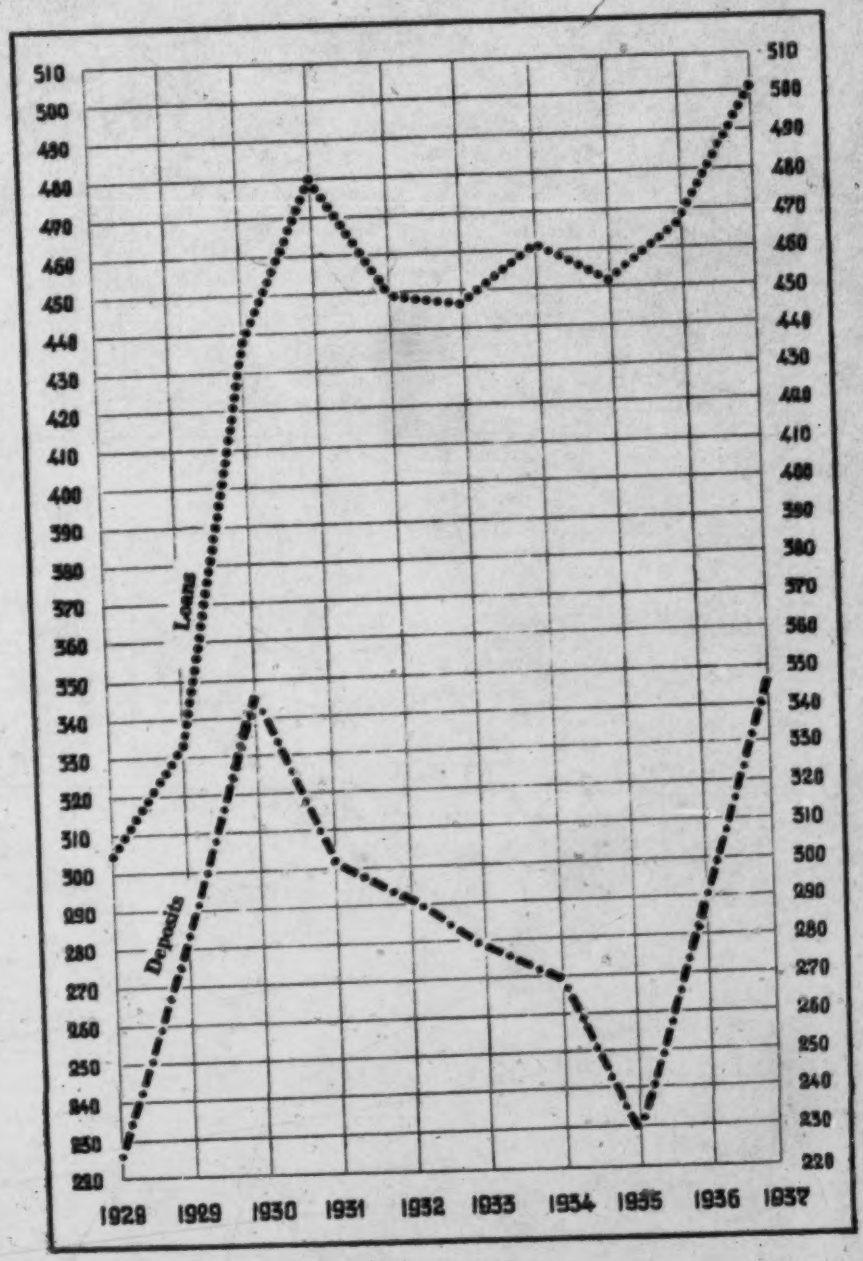
Diagram No. 7.

452 Loans and Deposits of the Credit Institutions, in million litas.



which is attributable to the intervention of the Government on behalf of agricultural credits. 452 453

In connexion with the consolidation of the credit situation and thanks to the initiative of the Lietuvos Bankas, private discount has also materially decreased. In 1929 it still fluctuated between 14—18%. At the end of 1930 the banks decided that the rate of interest should not rise above 12%; while today it amounts to 8%. Moreover, in accordance with a legal enactment (Government Gazette No. 432) private discount may not exceed the official bank rate by more than three points. 652

On the basis of the above cited balance items of the separate categories of the credit institutions, we may affirm that the overwhelming portion of the credits pertains to agriculture; the credits for trade and industry amount to approximately one-third of the total sum, and are without exception short-term. In view of this and in connexion with the rapid growth of industry, the necessity is ever more and more being felt for a banking institution which, through the provision of long-term credits, would promote the investment activity of industry.

* * *

The consolidation of the credit situation is also characterized by the statistics of bills of exchange protests and the legal compulsory auction sales. The following comparative table embodies the data for the last eight years: 436

	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Total bills of exchange in circulation, in million litas	708.24	760.52	546.52	463.21	490.81	423.40	410.43	472.03
Amount of protested bills, in million litas	40.06	67.51	71.74	39.34	32.48	23.54	13.97	12.98
Percentage share of protests in sum of bill circulation	5.7	8.9	13.1	8.5	6.6	5.6	3.4	2.7
Number of compulsory auction sales of movable property	636	794	1 961	3 104	2 768	2 471	1 621	1 084
Amount of debts in million litas	1.48	1.83	3.33	3.81	2.86	3.83	2.33	1.06
Percentage of debt cover	27	35	27	27	22	14	19	27

The number of bill protests, both according to separate items and the total value and according to the percentage ratio

436 to the total circulation, reached the lowest level in 1937 since the introduction of the litas currency in 1922. The reduction of bill circulation (the quoted figures relate to the number of lists sold) in comparison with 1930—32, is due, on the one hand, to the expansion of mortgage credits (we have seen above that the total sum of loans in 1937 already exceeded the pre-crisis level), and, on the other hand, to the consolidation of the economic situation and the enhanced liquidity of the money market, under the influence of which payments in cash are more frequently effected in trade transactions than formerly. The number of the legal compulsory auction sales of movable property, which reached their peak level in 1933, has since then receded by two-thirds. Although it still stands above the level of the years 1930—31, the position is nevertheless to be designated as more favourable because the peak of the debts for the recovery of which legal proceedings have been instituted stands at approximately one-third below the level of the pre-crisis period.

6. The Insurance Companies.

456 At the present time there are in Lithuania 6 insurance institutions, i. e. the State Insurance Office, 3 insurance joint-stock companies, and 2 mutual insurance companies. The State Insurance Office was founded in 1921; it is subordinate to the Ministry of Finance. In 1930 its capital-stock was fixed by law at 800 000 litas. The three joint-stock companies are:

(a) The „Lietuvos Lloydas", founded in 1922, with a present capital-stock of 800 000 litas.

(b) The „Lietuva", also founded in 1922, with a capital-stock of 600 000 litas.

(c) The Memel Insurance Joint-stock Company, founded in 1923 (capital-stock 10 000 litas).

The „First Mutual Insurance Company of Lithuanian Economy" was founded in 1921; the second mutual insurance company „Kooperacija" in 1925.

The most important data compiled from the balance-sheets of the above enumerated insurance establishments illustrate their activity as follows since 1928 (in million litas):

Year	Capital	Premium Reserves	Premiums Received	Re-insurance Premiums	Total Losses	Losses after deduction of Re-insurance
1928	3.07	1.13	5.28	3.08	2.27	0.95
1929	3.22	1.32	6.21	3.62	4.92	1.30
1930	3.40	1.80	7.03	4.25	3.04	1.15
1931	3.62	2.32	7.70	4.35	6.31	1.64
1932	3.90	2.17	7.14	4.16	5.08	2.16
1933	3.48	2.07	6.55	3.96	4.38	1.77
1934	3.53	1.95	6.13	3.69	3.73	1.64
1935	3.65	1.84	6.26	3.86	4.72	1.47
1936	3.67	1.72	6.33	4.06	2.16	0.99
1937	4.06	2.01	7.25	4.68	2.91	0.96

The most developed branch of insurance in Lithuania is fire insurance to which pertain approximately 90% of all paid-in premiums. The second most important branch is transport insurance, followed by life insurance, burglary insurance, &c. The last-named branches began to develop more rapidly two years ago.

The development of the Lithuanian insurance institutions is characterized by the circumstance that the share of the agreements concluded with foreign companies in the total insurance business (assessed on the sum of premiums), which in 1932 still amounted to 46%, in 1936 had decreased to 42%.

The development of the fire insurance business is disclosed in the following statement:

Year	No. of Policies	Insurance Sums	Premiums Received	Losses
		in million litas		
1932	56 612	914.7	6.8	4.9
1933	52 434	841.0	6.4	4.2
1934	60 925	884.3	5.5	3.4
1935	58 501	901.0	4.9	4.5
1936	61 654	965.8	5.6	1.8
1937	65 462	964.3	5.8	2.0

In conclusion it must be mentioned that the re-insurance business of our companies with foreign institutions is constantly growing, and that Lithuanian establishments conclude not only re-insurances abroad but also take them over from abroad. The Joint-stock Company „Lietuvos Lloydas" has, for example, business relations with 27 foreign insurance companies, of which seven are in England, four in Germany, four in France, three in Sweden, &c.

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APPENDIX

ECONOMIC FIGURES

433

	1929	1930
INDUSTRY:		
1. Total number of medium and wholesale undertakings (of 5 employed persons upwards)	1 044	1 051
2. Total number of employed workers	19 637	19 334
3. Total figure of engine power in H. P.	.	.
4. Production Index	100.0	108.3
TRADE:		
474 1. Total number of larger undertakings (Trade in the narrower sense I — III Corp)	14 255	14 224
473		
439 2. Railway goods traffic 1 000 tons	2 079	1 993
3. Price Index	100	87
4. Foreign Trade Turnover:		
(a) Million Litas	636.3	646.2
(b) Volume	100.0	116.7
5. Cooperative Trade Turnover, million litas	108.6	111.9
FINANCE AND CREDIT CONDITIONS:		
652 1. Monetary circulation, in million litas	102.3	117.2
452 2. State Revenue, in million litas	338.5	347.7
453 3. State Expenditure, in million litas	269.9	320.6
4. Deposits of the Credit Institutions, in million litas	282.8	345.7
5. Loans of the Credit Institutions, in million litas	333.0	437.8
6. Total Sums of Bills of Exchange Protests, in million litas	49.1	40.1
7. Discount Rate of the Lietuvos Bankas	7	7

OF LITHUANIA.

1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	
							483
1 049	1 105	1 108	1 118	1 136	1 135	1 247	
21 053	19 743	20 660	22 282	23 344	25 844	31 689	
70 038	84 804	95 751	94 585	105 349	109 634	125 157	
140.7	153.7		166.5	185.9	244.2	272.0	
							494
14 141	13 590	12 981	12 572	12 034	12 054	12 445	493
2 164	1 599	1 722	1 853	2 003	2 193	2 352	489
74	61	54	52	46	46	53	
551.1	356.1	302.4	285.9	280.8	346.5	420.9	
128.3	106.6	102.2	103.2	103.9	125.2	139.3	
127.8	111.3	105.8	111.3	149.4	185.2	203.6	
							452
127.1	112.7	105.8	101.1	111.4	124.1	131.9	452
340.1	292.0	256.9	264.4	279.9	302.8	329.9	453
335.3	278.2	249.7	251.8	276.9	287.7	318.2	
302.0	291.2	278.4	269.5	229.6	290.2	347.6	
479.6	449.5	446.5	461.9	451.5	467.3	501.4	
67.5	71.7	39.3	32.5	23.5	13.9	12.9	
8½	7	7	6	6	5½	5½	

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

p. 166

000

CONTENTS

Foreword by the Minister of Finance 3
Introductory Remarks by the President of the Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Crafts 4

I. INDUSTRY.

A. General Section.

1. Total Number of Industrial Undertakings and their Structure 11
2. Aggregate Value of Industrial Production and the Production Index 17
3. The Geographical Distribution of Lithuanian Industry 31
4. The Rôle of the Joint-stock Companies 32

B. Special Part.

1. The Foodstuffs and Luxury Goods Industry .. 36
2. The Textile Industry 41
3. The Timber Industry 43
4. The Paper and Polygraphic Industry 46
5. The Clothing and Footwear Industry 48
6. The Metal and Machinery Industry 50
7. The Chemical Industry 52
8. The Leather and Hide Industry 54
9. Electricity Works 56
10. The Stone and Earth Industry 57
11. Peat - cutting 59

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

p. 167

000

II. TRADE.

A. Foreign Trade.

1. Politico-Commercial Review 63
2. General Trade Balance 72
3. The Structure of Export and Import 76
4. Analysis of Export according to Goods 79
5. Analysis of Import according to Commodities 84
6. Analysis of Export according to Countries 88
7. Analysis of Import Trade according to Countries 92
8. The Trade-Balance with separate Countries .. 95

B. Home Trade.

1. The Total Number and Classification of Commercial Undertakings 98
2. Total Figures of Goods Turnover 104
3. Share-capital in Lithuanian Trade 109
4. The Rôle of the Cooperative Societies 112
5. The Dynamic of Price Development 117

III. GOODS TRANSPORT.

1. Railway Goods Transport 125
2. Memel Port Traffic 127
3. Inland Water Traffic 132
4. Roads and Highways 133
5. Goods Transit 134

IV. FINANCE AND CREDIT CONDITIONS.

1. The State Budget 139
2. State Debts 146
3. The Payment Balance 149
4. Operations of the Lietuvos Bankas 151
5. The Situation of Credit Institutions 154
6. The Insurance Companies 162

Appendix.

Economic Figures of Lithuania 164

V. Jungfer-1 3-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

LITHUANIA

The Countenance of a People

by Victor Jungfer

Leipzig, Breitkopf and Hartel

[1938]

title page

LITHUANIA
THE COUNTENANCE OF A PEOPLE

by Victor Jungfer

/5/ Preface

The knowledge of peoples concerning each other exhausts itself in a series of misunderstandings. There are of course books for orientation. But books on foreign countries are written the more easily the less one knows about the subject matter. The difficulties increase with knowledge. What on cursory observation appears as a fascinating contrast that could be set against conditions at home in a clever antithesis dissolves on closer inspection into a quantity of parallel phenomena. Things that at first appear completely strange suddenly show familiar faces behind their outer skin. What appear problems to the hasty observer disappear, but on the other hand others emerge which are difficult to explore and even the detailed presentation of which does not give the author the certainty that their meaning and essence will be understood by the readers. Thus, too, hasty visits to foreign countries--consider here a large section of the literature on Russia--lead more to a deepening of existing errors than to their removal, for even the educated observer will be more easily inclined to find in foreign countries that which he already knows, than to learn that which he does not yet know. In these reasons the present book finds its justification.

121 /6/ Our literature on the so-called "Border States" exhausts itself for the older period almost exclusively in philologic presentations, and for the modern period in political and economic ones. If here for the first time the attempt is made to investigate the spiritual characteristics of the life of one of these peoples and to

explain these characteristics on the basis of their own developmental tendencies, the endeavor to communicate as much information of a purely objective nature on the fundamental areas of the spiritual and cultural life as is absolutely necessary for the critical examination of a people had to be decisive above all else. At the center of the presentation stands the idea of cultural development. Thus the first question became: what is there in the way of original cultural foundations? -- language, folk poetry, folk art, etc. -- and the second question: in what direction is the cultural development moving and what influences have affected it? -- where again art in its manifold forms of expression, as painting, architecture, music, and poetry, was taken as a criterion and assembled into a single field of observation. Thus the fact that the detailed presentations given here, of the language, the folklore, or the development of Lithuanian literature, for example, should not be conceived as an end in themselves will readily be understood by the reader who observes the broader frame within which all these themes are included.

The technical explanations have largely been relegated to the bibliographical references. Let it be added that among the books mentioned, the literature in the German language was treated along with the Lithuanian literature with something approaching completeness. For the pronunciation of the Lithuanian as well as for the spelling of proper names I refer to what is said in the notes on Chapter I.

/7/ The translations of both prose pieces and verses are my own with a few exceptions, which are noted.

OOO Although the present book has resulted from detailed studies and a knowledge of the country extending over many years, I have not been able to do without the help of experts in

the preparation of particular sections, for in the end there is really hardly anyone who would be equally at home in all the areas treated here. I express my hearty thanks to all those who have aided me through the contribution of material and valuable references, above all to the Lithuanian artists and my colleagues in the university.

Dr. Victor Jungfer

Kaunas; June, 1938

/8/ Contents

Chapter One: The Language
A. The Place of Lithuanian in the Framework of the Indo-European Languages. 11
B. Antiquity and Formal Richness of the Lithuanian Language. . . . 17
C. The Development of the Lithuanian Literary Language. 24
Chapter Two: Lithuanian Folk Poetry
A. The Folk Song 33
1. The Melodies of the Lithuanian Songs 33
2. The Origin of the Dainos. The Work Song. 38
3. Motifs and Content of the Dainos 46
4. Form and Means of Expression in the Dainos 57
5. The Lithuanian Folk Song in German Poetry 65
B. Prose Writing 72
1. The Raudos (Lamentations for the Dead). 72
2. Fairy Tales and Sagas. 77
3. Proverbs and Sayings 85
4. Folk Riddles. 91

5. On the Study of Lithuanian Folklore. 97
Chapter Three: The Folk Art
A. The Rural Architecture 101
1. The Farmhouse. 101
2. The Village Church. 107
B. The Village Art. 111
1. The Roofed Crosses. 111
2. The Wood Sculpture. 118
3. Woodcuts and Paintings. 124
4. Home Art in the Village 128
Woodwork, Ceramics, Ironwork, Decorative Painting . . .128
Weaving and Related Techniques 135
/9/ Chapter Four: The Spiritual Culture of the City
A. The Architecture. 145
1. Historical Preliminaries . . . 145
2. Gothic 149
3. Renaissance and Baroque. . . . 154
4. From Classicism to Modernity . 161
B. Painting and Sculpture. 170
1. Development up to the World War. 170
2. Recent Trends. 180
C. Music and the Theater 185
1. Opera, Drama, Ballet 185
2. The Development of Musical Life 189
Chapter Five: The Artistic Literature
A. The Literature of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries 195
B. The Beginning of Poetry in the Eighteenth Century. Duonelaitis 199
C. The Literature of the Nineteenth Century up to the Proclamation of the Prohibition on Printing. . 205
1. The University of Vilna and the Period of Romanticism. . . 205

2. From the Closing of the University to the Ending of Serfdom. 216
D. The Period of the Prohibition on Printing (1865-1904) 228
1. The Epoch of Aušra 228
2. Prose Writing by Women at the Turn of the Century. . . . 237
3. Maironis and the Idealism in the Lyrics of His Time. . . 252
Chapter Six: A Cross Section of the Most Recent Developments in Lithuanian Literature
A. The Period of Transition. The New Lyricism. 259
B. Prose and Drama 269
C. Mykolaitis-Putinas and Kreve-Mickovičius 280
Notes 299

/11/ Chapter One

The Language

194 /Unnumbered note on Chapter One/ Regarding the pronunciation of the Lithuanian words appearing in the text the following should be noted: z equals soft S, S equals sharp s, c equals ts, č equals ch, ž equals j as in French jardin, š equals sh, y equals tsh, e equals German open ä, ė equals German e.

104 The spelling of names in the text, consistently follows the official Lithuanian spelling: thus Suvalkija instead of Russian Suvalki, Garliava instead of Russian Godlevo. . .

Regarding the spelling of personal names it should be noted that originally non-Lithuanian names remain unchanged: thus Mickiewicz, Kraszewski, etc. On the

[p.6 is blank]

104 other hand the names of older Lithuanian writers, even when they sometimes appear in the original texts in Polish forms according to the custom of the time, are given in their Lithuanian form: thus Daukantas instead of Polish Dowkont, etc.

113 A complete bibliography of Lithuanian linguistic research is given in the annual Indogermanisches Jahrbuch (published by Walter de Gruyter, Berlin and Leipzig). In addition, the following may be named among the most important recent works:

Leskien, Litauisches Lesebuch (Heidelberg, 1919).

A. Baranowski, Litauische Mundarten; Vol. I, Texts; Vol. II, Grammatical Introduction (edited by F. Specht, Leipzig, 1920-22).

G. Gerullis, Litauische Dialektstudien (Leipzig, 1930).
(Basic.)

A. Salys, "Kelios pastabos tarmių istorijai" (Some Remarks on Dialect History), with a dialect map, Archivum Philologicum, IV (Kaunas), pp. 21-34. (This periodical especially serves Lithuanian linguistic research.)

G. Gerullis, ---ieji lietuvių skaitymai (Readings in Old Lithuanian), I, Kaunas, 1927. (This work contains selected samples from old writings.)

K. Būga, Lietuvių kalbos žodynas (Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language), I-II (Kaunas, 1924). (Very important linguistically.)

K. Būga, Die Vergangenheit der aistischen (baltischen) Völker im Lichte der Ortsnamenforschung, Streitberg-Festgabe, Leipzig, 1924.

P. Skardžius, "Die slawischen Lehnwörter im

113 Altlitauischen," Tauta ir Žodis (People and Word), Vol. VII (Kaunas, 1931).
K. Alminauskas, Die Germanismen des Litauischen, I, Kaunas, no date.

A. The Place of Lithuanian in the Framework of the Indo-European Languages

000 Every language is an image of the thinking and feelings of a people. It gives an elaborate and colorful picture of the inner nature of the people in the most sensitive shadings, not only through what it says but also through what it does not say. For words and concepts with all their nuances, indeed even grammatical constructions--if they are for once not observed with the eyes of the philologist--are only symbols for all the elements of which the spiritual and intellectual life of a people consists and through which it is distinguished from others.

197 The Lithuanian language belongs to the Balto-Slavic branch of the Indo-European languages. With the languages of the Letts, Cours, Zemgalens, Selens and Old Prussians, it is included in a special "Baltic" group. Nevertheless there are differences to be noted here. The Lettish language is related to Lithuanian as a younger sister language. It has been more mixed with foreign elements because of its closer contact with German and has lost many ancient features which Lithuanian has faithfully preserved. Old Prussian, on the other hand, even more ancient in grammatical structure, seemed at first /12/ to stand considerably closer to Lithuanian, as far as could be determined from the few preserved records. Nevertheless as early in 1876 Kurschat found that from a linguistic point of view the relation of Old Prussian to Lithuanian was not really as close as that of Lettish to Lithuanian. He assembles a number of words of comparison of Old Prussian with Lithuanian, and remarks: "What may have been borrowed by one of these languages

197 from the other, by Old Prussian from Lithuanian or vice versa, must remain completely undetermined." (1)

1. A comparison of Old Prussian with Lithuanian is made more difficult by the fact that in the Old Prussian language little more than three translations of the Luther catechism (two from the year 1545 and one from the year 1561) have been preserved. At that time, however, as Kurschat observes, Old Prussian was already a language that was dying out, and apparently the translators were not enough in command of the language "to be able to reproduce it with reliable exactness." (Friedrich Kurschat, Grammatik der littauischen Sprache, Halle, 1876, pp. 56-57.)

[113]

With the close relationship of the Lithuanian, Lettish, and Old Prussian languages the common features in their vocabularies are naturally not surprising:

	Lithuanian	Lettish	Prussian
"god"	dievas	dievs	deivs
"hand"	ranka	ruoka	ranko
"head"	galve	galva	galvo
"iron"	gel(e)žis	dzelzs	gelso
"steel"	plienas	pliens	plainis

Nevertheless, in spite of such similarities the fundamental differences between these languages should not be forgotten, as they strike us for example in the word bread: Lithuanian duona, Lettish maize, and Prussian geitis. Very frequently, too, we find the case that Old Prussian contrasts markedly in its vocabulary with Lithuanian and Lettish:

	Lithuanian	Lettish	Prussian
"butter"	sviestas	sviests	anktan
"milk"	pienas	piens	dadan

Modern linguistics therefore assumes that the primitive Baltic language split into two branches sometime between the fifth and third centuries B.C. -- a western /13/ (Prussian) and an eastern, to which would be assigned the languages of the Lithuanians, Letts, Cours, Zemgalens, and Selens. From the eastern branch resulted later -- presumably in the eleventh and twelfth centuries -- the languages of the individual peoples. (2)

[113] 2. Trautmann, Altpreussische Sprachdenkmäler, pp. VIII-XV.

The question of what place Lithuanian holds within the Indo-European languages stimulated research very early. As early as 1856, in the introduction to his Handbuch der litauischen Sprache, Schleicher gives us a clear definition when he observes -- in general not incorrectly: "The Lithuanian language belongs to the great Indo-European speech family. Indic and Persian, Greek and Latin, Slavic, Lithuanian, and German, and finally the language called Celtic are the branches of this family, and each branch is again divided more or less into languages or dialects ... Slavic and Lithuanian, however, resemble each other so much in many parts of their grammar and vocabulary that one could be inclined to consider them members of one and the same language group if great differences in other parts of the language structure did not keep one from such a view. Of all the living Indo-European languages, Lithuanian shows in its sound by far the greatest antiquity; hence its great importance for linguistics." (3)

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3. A. Schleicher, Handbuch der litauischen Sprache (Prague, 1856-57), Vol. I, Litauische Grammatik, Introduction.

Since Schleicher wrote these words a period of almost 80 years has elapsed during which the Lithuanian language has been investigated by a great number of researchers, mostly Germans. The place of Lithuanian within the Indo-European language group is today unequivocally established: with the remaining Baltic and Slavic languages, as well as with Indic, Iranian, Armenian, and Albanian, it forms the so-called satem group of Indo-European, while the Germanic languages, together with Greek, Latin, and Celtic, belong to the centum group. "The difference exists in the fact that certain palatal sounds of the original language /14/ became sibilants in the satem languages but remained for the time unchanged or perhaps became harder in the centum languages." (4)

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4. A. Senn, Kleine litauische Sprachlehre (Heidelberg, 1929), p. 2.

The connection of the Baltic and Slavic branches of the Indo-European languages has also been shown in detail by a whole series of older investigators, Brugmann, Leskien, Fortunatov, Porzezinski, Meillet, and others. In 1923, Trautmann published an etymological dictionary of the Balto-Slavic languages. (5)

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5. Trautmann, Baltisch-slawisches Wörterbuch (Göttingen, 1923). Cf. also E. Fraenkel, "Zur baltoslawischen Etymologie und Wortforschung," Tauta ir Žodis, Vol. III (Kaunas, 1925), pp. 481-89.

Although Indo-European linguistics assigns

197 the Baltic languages (including Lithuanian) together with the Slavic, to a broader group, it must nevertheless be specifically stressed in this connection that Lithuanian is not a Slavic language. Whereas all Slavic peoples (Russians, Poles, Czechs, etc.) can at least make themselves understood among each other, a linguistic understanding between Slavs and Lithuanians is impossible. Concerning this, many errors are still prevalent.
192 They have mainly resulted from the fact that Lithuanian was earlier overlaid with Slavic words, for
197 which, however, there were at the same time original words in Lithuanian. I am thinking here for example of words such as were still cited by Kurschat as "Lithuanian": (6)

6. Fr. Kurschat, see above, p. 53. 1/A

		Pure Lithuanian
"week"	nedele	savaitē
"bell"	zvanas	varpas
"miracle"	dyvas	stebuklas
"world"	svietas	pasaulis
"consumption"	sukata	džiova
"hour"	adyna	valanda
"punish"	koroti	bausti
"sinful"	griešnas	nuodemingas, et

Although some of the pure Lithuanian words named here may be new linguistic formations (e.g. savaitē), one should not forget that these new formations in any case /15/ go back to Baltic stems. In addition there is a series of Slavic words in Lithuanian for which no genuinely Lithuanian words can be found, principally in the area of religious life as well as in the areas with which the Lithuanians became familiar through the Slavs. (7) A third group of words that are fre-

1/A [see cat. 116, p 9 --Analyst]

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7. K. Buga, "Die litauisch-weissrussischen Beziehungen und ihr Alter," special number of the Zeitschrift für slawische Philologie (Leipzig, 1924), Vol. I, Nos. 1/2, pp. 26-55. Būga points out that a series of White Russian words of religious content must have found its way into the Lithuanian language even before 1387 (pp. 50 and 52). The same would apply to the terms for a number of objects with which the Lithuanians became acquainted through the trade with the White Russians even before 1200; e.g. glass, silk, market, donkey, radish, and others (p. 46).

quently looked upon as Slavic is of proto-Indo-European origin and thus equally at home in both languages. Finally, Lithuanian contains many words that passed over into the Slavic languages. A comparison of the Lithuanian language with the Slavic languages presents thus a great number of factors that have to be taken into consideration.

197 All in all we can say today that the relationship of these languages on closer observation does not prove to be as close as it appeared to [194] Schleicher. Above all, there is a strikingly small number of sibilants in Lithuanian, while the sibilants actually impose a special stamp on Slavic. [193] On the other hand, Slavic feeling for language is reflected to a large extent in the syntax and grammar of Lithuanian. Thus the Lithuanian language, exactly as Polish, puts the predicate substantive in the instrumental and puts the object in the genitive with negative verbs. Certain sibilants, e.g. the č in mačiau "I saw," are traceable for the first time around the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but do not represent a borrowing from Slavic. It is interesting that the educated Russian and Pole will not admit any close relationship of Lithuanian with his own language and that, quite the contrary, he is inclined to look at the Lithuanian language as something com-

1 [footnote to text on page 12, see cat. 192 or 197--Analyst]

ooopletely foreign.

162 Lithuanian is spoken today by about three
191 million people, half of whom understand only their native language. Since a detailed description of the Lithuanian language area would extend considerably beyond the limits of this presentation, only the following may be said briefly on the subject: Lithuanian is the native language of the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the Lithuanian state. Beyond this /16/ a large section of the Lithuanian language area is found today under Polish rule (the Vilna area). Furthermore, the area of the Lithuanian language projects on the one hand into Latvia and on the other into East
[167] Prussia. Finally, there are in the United States large, close-knit Lithuanian communities which may include a total of about half a million people. In Chicago alone 70,000 Lithuanians have been counted. These people are emigrants and their descendants. Large Lithuanian colonies have also arisen in South America, especially in recent times.

197 In spite of its relatively small size we
184 find within the enclosure of the Lithuanian language area a large number of dialectal differences. The principal dialects are High Lithuanian and Low Lithuanian (Samogitian), of which the latter is related to the former in about the same way as Low German is to High German. In addition to its vocabulary, Samogitian is distinguished from High Lithuanian by its accentuation, its drawled pronunciation, and its loss of fully pronounced endings. It is divided in turn into the dialects of Raseiniai and Telšiai, which are distinguished from each other principally by transposition of the vowels of the diphthongs. In the writings of the poetess Žemaitė, Low Lithuanian stands out sharply in syntax and vocabulary.

The High Lithuanian dialect group is divided into an eastern and a western subgroup. Western High Lithuanian in turn consists of two dialects, whose border is formed approximately by

197 184 the Memel. In the eastern group of High Lithuanian a series of dialects can also be distinguished. Dzūkijan, or Southeast Lithuanian, as well as North Lithuanian spoken in the river area of the Mūšā (north of Panevėžys) stand out as particular dialects. (8)

8. A. Senn, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

The large number of dialectal differences implies for the vocabulary and form of the language an enrichment not to be underestimated. This surprising richness in a relatively small territory /Unnumbered page with illustration--Lithuanian Landscape/ /17/ can probably be attributed primarily to the seclusion of the individual districts. This resulted from a backwardness of many centuries and a conservative adherence to inherited land. The differences of the dialects, however, are not so strong that they could destroy the unity of the language. The present literary language is based on the dialect of the South Lithuanian province of Užnemunė (earlier the gouvernement Suvalkija), which is spoken particularly on the south bank of the Memel, in other words, the southern dialect of western High Lithuanian. We thus find in standard Lithuanian the long vowels of the final syllables preserved. (9)

[113] 9. All grammatical presentations of the present Lithuanian standard language are based primarily on the work of Prof. Jablonski, who, under the name Rygiškių Jonas, is the author of: Lietuvių kalbos vadovelis (Kaunas, 1925); and Lietuvių kalbos gramatika, 2nd ed. (Kaunas-Vilna, 1922).

197 192 B. Antiquity and Formal Richness of the Lithuanian Language

In the year 1625 the Königsberg clergyman Johannes Rhesa wrote in the preface to his Lith-

192
197 uanian Psalter: "If we observe many strange words in the Lithuanian language, it will be found that it is a mixed language, stemming from other major languages, especially Greek and Latin, a fact which becomes evident for example in the proverb [53] of the Lithuanians: Dewas dawe dantes, Dewas dos ir dones; that is, 'If God has given teeth, he must also have given bread.' Whoever knows Greek or Latin will find that most of the words take their origin from these languages." (10)

10. Quoted on the basis of Bezzenberger, see footnote 13.

197 We have seen[2] that Indo-European linguistic research in its further development has not confirmed this view of the old Königsberg clergyman, although it still haunted the German press during the First World War. (11) /18/ Rather, linguistic

[113] 11. Prof. Dr. Leo Brenner, "Litauer und Preussen, Stammesbrüder der Griechen," Deutsche Tageszeitung, September 12, 1917.

research has shown us that Lithuanian, together with Greek and Latin, originated in a common primitive language--Indo-European, and that the similarities of these languages are due to this fact. That these similarities are so striking, however, finds its explanation in the unusual antiquity of the Lithuanian language, which in this regard occupies a unique position among all the Indo-European languages. Schleicher already finds it remarkable that so ancient a language still exists at all. He refers to the dual and the seven Indo-European cases in Lithuanian that at times match the Sanskrit. He stresses that Lithuanian remained almost completely free of the great sound changes which the rest of the Indo-European languages underwent, and assigns to Lithuanian a similar role in the framework of the

1. [see cat. 116, pp. 17-18 -- Analyst]
2. [see cat 116, pp. 8-13 -- Analyst]

197 most closely related Slavic languages as is played by Gothic in a comparative presentation of the Germanic languages. Schleicher explains the antiquity of Lithuanian by the seclusion of the Lithuanian country folk from historical movements, and draws a parallel with Icelandic. (12) One of the

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12. Schleicher, Vergleichende Sprachgeschichte (1848) (cf. here the chapter on the "Zetazismus der litauischen Sprache"); and Die Sprachen Europas (1850).

best modern experts on the Lithuanian language, Prof. Bezzenberger, expresses himself similarly: "If one asks, however, whence it comes that Lithuanian has preserved until today such splendid features of antiquity. . .while all other Indo-European languages have in contrast long gone about [121] in an unusually strong conservative trait in the Lithuanians." (13) Although for the [redacted]

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13. Bezzenberger's reply to L. Brenner's essay, "Litauer und Preussen," Königsberger Hartungsche Zeitung, February 10, 1918. Cf. on this point in the same newspaper, on October 24, 1918, the reply of Dr. Herbert Krüger, "Griechen und Litauer": "Whether the division of the Indo-European languages into centum and satem languages, based on phonetic differences, also forms a good standard for the degree of relationship of the peoples concerned will be contested from many sides. It must be left to the work of specialists to decide whether only the general Indo-European relationship exists between the Lithuanians and the Greeks, or a somewhat closer relationship, which Herr Geheimrat Bezzenberger disputes. Before the assumed division there must have existed at one time a unified original people, and if, as even Herr Geheimrat Bezzenberger does, we no longe

197 174 place the original home of this primitive people in far-off Asia, but in Europe on the shore of the Baltic Sea, the ancestors of the Greeks must have emigrated to the south from their northern homeland, separating themselves from the original people either before or after the Lithuanians."

197 193 Although for the linguist it is naturally just as essential to determine in what ways Lithuanian differs from the old languages of the Latins and Greeks, it is still not without fascination to examine the great antiquity of the Lithuanian language on the basis of the existing similarities. For the declension cases of Latin and Lithuanian the example "man" (Latin vir, Lithuanian vyras) may be given:

/19/

	Latin	Lithuanian	Latin	Lithuanian
	Singular		Plural	
Nom.	vir	vyras	viri	vyrai
Gen.	viri	vyro	virorum	vyrų
Dat.	viro	vyrui	viris	vyrams
Acc.	virum	vyrą	viros	vyrus
Voc.	vir	vyre	viri	vyrai

While Latin knows for vir only an ablative with an instrumental and locative function (viro--viris), Lithuanian has at its disposal both a locative (vyre--vyruose) and an instrumental (vyru--vyrais). In addition to these cases there are in Lithuanian three more that are formed by attaching suffixes: girion "toward the forest" (giria "forest") dievopi "to God" (dievas "God"), and dieviep "with God."

197 192 Word similarities are especially striking:

"god"	deus	dievas
"tooth"	dens	dantis

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"ear"	auris	ausis
"fire"	ignis	ugnis
"yoke"	iugum	jungas
"sheep"	ovis	avis
"sun"	sol	saulę

The Latin sentence viri trahite iugum is translated into modern Lithuanian vyrai traukite junga.

197 In inflection there are striking similarities with Greek and Sanskrit:

193

	Greek	Sanskrit	Lithuanian
"I am"	εἰμί εἰμι	asmi	esu and esmi
"you are"	εἶ	asi	esi
"he is"	ἐστί	asti	yra and esti

These few examples of the antiquity of Lithuanian vocabulary and morphology may suffice. A /20/ further very old element is the dual, which is still alive today in its rich forms, primarily in the Lithuanian dialects. Thus, from the circle of languages that are today silent, Lithuanian projects into our living present like a monument of ancient times. The sentence structure is ancient. Subject and predicate usually stand next to each other with no connecting element. Only rarely is the relation of the sentences to each other in pure Lithuanian style expressed by connecting words, rather it must be recognized from the meaning. Thus the sentences are strung together as in the old fairy tales or as in the Greek language before the artificial period structure was introduced. Many sentence sequences might be compared with old woodcuts. Particularly difficult, especially for Germans, is the Lithuanian case system, in which, next to the genitive, the instrumental plays a large role. The German subjunctive is often represented in Lithuanian by participial constructions. The latter are frequently used as absolute constructions (the ablative absolute of Latin and the genitive absolute of

197 Greek). Thus, for example, Lithuanian has a con-
193 struction that must be described precisely as a dative absolute.

192 Among the ancient features of Lithuanian can be listed also the diminutive forms, which are probably not used in such abundance in any other living language. They surround the language like a colorful scroll and are especially essential to the folk songs. But while, for example, High German knows today only two such diminutives, -chen and -lein, Lithuanian has at its disposal an incomparably large number, which are attached not only to substantives but also to adjectives and even verbs and adverbs. If we take for example the word "small" mažas, we find the following forms: mažalēlis, mažilēlis, maželēlis, mažutis, mažytis, mažiukas, mažulēlis, mažiulukas, mažulytis, mažutēlis, mažiulis, mažylis, mažučiukas. W. Kalwaitis counts in his Litauischer Namensschatz no less that 66 diminutive forms for the word mama "mother," among them even a fivefold diminutive /21/ mamaitužužuželē. (14) We have an excellent

[113] 14. W. Kalwaitis, Litauischer Namensschatz (Lithuanian and German) (Tilsit, 1910), p. 24, where the following progression of diminutives from mama are given: mamaitē--mamaitužē--mamaitužužē--mamaitužužužē--mamaitužužuželē. It might be possible that a conscientious philologist who counted all the diminutive forms of this one word might arrive at the figure 100.

article by Prof. Brender on the significance of the diminutive forms in Lithuanian. (15) Brender shows

[113] 15. F. Brender, "Die Verwendung der sogenannten Diminutive im Litauischen," Tauta ir Žodis (Kaunas, 1925), Vol. III, pp. 76-111.

here that diminution occurs primarily with such

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words as are connected with the sphere of smallness or emotion (tenderness, humor, contempt). The emotional values of the individual diminutive forms, aside from those that have become formalized, are usually quite varied and show all degrees from tenderest love to sharpest contempt. The former we see for example in the intimate forms for mother: mamelē, mamytē, mamutē, mamaitē, mamuželē, motulē, etc. -- which can be reproduced in English only with "dear, good, beloved, tender, sweet little mother," i.e. with a whole string of adjectives. Other diminutive forms serve for the expression of the gruesome, peculiar, or bizarre, as for example the suffixes that we find with the word "devil", velnias--velniukas, velnykštis, velniukštis. Thus, too, the meaning of varliukštis (varlē "frog") could only be reproduced by "poor little frog." Perhaps this abundance of diminutive forms with many meanings is connected with the decline of the descriptive adjective in Lithuanian, so readily employed by the German language. In the intimate forms this connection, which as far as I know has not yet been pointed out, definitely exists, for it is precisely in this sphere that we meet the greatest abundance of distinguishing suffixes. The preference [181] of the Lithuanians for diminutives permits also the inference of a certain basic mental attitude, as C. Reisig expresses it: "If a language is rich in diminutive endings, a certain national character can be recognized in this fact: there is in this something friendly and jovial." (16)

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16. C. C. Reisig, Vorlesungen über lateinische Sprachwissenschaft (Berlin, 1881), Vol. I, p. 219. The remark quoted here agrees with the findings of W. Schmidt, who, proceeding from completely different viewpoints, in his work Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkreise der Erde ascribes on p. 464 the pushing ahead of the genitive to a naive, natural, spontaneous, warm way of thinking, while in the cooler, constructive, "logical" way of thinking the

113 genitive follows, precisely because it ex-
192 presses the differentia specifica, that
181 which is later and comes after.

194 If from the form of the language we turn briefly to the character of the sounds, we find, as a very ancient phenomenon, a peculiar, swaying rhythm. As early as the middle of the last century this was for Leopold Arends, the inventor of stenography, /22/ his reason for working with the problem of speech modulation, i.e. with the so-called singing character of speech. It belongs to the features of the Lithuanian language that are incomprehensible for the foreigner who cannot learn it. In order, therefore, to give at least some idea of its nature, I quote from Vydūnas: "The Lithuanian language has a completely individual and for the present a unique character in regard to rhythm. It moves under tension from two parallel rhythms that work against each other simultaneously. The basic rhythm is that of the alternation of long and short sounds or syllables. In addition there is the alternation between higher and lower tones. And often the high tone falls on the short vowel in opposition to the force of the long, full sound; e.g. in individual words: sūnùs "son," ùpē "river." The tone wanders, however, in the various cases of most inflected words from one syllable to another . . .But the rhythm of tone has only a secondary significance. . .The language rather moves forward swaying like a song. For that reason, too, the richness of forms has been preserved until now. A very strong accent, particularly if it had become fixed in any special place, would probably have resulted in the wearing off of endings." (17)

113] 17. W. St. Vydūnas, Litauen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart (Tilsit, 1916), pp. 87-88.

Present-day linguistics points out that in

197 Present-day linguistics points out that in
194 the Lithuanian language the intonation of the primitive Indo-European language has still been preserved. This can be seen with particular clarity in a comparison with Greek: e.g. Lithuanian algà (from algā); Greek ἀλφή "profit"; but genitive algõs, Greek ἀλφῆς .

Let it be said that here, too, there are variations in Lithuanian, in that some dialects have obliterated the length distinctions and have thus become simpler with regard to rhythm and melody (e.g. Samogitian). Where, however, the old rhythm has remained fully preserved, it has kept the endings from wearing away and degenerating, as we find them for example in /23/ Lettish, where the words are always stressed on the first syllable. Certainly the melody of the Lithuanian language, which many linguists have noticed, rests in large part upon this peculiar swaying rhythm.

194 The beauty and melody of the Lithuanian language unfolds its full euphony particularly in song. It has been appreciated by many scholars and artists. Thus by Élisée Reclus: "If the value of a nation in the whole of humanity could be measured by the beauty of its language, the Samogitians and Lithuanians would be in the first rank among the inhabitants of Europe." (18)

[113] 18. Élisée Reclus, Nouvelle Geographie Universelle, Vol. V, (Paris, 1880), p. 431.

We have found one reason for the phonetic beauty of this language in the minor role of the sibilants, in which it is distinguished from the Slavic languages, a second reason in the musical rhythm peculiar to it which gives it a swaying movement. Finally, a third reason is its richness in pure vowels. They are primarily the vowels a, o, and u, while compressed vowels like the Russian ы are not present at all. We are indebted to Vydūnas for interesting statistics on

194 the vowels. He investigated the type and frequency of the vowels in Lithuanian and German and found the following relationship: (19)

19. W. St. Vydūnas, see above p. 88.

a,	Lithuanian	5,	German	2
o	"	3	"	2
u	"	3	"	2
e	"	1	"	3
i	"	2	"	1

While in German the vowels a, o, and u are distributed equally, they predominate strongly in Lithuanian and give the language a different phonetic character. On the other hand, the e, which in German predominates, falls far into the background in Lithuanian. All in all, 14 Lithuanian vowels correspond to 10 German ones. Since the phonetic value of the individual vowels is different, we have here perhaps also one of the reasons why the Lithuanian language seems so dark in song.

195 /24/ C. The Development of the Lithuanian Literary Language

We can trace the development of the Lithuanian literary language back to Duonelaitis (cf. Chapter Five)*, although Lithuanian writings were printed before him. In 1735 even the Bible appeared in the Lithuanian language at the behest of the Königsberg General Superintendent Quant. The first Lithuanian Bible translation was written by Bretkunas between 1579 and 1590, but this work lies unprinted to this day in the university library at Königsberg. The language of the printed Lithuanian Bible does not breathe the spirit of the Lithuanian language like the Luther Bible that of the German. Always it is only the poet who is the creator of language. And Luther was also a poet. Moreover, the Lithuanian Bible translation is full

* [cat. 116, pp. 199-205-- Analyst]

195 of Slavic elements. (20)

[113] 20. The oldest language monuments of Lithuanian from the year 1547 on have been published in Gerullis: Moswid, Die ältesten litauischen Sprachdenkmäler bis zum Jahre 1570, edited by Dr. Georg Gerullis, Indogermanische Bibliothek, Vol. II (Heidelberg, 1923).

195 197 After the middle of the last century Lithuanian literature awoke to a life of its own, and from that time on there developed a Lithuanian language which takes its expressive and formal content from the various Lithuanian dialects without, however, arriving immediately at exact and clear conceptual definitions. Difficulties resulted from the fact that a number of expressions of the language had taken on meanings colored by dialect, and partially even contrasting meanings, in the separate provinces. The first task consisted therefore in a unification and conceptual delimitation of the available vocabulary. This process has even today not yet fully been carried out, although it is essentially complete. Some of the differences between the former and present literary language is explained by this fact. From decade to decade Lithuanian literary language has been gaining expressiveness, force, and richness. But still it was in its nature a peasant language that had not caught up with the rapid Western development in science and technology.

/25/ A powerful impetus was given by the founding of the independent Lithuanian state. Three problems resulted for the further development of the literary language. The first problem consisted in freeing the language from the Slavic influences by which it was at times completely ruled -- this applies to whole provinces -- and to replace the formerly employed Slavic words with pure Lithuanian

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197 ones. This problem was capable of complete solution, since in the large vocabulary of Lithuanian everyday speech the necessary words or stems were available and only education of the people and enlightenment through the schools were needed. Moreover, the newly awakened national consciousness pushed the development forward. In addition, among the existing dialects of the Lithuanian language, which still stood side by side as equals and which are clearly reflected in their great variety in the earlier writings of the Lithuanian poets, there was the question of choosing one dialect -- as mentioned, the Suvalkijan dialect was picked -- and constructing on it the new literary language that would be valid for the whole land. This task ran into greater difficulties. Moreover there was danger that now, with the necessity of gradation, the rest of the dialects would be discredited and the language would thus lose much richness. For in every people the so-called literary language gains constantly new strength from its contact with the dialects.

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195 The enormous task of uniformly constructing and elaborating the new literary language was undertaken by the distinguished Lithuanian linguist Jablonskis, or as he called himself, Rygiškių Jonas. Born on January 12, 1861 on a farm east of the Šešupė, he attended the Russian gymnasium in Marijampolė, studied ancient languages in Moscow, and later taught at universities in various cities. After the founding of the Lithuanian University he was named Professor of the Lithuanian language. Jablonskis possessed on the one hand an excellent /26/ training in ancient languages and on the other hand stood in close touch with the simple country folk. He thus succeeded in comprehending the individuality of the Lithuanian language and in recognizing the foreign influences. The abundance of Lithuanian idioms that are distributed throughout his works is very great and shows us the full power and expressive possibilities of this

814 language. To be sure, Jablonskis was primarily a
195 grammarian and not an artist. Most important to him was simple clarity. But he always appreciated and welcomed also poets and thinkers taking part in the creation of the language, and never held back with his advice. (21)

[113] 21. A brief appreciation of Jablonskis in German is given by Vydūnas: "Schöpfer der litauischen Schriftsprache," Unsere Stimme (Tilsit), Vol. 2, pp. 27-28.

195 The third problem* that had to be overcome
197 in the creation of the Lithuanian literary language, and that was perhaps the most important of all, was a question of transforming the Lithuanian language from a peasant language into an instrument with which even the educated, the artist, and the scientist would be able to work. In this connection it was first of all a matter of elaborating the vocabulary. This, then, will be considered first.

192 If we will look at the vocabulary of the Lithuanian language, we must first of all refute the widespread notion that the language is poor in words. A peasant language may appear poor in words to a representative of Western city culture; but it never has been, absolutely speaking. In its living organism there is an enormous ramification. This is true for the Lithuanian language as for every other peasant language. The countless skills of the peasant's work, the diverse nuances of the peasant's life itself, of which the typical city person no longer has any knowledge, all bear special terms. In addition there is a second group of words and word formations that stem from the antiquity of the Lithuanian language and find no parallel in modern Western languages. Every language develops just as much from complexity to simplicity as from /27/ simplicity to complexity. We describe the former as typification and general-

* [cat. 116, pp. 25-27 -- Analyst]

ization. With the antiquity of Lithuanian, this typification has largely not yet been accomplished. Let us take for example the area of color expressions. Here the Lithuanian still knows no general color terms. He sees rather the nuances: the dress is a different gray than the horse, the cat different from the bird. Thus the Lithuanian language knows no less than five different terms for the color gray, two different terms for red, three for brown, and about five that in English can be described only as "colored", without, however, catching the particular nuance of the Lithuanian. The remaining colors already have attained their generic concept. Another example is the way the animals eat. The dog eats differently from the horse, the bird differently from the pig. For each type of eating there is a special expression that applies only to that case, but there is no standardization. These examples can be multiplied. It may be added that the number of words is considerably increased by the differences of the dialects; we may think, for example, of the terms of the Lithuanian farmhouse that have been taken over into the literary language from the dialects.

A third group of words, unknown to the Western languages, stems from the realm of a peasant way of life that is still distinguished today from that of the Western peasants and that has been expressed in special terms and turns of phrase. A fourth group is connected with the particular mental character of the Lithuanian, his faculty of perceptual observation, his feeling for language, etc.

Although this group applies as a differentiating and characteristic feature in the languages of all peoples, it seems in Lithuanian to be incomparably large. Let us take an example: rymoti. This word indicates a particular type of mostly sad meditation, in which the person concerned supports his head in his hand.

192 /28/ I give below a series of these expressions, which I encountered in a hasty thumbing of the dictionary. (22) They lie mostly in the area of

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22. Niedermann, Senn, Brender, Wörterbuch der litauischen Schriftsprache (Heidelberg, 1932), Vol. 1.

man's bearing, and are especially characteristic of the terseness and conciseness of the Lithuanian language, primarily in terms for things observable through the senses:

atpēdžiui bėgti	-- to run back over the same track that one came by
atsikalti	-- to lean on something with the back
drebtelėti	-- to slap something viscious
dunksoti	-- to be indistinctly visible in the distance
gunginti	-- to go around bent over with highly raised shoulders
guoglinėti	-- to go around with the head constantly shaking
gurdelis	-- a man whose health is failing
gurinti	-- to walk with small steps in a bent-over posture
gužėti	-- to move rapidly in disorganized crowds
įkniubti	-- to concentrate on something with the head in the hands
dykinėjimas	-- leisurely loitering about over a long period
saujelė	-- a handful
žiupsnis	-- as much as one can grasp with three fingers

192 From the area of the mind, too, examples could be added. Let those mentioned here be enough to refute the story of the general paucity of words in Lithuanian. Further, the psychological difference between the Lithuanian and German languages is sufficiently indicated by what is said here. As early as the year 1800 it occurred to Mielcke in the preparation of his German-Lithuanian dictionary /29/ that "the concepts in the two languages are not constructed from the same characteristics and do not cover the same ground, and moreover if a Lithuanian word expresses the meaning of a German word, the connotations of each of these words are often at the same time extremely different." (23)

[113] 23. Christian Gottlieb Mielcke, Littauisch-deutsches und Deutsch-littauisches Wörterbuch (Königsberg, 1800), Preface, p. 4.

197 195 We thus see that the Lithuanian language, as a result of the working together of the most varied factors, represents a finely organized and rich organism. But this richness lies, apart from the formal elements, in the main in the area of things perceived through the senses, of the objective. For the further development of the Lithuanian literary language the most important problem thus turned out to be its elaboration for the areas of the spiritual and intellectual, i.e. of art, science, technology, etc. This problem was insoluble as long as the Lithuanian people as a clearly defined and spiritually homobeneous mass had been cut off from the Western European development by the barrier of the Russian boundary and Russian oppression. One cannot construct a world of concepts in new words where the knowledge and understanding of the concepts themselves do not yet exist among the masses. First of all a broader educated class must be created to be the bearer of this new world of words and concepts, from which the newly gained knowledge

can flow in a thousand channels over the whole land. Thus the problem of the creation of the Lithuanian language was subordinate to a much greater problem: it was a question of the destiny of the Lithuanian people, who had remained many decades behind the rapid Western European development, to win a place in Western intellectual life. This, however, was in turn possible only through language; not through a small circle of educated individuals obtaining this place by recourse to one world language or another, but through the whole people obtaining in its language a medium of expression and understanding by means of which it was in a position /30/ to take part in the further cultural development of the world. Both problems are conditional on each other and are only mutually soluble. The further development of the Lithuanian literary language involves, therefore, a problem just as much sociological as linguistic, unless one wanted to create an artificial language for a small circle, the secrets of which would have to remain incomprehensible to the broad masses. But no one thinks of such a thing in Lithuania.

Enormous was the task and tireless the labor that was expended. The problem was not to be solved by one linguist or even by linguistics as such. The development had rather to result through practical life. Who can imagine today the difficulties involved in animating with words a language that, in spite of all its internal richness and beauty, lacked the terms for the necessary articles in a modern office as well as for the furnishing of a city apartment? The rapid economic advance in Lithuania also pushed the linguistic development pitilessly forward, created words and terms and destroyed them again, until gradually that which had been proved remained, became established, and was carried over into the general vocabulary, above all through the press,

which had to be linguistically creative to a high degree.

Thus the development of the Lithuanian literary language, if only in the speed with which it was effected, -- something similar applies, mutatis mutandis, to Lettish and Esthonian-- implies actually a revolution that represents something unheard of and unique in the history of languages. A complete terminology had to be created in all conceivable areas of knowledge; it was necessary to increase the expressive potentials for science, technology, and art to an unheard-of extent, to define concepts scientifically, to create nuances, in short to make up in a few years for what among other peoples had come about in organic growth over the course of centuries. The uniqueness of this development and of what has already been achieved has, /31/ it seems to me, not yet fully been grasped by the Lithuanian people, even in its educated classes. And yet this development of the language, together with the revelation of an unexpectedly strong popular will for life, implied a great intellectual advance, the only basis, as we have seen, on which it could be accomplished at all.

If we ask what has been accomplished today, after two decades, we see a large section of the charted course already travelled. The literary language as such has been stabilized like every other language and is spread across the whole country in a unified form through general instruction in the schools. The Slavic admixtures have largely been dropped off and hardly appear any more in the speech of the younger generation. Adaptation to the Western European world languages has made great progress; a scientific language is being formed. The leader in this area was the Lithuanian University. Naturally, this latter development, according to its nature, has not yet been concluded.

It is only natural that the further develop-

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ment of the language in the various areas of intellectual life did not proceed everywhere with the same speed. It was primarily political, educational, and also economic problems which provided the material for the formation of the new literary language since the beginning of the 1880's, and it was in turn the same problems which, together with the objects of external civilization, necessarily became the prominent topics of literary discussion after the founding of the state, while the artistic and poetic element had to play a minor part in the consciousness of the people. Thereby the Lithuanian literary language remained essentially direct, natural, clear and concrete. The transfer of the objective to the spiritual, however, a practise so predominant today in the languages of the West and developed in the subtlest forms by whole generations of poets, has only recently become applicable in Lithuanian for the first time within narrow limits. Everything is still seen concretely; a spiritual feeling for metaphor has not yet been /32/ experienced. Thus in Lithuanian everyday speech one cannot say, to take a few everyday examples from the German language: die wandernden Jahre [the wandering years] (only a person can wander), ein sonniger Mensch [a sunny person] (a room is sunny), klingendes Spiel [sounding play], die versunkene Erinnerung [sunken memory] (a stone sinks in the water), reine Augen [pure eyes] (only an object is pure), in bescheidenen Grenzen, [within modest limits], etc. This spiritual feeling for metaphor, which today has already been transferred in part from the language of the Western poets into the everyday speech of their peoples, cannot now be awakened artificially but presupposes also a psychological transformation. Even in the German language it did not exist in an earlier period. In Lithuanian metaphor has existed from olden times

195 where it is a matter of the personification of
197 things. The best proof are the Lithuanian folk riddles: the river runs, the shoes gape, the grain comes home to sleep, etc. In modern Lithuanian poetry we find, on the other hand, the transition to the abstract throughout. Thus, for example, in Balys Sruoga (Saulė ir smiltys):

> Go onto the long
> Road of autumn. . .(p. 111)

or

> . . .the stars which inflamed the heavens
> With the fire of life --
> I do not envy. (p. 62)

In modern poetry--in this connection I refer to the poetic imitations in the last chapter -- the spiritualization of the objective is thus shown in living images. It is to be expected that everyday language, too, will not escape this influence, once recent Lithuanian poetry has penetrated deeper into the people. The more slowly and organically this spiritual transformation process takes place, the richer will be the fruits to be expected from it.(24)

113 24. The most important scientific literature concerning the Lithuanian language of the nineteenth century is listed by Oscar Wiedemann, Handbuch der Litauischen Sprache (Strassburg, 1897), pp. 4-6. In particular may be mentioned: Leopold Geitler, Litauische Studien (Prague, 1875). Adalbert Bezzenberger, Beiträge zur Geschichte der litauischen Sprache. Auf Grund litauischer Texte des XVI. und des XVII. Jahrhunderts (Göttingen, 1877). By the

same author, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Sprache und des Volkstums der Litauer (Göttingen, 1882). Anton Baranowski and Hugo Weber, Ostlitauische Texte (Weimar, 1882). (See also the literature given in the chapter on folk poetry.)

/Unnumbered page with illustration--At the River/

/33/ Chapter Two

Lithuanian Folk Poetry

/Unnumbered note on Chapter Two/ Since with the vast amount of literature on Lithuanian folk poetry it appears impossible to give here a complete survey, I refer for the dainos to the "Bibliography of the Literature on the Lithuanian Dainos" (Lietuviškųjų dainų literatūros bibliografija) published by V. Biržiška in Mūsų Tautosaka (Kaunas, 1931), Vol. III, pp. 187-223. For the remaining branches of folk poetry see the notes to the section in Chapter Two "On the Study of Lithuanian Folklore."

1. The Folk Song

1. The Melodies of the Lithuanian Songs

If language is the spiritual means of expression of a people, this expression itself finds its most beautiful glorification and exaltation in song. Not what a people sings in its songs is important here -- there are everywhere the same primitive emotions, pain and grief, joy and pride, longing and love; and in content the songs of probably all peoples are similar to each other on specific cultural levels. What differentiates them is the inner form in which the people clothes

000 its spiritual experiences. For in this lives the nature that surrounds the people, the gray sky of the north as well as the bright sun of the south, and the consciousness of historic destiny which led a people to slavery or freedom. But the manner of these spiritual experiences is determined decisively not only by the outer circumstances of life, but just as strongly by blood and race. If the folk poetry of the Ukrainians breathes pure lyricism while that of the White Russians is permeated with epic elements; if the German folk song, as Goethe already noted, is more inclined toward the ballad, the Lithuanian, on the other hand, toward the idyl, we will have to seek these different forms of experience of the outer world not only /34/ in varying national destinies, conditions of life, and physical surroundings. We will obtain beyond these a glimpse into a racially conditioned world of experience that is not without fascination. We will only have to guard ourselves from equating the knowledge of an inner world that we thus gain with the national character that is revealed in daily external life.

533 The Lithuanian folk song is a child of the lonely heath, and of the great forests; it was born in small, moss-covered huts in those quiet villages that are so deeply embedded in the wide sweep of the countryside that they seem to be part of it. It grew out of the slavery into which a people sank for centuries after a brief meteoric rise, and it found its foundation in the forms of a peasant way of life that reaches into our own day, built on old traditions. Thus it became itself almost a part of the Middle Ages.

One must hear the Lithuanian folk songs sung out of doors. In their melodies lives the Lithuanian countryside with its quiet lakes and forests, where the cuckoo calls, with its hot summers, when the sickle swishes, and its foggy autumn evenings, when the shepherd children, shivering,

533 warm themselves at the brushwood fire. Perhaps the evening sadness of the countryside in which the summer is so short speaks more strongly in them than the joy of the summer; and perhaps, too, something of the melancholy diffidence of a whole people toward its unhappy fate hovers in them.

Whoever has ridden through Lithuania has probably heard the song of the reapers coming home from work. He may have stopped before lonely forest farms from which sounded in the evening the song of a daina, drawn out and melancholy. Or he may have stood at the river, across whose surface the song of the woodcutter, working by night, echoed in slow waves.

/35/ But he will not know that many of these melancholy melodies conceal texts that are anything but sad, whose inner joyfulness appears through the melody as if hidden by a veil. This is a peculiarity of the Lithuanian song that is not immediately understandable for Western European musical interpretation. A special view of this matter is presented by Vydūnas: "Also connected with what was pointed out before is the fact that Lithuanian songs carry the stamp of melancholy for many, especially for non-Lithuanians, and that this is often actually interpreted as sadness. Undeniably there are Lithuanian songs that express deep sorrow. But the generalization of this fact rests on a misunderstanding. What is described as melancholy in the folk songs signifies a certain aloneness with one's own moods, a veiling of them. For this reason the melodies move frequently between half tones and usually are in minor." (1)

[113] 1. Vydunas, "Der Charakter der litausichen Volksweisen," Zeitung der X. Armee, No. 511.

The old Lithuanian folk songs do not conform

533 to the music of the West. They are unique in our time, for they rest on the diatonic scales of the Greek tonal system. (2) To be sure, the

[113] 2. Fr. Kurschat, Grammatik der littauischen Sprache (Halle, 1876), p. 448. "As far as I understand the matter, the Lithuanian songs reveal more or less Greek tonal systems. . ."

ancient character of the modes is often hidden today by the two-voiced method of singing in thirds which came from the West in the middle of the last century, but nevertheless the songs that have kept their oldest character are still sung today in one part (above all in southwestern Lithuania). The Lithuanian songs do not show the square structure (four and eight beats each time) of the German, (3) and very often there is an

[113] 3. Chr. Bartsch, Dainų Balsai, Melodien und deutsche Übersetzung litauischer Volkslieder (Heidelberg, 1886-89), 2 vols.; Vol. 1, p. 34, melody 27. (This song collection contains 392 dainos translated into German, the first stanza given also in Lithuanian.)

alternation between two, three, and five part rhythms. Especially typical is the alternation of 5/4 and 3/4 rhythm. These irregularities are, however, not arbitrary, but only prove that Lithuanian folk melodies, also in regard to rhythm, are constructed on the metrical system of the Greeks. The most loving investigator of Lithuanian folk melodies, Prof. Brazys, at the end of his work on the Singweisen der litauischen Dainos, compares an ancient Indian melody from the Artharva - /36/ Veda with a Lithuanian melody from the vicinity of Vilna that is still sung

533 today. (4) With the similarity that both melodies

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4. T. Brazys, Die Singweisen der litauischen Dainos (Stuttgart, 1918). By the same author, "Lietuviu liaudies daina vestuvese" /Lithuanian Wedding Songs/, Tauta ir Žodis (Kaunas, 1924), Vol. II, pp. 190-238. Also by the same author, "Kaikurie lietuviu ir latviu liaudies dainu melodiju giminystes bruožai" /Some Related Traits in the Melodies of Lithuanian and Lettish Folk Songs/, Tauta ir Žodis (Kaunas, 1928), Vol. V, pp. 215-224. Also by the same author, Lietuviu tautiniu dainu melodijos/Melodies of Lithuanian Folk Songs/ (Kaunas, 1927). (199 melodies.)

exhibit in their principal features, Brazys arrives at the assumption that he has found the original source of the old Lithuanian music in that of the Indians. Here again, as before with language, the idea spontaneously arises of the primitive Indo-European homeland in which the ancient Lithuanian culture is anchored. But the distance that separates the musical experience of the Lithuanian from that of the Western peoples also becomes clear. It is shown not only in the melodies of the folk songs, but also in the religious chorales. During an Easter night that I spent in a Catholic parochial church in Samogitia this came deeply into my consciousness: the little church was filled completely with people, above whom waved the banners, the kerchiefs of the women shone with a vague white, touched by the weak glow of the few lights, and through the church windows penetrated the moonlight producing a mysterious, solemn twilight. The songs themselves were filled with a repressed fervor that had an almost oppressive effect. There was at times no longer any measured sequence of notes at all. Tones disappeared,

533 jumped, blended with others, and instead of the sustained solemnity that speaks in the drawn-out textual half notes of the German chorale, for example, there resulted a whirl of sensations, an inner excitement that surged rhythmically up and down and seemed to drag everyone along with it in the same manner.

In these Easter songs, as in many old Christmas songs, the tempo leaps often in the singing from the 2/4 rhythm into 3/4 and then into 4/4. Through the unusual acceleration, which gave the melody -- for example in a Gloria that I heard -- after an initial solemnity an almost dance-like character, the climax of a joyful mood was reached. The influence of ancient folk melodies on religious music was unmistakable here. According to Hoffheinz, the same phenomenon is shown in the church music of the Lutheran Lithuanians too. (5)

[113] 5. Cf. W. Hoffheinz, Giesmų Balsai, Litauische Kirchengesänge, published by the Lithuanian Literary Society (Tilsit, 1894), Introduction: "He (the Lithuanian) leaps in his melodies, draws over the tones, and changes the rhythm . . . From where do they get these melodies? -- Who is able to discover that now? Certainly many have arisen from ancient dainos melodies." (The influence of Lithuanian folk song on church music has, as far as I know, not yet been investigated. For Germany cf. here for example the interesting investigation by Prof. Fellerer, "Der Durchbruch deutschen Musikempfindens im liturgischen Gesang des Mittelalters," Funde und Forschungen, 1938, No. 7, pp. 75-76.)

[111] /37/ With the deep religiosity of the Lithuanian people, religious songs and hymns play no less a role in their life than the folk songs.

533 Indeed among the Protestant Lithuanians at the border, among whom a peculiarly tinged puritanical way of life has been developed, the giesmē -- the religious song -- has actually replaced the daina -- the folk song. Giesmių knygos -- religious song books -- are found here in the poorest huts.

The giesmē is distinguished further from folk song in that it is always sung in parts, while the dainos themselves began as one-voiced songs. Although since the middle of the last century they have been sung in two parts, often with a leader (rinkējas) giving rhythm and melody, they nevertheless still today bear the character of one-part songs so strongly that the modern choral arrangements of the folk songs, such as we hear for example at great song festivals, often seem to obliterate their original nature. Bartsch has already correctly noted this fact. (6) The

6. Chr. Bartsch, see above, Vol. II, pp. VII-VIII.

attempt is thus to find a special style of harmony that is suited to the nature of the old songs.

The question of rhythm that arises in connection with the question of melody has been treated by many students of the Lithuanian songs. In contrast to folk songs of other nations, the rhythm of the words sung in Lithuanian song does not coincide at all with the rhythm of the spoken words. Nesselmann shows us this in a nice example. (7) The beginning of a song: "On the bridge I

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7. G. H. Nesselmann, Dainos, Littauische Volkslieder, gesammelt, kritisch bearbeitet und metrisch übersetzt, mit einer Musikbeilage (Berlin, 1853), Introduction, p. IX. (This collection contains 410 folk songs with translations and about 60 melodies.)

533 stood, with the girl I spoke," sounds, according to the word accent: Ant tiltúžio stóvejau, su mergýte kálbejáu. Thus what Bartsch says of the melodies applies also to the texts of the Lithuanian songs, which conform so closely to the melodies that we can /38/ in no way do justice to their true rhythm with the conventional methods of measuring in dactyls, trochees, iambs, etc. It may be added that hardly any ordinary Lithuanian is able to recite to us the text of a folk song, as, for example, a song is recited in German. He lapses immediately into the rhythm of the melody or begins to stammer.

The Lithuanian folk song thus still stands at that ancient stage of development where the verbal content of a song is completely dominated by the rhythm of the melody. How the primary feature of each folk song is the melody, how this melody at first makes use of only certain natural sounds for its expression but gradually is developed in the direction of a meaningful text -- this fascinating metamorphosis is still recognized today in the Lithuanian folk song.

2. The Origin of the Dainos. The Work Song.

In his excellent Studies on the Poetry of the Dainos (8) B. Sruoga draws a picture of the

[113] 8. B. Sruoga, Dainų Poetikos Etiudai/ Studies on the Poetry of the Dainos/ (Kaunas, 1927).

origin of the Lithuanian folk song. He shows us in ancient dancing songs how originally the melody expressed the rhythm and the joy of the dance in onomatopoetic form in a series of apparently meaningless word formations:

Čiulado, čiuladytai
Lig čiuladytela, lylio!

533 or

Saduto, ruto, lingo, tatato, tato!
Saduto, ruto, lingo, tatato, tato! (9)

[113] 9. A. R. Niemi and A. Sabaliauskas, "Lietuvių dainos ir giesmės" /Lithuanian Dainos and Giesmes/, Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Vol. VI, pp. 301 and 298 (quoted according to Sruoga, op. cit., p. 40. The collection includes song texts recorded in 1459 in northeastern Lithuania and 26 melodies) (Helsinki, 1912).

Sruoga shows further how these "meaningless" words gradually are partially developed into words with meaningful stems and finally into meaningful words, which at the next stage still /39/ form an inseparable unity with the meaningless ones. This is done partly in imitation of natural sounds:

A gosling swam across the lake,
Across the lake.
Gu, gu, gu, gu, gu, gu,
Across the lake.

The girl is dancing
Prettily kasatschok,
Cak, cak, cak, cak, cak, cak,
Prettily kasatschok. (10)

[113] 10. Antanas Juszkewicz, Lietuviszkow Dajnos, uszraszytos Welunos apigardoje /Lithuanian Dainos, Recorded in the Parish of Welunos/ (Kasan, 1882), No. 1520. (This large three-volume collection contains the texts of 1569 songs.)

Lithuanian songs are extremely rich in such words and reflect in them a whole scale of moods; thus for example the words sadutoj lingo picture

533 a high-spirited, joyful mood, and the words lilia, tutoj liliulia a passive and melancholy one. In the last stage these words of feeling, which formed the original master of the songs, are relegated into the refrain and may even be forgotten later. In recent modern songs the refrain has a visibly different significance. Yet it is important for demonstrating the historical origins of the old songs, for it reveals the driving force of the musical rhythm that conditioned the origin of the song. This rhythm itself has the most varied sources, of which we already mentioned one, the dance. Furthermore the tones of special ancient Lithuanian musical instruments, as Biržiška describes them, (11) are not without significance

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11. M. Biržiška, Dainos keliais/On the Ways of the Folk Song/ (Vilna, 1921), pp. 22-24.

for its development, as well as the tones which man took from nature which surrounded him. Thus the Lithuanian hears the song of the nightingale:

Jurgiuk! Jurgiuk! Jurgiuk!
Kinkyk! Kinkyk! Kinkyk!
Vaziuok! Vaziuok! Vaziuok!
Sustok! Sustok! Sustok!

George! George! George!
Hitch up! Hitch up! Hitch up!
Drive off! Drive off! Drive off!
Pull up! Pull up! Pull up!

/40/ Other sounds, too, of animals and birds have found their expression in human song, but the most important impetus for the origin of the songs came from human labor. In his beautiful book Arbeit und Rhythmus the German economist Bücher has unequivocally established these relat-

533 ionships. (12) It affords a special fascination

[113] 12. K. Bücher, Arbeit und Rhythmus (Leipzig, 1902).

to pursue the lines of thought of this important scholar, who was also an artist, precisely in the case of the Lithuanian folk songs, since these still contain very original elements. Lithuanian research, too, has been stimulated by Karl Bücher to independent investigations concerning the Lithuanian working song and its development.(13)

[113] 13. On the Lithuanian working song cf. B. Sruoga, op. cit., pp. 29-35; as well as the chapter "Darbo daina" (The Work Song) in Biržiška, op. cit., pp. 33-62. Also M. Biržiška, Dainų istorijos vadovėlis (A Guide to the History of the Dainos) (Kaunas, 1925), pp. 42-53.

Every primitive type of labor carries a certain rhythm within itself, whether it is connected with a pushing forward or pulling back or a raising and lowering of the arms. It is dependent on certain primitive tools which demand again and again the same motion within set intervals of time as, for example, in the use of a loom. As far as this labor does not imply any independent thinking, the worker, whether he works alone or in groups, eases his activity with a song. But, just as with the dancing songs mentioned at the beginning, at the earliest stage of development it is not a song with meaningful words that we hear, but simple, natural sounds that are suited to the rhythm of the activity and characterize the type of work onomatopoetically. Representing the rhythm of the motions which are not equal in their importance -- for example raising and lowering of the arms -- the primitive working song consists of two lines, of which the

533 second has a lesser significance. A part of the song is now gradually filled with independent content, with words that usually characterize the movement of the work itself. The natural sounds, on the other hand, become gradually the refrain that is repeated after every line. A classic example of this transition is formed by the old weaving song with which the song collection of Niemi-Sabaliauskas begins:

/41/ I wove neatly, tatatela
A bundle at a time, tatatela
The thread fast, tatatela
A shuttle at a time, tatatela, etc.

One hears here clearly the sound of the loom, which is kept going by the weaver with her feet, while she accompanies the necessary motions of the hand with the words of the song. The refrain itself - no matter whether it now consists of onomatopoetic sounds or words -- is the really constant thing in these songs. It gains in importance where it is a matter of work that is carried out by a group of people at the same time. Here only the leader sings the text of the song, which he improvises, whereas the chorus repeats only the refrain.

While the refrain in its nature is related to the rhythm of the work, the other part of the song has the potentiality of freer development. Thus it comes that the worker, each according to his mood, puts into this part the most varied ideas and feelings, which refer not only to the work. We can observe this development in a whole series of working songs that were sung with the turning of the hand mill and that almost all begin with the same words: Malu, malu viena, pasižiūru -- diena ("I grind, grind alone, I look around me -- it is day") while the texts express the most varied feelings of the working girl. As

533 everywhere else, so also in Lithuania the change of working conditions has slowly brought about the disappearance of the ancient work songs. The abolition of compulsory service, which forced many people into common activity, the ending of the talka, the free industrial associations in the villages, and finally the replacing by improved working implements of such primitive tools as are represented, for example, by the hand mill worked in one direction. But the song that was once sung with the monotonous rhythm of the work did not disappear; it experienced only /42/ a transformation: the section in which the singer once expressed his feelings and moods could now unfold with complete freedom and became genuine folk song. This is the course of development of an uncounted series of Lithuanian songs, whose genesis would today be obscure if certain components of text and rhythm did not betray their origin. This is shown especially clearly in the beautiful song translated by Rhesa: "The Girl at the Crank," whose first stanzas show the ancient beginning of the songs sung at the hand mill:

Roar, roar
You millstones!
Methinks I did not grind alone.

Alone I ground,
Alone I sang,
Alone I turn the crank.

Why did you concern yourself,
Oh tender youth,
With me, wretched girl?

You knew well indeed,
Oh sweet boy,
That I did not sit at court:

533

Up to the knee,
Into the bog,
Up to the shoulders
Into the water . . .
Wretched my days! (14)

[113]

14. Ludwig Rhesa, Dainos oder litthauische Volkslieder (Königsberg, 1825). New edition with some corrections by Kurschat (Berlin, 1843), No. 2. Goethe's review of the collection is in Werke (Stuttgart, 1833), Vol. 46, pp. 346-367. (The Rhesa collection contains 85 dainos with German translations. Cf. here also the Hausschatz der Volkspoesie by O. L. B. Wolff (Leipzig, 1853).

When there was no longer any direct connection between song and work, content and rhythm frequently changed, so that its origin can today no longer be recognized.

If we conceive of the idea of work in the broader sense as any human activity, we see with Biržiška (15) /43/ that all working songs can be

15. M. Biržiška, Dainos keliais, loc. cit. p. 40.

divided into two groups. One group was sung at common activities -- at flax-scutching, at hay-making, at rye-mowing, or at dancing, etc. -- the other by individuals at the hand mill, at the loom, at milking, at washing. Here belong also the sailor and shepherd songs and the cradle songs which the mothers sang as they set into rhythmic motion the wicker cradle hanging down from the ceiling:

Lylia, lylia, little rue blossom,
Lylia, lylia, little golden ring.

533 or

Čiučia liulia, my little one,
Liulia, my poor little baby. (16)

16. Ibid., p. 52.

Almost all of the individually sung songs of this type breathe a sad, yearning mood, while those sung out of doors are mostly filled with humor and joy:

Valioi, you meadows, valioi!
Valioi, you green ones, valioi!
My sickle is all of steel, valioi!
My sickle is not sharpened, valioi!
My rake is beautifully carved, valioi!
A present from my dear boy, valioi! (17)

17. Ibid., p. 57.

533 The Lithuanian dancing songs above all
535 breathe joyfulness. At another place we have already seen how originally the rhythm of the dance, lacking musical accompaniment, was produced by the dancers themselves. Today, of course, there is musical accompaniment, and to each dance belongs a series of joyful songs:

When the fox dances and the hare dances,
All animals dance,
And the deer with long horns,
He stamps up and down.
/44/ When the crow dances, the magpie dances,
All birds dance,
The crane with the long beak
Strides up and down, etc. (18)

18. Ibid., p. 47.

The old Lithuanian folk dances, which must

535 The old Lithuanian folk dances, which must be treated here, had been almost forgotten until very recently and were revived only a few years ago. They are of great interest for the understanding of a certain mental attitude. Let us take for example the old dance "blezdingėlė" /the little swallow/, a group dance in which girls and boys draw themselves up in two rows (similar to the wedge-shaped formation of wild geese), with white handkerchiefs in their hands, and imitate the flight of swallows by gentle raising and lowering of their arms (see illustration), while they step once forward and once backward, singing. We thus see an unusual grace and an astonishing sensitiveness for a folk dance; it is as if the wind were passing across a cornfield. The further figures consist in the partners going together toward the middle and the couples crawling alternately under their highly raised arms to music that becomes faster and faster. In another dance, "kepurėlė" /the little cap/, two couples stand opposite each other. They seize each other first by one hand and turn to the right; then the same movements take place to the left. At the second verse of the melody the boys take their caps off and the couples bow to each other crosswise. There follows in the same position a turning and bowing to the outside. The whole thing is repeated two or three times. A large number of the old folk dances are danced in a similarly delicate and gracious manner. A real dance of spring is the "kubilas," also illustrated, which still lives today in Suvalkija.

About a half century ago new folk dances came into fashion that express a completely different mental attitude. It was above all the "suktinis" /45/ (slow waltz), which came from the cities, passed over into the villages, and superseded many other dances. As a matter of fact, the "suktinis" is not an original folk dance, but an example of adaptation of a higher cultural good to popular use. The melody stems from an

535 opera overture and bears a Polish-Czech stamp. The couples take hold of each other, hold their arms folded on their back, and step forward in polka tempo, until with the change of tempo a turning takes place while alternately the girls and boys, one partner or the other, whirl around backwards in a circle. The dance "noriu miego," often danced today, is also not an original Lithuanian folk dance but the arrangement of an Esthonian one. (19)

19. For the statements on the dances "suktinis" and "noriu miego" I am indebted to the chief of the folklore archives, Dr. J. Balys.

The peasant in the country knows in addition German dances. He dances for example the quadrille and also the waltz, although with a small variation. He also loves those old, characteristic round dances, which give all the dancers opportunity to be active at the same time. They are danced in every village. The Lithuanian describes his round dances not as "dances" but as "games."

There is pictured the sowing, growth, blossoming, and harvesting of the poppy, for example. Men and women dancers grasp each other by the hand in a closed circle, while the boldest and liveliest girl takes her place in the middle and gives the sign for the beginning of the round. The circle then begins a striding motion and stops at times to imitate -- always with an accompanying song -- the various motions with which the girl standing in the middle represents the growing of the poppy symbolically. The dance is called "aguonele" /little poppy plant/. Many other rounds are danced in a similar manner, relating to the animal, bird, and plant worlds. On fine summer afternoons girls and boys go outside the

535 village onto the broad main road for the round dance.

The Lithuanian song dances offer the spectator a gay and colorful picture, particularly when the girls /46/ appear in their old national costume on festive occasions. The colorful bodice, the long, gay, fluttering ribbons fastened to the headdress, the shining aprons -- everything breathes joyousness and is combined with the character of the dances into a unified, beautiful picture.

533 3. Motifs and Content of the Dainos

The Lithuanian dancing songs are songs of the summer, which ring in the evenings, when outside before the village the torches blaze and the ground shakes from the rhythm of the dance. But already an examination of the old folk dances, melodies, and work songs has shown us that such primitive expressions of optimistic joy are not the really characteristic feature of Lithuanian folk poetry as a whole. In content the Lithuanian songs include probably the whole human scale of feelings, but over most of them lies a shy reserve. Even where the daina turns into a folk ballad it retains in its expression this characteristic stamp.

The Lithuanian folk ballad has not yet been subject to investigation by literary criticism. The question as to how far the epic elements which many dainos contain are formed in the manner of a ballad, i.e. dramatically, cannot be decided immediately, since the concept of the ballad itself varies. In an as yet unpublished essay "Über die litauische Volksballade," very kindly put at my disposal, Dr. J. Balys investigates the epic element in 45 dainos, which he divides into ballads of natural magic, ghost ballads, horror ballads, sentimental ballads, ballads of fate and historical sagas. As follows from the whole nature of

533 the dainos, the so-called sentimental ballads predominate; also the fate and saga ballads sppear only as a subordinate variety. Ghost and horror ballads, on the other hand, are far less common. Many of these poems are of the monologue type -- the sufferer himself relates his fate. In addition, however, we find /47/ epic elements that picture the situation and dialogues with dramatic climaxes. The connections with German poetry are minor; but the contacts with Slavic poetry are strong.

The difference between the Lithuanian folk ballad, thus outlined, and the German seems to me to lie essentially in the fact that the external plot is in no sense an end in itself, if we observe one of these poems as a whole. The mysterious, gruesome, or fateful elements (ghost, horror, and fate ballads) are indeed mentioned, but without elaboration; rather they are reflected in the moods of sorrow and pain. The reality appears as if seen from afar, and is mentioned mostly as the basis for the emotional experience which constitutes the real content of the ballad: the youth rides into battle. The song sings of the departure and the pain of those remaining behind. The boy is killed in battle. We learn nothing about his ride, nor of the details of the battle. Only the horse turns back and gives notice of his death. Or the youth is killed in battle, and the sorrow of his surviving mother, sister, and fiancee are movingly expressed in the song. From these two folk ballads Adalbert von Chamisso formed his beautiful poetic imitation "Der Sohn der Witwe." Since it is experienced completely in the Lithuanian mood and contains only few of the poet's own additions, it may find its place here as the best example of the Lithuanian folk ballad:

The swans approached with the song of war:
To horse, to horse! it resounded.

From all the farms around ride
533 The young sons to the army.

/48/ It is very bad with us,
And no one stays when one enlists.

You are going, my intended, my brother, my son,
You are going to war, that we know.

We women wait on the soldier,
The betrothed adjusts the plume for you,

Sister leads out the horse for you,
Mother opens the farmyard gate for you.

When will you return, my intended, my brother, my child,
When will you return? tell us quickly.

When air and water and land are free,
Then I shall delay no longer, then I shall hurry back.

And air and water and land are free,
Why does he delay longer and not hurry back?

We women, we want to go to meet him,
We want to see him from the hill.

There the women wait and watch the valley
Along the road in the rays of the sun.

And the sun rises and sets,
No rider appears.

Now the dust rises, now comes running toward them
A horse--no rider sits on it.

They seize it, they question it:
How is it, my horse, that you come home alone?

/Unnumbered page with illustration--Swallow Dance/

533 /49/ Evil horse, did you flee from your master?
Where was my intended, my brother, my son?

They shot him in the battle,
And made him his bed on the green meadow.

Me they let run away,
I have sorrowfully delivered the message.

Three swans approached with lamentation
Along the meadow to seek a grave.

They sat down when they saw it,
A swan at his feet, at his head, at his side.

At the head the sister, at the feet the betrothed,
At the side the mother, grown quite gray.

Oh woe, woe, we three bereaved!
Who will join in our lament?

Thereupon the sun, bowing, began:
I will join in, as well as I can.

Nine days I shall mourn in a veil of haze
And not appear on the tenth.

The mourning of the betrothed lasted three weeks,
The mourning of the sister lasted three years,

The mother kept on mourning
Until, tired out, she was herself laid in her grave. (20)*

*[see p.56, cat. #3--Analyst]

[113] 20. Adalbert von Chamisso, Werke (Berlin, 1864), 5th ed., Vol. I, pp. 164-166. (For the ending of this poem there are in Lithuanian no less than 37 variations. Cf. J. Balys, "Nuo žirgo krites bernelis" (The Boy Thrown from the Horse), Tautosakos Barbai, Vol. I, pp. 142-178).

533 As here, so in all Lithuanian songs the epic element finds in the end its resolution in pure lyricism. This /50/ lyricism avoids if possible even the mention of concrete facts. Its nature is rooted in the elaboration of moods and inner experience. "Since the singers in Lithuania," says the Finnish Professor Niemi, "as in Esthonia and Ingermanland, are young girls, one could not expect that they would take a strong interest in the heroic epic, a situation quite different from that in Finnish and Russian Karelia, where the bearers of folk poetry were old men." (21) As a

[113] 21. A. Miemi, "Die Beziehungen zwischen der litauischen und der finnischen Volkspoesie," Litauische Warte, 1920, No. 1, p. 13.

matter of fact, most of the songs sung today in Lithuania are girls' songs, and this explains also the disproportionately strong predominance of love songs in Lithuanian folk poetry. One day in a Samogitian peasant family I myself had sung to me a daina, at the end of which the two daughters of the household looked at me expectantly. When I expressed praise for the melody, the older daughter, blushing, explained to me that she herself with her sister had composed the song during the past week, and had invented the melody for it. When one considers that the folk songs still originate today in Lithuania in this manner, one understands that there is a very

[see cat. 116, pp. 53-55 -- Analyst]

personal relationship between the Lithuanian and his song tradition. Even during the World War the current of songs of this song-loving people did not come to a stop, as the most recent collections prove. (22) A song that finds favor begins

[113] 22. Jonas Norkus, Didžiojo karo laikų lietuvių dainos (Songs from the period of the World War) (Kaunas, 1927).

to wander and experiences many transformations. Perhaps a few hours from its point of departure it is already sung quite differently. In songs with local coloring, therefore, we come upon the most varied names of cities and rivers. A song that originated at the border and that mentions Riga and the Dūna River replaces them in its wandering to the west perhaps with Tilsit and the Memel. This is a process that one also finds in German songs, especially such as are sung by wandering artisans -- only with the difference that in Germany this development is today mostly completed, while in Lithuania it is still in full swing. As the texts of the songs are changed, so also the melodies. This goes along with the /51/ primitive nature of the folk song. Frequently in this manner even the basic idea becomes incomprehensible in the loosened context.

If we observe the content of the Lithuanian songs according to certain basic viewpoints, we realize that any division into specific groups must remain artificial, for as a matter of fact the people transform their whole life into song. Human life, however, defies any classification. Furthermore the similarity, mentioned at the beginning, of the motifs within the Aryan racial family applies especially to the content of the dainos. For that reason not everything that may be said about the content of the Lithuanian songs is typical only of Lithuanian folk poetry; however the stage of culture, the character of the people,

and the conditions of life determine basic differences in the method of their treatment.

Among the Lithuanian folk songs we find many that treat of ancient, long vanished situations. Thus many tell of the theft of brides and of the cult of the dead, of old customs today forgotten. Such songs afford us valuable knowledge concerning the temporal changes in the way of life of the people, may it be a matter of housekeeping, cultivation of the fields, preparation of paints, and other things, religious or mythical customs, of superstition, magic, or of ancient folk customs and habits at funerals and weddings. No cultural-historical presentation of Lithuania can, therefore, pass over the dainos. In the mythological songs the stars are animate, the sun appears as a mother who warms the shepherd children, the moon as a father, the stars are brothers. The god of heaven, Perkunas, throws his thunderbolts. The holy numbers three and nine play a great role. Songs that are sung at specific religious feasts, for example on St. John's Eve, also belong here; the ancient god of the fields, Kupalo, is fused into one person with this saint: Kupolau Sventas Jonas -- Kupalo, St. John. The following is an example of this group of songs:

/52/ The Lost Ring

Under the maple flows the spring
Where the sons of God
Go dancing in the moonlight
With the daughters of God.

To the spring under the maple
I went to wash myself,
As I washed my face very clean
My ring fell in.

Will then the sons of God come
With their silken nets
And fish for me my dear little ring
Out of the deep water?

533 There came by a young boy
High on a brown horse,
And the horse, the brown one, had
Golden horseshoes.

Come here, my maid,
Come here, you girl,
Come, let us talk fondly for a bit,
Let us dream sweet dreams,
Where the spring is deepest,
Where the love is dearest.

Alas, I cannot, youth,
Cannot, kind boy.
My mother would scold me,
The old one would scold;
I would come home late,
I would come home late. (23)

23. L. Rhésa, op. cit., No. 48.

The song reproduced here is also of interest because it contains the ring motif, a primitive wandering /53/ motif that reaches into distant antiquity and is equally loved among the ancient Greeks, among the Indians and Germans.

The motif of transformation represents a very fascinating mythical theme; one of the oldest human notions is based on the belief in transformations into trees or birds. The soul of a man continues its own life after death as a bird and sings with an infinitely sweet voice. The girl or the forsaken brother is changed into a cuckoo, a dove, or a wild gray duck and laments at the house of the parents. Then the brothers come together and ask: what bird sings to beautifully there? Mother, sister, and betrothed appear at midnight to the dead warrior, sit about him, and lament. The Lithuanian hears a cry of woe especially in the call of the cuckoo. At times, too, the cuckoo is a prophetic bird:

533 Say, little cuckoo, say
Where is our sister?

The souls of hated persons, however, are transformed into owls:

The uncle's soul, like an owl,
Sat in blindness.

Along with transformations into birds the folk song is familiar with transformations into trees. These ideas, too, are very old. They may once have grown out of the belief in the origin of people from trees; we may think, for example, of Ask and Embla, the first people of the Germanic saga.

Out of such songs speaks the close relationship of man with the nature that surrounds him, in whose rhythm these songs themselves swing along like a gentle accompanying harmony of the infinite. This stands out especially beautifully in the love /54/ songs. It is precisely these which breathe that shy restraint and tenderness of feeling which sets the Lithuanian folk song off from the songs of many other peoples. Love itself confronts us in all its primitiveness and directness, but still like a tender secret. We find no picturing of the beauty of the beloved apart from the usual epithets: the red cheeks, the blond hair, the beautiful figure, etc. Only the boy, the youth, the girl, the maid, is sung of:

As the young son rode to his maid,
The old father knew nothing of it.
But he notes it in the brown horse
And in his son's festive clothes.

"Ei, my son, you dear young boy,
Where have you been in the dark night? --
Where did you heat the dark brown horse?--
Where did you strike the horseshoe of steel?"--

533 "Do not scold me, my dear old father,
That I now want to take home my maid.
I will get me a green carriage
And set before it a two-horse team."

I came riding home at midnight,
My old father was not yet in bed,
He opened for me himself the large gate,
And stopped the dark brown horses.

My dear old father asked me:
"Who lighted your way in the dark night?"
"Oh, two bright stars lighted my way,
The fiery eyes of my dear maid." (24)

24. Nesselmann, op. cit., No. 131.

But just these songs are accompanied by the note of yearning and sorrow which in part controls the melodies so strongly that one Lithuanian scholar /55/ comes to the conclusion: "The Lithuanian folk song is a primitive mourning, an infinite yearning, an unresolved pain with the quiet reflection of another existence." (25) There

25. B. Sruoga, op. cit., p. 9.

are always the same recurring motifs--of the boy who was killed in battle or abandoned the maid forever, of life abroad, of hard work in the house of the unloved husband, of longing for home, of the garland that was lost -- and with it the innocence of virginity:

The cuckoo calls in the linden--
My heart is troubled and sad,
My garland blows in the wind
Far over the mountains and lake.

With silken sails go
The boats out onto the sea,

533 My green garland
They will never bring back again.

Most of the Lithuanian wedding songs are also attuned to melancholy and longing, above all those that are sung on the mergvakaris (maiden evening), when the playmates of the bride braid her hair and decorate her for the wedding. I have treated in detail the Lithuanian wedding songs and customs in a special chapter of an earlier book on Lithuanian folklore, and gave there also a number of translations of folk songs.

Let only this much be said here, that it is precisely the group of wedding songs which as no other contains all the tones and moods that are characteristic elsewhere of Lithuanian folk song. In the Lithuanian wedding drama -- for it must so be characterized -- the party of the groom with his companions stands over against the bride and her playmates. The action itself, which extends over a number of days, with its ancient /56/ ceremonies and customs, is accompanied by the alternate songs of the two parties. "Thus the wedding itself is a contest in the most beautiful, in the most musical songs." (26) Just in these

26. M. Biržiška, Vadovėlis, op. cit. p. 55.

wedding songs, however, a sudden roguishness, a strong streak of humor, frequently breaks through and stands in strong contrast to the melancholy farewell songs of the bride. Not only the bride is mocked, not only the pirschlis, the matchmaker, who has won the girl with lies, is reprimanded in the song--the mother of the bride is mocked with special glee, and even the wedding guests have to put up with a few things:

Why does the wedding guest sigh?
The hat is not his own,
Borrow, begged,
Barked at by dogs. (27)

533 27. Niemi-Sabaliauskas, op. cit., No. 842.

Let it be added that the love songs, too, which treat of meeting and getting acquainted before the marriage, are not lacking in such primitive tones. Here the humorous songs bear frequently the character of pleasant roguishness:

Oh God, do not give me
Such a fate,
That in the same village
My boy friend grows up.

Then I would always have to
Do nothing but wash laundry
Go about every day
In a white dress.

Oh God, give me
Such a fate,
Let him live
A short distance away.

/57/ Then I will have time
To wash laundry
And go about every Sunday
In a white dress. (28)

[113] 28. Daynas Zemayczіu surynktas yr yszdutas par Symona Stanewicze (Wylniuje, 1829), pp. 12-13.

With the groups of ballads, working and dancing songs, mythological songs, love songs, wedding songs, and finally humorous songs discussed so far, we have obtained a survey, though brief, of the content and most important motifs of the Lithuanian folk songs. We have seen here almost every activity, every mood, and every process observed in nature is turned into a song,

and that correspondences to all mental processes are always found in nature. With this we confront the question of the form and artistic means of expression of the Lithuanian folk song.

4. Form and Means of Expression in the Dainos

In contrast, for example, to the folk songs of the White Russians, the Lithuanian songs are always contructed in strophes. To be sure, the regular strophic form of the recent songs often does not exist in the old dainos. There it is frequently irregular and indistinct. (29) Songs

29. In this fact lies also the reason why disagreement exists on this question in the field of Lithuanian song research itself. Thus, for example, B. Sruoga's opinion that "in the Lithuanian folk songs the strophe is, as a rule, absolutely necessary" (op. cit., p. 21) is contested by Dr. Balys and others for the older songs. (Cf. here also L. Gira, "Lietuviškos eilėdaros kūrimosi raida" (The Development of the Lithuanian Verse Form), Darbai ir Dienos, Vol. III, pp. 130-213.)

[113]

of more than one strophe predominate. The strophes themselves are put together in the most varied ways. A special recent song form, employed especially in humorous songs, is represented by the single strophe, dainuška. In addition, however, there are also very old one-verse songs, and, as we saw at the beginning, probably the oldest song form consists of a single line with a refrain:

The bee buzzes, buzzes kadijela.
Little bee, little bee, kadiju.

The difficult question of the rhythm of the Lithuanian songs has already been touched on in

connection with the melodies and the work song. Just as controversial is /58/ the question of rime. According to Bezzenberger "the genuine Lithuanian folk poetry is familiar with rime and employs it often consistently." (30) Bezzenberger'

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30. Adalbert Bezzenberger, Litauische Forschungen, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Sprache und des Volkstums der Litauer (Göttingen, 1882), pp. IX-X. (One of the most valuable works of the older folklore research. It contains, among other things, 67 folk songs with a musical accompaniment, 12 folk tales, close to 100 riddles, over 100 proverbs, a large number of curses and swear words, as well as a valuable section on "superstitious and other popular ideas and customs of the Lithuanians." Written 1879-1881.)

however, does not prove his point conclusively, since the dainos cited by him do not belong to the really typical folk songs. We can, therefore, more readily say that the old dainos are always unrimed and the rime which occasionally turns up indicates a more recent stage of development (31)

31. B. Sruoga, op. cit., p. 29.

As a matter of fact, the numerous diminutive forms, which we treated in detail in the chapter on language, and which are attached to almost any word, frequently stand in such a relationship to each other that the divergent views of the investigators on this point are understandable. Whoever hears the Lithuanian songs sung, is impressed primarily by the rhythm in the alternation of long and short syllables, and he will be inclined to regard the rime as an obtrusive link that does not properly suit the delicately organized structure of the daina. The diminutives themselves, which we also meet in the older German folk songs--

533 though in far smaller number--lend to the daina the character of pleasantness and intimacy, especially since not only the principal word but also the corresponding adjective appears in the diminutive form: seselė--jaunuolėlė--"little sister, the (dear) young one." I must refer here to what was said in the first chapter concerning the diminutives and would like only to add that a translation of the dainos texts into the German language frequently comes to grief precisely on this fascinating peculiarity. A literal translation, as, for example, Schleicher attempted in 1857:

> Ei Schwester, ei Schwesterchen, Schwesterlein mein,
> Du weisst viel, was Krieg ist, das Krieglein, das Kriegchen,
> Da fliegen die Kugeln, die Kügelein, Kügelchen,

seems in German at best mawkish. And although the Lithuanian people seem more conditioned by their feelings than, for example, the Germans, one should not forget /59/ that among the countless diminutives which overgrow the dainos like a beautiful, wild flower garden, many have already become stereotyped and have thus lost their original emotional significance. This is especially clearly shown with the epithets, the ornamental adjectives. The stubborn adherence to old memories has resulted in numerous stereotyped adjectives and phrases that were again and again taken over into new songs. Sometimes one feels reminded of Homer. Almost always a breath of tenderness and infinite joy in idealizing hovers over these adjectives. Here is the urge to outgrow gray reality and to construct a more beautiful world of joy in oneself. Here speaks the joy in the flashy and ostentatious, and on the other hand the longing for the noble and good, as it

533 moves the heart of depressed mankind. Thus the simple peasant girl becomes a tender lily, and the yoke with which she goes to the well is of silver; the stirrups of the boy gleam with gold, and the windows of the poor hut shine like diamonds. The boats sail into the sea with silken sails. The ideal beauty of the daina is nordic--it knows only blond braids of the girls. Not all these epithets, but a large part of them, have frozen into stereotyped phrases. In part they are of a tautological nature. The "young" boy who rides to the maid, the "green" rue which blooms in the garden, the "old" mother. The daina never forgets these words. In part they are also of an explanatory nature. White and green are the favorite colors; in addition shining things play a role, and thus even the gray, homely cuckoo becomes at times a shining, gaily colored bird. (32)

[113] 32. Cf. here Dowkong (Daukantas), Daynes Zemaitiû, pagal žodiû Dajniniků iszraszytas (Petropilie, 1846), pp. 8, 10: margouie gagelē and marga gegelē. This collection of "Samogitian songs, recorded in the words of the singers," is one of the most valuable older collections; it contains 118 dainos.

The joy in specific colors, for example white and green, can even lead to their being occasionally used where they do not belong. To the stereotyped old constructions belong also the doubling of infinitives and verbs--swim swim through, scold scold, fly fly. In this way an intensified /60/ action is indicated, which naturally cannot be reproduced in English words.

If we observe the artistic structure of the daina, we see first that in most of them the dialogue form predominates. The alternating song between two and three persons can actually be put down as typical. It is a genuine characteristic of the folk song (cf. the examples already given).

533 A further peculiarity of the Lithuanian folk song, which incidentally, we find also in Esthonian and Finiish songs, (33) lies in the fact that the same

33. A. Niemi, op. cit., p. 28.

idea is often treated from the standpoint of several characters who appear. Here we have the so-called repetitive songs, whose form is very simple and primitive. Typically Lithuanian are those repetitive songs that treat the theme in a parallel manner applied to the girl and the boy:

Now I will sing a song, a little song,
A youth who loves to sing,
Open the little chest of songs,
Let go the songs today.

Stone has no blood, water no wings,
The fern no blossoms,
I am a youth, I am a boy,
No maid is my own.

I shall sell the horse and the saddle,
Hire a weaver, etc.

. . .

Now I will sing a song, a little song,
A maid who loves to sing,
Open the little chest of songs,
Let go the songs today.

/61/ Stone has no blood, water no wings,
The fern no blossoms,
I am a maid, plagued by work,
No youth is my own.

I shall sell the ring and the garland,
Hire a plowman, etc. (34)

34. S. Stanewicz, op. cit., No. 1, pp. 7-8.

533 This song is especially fascinating because we recognize in it a further expressive form of the daina, the metaphor, the application of a concrete picture to the spiritual. Especially the older dainos are rich in such pictures. There is the fir tree, "the little daughter of the forest," the "golden dew" falls, the maid puts the annoying suitor's "words in her pocket," etc. It says in one song:

Where the head sank, there bloomed a rose,
Where the blood dropped, shone pearls. (35)

35. Ibid., No. XXIV, p. 54.

With this higher type of comparison that is employed here we have passed over an artistic means of expression to whose employment the daina owes part of its most beautiful effects. This is the opposition of two different motifs, of which one is taken from human life, the other from nature:

The leaves of the trees are falling,
The apples are falling,
Bitter tears are falling.

We find this so-called parallelism in the most varied applications, in simple, complex, and also in negative form:

Did the north wind storm?
The river overflow?
Did Perkunas thunder?
The lightning flash?

The north wind did not blow,
The river did not overflow,
Perkunas did not strike
Thundering with lightning.

/62/ Bearded men,
Men of the seas,
Climbed the bank,
Climbed up to the garden.

Trampled the rues,
Tore apart the roses,
Scattered the lilies,
Down flowed the dew. (36)

36. Cf. the Lithuanian text in Rhesa, op. cit., No. 28, p. 95.

In oppositions of this type man and his fate still form a unity with the reality of nature that surrounds him. The natural phenomen themselves catch the human life as in a mirror or are opposed to it and thus enhance the consciousness of its own fate: the cuckoo laments in the forest--the maid weeps in the klete [house], the horse of the youth neighs--the youth is full of joy, the cold wind reddens the face--the evil words of men make it still redder. These correspondences are countless. Frequently they find their resolution in direct comparison:

My sister weeps
In the colorful kletis
Just as the cuckoo
Calls in the forest.

On comparisons in Lithuanian songs taken from the realm of nature we possess a fine work by the Dutchman Dr. R. von der Meulen. (37) He

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37. Dr. R. von der Meulen, Die Naturvergleiche in den Liedern und Totenklagen der Litauer (Leiden, 1907).

shows us in an abundance of examples how to the popular poet the images of nature that surrounds

533 him become a symbol of human life and thereby obtain their real meaning in the Lithuanian folk song. Thus result thousandfold relations between fate and surroundings. They are tied to images and comparisons that often become stereotyped, just as the already mentioned ornamental adjectives. If now the idea of a specific human experience is represented each time by a specific image, the presentation of the experience itself finally becomes superfluous. But with this the daina takes the last step toward the detachment of human occurrence from reality and reaches its highest possibility of expression in pure symbolism.

/63/ As B. Sruoga, who investigated the symbolism in Lithuanian folk poetry in greatest detail, writes, (38) symbolic representation as a

[113] 38. Cf. for the following the chapter "Symbolism" in B. Sruoga, op. cit., pp. 92-115.

poetic device is known to probably all Aryan peoples. While, however, among most of the peoples this symbolism has today become faded and incomprehensible, in Lithuanian folk songs it has been preserved in all its primitive tenacity up to the present day. Its borders are fluid; i.e. one symbol may express various ideas according to the context, and on the other hand, various symbols may serve for the representation of one and the same idea. The call of the cuckoo is the symbolic expression for the weeping mother, as also for the sorrowing orphan or the ravished maid. Conversely we find as symbol for the youth the woodpecker, the falcon, the birch tree, etc. If the falcon alights on a tree, it signifies that the youth is wooing a maid. If he breaks the branches of the tree and flies away, he has dishonored the maid. Thus the tree becomes a symbol of a person, its leaves are words, the dew signifies tears. The withering tree is the symbol of dying and death,

533 the sprouting tree of the first love of a maid. A tree and under it a spring signifies mother and daughter. A great number of symbols is connected with the garland of rue and the rue itself, the magical favorite flower of the Lithuanians. The garland is the symbol of virginity; the dew that falls on the garland is an evil omen, and there remains nothing to do but to hang it on a nail or lock it up in a chest. Also a north wind (the youth) can blow up, tear off the garland, and drown it in the sea. The ring corresponds to the garland. If a maid loses her garland, her ring rusts, or it falls from her finger and is lost. In more recent songs, on the other hand, the ring has acquired its later significance as the sign of betrothal. It is noteworthy that the symbol corresponding to the garland of rue is represented for boys /64/ by the cap. It, too, becomes wet from the dew, falls in the dirt, and is lost, and the boy asks:

Oh give it, whoever has found it,
And do not put me to shame,
Nor my dear maid. (39)

39. L. Rhesa, op. cit., p. 51.

Naturally the horse, too, which plays a great role in the folk song as a loyal companion of the youth, is frequently only to be understood symbolically. If the boy has obtained his own horse, he is able to ride to the maid to court her. If the horse refuses to drink, he has not reached his beloved. If it stumbles, this is an evil omen. If the maid lets the horse graze in the rue garden, this means she is very fond of the youth, for it the horse tramples the green rue, she belongs to him. She should not feed the horse, for it may happen that she will mix her garland in with the oats. If the horse neighs outside, the maid should

533 not follow if she wants to avoid shame:

You should not go
So late before the gate,
You should not listen
When the horse neighs. . .

If, however, the maid does not obey, it can happen that soon she carries in her hands a little falcon, i.e. a child, and her brother reproaches her for having gone out, for otherwise:

You would not carry
The falcon in your hands,
You would carry only
Your golden ring. (40)

[113] 40. J. Simtakojis, Trakiečių dzūkų dainos (Songs of the Traker Dzukes) (Shenadoah, 1899), p. XX.

It is impossible/Unnumbered page with illustration--"Kubilas," Folk Dance/ /65/ in this space to treat with even approximate completeness the abundance of living symbols which in all their simplicity constitute the most intimate charm of these songs and lead from light humor to deepest seriousness and tragedy. Their poetic value and their special meaning for the Lithuanian folk songs lies in the fact that they give the poets the possibility of rising from everyday reality into another level of experience and thereby completing the transition into that world of the ideal and beautiful in which the yearning of the Lithuanian daina finds its strongest expression. As every genuine national art, however, reaches out beyond its own country and becomes the common property of art, the Lithuanian folk song, too, has found scientific and artistic recognition outside of the boundaries set by language and culture.

000 That it was primarily German poets and scholars who concerned themselves in detail with Lithuanian folk poetry is explained on the one hand by the close relation of the two peoples, on the other hand by the influence which the romanticism of the eighteenth century exercised on German poetry. Thus one can rightly speak of a Lithuanian contribution to German spiritual life.

533 [144] 5. The Lithuanian Folk Song in German Poetry

Around the end of the seventeenth century we hear for the first time from German sources details concerning Lithuanian folk poetry. Around the year 1690 Theodor Lepner, one time pastor in Ragnit, wrote his notable little book: Der Preusche Litauer. It was dedicated to the Electoress Sophie-Charlotte and appeared in 1744 in Danzig. The book is of special cultural-historical interest because Lepner, who in general--this may be added--did not at all esteem the Lithuanians, gives a quite drastic picture of Lithuanian folk customs. [534] He writes: "They have a peculiar type of trumpet or trombone which they call truba. This is made out of fir, with a hollow at the end, fairly /66/ wide and round like a trombone, on the outside tightly wound around with birch bark, over a fathom long. Two kerdels blow on such trombones at the same time, which makes quite a noise. Otherwise they have what the Germans call pig's head (kanklis --a type of zither), strung with nine or twelve brass strings, the drum, the fife and other flutes, a fiddle, and a bass iron; this only they buy at the store, the other pieces mentioned they all make themselves. Such artists are they!

"They are also all composers who give the melodies to their songs themselves, although they have also learned some from the Germans. They are inclined by nature to singing, and are thus fine musici naturales who brought with them into the

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world the inclination to sing; now there arises from the women and girls at their banquets such howling and humming that one must stop one's ears from it. The kerdels are not especially fond of this science, but only the women and girls, who from morning, from the second cock crow on, until it gets light, make music at the hand mill, since the humming of the mill serves them as it were as a ground bass.

"The material of their songs are love songs, but they are concerned also with such things as just happen to occur to them and stand before their eyes. A few of them also sing spiritual songs at the hand mill, which happens at their banquets in drinking bouts of men and women, concerning which Wilhelmus Martinus, onetime pastor in Mummel, reports cleverly in his Latin poem of praise concerning the Lithuanian song book, which I thus give in /English/:

Lithuanian people, you are, I think, called thus
After a field trumpet, as it is called in Greek:
Your heart burns naturally for sound, song, rime;
You drive your merry cattle, that tears itself from the stall,
Out to the pasture in singing, you shout in walking, in plowing,
/67/ With untiring voice. On your wedding day,
At baptism and other assemblies, at home and in the taverns,
You sing of all that which may be known to you."

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114 A few years after Lepner wrote his little book there appeared a book by Johann Arnold von

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Brand, professor in Duisburg (died 1691): Reysen durch die Marck Brandenburg, Preussen, Churland, Liefland, Plesscovien, Gross-Naugardten, Tweerien und Moscovien. In this book, which was published in 1702 at Wesel by Heinrich Christian vor Hennin, Brand reproduces two fragments of Lithuanian folk songs.

The first fragment, which he describes as "The usual drinking song of the Lithuanians," reads (p. 107):

Let us then, y heisa viva y,
Be merry, y heisa viva y.

The second, "Lament to the Unfaithful Betrothed," reads (p. 108):

Did you not love me?
I cut with you the rye,
I raked with you the hay,
I bound with you the oats.

From that year dates the interest with which German scholars and poets devoted themselves to Lithuanian folk poetry. In 1745 Philipp Ruhig, pastor in Walterkehmen, in his Betrachtungen der litauischen Sprache, published three folk songs, of which one is found in the later collection of Daukantas while another has become known from various anthologies. Ruhig reproduces the texts of these songs solely for linguistic reasons and even apologizes to his readers for claiming their attention with such vanities.

/68/ The translations of Ruhig are interesting inasmuch as they show the abundance of diminutives, so characteristic of the Lithuanian language, although the author obviously had not yet solved the problem of their translation into the German language. Thus the first of the dainos begins with the words: 1

1 [See cat. 116, p. 77 -- Analyst]

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Früh Morgens am Morgelein
Ging das Sonnlein auf,
Und unter dem Glasfensterlein
Sass das Mütterlein.

Ich wollt dich fragen, Töchterlein,
Wo bist du herumgegangen?
Und wo hat dein Kränzlein
Das Nebelein befallen?

etc.

The beginnings of the other two dainos are as follows: "Ich hatte ein Rösslein"--and: "Ich hab aufgesagt meinem Mütterlein schon vor der Hälfte des Sommerleins."

In spite of the translations, which are incongruous with the nature of the German language, Lessing comprehended intuitively the beauty of these Lithuanian folk songs hidden behind the veil of the un-German translations, when he wrote in 1757 in his often quoted 35th Literaturbrief: "It has not been long since I leafed through Ruhig's Lithuanian dictionary and at the end of the preliminary remarks on this language came upon a pertinent rarity that gave me infinite pleasure. Namely some Lithuanian "dainos" or songs, as they are sung there by the ordinary girls. What naive wit! What charming simplicity! One can learn from them that under every stretch of heaven poets are born, and that vivid experiences are no prerogative of cultivated peoples." How strongly Lessing experienced the poetic magic of these simple poems appears from his words: "The pious man (Ruhig) apologizes /69/ for introducing such vanities; he might have apologized to me for not introducing more of them."

The songs made a still stronger impression on Herder, who had already occupied himself with that folk poetry in Riga in his younger years.(41)In

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41. The comments of Herder concerning the Lithuanian folk song are found in the "Fragmente über die neue deutsche Literatur" and in his essay "Über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker." In a letter to Hamann of June 18, 1775 he tells the latter that he has read four beautiful Lithuanian songs by Kreutzfeld. "They should be in my folk songs, certainly; oh that he had more!" Cf. further Herder's Werke (Bong, Stuttgart), Part V, "Ideen zur Philosophie der Menschheit," Vol. II, p. 16; and the notes of Ernst Naumann to his "Litauische Volkslieder." On the translations of Kreutzfeld cf. further Müller-Blattau, Hamann und Herder in ihren Beziehungen zur Musik (Königsberg, 1931), p. 21.

his work Stimmen der Völker in Liedern in 1779 he recorded eight Lithuanian folk songs. The translation used by Herder was done by Prof. Kreutzfeld in Königsberg, who later also published under his own name two songs with German translations, "Gesang am Brautabend" and "Gesang bei der Heimführung" (Preussischer Tempel (1788), pp. 12-15). Through Herder Goethe was influenced; he has his lyric drama "Die Fischerin" begin with the third of the dainos of Ruhig, something that is not generally known:

Ich habs gesagt schon meiner Mutter,
Schon aufgesagt vor Sommers Mitte. . .

The other of the two dainos of Ruhig cited by Lessing (a daughter has accompanied her beloved) has been set to music by Schumann. (42)

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42. On the influence of the Lithuanian folk songs on Goethe cf. the excellent essay of Dr. Erich Jenisch: "Goethe und die Dainos," Ostdeutsche Monatshefte (1930), Vol. II,

113 No. 7, pp. 417-422. Also to be mentioned are Antana Domeikaitė, Die litauischen Volkslieder in der deutschen Literatur (Munich, 1928) (Dissertation); and Ignas Skrupskelis, Die Litauer in der deutschen Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts (Vienna, 1932) (Dissertation).

533 Thus Lithuanian folk song gradually gained an entrance into German literature, not, to be sure, in the translations of Ruhig but in the poetic imitations of Herder. It may be added that the ideas of the dainos reproduced by Lessing were repeatedly employed from then on among the German poets from Schiller to Baumbach. (43)

[113] 43. F. and H. Tetzner, Dainos, Litauische Volksgesänge, Reclaims Universalbibliothek, No. 3 694, p. 30. (A good historical study concerning the Lithuanian folk song with 70 rimed translations.)

The man whose work pioneered all Lithuanian studies and who also gave the German people the first collection of dainos--Ludwig Rhesa--came into contact with Goethe in the course of this development. Born in the village of Karweiten which is now in ruins, on the Nehrung of Courland, Rhesa was not only a scholar, not only professor of theology in Königsberg, but also a gifted poet. Courlandic and Lithuanian were /70/ his native languages, but he was also intimately familiar with German. We are thus indebted to him for the most beautiful translations of Lithuanian folk songs in all of German literature. Goethe himself wrote a long essay on this work, and his manuscript, which the poet sent him, is found still today in the Goethe archive in Weimar. Goethe begins his essay with the words: "Through this collection another one of my wishes has been

533 fulfilled. Herder loved the Lettish folk songs very much: in my little drama Die Fischerin several of his translations have been taken over. Moreover for several years now I have had in my possession a sizeable collection of well-translated poems, which I let sit, like so many other things, in expectation of what is happening now."

Of the Rhesa translations Goethe says that they are "estimable," and he wishes only for a different arrangement. He closes with the words: "And thus these songs are to be regarded as having proceeded directly from the people, who are much closer to nature, and thus also to poetry, than the educated world." A further discussion of the [113] Rhesa collection from the Jakob Grimm (Göttinger Anzeigen, 1826, No. 104).

After the Lithuanian folk song, favored by the current of romanticism, had penetrated German poetry in the first half of the last century, it is no wonder that the Berlin circle of poets, above all Adalbert von Chamisso, also interested themselves in the dainos. German literature is indebted to Chamisso for a number of beautiful poems which are based on Lithuanian folksongs. They originated in the years 1826-1828 and are still familiar today to every German with a literary education. From Chamisso comes also the pretty translation of the "Sparrow Hunt":

The father went hunting in the forest;
He soon saw some good game.

/71/ He took good aim, he pulled the trigger,
The sparrow fell on the soft moss.

The brothers loaded the catch on the sled,
And hauled it home and rejoiced long.

The daughters quickly stirred up the fire,
They plucked and singed it, as is proper.

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The mother roasted and cooked it at once,
The roast was delicious and tasty and tender.

Zealously the sisters served it,
Many joyous guests came together.

They sat down at the table and sat there
firmly,
And enjoyed themselves at the hearty
feast.

They ate the sparrow at their leisure
And drank three barrels of beer with it.
(44)

44. A. V. Chamisso, op. cit., p. 138.

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Chamisso's friend, Franz von Gaudy, adapted in 1844 a Lithuanian folk saga, "Die Pestjungfrau," into the German language, and Wilhelm Jordan published in the same year his Littauische Volkslieder und Sagen, which are strongly influenced by Rhesa. A large number of Lithuanian folk songs with melodies and German translations by H. Budrius, Ed. Gisevius, and P. von Bohlen were published in the N. Pr. Prov. Blätter, appearing since 1846. Of German poets then known but today forgotten, who were inspired by the Lithuanian folk poetry, Daumer (1800-1875) and J. F. Soldat may be mentioned. Also to be mentioned is Felix Dahn, whose poem of 1870, "Die Litauer in Frankreich," breathes a genuine Lithuanian mood.

Even this short survey of the influence of Lithuanian folk poetry on German poetry shows well enough that the Lithuanian contribution to the German spiritual /72/ life of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the area of poetry is not unimportant. The first scientific-critical translation of Lithuanian folk songs in the meter

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of the original stems from Nesselman. In spite of the purely scientific purpose of his work, he also succeeded with a few poetically excellent translations (cf. on this point also the end of this chapter). The influence of the Lithuanian folk song appears also in the writings of A. K. T. Tielos: Thanatos (1905), Klänge aus Litauen (1911), Aus der Jugendzeit (1911). W. W. Ulmenried-Naujeck published Litauische Heide-Lieder und Dainos.

The World War, which brought a number of German poets in uniform into direct contact with the Lithuanian people, aroused anew the interest in the Lithuanian folk song in a number of German poets. Only Oskar Wöhrle, Herbert Eulenberg, and Richard Dehmel may be mentioned. (45) In the

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45. The translations of O. Wöhrle are printed in Das Litauenbuch, Eine Auslese aus der Zeitung der X. Armee (1918), pp. 155-159. The poetic imitations of Richard Dehmel, based on the translations of Nesselmann and not always successful, are published in Die neue Rundschau, Vol XXVIII of the Freie Bühne, No. 1, January, 1917. For Herbert Eulenberg cf. Struck und Eulenberg, Skizzen aus Litauen, Weissrussland und Kurland (1916).

German press of those years, too, the great interest which the Lithuanian folk songs found in the broadest German circles is reflected. Unfortunately most of this interest vanished just as quickly as it had sprung up. Only in the most recent time can a slight reawakening be noticed. (46)

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46. From the abundance of mostly popular literature on the Lithuanian folk song, a few essays may be mentioned which appeared

113 in the periodical Das Neue Litauen in 1917-18: Tetzner, "Tolminkemer Erinnerungstage" (1917), No. 5/6. Alfred Brust, "Die litauische Kultur und der Expressionismus" (1918), No. 1. Victor Jungfer, "Die Raubehe im litauischen Volksliede" (1918), No. 15/16/ W. W. Ulmenried-Naujeck, "Zur litauischen Literatur" (1918), No. 18/19. In addition reference may be made to the same issues of the years of the Zeitung der X. Armee, published at that period, in whose literary supplement were contained a number of really valuable contributions to the research on Lithuanian folk songs and their melodies. For the most recent period cf. Möller, Das Lied der Völker (No. 13 on the Lithuanian folk song) (Leipzig, 1930); and H. Engert, Aus litauischer Dichtung, Deutsche Nachdichtungen (Kaunas, 1935), 1st. ed.; (1938), 2nd ed.

533 B. Prose Writing
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764 1. The Raudos (Lamentations for the Dead)

Between the daina and the prose writing of the people, as it found its expression in sagas, fairy tales, and other creations, stand the Lithuanian lamentations for the dead, or raudos. They are the oldest creations of Lithuanian folk literature that are mentioned in the chronicles. Thus /73/ Kojalowicz reports that the heroic death of those 300 Lithuanians who, in 1362, at the conquest of the fortress of Kaunas by Winrich of Kniprode, threw themselves into the flames of the burning castle was celebrated by the people in songs of sorrow (vulgaribus naeniis populus decantabat). (47) According to Strykowski a priest

47. F. and H. Tetzner, op. cit., p. 5.

sang for their dead at the funerals of princes.

533 538 164 Evidently these brief indications, to which our knowledge of the earliest period is limited, refer not to the folk song, but to the raudos, which are often mentioned also in a later period. Although each rauda has its own melody, they do not represent real songs for the dead, but have the form of a lamentation for the dead. The older raudos have no metrical character, but are in language and form rather to be compared with a type of rhythmically elevated prose. Their melodies were of sorrowful monotony. Old women sang them for remuneration at burials. Through them one wished to appease the ghosts of the dead, in whose continued existence one firmly believed, so that they would not return to the house as evil demons of [776] revenge and spread pestilence and disease. Thus these lamentations for the dead represent the superstitious result of that primitive belief in ghosts and demons which particularly illustrated the mental attitude of the Lithuanian people and still lives today in remote villages of the country.

In content the raudos differ from each other only little. The good deeds of the deceased are remembered, and the sorrow at the departure of father, mother, husband, brother, or sister is expressed, often in an infinitely tender and moving manner. As Chr. Bartsch has already pointed out, there is not one among the genuinely popular raudos that would be spoken by a man for a man or even for his wife. "Everywhere it is women (and girls) who speak." The wife as such is not mentioned. (48) At times the lamentation

[113] 48. Chr. Bartsch, "Über litauische Volksliteratur," Mitteilungen der litauischen litterarischen Gesellschaft, Vol. II (1884), Tilsit, p. 100.

of the relatives and friends of the deceased, who follow the coffin, has such a staggering

533 effect that even the priest, from inner /74/
*538 emotion and pity, is not able to complete the
764 sacred rites at the grave without tears.

Formally the more recent raudos differ from the older ones in their strophic arrangement: out of the old lamentation has grown a song with rauda motifs. In this form the raudos have been preserved till the present day in the province of Drūkija. (49) In order to give a rough idea

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49. Akiras Birzys, Lietuvos miestai ir miesteliai /Lithuania'sCities and Towns/, Vol. I, Alytaus apskritis, Dzuku krastas /The District of Alytus, the Province of the Dzulijans/ (Kaunas, 1931), p. 397. The most important collection of Lithuanian lamentations for the dead is that published bv Dr. J. Basanavičius, "Lietuviu Tauta (Vilna, 1926), Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 59-145.

of the nature of the old raudos, I reproduce below a few of these lamentations, taken from the great song collection of A. Juškevičius.

Lament for the Mother

Little mother, you who took care of me, oh my little mother; I thank your dear hands, with which you brought me up from childhood; I thank your feet, on which you carried me, your wisdom in teaching me well; I thank your little mouth, that talked sweetly with me.

Who will now talk so sweetly with me, who teach me so well? Little mother, who will protect me when I have a complaint? With whom shall I speak? The cuckoo in the forest will stop calling, but I shall never stop.

Little mother, you do not breathe; little mother you do not sigh; say but one word and com-

533 fort my sorrowing heart. The whole night I talked
#533 to you; with my little mother I did not talk
764 (i.e. received no answer).

Oh little mother, little cherry, oh my little mother, you wanderer. Oh, my little mother makes a home of little white boards, the little windows without glass, without a door. You will not see the rising sun nor its setting.

The last time, the last little hour, we talked together. Oh, if I could awaken my little mother!

/75/ Oh, when will you come to us and when visit us? Whence shall I expect you; in which little corner shall I meet you? Little mother, day and night have I wandered; I shall never find you.

Lament for the Son

My little son, you forsaken one, my little son, my garland of rue, my little son, you little golden ring, my little son, the days of my youth!

Oh, my little son, the days of my youth I buried, oh, the days of my youth I have no more, no more, my little son.

Oh, my little son, my whole dowry, all that I have. How shall I forget you, my little son, and the days of my youth?

Oh, my little son, so short was your life--leave me still a little room.

Lament for the Father

Oh, my dear father, who had such a short life, oh, my dear father, who had such cares--you earned your home of little white boards, of gray earth your home. How hard you obtained it--will you bear the gray earth?

533 *538 764 Oh, dear father, you who provided for me, oh dear father, you who protected me, to whom shall I bring my complaints, with whom shall I talk?

You my little father, the sun sets--I cannot converse, I cannot talk with my father.

Dear father, little father, my pride, my little father, you wanderer.

/76/ Oh my little father is still, oh my little father breathes no more, oh, my little father does not call me, he does not ask me.

Oh, my little father now has his place of rest.
You my little father, bless me.
Oh, perhaps I have bitterly displeased my father, that he no longer speaks with me.
Little father, the sun sets--oh, they lay my father inside the hill. My little father, how will you like it there?
Oh, your home is without a door, without a little glass window.
Oh, where should we seek for you, where shall we find you?
Oh, although I go over all roads and paths, through all forests, my father I shall no longer meet.
Little father, who will talk with me, who open the door for me?
Oh, little father, we will go over the roads which you travelled--there we shall cry.

Lament for the Daughter

Oh, my little daughter, my spinner, my weaver, support for my feet and hands.
What were you afraid of, the hard times or the hard work? It was not necessary to be afraid, I would have taught you; the work is not hard, even if the times are hard; everything fell on

533 your father and mother; you would not have had to
538 worry about anything.
764 My ghostly bride, my clear ice crystal, companion of the high mountain, in which flowers will you come up, in which leaves will you turn green? When I in passing look to the side, which flowers will you make grow? How will I recognize you, in the leaves or in the flowers?

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/77/ 2. Fairy Tales and Sagas

The belief in a lasting connection of the departed souls with the living, as indicated in the raudos, deeply influenced the Lithuanian people for centuries. The strong mystical trait in the spirutual life of the Lithuanian maintained this belief the more strongly since as late as the sixteenth century Lithuania was a completely pagan country, whose superficial Christianization had scarcely touched the consciousness of the people itself. Thus, too, the abundance of superstitious motifs which we still find in Lithuania today grew in the soil of an ancient popular religion. They frequently are mixed with quite modern ideas. Their expression, however, is found in a rich world of fairy tales and sagas which only today has been partially investigated, and which in any case differs from the Western type in that it has not yet been transferred from the reality of experience to the cemetery of literary history. The abundance of fairy tales at the disposal of the Lithuanian people is so great that the existing collections can give only a weak picture of it.

Among all peoples the fairy tale stands at the beginning of every literary creation; it affords us a glimpse into the childhood years of humanity. The motifs of the fairy tales themselves wander; many of them stem from the Orient and from India (Benfey). Unfortunately the following brief characterization of the Lithuanian popular fairy tale can, because of the scope of this work,

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be limited only to mentioning a few particularly important features. The Lithuanian popular fairy tale contains neither the fullness and extravagance of the Indian nor the shining brilliance of the Arabian fairy tale. The poverty in the external living conditions of the people, the economy in the means of expression of its language, and also the lack of a literature that for its part could have reacted again on the popular fairy tale--all these factors give the Lithuanian fairy tale a characteristic note. To be sure, from the printed collections one usually does not gain the correct /78/ picture, since the recorders usually reproduce the fairy tale told to them only according to its content, in their own, and frequently quite dry, words. Only the use of the phonograph makes it possible today to record the fairy tales just as they are recited by the story tellers in the villages. (50) The endings of the fairy tales

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50. The most important Lithuanian fairy tale collections are the following: Aug. Schleicher, Litauische Märchen, Sprichwörter, Rätsel und Lieder (1857) (more philological). A. Leskien and K. Brugmann, Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen aus dem preussischen und dem russischen Litauen (Strassburg, 1882). (This highly valuable collection contains among other things 249 (untranslated) folk songs and 47 fairy tales translated into German with commentary by Wilhelm Wollner.) Dr. J. Basanavičius, Yvairios Lietuviškos Pasakos (Miscellaneous Lithuanian Fairy Tales), 4 vols., 4th ed. (Kaunas, 1928). By the same author, Iš gyvenimo lietuvišku veliu bei velniu (From the Life of the Lithuanian Souls and Evil Spirits) (Chicago, 1903). (Contains 198 folk tales as well as a detailed investigation of the Lithuanian

113 cult of the dead with extensive references.) For the Lithuanian animal story cf. Pasakos apie paukščius, Zemaitische Tierfabeln, Text, vocabulary, and translation, edited by Hugo Scheu and Alexander Kurschat (Heidelberg, 1913). The most accessible collection of Lithuanian fairy tales in German translation is the Lettisch-litauische Volksmärchen published by H. Boehm and F. Specht in 1924 at Diederich's. (For the current fairy tale research cf. Chapter Two, 5 of the present book.)

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538 are often surprising, as, for example, I have reproduced them at the end of my description of the Lithuanian wedding customs and as they variously appear also as endings in the published fairy tale collections. (51) "The celebration

[113] 51. V. Jongfer, Hinter den Seen, hinter den Wäldern (Königsberg, 1932), p. 91. Boehm and Specht, op. cit., Nos. 8 and 13, as well as Introduction, p. 158.

lasted long, and I was present too. I ate and drank together with all the guests, for I was cook. When I wanted to go home, the gentleman gave me a wagon of straw, a mare of wax, a hat of butter, clothing of paper, and boots of glass. When I rode through the city, the goats of the Jews fell upon me and ate up my wagon. I sat upon my horse in order to ride. My behind became warm and the mare melted from it. Then came rain that licked off my clothing, and I began to be cold. I went into a tavern in order to warm myself. My hat then melted, and only my boots remained. But when I went over the iron bridge in Tilsit, they broke in two and I had nothing more. And as I had nothing, so I have nothing even now."

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Professor Specht, in the introduction to his Litauische Märchen, seeks the source of these closing sentences in the Russian fairy tale literature, in which they frequently appeared, and stresses quite generally the special difficulty of recognizing the typically Lithuanian elements in this fairy tale world. Since in Lithuania the Eastern European and the Western European cultural areas intersect, the country had from olden times been subjected to numerous foreign spiritual influences. "One never quite knows whether a Lithuanian fairy tale is not simply the reproduction of a Slavic fairy tale, or whether stories from Prussian Lithuania, as a result of the German schooling, are not German fairy tales in the Lithuanian language."

/79/ The stream which has influenced through the centuries the world of fairy tales of the European peoples, and thus also of the Lithuanians, has been fed by many sources. We know today that every popular fairy tale represents a complicated structure that consists of a number of simple motifs pieced together, which travel through the world. Among the motifs each has a firm place in a specific type of fairy tale, from which it is transferred only occasionally into another. It is not the form, therefore, in which a fairy tale is told today that represents something ancient; but its individual parts hark back to gray antiquity. The intricate form, however, in which they are offered to us teaches us the laws of the popular taste and remains essentially the property of the people that created it.

It is a self-evident fact that the Lithuanian popular fairy tale, too, contains a large number of very old motifs. We may think of the brother story, for example, which, stemming from Egyptian antiquity, is probably familiar to all peoples. Its content is about as follows: two brothers wander about in the world. They separate, and

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each promises to come to the help of the other in case of danger. A token may be a plant that withers, a knife that rusts, or--in the Lithuanian tale--a cup that turns around by itself. From the Orient stems the motif of the good advice, which penetrated into the Latinliterature of the Middle Ages and seems from there to have come also to Lithuania; further the famous fairy tale motif of the singing tree and the speaking bird. The tale of the water of life, too, was told tens of centuries ago in Babylon. The ideas of the appearances and the wanderings of souls, connected with the world of dreams, exhibit great similarities among all peoples. In the Lithuanian tale the soul slips out of the mouth of the sleeper as a mouse and experiences that which the person later perceives as a dream. There is also a parallel to the miraculous rescue of Moses. Through a /80/ benevolent fate children escape all dangers and become mighty rulers, as was prophesied to them.

Especially interesting are the connections with the Greek fairy tales. We may remember, for example, the dream story of the lost wife, as told by Apuleius in his Amor and Psyche. The motif of the jealous sisters and the insoluble tasks was also already known to the Greeks. Furthermore, the animal stories with their transformations of men into animals were especially loved in Greece. Such transformations into wolves, bears, eagles, doves, and other animals, too, play a great role in the Lithuanian fairy tales. Also, the tale of lies, which is often found, is of Greek and Roman origin. It was brought to Germany by minstrels in the tenth and eleventh centuries in Latin dress. Often the piling up of impossibilities becomes the introductory formula of the fairy tales, as it is favored in the Hungarian and Turkish fairy tales of today. "Once upon a time there was, or there was not; there was in ancient times; when one still sifted into

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538 straw; when the camel was still a horse trader,
177 the mouse a barber, the cuckoo a taylor, the donkey a servant, and the turtle a baker; then I was only 15 years old and already rocked my father in the cradle; then it was. . ." (52) etc.,

[113] 52. F. von der Leyen, Das Märchen (Leipzig, 1911), p. 80.

etc. If we compare, for example, this formula with the introduction of the humorous court judgment concerning the matchmaker at the Lithuanian wedding, we find a surprising similarity: "In a year, in that one, in this one, when the cats slew the dogs, the hares beat the drum, the wolves blew the horn, the dogs crowed, the cocks barked, the roe danced with the mouse, the fish flew, the old women sheared the calves, the girls did not want to marry, the boys no longer loved them, when it snowed buns, the children did not sleep the whole night--then a wolf heard this noise. . ."etc. (53) The tale of lies shows us

[113] 53. M. Valančius, Palangos Juzė (Josef of Palanga) (Vilna, 1906), 5th ed., p. 121.

the joy in exaggerations which is often grotesquely elaborated. Closely related to them are the Schwänke and Narrenstreiche [Funny tales and Fool's pranks] which /Unnumbered page with illustration--Sun Cross/ /81/ were eagerly told in the German popular fairy tale of the thirteenth through sixteenth centuries, the stories of Brother Lustig, the wanderings of Christ and his disciples, as well as the countless stories of the swindled devil. Not a few parallels to all these fairy tales are found also in Lithuania; the devil story especially found here a receptive soil and seems to have developed further independently. The medieval heroic stories, too, such as were spread by the court poetry in France

*538 [77] and Germany, had their influence on the Lithuanian popular fairy tale. Here belong primarily the tales of monsters and giants who steal beautiful women, of subterranean palaces, enchanted forests and mountains, and similar motifs. Thus we see that the Lithuanian fairy tale, as it is told today, has been enriched through many centuries by material and motifs taken over from the outside and worked into something of its own--just like the German fairy tale, by which it was in turn often enriched. But although, as we saw, the fairy tale motifs in themselves are not characteristic of the fairy tale world of a people, since it is not difficult to find corresponding parallels, the significance of individual motifs within the whole store of fairytales of particular peoples is undeniably varied. The Lithuanian popular fairy tale is, for example, so strongly ruled by the belief in ghosts and demons that a whole large collection of tales could be put together by Dr. Basanavičius from this angle alone. As, however, no phenomenon of popular life rests on accident, but can always be explained from the history of the people concerned, we must attribute this peculiarity to the belief in the dead and immortality mentioned at the beginning, which for historical reasons has been preserved in Lithuania and found its expression with parti-
*538 776 cular tenacity and has there. Furthermore, we probably find everywhere the belief in witches, in good and bad fairies, but in the framework of the Lithuanian world of fairy tales special importance is attached to the laumas /Laumen/. The laumas are mostly evil spirits, who /82/ always show themselves in the form of women. They torture people at night in nightmares, steal or exchange newborn children, play all kinds of tricks, and practice their mischief primarily on Thursday evening. For that reason one may never spin on that evening, for then the laumas spin on during

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the night and take with them what was spun. They aid people, but frequently attach this aid to some unfulfillable condition, so that much harm results from it. At times they help also forsaken people and especially children; they also enter into marriage with mortals. They show themselves then usually as good housewives, until upon some imprudence on the part of the husband they suddenly disappear, but still return regularly, invisible, to care for their abandoned children. Just as alive today in the Lithuanian people as the lauma tales are the tales of the aitvaras, a winged dragon who brings grain to the houses of the farmers and makes them rich. The aitvaras motif has brought forth a whole literature, since it also plays a great role in the fairy tales of the other Baltic peoples (Lettish: pukkis, Esthonian: puuk, together with other terms. (54)).

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54. A. Bezzenberger, Litauische Forschungen, op. cit., pp. 61-64. Krėvė-Mickevičius, "Aitvaras dzukų legendose" (The Aitvaras in the Legends of the Dukijans), Mūsų Tautosaka, Vol. III, pp. 3-81. (16 tales.) By the same author, Aitvaras liaudies padavimuose. (The Aitvaras in Popular Tradition) (Kaunas, 1933). Dr. J. Balys, "Aitvaras," in the periodical Gimtasai Kraštas, 1934, Nos. 1 and 2, where also the whole scholarly literature on this motif is given.

The aitvaras, which in Samogitian is known under the name kaukas, flies howling through the air, primarily at night, in the form of a fiery serpent and usually disappears in the chimney of the farmer to whom he brings wealth. The owner of an aitvaras is supposed to feed this demon with milk and white bread. One can buy the aitvaras among the Germans in Riga, but the motif is probably older according to which it originates from

*538 an egg hatched by a black cock seven years old.
776 The aitvaras does many services for his owner, protecting his cattle, watching over his fields, and bringing him property stolen elsewhere, which he first swallows and then spits out. This stolen property, however, brings no harm, but turns out so well that it arouses the envy of all the neighbors; still today one says of a farmer in Lithuania who has suddenly become rich that he possesses an aitvaras. One can also force the demon /83/ to drop his loot and to burn down the house of his master by letting down one's pants or taking off one's coat and showing him the naked posterior.

*538 For the tale of the aitvaras, too, many
177 parallels can be found among other, primarily Nordic, peoples; in the Slavic store of fairy tales, on the other hand, it plays only a subordinate role. Those numerous fairy tales in which a hunter with a red cap chases behind the devil go back to Lithuanian myth: it is Perkunas, who is well disposed toward people and rewards them when they help him. The ancient Lithuanian serpent cult, on the other hand, which is often attested to from earlier centuries, has influenced the Lithuanian fairy tale only little. To be sure, it appears in one of the most beautiful and colorful tales, of "Eglē, the Queen of the Serpents"; however, Koncewicz has supplied a Russian parallel for it, so that the question of borrowing remains open. (55) The Lithuanian has a special preference

[113] 55. J. Koncewicz, "Die Natter" (Russian Fairy Tales), Mitteilungen der Litauischen litterarischen Gesellschaft, 1885, pp. 260-262.

for animal fairy tales, which are often told in the form of an instructive fable. They betray the same sharp gift for observation of surroundings

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that we are already acquainted with from the dainos. Although it must remain undecided what part of these animal stories may stem from the Panchatantra, from Phaedrus, Aesop, or even La Fontaine, what is borrowed from Germany, and what is to be regarded as primitive Aryan property, nevertheless many of these tales and fables bear an unmistakably Lithuanian coloring. As an outcome of the rural and simple living conditions of the people and the existence of a foreign upper class, peasant life in all its forms plays the principal role in Lithuanian fairy tales. The Jew as a deceived deceiver, the gipsy who trades in horses and in turn deceives the Jew, are the favorite figures of a farcical fairy tale literature. The Polish landlord (ponas), the master of the peasant, is also always pictured as the defeated party; his intrigues miscarry, and often the youth succeeds through cleverness or good fortune in rising himself into this class and /84/ obtaining wealth. Under the outer shell of such tales, which frequently have a very homely form, are often hidden deep, simple truths, the wish for a just settlement of fate and the same longing for the bright and shining that permeates the Lithuanian dainos. Very seldom are spiritual and Christian materials treated in the fairy tales. They form an effective part of the world of the Lithuanian saga.

Fairy tales and sagas frequently run together in Lithuanian folk traditions. If we look at those sagas that are related to one place or one person and tend toward serious realism, we still find many things that live on in the people as independent saga tradition--memories of ancient, glorious times of miracles and of secrets woven about the castled mountains of the land (piliakalnai) and tied to the names of its cities. From such a saga tradition the Lithuanian poet Krēvė-Mickevičius created the material for the heroic

538 tales of his work on the land of Dainava. To be sure, we should not compare the number of historical sagas in Lithuania with that of the Western peoples: the imagination of the Lithuanian people found too few starting points for them in a land that is poor in old ruins, castles, walls, and other reminders of the past formed by human hands. The saga of the founding of Vilna, the saga which is based on the love of the last Jagellon king, Sigismund August, for Barbara Radziwill; the saga, finally, of the enchanted Queen Bona who waits in the castle of the Kaunas fortress with her sleeping army for the day when she will lead the kingdom to new glory; all these saga traditions obviously stem from a later period. They are connected with those great structures of the sixteenth century which must have made an overwhelming impression on the simple people who until then knew only simple wooden construction. Thus these cities and fortresses were surrounded with a rich wreath of sagas. The tale of the enchanted treasure of Trakai also belongs here. The /85/ poetic saga of Birute, on the other hand, who guarded the fire in the shrine of Perkunas at Palanga as a vestal and was elevated to the wife of King Kestutis, goes back to reports of medieval chroniclers. The sagas that surround the Rambynas, the sacred mountain on the Memel, obviously point to pagan times.

Along with such sagas of general significance there is a large number of others that did not reach beyond the narrow circle of their origin. Just these are most alive still today. Thus there is a saga connected with almost every Lithuanian mountain crowned by a castle, telling of sunken treasures and mysterious knights. Still others are tied to those large foundling stones whom the people were at the same time unable to explain. These sagas are connected with many fairy tale elements. Thereby is closed the circle which led

*538 us from fairy tale to saga and from saga back to fairy tale, and there remains for us only the task of discussing one last area of Lithuanian folk literature, which, although somewhat off the beaten track, appears suited as no other to offer us a glimpse into a special sphere of peasant thought and peasant philosophy. This is the world of Lithuanian proverbs, sayings, and riddles.

3. Proverbs and Sayings

The Lithuanian people has at its disposal a large store of proverbs and sayings, which betray an observant understanding and a very healthy native wit, at times humor, at times also very sharp satire. This store of ancient, and in part homely, peasant wisdom has been handed on from generation to generation, and even today it flavors the everyday conversation in the countryside. Even the language of the educated, which has forfeited much of its flexibility and power through striving after correctness, appears here from a completely different angle. It scintillates /86/ and sparkles in images and comparisons, and behind many of its words is hidden the rogue. Terseness of expression, its greatest merit, makes to some extent a literal translation impossible. Nevertheless, enough still remains. All the images and comparisons are taken from the peasant life and often give the hearer a direct view into the life and philosophy of the people. They are centered in those factors which seem problematic to the peasant in his social life--the relations between the sexes, the family, the relation to his neighbors, the relation between master and servant. Out of this framework grows the consideration of separate problems in all their manifold variety--human destiny, God and the devil, nature and its creatures, labor, and above all the properties of human character. Naturally the moral contained in proverbs is to be taken cum grano salia, for as in all countries so in Lithu-

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538 ania two proverbs frequently say exactly the opposite. Furthermore all proverbs cannot lay claim to the same importance. Not a few represent remains of earlier opinions and customs. Others, again, rest on superstitious or magical ideas. "Then, too, one cannot always grasp the real meaning of the proverb or find its origin, since in passing from mouth to mouth, from one generation to another, it frequently becomes distorted."(56)

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56. Yermoloff, Der landwirtschaftliche Volkskalender (Leipzig, 1905), p. 11.

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177 The question of the origin of the proverbs is probably even more difficult to solve: it is the highly interesting problem of their transition from the vocabulary of one people into that of another. As with the Lithuanian fairy tales, influences from the Slavic as well as the Germanic cultural worlds enter the picture. Thus a whole series of proverbs bear an unmistakenly German tinge. Others, again, may have originated among different peoples indepently, but under similar social conditions, which accounts for their similarity. With the tremendous abundance of material the investigation of these problems, only
* indicated here, /87/ must be left to specialized
538 scholars. The following proverbs are taken in
113 part from printed collections: (57) in part I.

57. V. Krėvė-Mickevičius, Patarlės, priežodžiai ir išsireiškimai (858 Proverbs and Sayings), Tauta ir Žodis (Kaunas, 1925), Vol. III. Similarly Patarlės ir priežodžiai (Proverbs and Sayings), so far 3 vols. (Kaunas, 1934-37). (This, up to now largest, collection of proverbs, is alphabetically arranged. Vol. I, 1-7766; Vol. II, 7767-11650; Vol. III, 11651-14177; Vol. III ends with the letter i.) For comparison: F. Seiler, Deutsche Sprichwörterkunde (Munich, 1922).

ooo comparison: F. Seiler, Deutsche Sprichwörterkunde (Munich, 1922).

* heard them myself in the country:

538 For the truth you will not receive quarters for the night.

Whoever grasps the child by the hand grasps the mother by the heart.

Give to the young pig when it grunts and to the child when it cries; thus you will raise a good sow and a bad child.

Small children rend the womb, big children the heart.

Good words cost no more than bad ones.

Black hands feed the world.

God has given children, God will also give to the children.

The word flies from the mouth like a sparrow and returns like an ox.

One plows, the other sows, but who will harvest, neither of them knows.

A great thief is honored even by the lords.

Everyone will gladly count money in a strange pocket.

/88/ Who does not praise his ox at the market?

No one asks the poor man for the truth.

Want has no teeth, but it eats a man up, nevertheless.

You should not praise the day before the evening--nor the girl before the morning.

With little wings in church, with scratching little nails at home.

A woman is not a sleeve--you will not turn her.

You will not outbark the dog nor outtalk the woman.

Do not allow the pig at the potatoes nor the woman at the money.

If the woman is out of the wagon it goes more easily.

If you will marry a man, get yourself three sacks of patience.

538 To milk a strange cow is easy, but just try to feed it.
/89/ Not he who holds the cow by the horns is happy, but he who milks it.
Who will lift the tail for the dog if he does not do it himself?
(Applies to the braggart.)
In its own yard also the cock is impudent.
Don't lead the goat into the garden--it will jump in by itself.
Before you have jumped across the river do not say "hopp!"
As fast as the gipsy to work.
Not even the nightingale will make the sparrow sing.
Even the hare would not fear the fox if he had the claws of the wolf.
A small snake kills even a large ox.
A borrowed horse falls even on a level road.
The pig stinks outside, but on the table it smells fine.
/90/ He ran away before the wolf; he fell on the bear.
Whoever wants to throw at every barking dog, needs many stones.
You will not hide a needle in a sack; you will not catch the sun in a sieve.
With a lie you will go far--but you will not get back home.
Not all at whom the dogs bark are thieves.
If you take the devil into the wagon you also have to drive him home.
Don't ask a stupid person to fish--he will only catch frogs.
One must have a long spoon if one wants to eat out of the same dish with the devil.
He prays to God, but he is holding the devil by the tail.
With the tail of the devil he burns a candle to God.
One devil does not make a hell.

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538 /91/ He who is in love, thinks that the others are blind.
An evil word is heard by everyone.
The hands of the mother are soft, but her tears heavy.
The living man is driven to the grave, but when he is dead, he is exalted to heaven.
One's own tears are bitter, other's only wet.
To a good person even the thief is a guest.
Even a small stump overthrows a large wagon.
One disaster--no disaster; two or three eat a man up.
In the winter the stove is a brother, in the summer--clay.
The autumn makes us all lords.

* 4. Folk Riddles

538 524 The Lithuanian riddles are on an equal plane with the proverbs and sayings in spiritual content. They, too, combine a sharp gift of observation with a great wealth of imagination, and in their brevity and conciseness belong to the /92/ most characteristic creations of a peasant culture. Like the fairy tale, the riddle leads us back into the childhood years of humanity; it contains the imprint of early thought. No less a person than Bielenstein drew from the unusual similarity of Lithuanian and Lettish riddles the conclusion "that both types of riddles originated in a period when Letts and Lithuanians still spoke one language and were one people," (58) and

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58. 1,000 lettische Rätsel, translated and explained by A. Bielenstein (Mitau, 1881), Introduction, p. 10.

gives us surprising enlightenment on the mythological content of a number of riddles. In this connection we may only mention that the riddles of both peoples are characteristic of a mental

538 524 attitude which--peculiar as it may strike the modern city dweller--we still meet in such regions of Germany as lie away from the great highways; we may think for example of the popular riddles that are still alive today in the Bavarian woods and are there given by the mother of the bride to the instructor of the bride /Brautweiser/: two long parents and many short children (a ladder). Or: there are nine maids, they all lie in a single bed, all in the middle, none at the end (a spinning wheel with nine spokes). We have here before us a stage of culture at which the peasant creates something completely out of his own mind. Thus most of what was said concerning Lithuanian proverbs and sayings applies also to the riddles. All of nature lives in them; every thing, every object is taken up, elevated into a higher sphere, and made to participate in human life. Force and boldness of comparison are often [533] surprising. Even in the dainos the pleasure of the Lithuanian in such riddles plays a part; we may think for example of the beautiful song known from Rhesa, in which the girl is sent out by her stepmother to get "winter green and summer snow." In other songs, which are composed in dialogue form, several riddles are connected with each other, whereby the question of the first strophe is followed by the solution in the second.

The following examples are taken from the collection of Krēvē-Mickevičius, who /93/ recorded them from the mouths of the people in the parishes of Alytus, Merkinē, and Kabeliai in the years 1909 to 1925. (59) [See page 105--Analyst]

113 59. V. Krēvē-Mickevičius, "Tautosakos ţinkiniu l, Mislēs," (Riddles), Tauta ir Zodis (Kaunas, 1928), Vol. V. The most important collection of Lithuanian popular riddles is that of K. Jurgelionis, Misliu knyga (Book of Riddles) (Chicago, 1913)(over 1,000

113 riddles). Cf. further the pertinent chapters in Schleicher and Bezzenberger, op. cit. Important for more detailed studies: R. Petsch, Das deutsche Volksrätsel (Strassburg, 1917).

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538 It runs, it speaks, it does not stand still, and
524 nevertheless it lies. (A river.)
Born outdoors, grown up outdoors, it comes home to sleep.
(Grain.)
By day it carries bones, by night it gawks about.
(A pair of shoes.)
When it cries, everyone is happy and lifts his feet. (A violin.)
There came a bird flying without wings, it sat on a tree without branches. (The snow.)
A young woman in the room, her braids outside.
(A carrot.)
There stand two columns, on the columns a beehive, on the beehive an egg, on the egg a forest. (A man.)
It runs without feet, it cries without a throat.
(A wagon wheel.)
An iron mare, the tail of hemp. (A sewing needle.)
/94/ Ten men fill a sack. (Fingers and mouth.)
The family eats, the table complains. (A sow.)
It has legs but it does not walk, it has feathers but it does not fly, it has straw but it does not eat, it has a soul but not always. (A bed.)
What is harder than steel? (A snout.)
I sprouted and having sprouted I grew; grown I became a girl, and from a girl a young woman; from a young woman an old one. Become old, I received eyes, and from the eyes I crawled out myself. (A poppy.)
There comes a fine gentleman with a little red jacket: drive the hens away, I am not afraid of the dogs. (An earthworm.)
Who is not humble in church? (A fly.)

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524 Sometimes higher than the roof, sometimes smaller than a mouse, green as grass, sweet as honey. (A pear.)
When it sings I do not hear it, when it is silent, I cannot sleep. (Fortune.)
/95/ What is more dear than father and mother? (Sleep.)
Everyone buys it but no one wants it. (A coffin.)
In the middle of the field a black pot is boiling. (An ant hill.)
The feet of stone, the trunk of wood, the cap of straw, the eyes of glass, and on the cap sits an old man and smokes a pipe. (A house.)
The father is not yet born, the son already reaches to heaven. (Fire and smoke.)
Two little sisters do not meet over a hill. (The eyes.)
Not a bush, but with leaves; not a shirt, but sewed together; not a person, but it speaks. (A book.)
Without a pencil, without hands, he paints flowers on the window. (The frost.)
A black devil sits on a golden seat. (A kettle on the fire.)
If you break through ice you find silver, if you break through the silver you find gold. (An egg.)
/96/ Five stables, one door. (A glove.)
In summer in fur--in winter without fur. (A pea.)
Neither legs nor hands, but it climbs a tree. (Hops.)
It goes through fire--it does not burn; it goes through water--it does not drown; it goes over straw--it does not rustle. (A shadow.)
Red coat, green cap. (A carrot.)
A little mother clothes the whole world. (A needle.)
A fine barrel without hopps. (An egg.)
Born in the forest, grown up there, it came home and became sacred. (The cross.)
Without a soul, without breath, it tells the truth. (A clock.)

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538 What is red after death? (A crab.)
524 A blind little dove flutters through the whole world. (A letter.)
A little woman with one foot has 1,000 dresses. (A head of cabbage.)
/Unnumbered page with illustration--Crosses in the Evening/
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538 /97/ 5. On the Study of Lithuanian Folklore
814 We cannot close the present chapter without having cast a glance on the folklore research itself, whose results found here a brief presentation which proceeded essentially from an artistic standpoint. The beginning of this research goes about a hundred years back, when the recording of songs, fairy tales, proverbs, and other texts began. Today the printed collections alone comprise 12,000 folk songs with 3,000 melodies; in addition, close to 4,000 fairy tales and folk tales and thousands of smaller pieces. German scholarship was of special importance, above all for the beginning of the scientific investigation of Lithuanian folk poetry. At first it was philology that drew the Lithuanian songs, fairy tales, proverbs, etc. into its scope; later the investigation of Lithuanian folk literature became a special field of study, which, to be sure, until very recently has been to a certain degree dependent on philology. Men like Schleicher, Bezzenberger, Geitler, Brugmann, Leskien, Chr. Bartsch, passarge, Zweck, Sauerwein, Gisevius, Tetzner, Scheu, and many others were indispensable to the development of this science. The publications of the "Litauische Literarische Gesellschaft" which existed before the first World War contain in all areas of Lithuanian folklore the most valuable results and suggestions, especially since the society placed its organ at the disposal of non-German scholars, too. The contribution of other nations is weaker, although here, too, important names in the field of folklore study can be named,

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such as Fortunatow, Boudouin de Courtenay, and in more recent times the Finnish Professor Niemi.

Approximately at the same time--at the beginning of the nineteenth century--research was taken up in Lithuania itself. Here, too, arose extensive collections of songs, fairy tales, and proverbs; the names of Stanewicz (1828), Daukantas (1846), Valančius, Jonas and Antanas Juškevičius, /98/ Sabaliauskas, Basanavičius, Volteris, along with many others, may be mentioned. These scholars worked in the field of pure research and also enriched the scientific literature by numerous studies on folklore.

After the founding of the Lithuanian University research was at first taken up by the faculty of humanities, which assigned it in 1930 to a special "Commission for Folk Poetry." Both the publications of the faculty in its organ Tauta ir Žodis (Folk and Word), whose seventh and last volume appeared in 1931, and those of the commission, whose investigations are set down in a total of ten volumes (Mūsų Tautosaka--our folk poetry), contain rich and valuable material. For research on fairy tales, Volume 9 is particularly important. A further commission was assigned the investigation of the melodies of folk songs.

In the year 1935 the former commissions were replaced by the "Lietuvių Tautosakos Archyvas" (Lithuanian Archive for Folk Poetry) as an independent research institute separate from the university. The publications of the archive appear under the title Tautosakos Darbai (Studies in the field of Folk Poetry, three volumes to date.) Fundamental for fairy tale research is Volume II, which contains a "Catalogue of the Motifs of the Lithuanian Narrative Folk Poetry" in the Lithuanian and English languages, by J. Balys, with a total of 3,912 numbers.

At the beginning of the year 1938 the coll-

814
538

ections of the archive amounted to 112,000 texts of folk songs with about 13,000 melodies, 21,000 folk tales, 49,000 proverbs and sayings, 34,000 riddles, 55,000 texts dealing with superstition, and a large number of other pieces, a total of 305,000. In addition to these there are the collections, which originated mostly before the World War, of the "Lithuanian Scientific Society" (Lietuvių Mokslo Draugija) in Vilna with about 10,000 songs and nearly 4,000 fairy tales and other foll tales.

/99/ There is thus a tremendous amount of material that is already available today. Further research will largely be engaged in the collection of variants. (60) With regard to the work

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60. A good survey of the present state of folklore study in Lithuania and its problems is given by J. Balys in his series of essays "Mūsų tautosaka" (Our Folk Poetry) in the periodical Jaunoji Karta (Young Generation), 1938, Nos. 7, 9, 10, 11, and 12. A short summary is contained in the essay of the same author, "A Short Review of the Collection of Lithuanian Folklore," Tautosakos darbai, Vol. I.

of the Folklore Archive it may also be noted that the texts and melodies today are not only set down on paper but are also sung and spoken on phonograph records. The number of melodies and texts recorded in this way amounts at present to over 6,000.

Among the Lithuanian scholars who in the last two decades have distinguished themselves in the area of folklore studies, professors Krėvė-Mickevičius, Balys Sruoga, Mykolas Biržiška, and Dr. Jonas Balys should be named above all. Prof. T. Brazys supplied important contributions to the knowledge of the melodies of the Lithuanian folk

7: Jungfer-110 S-4,5(no date)1938 RB5LithuaniansRB5

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538

songs. The strong interest that exists today in Lithuania in the collection and investigation of the folk literature is also expressed in the large number of voluntary collaborators who have made themselves available in all walks of society.

/101/ Chapter Three

The Folk Art

113 /Unnumbered note on Chapter Three/ Fundamental for the knowledge of Lithuanian folk art is today the great work published by the Chamber of Agriculture: Socžiaus Menas (The Art of the Village), of which to date six volumes have been published; Vol. I, Weaving; Vol. II, Aprons; Vol. III, Patterns of Folk Art Products (wood carving, pottery, etc.); Vol. IV, Ribbons (Juostos); Vol. V, Knitting and Crocheting Patterns; Vol. VI, Patterns of Ancient Handiwork (Kaunas, 1931-34). This is a large collection of pictures with detailed introductions written by the chief of the department of folk art, A. Tamošaitis, concerning the techniques and their development. (Cf. in addition the essay of the same author concerning the Lithuanian weaving in the Liet. Enciklopedija (Lithuanian Encyclopedia), Vol. I.) The Lithuanian juostos by themselves are treated in the picture book published by Galaune, Lietuvių juostų raštai (Patterns of Lithuanian Ribbons) (Kaunas, 1928) (40 lithographed plates). The Lithuanian roofed crosses are treated in detail in the large picture book by Jaroševičius, Lietuvii Kryžiai (Lithuanian Crosses) (Vilna, 1912).

A. The Rural Architecture

1. The Farmhouse

In the previous chapter we have shown how the artistic will and talent of the Lithuanian people is expressed in its songs, sagas, fairy tales, proverbs, and riddles. Power of presentation and instinct for form, however, are no less strongly revealed in the characteristic elaboration and creative manipulation of such materials as belong to the most primitive of human life; we may think here of the motifs of the peasant art of weaving or of the art of wood-carving in all its ramifications.

322 The Lithuanian art of wood-carving grew out of an unknown but spiritually rich antiquity. Still today the wooden house of the peasant stands next to the wooden church and the wooden bell tower in the villages of the country. At crossroads and in the cemeteries the old crosses tower into the air, with their rich ornaments and decorative motifs and with their figures of saints carved out of wood. Here, too, we meet the same elements of an aesthetic rhythmic, and mystical nature from which all artistic experience traces its origin. Before, however, we pass on to the separate spheres of this art, we must cast a brief glance at the Lithuanian farmhouse and the Lithuanian village church.

342 /102/ It should be noted at the outset that usually the most varied influences are at work on the farmhouse and its form; first of all geographic influences, and also those connected with the general economic situation and culture of the country. Every economic revolution affects also the form of the houses, and Lithuania has not lacked such revolutions. Thus the present house types in this country point to a relatively recent development. To trace this thread backward from the present would lead too far in this context; let then a few thoughts be repeated only

342 briefly, as formulated approximately as follows by Prof. H. Naumann in his Deutsche Volkskunde: "Ur" Europe was familiar with two forms of houses, the circular stone construction in the southern and central regions and the wood construction in the north and east. Both forms were conditioned by the material. The larger forests of the east supplied the building material, just as did the stony soil of the southern European regions, which were poor in forests. "The wooden house still reaches directly into the forest; the stone house bears witness of a glaring sun, from which it offers better protection. The right-angled wooden house was erected principally with the purpose of enclosing the hearth in a protected space and
343 creating a place of warmth." (1) Thus the hearth

[113] 1. Hans Naumann, Grundzüge der deutschen Volkskunde, 2nd ed. (1929), pp. 28-29.

or smoke house is the oldest type of wooden house. It was necessarily developed into a house with an entrance hall. Since the smoke drew off only incompletely through the roof, it was found necessary to construct an entrance hall in which air could be obtained.

If, to be sure, Dlugosz still describes the Samogitian house in the year 1413 as a smoke house, in which men and cattle lived together, this representation is obviously biased, for the few older so-called "inventories" already mention all the buildings of the present Lithuanian farm, together with their own Lithuanian designations, although the "inventories" were written in the White Russian or Polish languages. Where under particularly miserable conditions men and cattle lived together under one roof, the stable was in any case /103/ separated by a partition from the human lodgings. Also the existence of the pirtis, the Lithuanian steam bath, has, in contrast to

343 White Russia, has been confirmed as early as the sixteenth century as a special structure within the framework of the Lithuanian farmhouse. (2)

[113] 2. P. Galaunė, Lietuvių liaudies menas, jo meninių formų plėtojimosi pagrindai, Hum. Mok. fakulteto leidinys (Lithuanian Folk Art, the Foundations of the Development of its Artistic Forms, Publication of the Humanities Faculty) (Kaunas, 1930), pp. 33-38.

342 In contrast to frame construction the Lithuanian farm knows only the joining of logs, which was made possible by the abundance of wood in the country. The roof consists usually of straw, less often of shingles. The walls are put together of long beams in the familiar manner of wooden miter construction /Schurzholzbau/ (Gehrsassbau)/. The partitions are made in exactly the same way. Doors and windows are made by cutting out pieces of the logs and mortising the pieces to jambs attached to the sides of the window. "This is the form which occurs everywhere in log construction; it results from the nature of wood." (3)

[113] 3. Cornelius Gurlitt, "Alt-litauisches Bauwesen," Der Tag, Berlin, September 8, 1918.

The rural farm typical of Lithuania today is grouped around a courtyard in various separate buildings. The stable lies at right angles to the dwelling, the large barn opposite the dwelling, and on the fourth side of the rectangle is the klėtis, the storeroom of the farmer in which he preserves his best possessions and in which also a sleeping room is located. Its windows are unusually small for security. In front of the entrance is a porch supported by columns and usually

342 beautifully decorated, to which several steps lead up. (4)

[113] 4. Cf. on this point also Dr. Dethlefsen, Führer durch das Ostpreussische Heimatmuseum (1913), p. 12.

We must dwell a little on this most noteworthy building of the Lithuanian farm, for we have here apparently the primitive type of the Lithuanian house, of which Caspar Hennenberger already reports, in 1595, in his description of the Lithuanians living on Prussian soil: "The house within which they all eat is called the black house / and is in truth black enough from
343 smoke and soot. In addition every married couple has a separate little house / that is called a kleidt (klēte) / constructed of round logs / below it has something like a low little cellar/ on top a sort of chamber without windows/ only one door/ where they /104/ go in /. . ." (5) The

[113] 5. Quoted according to Dr. Hans Mortensen, Litauen, Grundzüge einer Landeskinde (Hamburg, 1926), p. 97.

present-day klētis, which in its simplest form contains only a small quadrangle space, sometimes square, sometimes rectangular, carries a straw roof whose ridge runs parallel to the long axis, but at times it runs perpendicular to it and then makes the roof surfaces slope to the front and rear instead of to right and left. "Thus this strange granary has the unmistakable plan of a little ancient Greek temple of the earliest period." (6)

[113] 6. Hans Naumann, "Vom litauischen Bauernhaus," Das neue Litauen, Vol. 2 (1918), Nos. 1/2, pp. 98, 99, 106.

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The development then probably proceeded in such a way that, with increased requirements, out of the forms of the old klētis the dwelling house was developed, while the klētis itself obtained its present designation. On the basis of the Samogitian numas (house) described by Tumas, Galaunē shows that the Lithuanian farmhouse, as it later developed, contains within it all the elements of construction of the old klētis, (7) and

7. P. Galaunē, op. cit., pp. 46-50.

Pfor. Naumann also points to this connection when he writes: "If we separate the right and left wings of the farmhouse from the middle section and nothing but the latter is left, do we not then obtain exactly our granary, that prototype of a simple little ancient Greek temple? May we have here perhaps a relationship reaching into the southeast of Europe? Does it not appear as if we have before us the primitive eastern European house, which here became a granary, there a temple, when there was need for expanded facilities?"(8)

8. Hans Naumann, Vom litauischen Bauernhaus, op. cit., p. 106.

A description of the interior organization of the Lithuanian dwelling lies outside the scope of this presentation. In connection with Naumann's propositions we may only refer to the three-part structure of the Lithuanian farmhouse, constantly repeated in various forms, as well as its typical front section of columns. Although the latter is not found everywhere, the farmhouse has been taken over in this form into the cities, where often enough it has found its imitation in stone. (9)

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9. For the Lithuanian farmhouse cf. further: Baurat Richard Dethlefsen, Bauernhäuser und

113 Holzkirchen in Ostpreussen (Berlin, 1911), Chapter: "Litauen," pp. 17-35. Adalbert Bezzenberger, "Über das litauische Haus, Ein Versuch," Altpreussiche Monats-Schrift. N.F., Vol. 23 (Königsberg, 1886), pp. 34-79. R. Virchow, "Die altpreussische Bevölkerung, namentlich Letten und Litauer, sowie deren Häuser," Verhandlungen der Berl. Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte (Berlin, 1891). A Bezzenberger, "Bemerkungen über den Hausbau im russischen Litauen und in einem Teile Kurlands," Sitzungsber. d. Altert. Gesellsch. Prussia, No. 19 (Königsberg, 1895), pp. 130 ff. Basic: H. Grisebach, "Das polnische Bauernhaus," Veröffentlichungen der Landeskundlichen Kommission beim Kaiserl. Deutschen Gen.-Gouv. Warschau, Beiträge zur poln. Landeskunde, Series B (Berlin, 1917).

342

Special interest is awakened by the roof forms: the most common is the house with a perpendicular gable in which the uppermost triangular section of the /105/ gable wall consists of boards. Along with this form we find as the simplest form the full slope with or without "owl's nest", and far more frequently the half slope, which appears in various forms. Dr. Hans Mortensen, who has investigated more closely the roof forms of Lithuania with regard to their topographical differences, was able to establish no "direct geographical conditioning of the various types of design." The house with the fully sloped gable appears to him the basic form of the individual types. "This basic form, according to Grisebach, resulted from the 'pavilion' through the addition of a ridge." The co-existence of six different types of designs, as we meet them today in the Lithuanian farmhouse, betrays in any case, in spite of all traditional

342 restraint, a mental flexibility of its inhabitants and follows along the path of the natural development that has led from the old "smoke house" to the present-day form of the Lithuanian farm. (10)

10. Cf. the presentation of the types of design of the Lithuanian farmhouse in Mortensen (op. cit., pp. 93-96) and the analogous drawings in Galaunė (op. cit., p. 55). [See cat. 13, pp. 113 + 114 — Analyst]

531 322 342 If the external form and organization of the farmhouse resulted at first from practical requirements, at the same time the wood construction was easier to work with and met the needs of decoration to a greater degree then the simple stone construction. It is understandable that the artistic embellishment extended predominantly to the appendages of the buildings. Here Lithuanian ornamentation unfolded in beautiful patterns based partly on the surrounding nature and partly constructed according to strict geometrical principles. The richest decorations of this type are found in the klėtis, again proof that this peculiar building was not a simple granary but the primitive dwelling. We find the instinct for artistic forms both in the various types of carved columns of the porch and the beautifully vaulted arches at the ends of the sides. (11)

11. P. Galaunė, op. cit., p. 62.

The front part of the dwelling, resting on four columns, exhibits in its ornamentation elements of the baroque and the renaissance, whose models, following Galaunė, /106/ we will have to seek first in the buildings of Lithuanian castles and farms of that period. A parallel phenomenon of this sort of adaptation to a more general cul-

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tural level is formed by the colorful ornamentation of the old South German farmhouses. Especially the carved decorative mouldings which close the front part of the Lithuanian dwelling toward the roof exhibit a great ornamental richness. The massive front doors of the farmhouses are usually decorated with a rosette, the symbol of the sun. Stylized animal and plant patterns are born primarily by the upper end mouldings of the windows, while the often brightly painted shutters themselves are decorated with carved rosettes. The so-called "gable horns" are basically no more than the gable-shaped supports of the long pole that forms the ridge of the wooden house. A lively need for ornamentation has shaped them in Lithuania, similarly as in North Germany, into the most varied forms. We find the silhouetted imitations of horse heads, as well as birds, flowers, and people.

The ornamental decoration of the Lithuanian farmhouse frequently exhibits in the north and northeast of the country Russian influences of style which differ distinctly from the Lithuanian patterns. The latter extend farther back into antiquity. "We will not be mistaken," says the Lithuanian art historian Galaunė, "if we maintain that among no other people, with the possible exception of the Letts and Finns, such an abundance of primitive elements has been preserved as in our ornamentation." (12) This ornamentation,

12. Ibid., p. 23.

concerning which more must be said in another place, in its application to the Lithuanian farmhouse, is of strict proportions and pure form. It is harmoniously fitted into its principles of construction as to proportion and line. And as there is no farmhouse in the whole country that does not have its little flower garden which is

531 lovingly cared for by the girls, this same loving
322 attitude took the elements of Lithuanian ornament-
342 ation out of the surrounding nature and decorated the simple house of the Lithuanian farmer with its symbols.

/107/ 2. The Village Church

000 From what was said above results also the special mood which hovers over the Lithuanian villages and which hardly an artist who has once stayed in Lithuania has escaped. One must, perhaps, have wandered oneself through the country and entered one of these quiet farms, which nothing betrays from afar but the circle of trees which surrounds it. One must once have made a long journey through the country, have experienced the colorful shades of an evening in the East, the rushing of a village stream, the fragrance of the little hidden gardens. For this mood is necessary to the understanding of the Lithuanian village.

[346] On the highest hill in the village lies the church, plainly built in the simple forms of log construction.

Let us remember how we regard the city church or cathedral as the symbol of soaring worship of God in a wealthy commercial and royal city. Here everyone feels the concentrated energy of the whole population directed toward the attainment of a higher goal, dedicated to a higher, supernatural idea, desirous of giving here its best. But is it basically any different with the little Catholic village churches of Lithuania? Is not in the last analysis everything which the human spirit has created in the sense of a higher idea, a pious ideal, to be considered as equally valuable?--with the sole difference that in the one case the idea was able to unfold freely, while in the other case it remained bound within simple limits. With such thoughts one may enter

000 the little Lithuanian village churches.

346 If we proceed from the idea that every artistic accomplishment was conditioned by what preceded it and conditions that which comes after, one must on principle, in considering the Lithuanian churches, hold to the clear distinction between the simple wooden churches in the countryside and the Gothic or baroque, churches in the /108/ cities. The two have originally nothing in common. They have resulted from different traditions.

The Lithuanian farmhouse has already shown us that the only building material which had been available in the countryside since olden times was wood. The earliest churches of the country were also built of wood. These dwelling places which the people erected in the countryside to their God hardly differed in the beginning from the dwellings of the peasants themselves. They were little chapels, as we can still see them today in many Lithuanian cemeteries, in ground plan a longish rectangle, at one of whose narrow sides the roof was extended forward and supported by four columns, similarly as in the klētis. A little turret tower served for the installation of the bell. Thus the words with which Naumann describes the German village church, formed of the same elements, can also be applied to the old Lithuanian village church: "Almost never do we find a transept; usually there is only a simple, small, rectangular main aisle [langhaus] which, particularly in wood, makes a primitively ancient impression. In the German districts of Hungary and Transylvania and in Upper Silesia the wooden churches bear a remarkable resemblance to the Nordic ones; they show log construction and small windows . . .At the front is found the usually open entrance hall." (13)

13. Hans Naumann, Volkskunde, op. cit.,p. 40.

346 Unfortunately the oldest Lithuanian wooden churches of this type from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are no longer preserved; the earliest of those which still exist originated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and, as a result, already have a considerable development of style behind them. The most important task was in most cases the problem of spanning a larger space. Thus log construction had to yield in favor of skid and framework construction. To increase the limited spans there was a transition to pillars and thereby to a three-aisled arrangement. Originally there was no choir. Later the lack of space forced its construction, and the back side of the nave was built out into an apse, which thereby was added to the church as a new independent section.

/109/ In contrast to the farmhouse the development of the style of the village church in the seventeenth century led to a stronger introduction of baroque elements. Even the form of the churches themselves underwent a change: the ground plan of the nave obtained the form of a cross through the addition of two almost symmetrical side wings, in one of which the sacristy, the other a chapel were located. The significance of this change of form lies in the fact that a shorter transept cut the nave exactly in half. A central space was thereby formed at the point of intersection, "but the shortness of the cross arms shifts the central spacial impression in favor of the longitudinal direction. (14) The

113 14. Dr. Günther Grundmann, Die Bethäuser und Bethauskirchen des Kreises Hirschberg (Breslau, 1922), p. 8. On the development of the village church cf. further: Wippert and Burgemeister, Die Holzkirchen und Holztürme der preussischen Ostprovinzen (Berlin, 1905). Gruner, Die Dorfkirche im Königreich

113 Sachsen. Paul Brinkmann, Baukunst des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts, I and II. Richard Konwiatz, Alt-Schlesien, Architektur, Raumkunst, Kunstgewerbe.

346 towers were changed into baroque cupolas. The roof became higher; the outer walls of the church were covered with boards and ornamented with sawed out decorative mouldings. The nineteenth century then brought with it a strong influence of the Gothic. Thus today we occasionally come upon large wooden churches which, seen from afar, give the effect, or want to give the effect, of stone churches, which undoubtedly must be described as a "deviation from the logical use of the material." (15) The peasant wanted to build

[113] 15. Prof. Dr. Paul Weber, "Litauische Kirchen," in Bilder aus Litauen, 2nd ed. (Kowno, 1917), p. 121.

his church on the model of the city church. Modestly though he lived for his own person, he wanted to see his church beautiful, even ostentatious; between village and church there exist quite special relationships in a country in which the village is only a village which knows no tavern, hardly even a modest store. Thus "the church with its feasts and processions, its colors and sounds, its candles and clouds of incense, is to the peasant exaltation and relaxation as well; it is for him a good parlor and festive hall."(16)

16. Ibid., p. 121.

It was precisely the magnificence of the baroque, brought to the country from Vilna in the seventeenth century by the Jesuits, which must have met especially well the peasant's need for ornamentation. Thus we find the interior furnish-

346 ings of the wooden village churches permeated with elements of baroque style; yet, in contrast to the stone church of the city, this style did not unfold freely but /110/ was changed into primitive forms in the hands of peasant workmen. We see this above all in the decoration of the altars and confessionals. (17)

17. P. Galaunē, op. cit., p. 86.

346 177 Although architecture and interior furnishings of the present-day Lithuanian village church point to numerous foreign influences, the bell tower, which today in most cases maintains its place as an independent building next to the church, preserves in Lithuania very old and characteristic forms. It belongs to the most charming creations of peasant architecture and is still today--even where the primitive wooden church has long given way to stone construction--usually built of wood. Architectonically it does not form any unity with the church standing next to it.

The original significance of these old bell towers does not seem to have been that of the campanile. For this function the turret tower mentioned before would have fully sufficed. We must rather seek the origin of these peculiar towers in warlike purposes. We still find today in Germany and Austria real fortress-like defense churches, erected on the highest and strategically most secure point of the village. "There the tower stood out like a watchtower, attached on the model of the fortress." (18) That in the Ukraine

18. Naumann, Volkskunde, loc. cit., p. 40.

and Poland, too, wooden towers provided the models for the later bell towers is proved by the investigations of Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian art historians like Moklowski, Iwarnicki, and Pawlucki.

346 With the close relationship of Lithuania to these
177 countries they were bound to exert an influence on it, so that Galaunė arrives at the conclusion: "The bell towers of the Ukraine, above all however of Galicia, are known from a much older period (the beginning of the sixteenth century) than ours; several of them differ in their form only little from our bell towers. For this reason, in my opinion one must seek the elements of the wooden fortress in the architecture of the Lithuanian bell towers too." (19)

19. Galaunė, op. cit., p. 92.

346 /111/ If these established points prove that in all probability the Lithuanian bell towers go back in their origin to older models, these towers also contain numerous independent architectonic elements which are to be regarded as purely Lithuanian. The village artist strove for the greatest possible variety within the framework at his disposal. We are always surprised anew by the great richness of form, the diversity of the distribution of the masses, which contain all phases of expression from light enthusiasm to calm seriousness and from simple modesty to complicated expression. Thus each of these wooden bell towers is an individual work of art, deeply rooted in the life of the Lithuanian peasants and indispensable to the picture of the Lithuanian countryside.

B. The Village Art

778 1. The Roofed Crosses

322 If the village artist was bound by the prac-
764 tical purposes of his work in the construction of the farmhouses, village churches, and bell towers, his art could be that much more freely unfolded in those strange, towering crosses which represent the real landmarks of the Lithuanian landscape. The German poet Herbert Eulenberg reproduces the

778 764 322 impression of these crosses in the following beautiful words: "Nowhere in the world except perhaps in the Tyrol does one see as many crosses as in Lithuania. Like high masts they stand individually by the village street, on the ridges of fields, and at crossroads. One finds them grouped together in the cemeteries of Lithuania, where they grow out of the graves like great, gloomy lilies. Bent over by time, these high grave crosses greet the passing hiker or traveller like tokens of the dead, with whom the Lithuanian people as no other live in constant fearful or friendly contact. Especially in the winter it makes an often uncanny impression when out of the broad surface of snow which /112/ covers the whole land the high black crosses project and seem to beckon one with an earnest finger. And the sight of a Lithuanian cemetery in the winter will remain unforgettably impressed in the memory of anyone, when the gloomy outlines of such a group of crosses rise against the glowing red of the sunset like the shadows of Golgotha." (20) The East

[113] 20. Hermann Struck and Herbert Eulenberg, Skizzen aus litauen, Weissrussland und Kurland (Berlin, 1916).

Prussian Alfred Brust says of the same crosses: "There are among them works of art which, surrendered to every wind and weather, belong to the great rarities of simplest but most profound folk art." (21) Prof. Otto Schwindrazheim defines the

[113] 21. Alfred Brust, "Die litauische Kultur und der Expressionismus," Das neue Litauen, 1918, No. 14, pp. 50-51.

Lithuanian crosses as "masterpieces of popular wooden art," (22) and the Italian art historian

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Luigi Caglio actually describes them as the "most typical manifestation of folk art in Europe.' (23)

23. Luigi Caglio, Alla Biennale di Monza (1925). (Quoted according to Galaune, op. cit., p. 103.)

No artist, however, has more strongly grasped and reproduced the mystical impression which proceeds from these crosses than the Lithuanian painter Čiurlionis in his picture "Samogitian Cemetery." It is characteristic that almost every observer who surrendered himself to the strong mood of these crosses felt at the same time the contrast that exists between these apparent manifestations of Christian faith and the rational nature of Christianity itself--a contrast which naturally does not enter the consciousness of the present-day "God carvers" /Herrgottsschnitzer/, who work within the framework of primitive traditions. And it is really not the abundance of pagan symbols with which these monuments of devout veneration of the dead are decorated, but rather the totality of the impression, which seizes the observer with compelling force. Already their majestic height--five or six meters--is unique and distinguishes them from all similar monuments of Christian origin. But scholarly research too, which has turned its attention to the Lithuanian crosses since the beginning of this century and has tried first and foremost to solve the problem of their origin, proceeding from the most varied viewpoints, has arrived at the same conclusion: the Lithuanian crosses grew out of the pagan veneration of the dead by the Lithuanians and represent a primitive /Unnumbered page with illustration--Roofed Crosses, after a Painting by Čiurlionis/ /113/ monument of ancient Lithuanian culture. Only at a later period did they acquire their present Christian appearance, without, how-

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ever, casting off completely their old forms. We encounter this view, first vaguely indicated by Szukiewicz, the first investigator of the crosses of the Vilna area, in the work of Brensteyn on the Samogitian roofed crosses, in 1906, as an already confirmed theory, which is later extensively supported by the archaeological investigations of Dr. Basanavičius. The famous ecclesiastical prohibition with which Michael, the Bishop of Sambia, in 1426, forbade the erection of crosses in the cemeteries agrees with these conclusions. The founding of the Lithuanian state gave this research a further impetus: many thousands of crosses in the country were photographed and recorded in drawings, so that the history of art has today at its disposal an incomparably greater amount of material than before the World War.

According to our present knowledge, as expressed in the works of Galaunė and Rukštelė,(24)

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24. W. Szukiewicz, Krzyże zdobne w gubernju Wilenskiej ("Wisła" 1903), Vol. XVII. Brensteyn, Krzyże i kapliczki (1906). Dr. J. Basanavičius, Lietuviu kryžiai archeologijos šviesoje (The Lithuanian Crosses in the Light of Archaeology). Brensteyn investigates in his work exclusively the roofed crosses of Samogitia. The essay of Dr. Basanavičius forms the introduction to the picture book of Jaroševičius mentioned at the beginning: Lietuvii Kryžiai. An abstract in German in V. Jungfer, Alt-Litauen (Berlin, 1926), pp. 71-90.) The most recent literature: Antanas Rukštelė, Lietuviu Tautodailė (Kaunas, 1929), pp. 55-69. Scholarly: Galaunė, op. cit., pp. 101-142 (with detailed references).

the modern roofed crosses resulted from simple wooden columns which were erected by the graves of

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the dead as early as in pagan times. They originated from the cult of the dead and were probably intended as dwelling places for the souls of the departed. As such they are also attested to among neighboring peoples.

The development probably proceeded as follows: on these columns a two-part, later polygonal or circular, roof was placed in order to protect the stem from rain and snow. In these square columns, which were of considerable strength, little niches were carved out, perhaps in order thus to provide a dwelling for the souls of the dead, perhaps already under Christian influence; for in these niches, which are still occasionally encountered today, we have the original form of those little saints' chapels with which most of the present-day crosses are decorated. With the decrease in strong trees, the chapels were set free from their bonds, gained structural independence, /114/ and were set on top of the wooden columns--at first in place of the roof, which then appeared raised and supported by little columns, later as real little chapels with partially closed side walls. This facilitated their further artistic development in which Lithuanian wooden ornamentation was able to unfold its characteristic forms. Only at the end of the seventeenth or at the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, in Galaunē's view, did the Lithuanian grave columns described here obtain in part the form of a cross. It resulted from the prohibitions of the clergy, who were opposed to the placing of the figures of saints in such chapels which were attached to simple wooden columns or carved out of them. (25)

25. P. Galaunē, op. cit., p. 110.

The forms of the Lithuanian crosses, their chapels, and their ornamentation exhibit an infinite diversity. Almost every province, even

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every parish has its peculiarities. Among the thousands of photographs mentioned above, which today are found in the Lithuanian folklore museum in Kaunas, hardly one looks like any of the others. So strongly, in spite of all traditional restrictions, have the God-carvers expressed their individuality.

In the spiritual life of the country people these crosses have until quite recently occupied a prominent position. They were set up on all important occasions, at births, baptisms, and weddings, at disasters and illnesses, at bad harvests and as thanksgiving for good ones. They were placed not only in cemeteries, but also at the entrances to villages, in private gardens, on hills and fields, at rivers and springs and in dark forests. Their number was so great that the traveller through Samogitia met them at every turn, and in the region of Vilna, as Szukiewicz reports, (26) they even took the place of the trees.

26. p. 131.

Although in the meantime many have been destroyed by nature itself and many others have fallen victim to war, the ancient Lithuanian province of Samogitia still has at its disposal today an immense quantity of cross motifs and decorative forms. An organization of these crosses into specific types, which /115/ research in art history has repeatedly attempted, is only possible with this abundance of forms if one proceeds from the structural forms of the crosses themselves and disregards all decorative motifs. (27) We

27. p. 127.

then obtain three large groups--the wooden columns provided only with a roof, second the columns with chapels, and third the crosses proper. Among

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the roofed columns Galaunē distinguishes 44 different types, among the columns with chapels 12, and among the crosses with a crossbar no less than 46. (27) Of these groups the first and most

27. p. 127.

ancient has today almost disappeared in Lithuania; the last and most recent is the most frequently represented.

Not all the crosses, though very many, are decorated with the saints' chapels mentioned at the beginning. The latter, to be sure, as can be seen in their style, go back to a considerably more recent period, and seem to have found their model in the style of the wooden bell towers and village churches.

We find such little chapels not only in connection with the crosses--whether it be at the point of intersection of the crossbar or at the end of the wooden column--chapels one or two meters high resting on the earth or built on a stone foundation are also no rarity. In their decoration various types of style from Gothic to baroque, even rococo, can be clearly recognized. As already mentioned in another place, the baroque style obviously met more than any other the decorative requirements of the peasant artist. Its application frequently betrays great taste. From the decorative elements of these little works of art flows, as Galaunē says, "such simplicity, such earnestness, and such subtle sensitivity that one must arrive at the conviction that in Lithuania the baroque style was closely related not only to the stone architecture of the country's cities, but also the psyche of the people." (28) These

28. p. 137.

chapels are filled with statuettes of saints carved

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of wood with occasional votive offerings between them, and at times we see the representation of whole biblical scenes, above all the Way of the Cross.

/116/ The saints' chapels on the crosses and columns themselves are also very diverse. We find up to three arranged on top of each other, and sometimes four on all sides of the column. Thus the Lithuanian cross occasionally has more the effect of a little Chinese pagoda than of a Christian cross. The number of chapels depends on the number of saints' figures which one desired to house in them. Each tier is divided into sections, so that each saint is housed by himself. The form of the chapels is usually quadrangular, but hexagonal and octagonal ones with open fronts are also not rare. Still others, which rest on only moderately high columns, have the form of little altars. Still others are not attached to crosses, but to trees. In addition we find quite simple ones with only a roof over the picture of Christ, which we can hardly describe as chapels.

Among the decorative forms of the little chapels the sawed-out, scalloped, wavy, and open-work edges of the boards, at times completely sawed-out ornamental boards, are most evident.(29)

29. Schwindrazheim, op. cit., p. 48.

In addition there is, both in the crosses and chapels, a great abundance of ornamentation: twisted columns, baroque spiral ornaments, little wooden bells hanging down, stylized wreathes, leaves, and flowers. Many of these ornaments undoubtedly stem from very old, pre-Christian times, primarily those geometrical patterns which we will meet later in other products of the folk art, and which remind us of the ornamentation of prehistoric pots and articles of bronze. The zigzags, the ribbon patterns, the braid patterns, the fir tree

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patterns, the rosettes--they all are repeated in constantly new combinations. In the stylization of animals--the latter occur more seldom--we find birds and snakes, reminders of the serpent cult of the ancient Lithuanians. The crosses obtain their special characteristic, however, in the representation of sun, moon, and stars. The sun is usually represented as an iron cross with beams set on top, at times moved to the intersection of the crossbar. Its symbol /117/ is the circle, at times also a clearly executed sun disc from which rays radiate. In stark contrast to those of the Christian halo, the rays of the Lithuanian cross are zigzags, spirals, or the shape of lotus leaves and thorns. Others are formed like flowers, anchors, and crosses, or like hammers and arrows. The stars appear at the ends of the rays of the sun cross; the moon is a half moon open toward the top beneath the sun disc. Next to the pagan symbols of life are the Christian symbols of the suffering and death of Jesus--spear, hammer, and ladder--in addition chalices and monstrances, angels holding crowns and blowing trumpets, and many other Christian attributes. Nevertheless, this second group is subordinate to the first.

Perhaps later folklore research will be able to explore more deeply the meaning of the symbolism represented here. (30) The pagan symbols

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30. Among others, H. Schaeder attempts a penetrating symbolic interpretation in an essay, "Litauische Ornamentik, Das Land Ober-Ost" (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1917), p. 63.

of life, trees and plants; the symbols of light and animating warmth, the sun and stars; the symbols of love and tender affection, hearts, flowers,

778 and birds; and many others whose meaning is hidden
to us grow out of the Lithuanian crosses as the
322 expression of a deep mental attitude which flows
764 from the spiritual life of an inwardly rich people.
From the purely artistic angle, in the Lithuanian
cross ornamentation, which recalls both a most
loyal attachment to faith and a close communion
with the dead, we are touched by the compactness
with which it grows out of the crosses and blends
into a unity with them. (31) In current times, to

[113] 31. V. Jungfer, Alt-Litauen, op. cit., p. 87. V. Jungfer, Hinter den Seen, hinter den Wäldern, Bilder litauischen Volkstums (Königsberg, 1932), pp. 45 and 58.

be sure, it must be recognized how amid a younger and more rationalistic generation the old symbolism of the forefathers is more and more forgotten. Not only does the old custom of setting up crosses disappear; even where wooden crosses are still erected, one meets more and more frequently slender, smooth crosses without any ornamentation, of which only the majestic height still recalls their primitive tradition. (32)

32. A few beautiful and artistically valuable crosses have today been set up in the garden of the Vytautas Museum in Kaunas.

/118/ 2. The Wood Sculpture

532 Our survey of the Lithuanian crosses and their chapels would not be complete if we did not include in our presentation those wooden sculptures of the Christian saints which were mentioned above and for whose sake the chapels of the Lithuanian crosses were created.

Lithuanian wood sculpture, to which we thus turn our attention, has, in its origin and its early stages, not been clarified. Romantic research,

including also Brensteyn and Dr. Basanavičius, attributed it to paganism and supported this view with a prohibition of Bishop Tyszkiewicz from the year 1752, which reads: "In many towns in Samogitia highly unskilled wood carvers go about, real destroyers and blasphemers of sculpture, who at their own risk blaspheme the statued of saints, so that they do not look like gods but like Lernean monsters which have nothing at all to do with any sacred tradition in their appearance and features." (33)

[113] 33. Cf. V. Jungfer, Julturbilder aus Litauen (Berlin, 1918), p. 120. The complete Latin text reads: "Plurimis in locis per Samogitiam divagantur imperitissimi sculptores, an verius Iconoclastae et Iconomachi, qui proprio Marte effigies Sanctorum moliantur, non quam speciem deorum, quam monstra Lernaea ab omni sacra Traditione, habitu gestuque ex toto se abhorrentia, vili autem pretio simplicioribus abtrudentes graviter eis imponant, unde optata pullulat, materia nullis vicinorum sectariorum cachinnis. Parochi locorum arguant, increpant tales et confiscent, nisi specialem an Nobis produxerint licentiam."

The current term for these sculptures--in the vernacular dievukai "little gods"--seems to support this theory further. Now we have, however, no reliable support for any anthropomorphic belief among the ancient Lithuanians, and know only that they considered rivers, springs, and forests sacred as the dwelling places of their deities. On the other hand, the term dievukai for these sculptures among a Roman Catholic peasant folk is so self evident as to need no further explanations here. The fact that even today priests occasionally refuse to consecrate these sculptures

if they fall outside the bounds of religious tradition, makes the prohibition of the bishop appear in quite a different light. It is therefore not permissible to infer an unconscious continuation of the images of pagan gods from the artistic incompetence of many wood carvers or their ignorance of religious models. On the contrary, the origin of the peasant wood /119/ sculpture in Lithuania seems by no means to reach that far back and is, as we shall see, closely tied to the religious interpretation of the Western middle ages.

It appears questionable, to be sure, whether Galaunė does not go too far when he places the earliest of these sculptures only at the beginning of the eighteenth century and explains the prohibition of the bishop by the fact that the first primitive and timid beginnings of this new art were conditioned by the baroque age, in which the city churches of the country were decorated with a particular abundance of pictures and sculptures. In them the village artist is supposed to have seen his oldest models, while the preceding Gothic did not so generally nourish religious sculpture in Lithuania and therefore remained without influence on the village. (34) Since all written

34. P. Galaunė, op. cit., p. 175.

sources are lacking, and since no sculptures from earlier periods have remained preserved because of the impermanent nature of the material, which was exposed to every weather, the question of age can probably never be completely solved.

As a matter of fact, although we find in the village sculptures various elements of baroque and even some of Gothic, it is mostly a matter of a primitive art of a peasant stamp, with which one could perhaps compare a few archaic examples from the early period of German art. (35)

35. pp. 176-180.

532 The Lithuanian sculptures reveal, first, the whole content of a clearly defined peasant culture, occasionally permeated by a certain homeliness of interpretation, and, seen from the standpoint of religious ideas, simplicity of faith. The best of these sculptures bear a serious and solemn character. The artistic means which are employed are elementary. The impression on the observer is frequently very strong and direct. There are among these figures those of block-like monumental effect, where little value is placed on the details, while again in others the details are carefully executed. Precisely the striving to achieve a monumental impression through the simplest presentation of form attests frequently to a sense and great understanding for the demands of sculpture.

/120/ The hair of the figures is symmetrically parted, frequently ornamentally stylized--in other parts of the same sculpture a realistic interpretation may again be realized. In the dress, long drapery predominates. The posture of all these figures is strictly frontal.

The anatomical feeling of the artist is not yet developed. The head of the figures as the seat of the spiritual functions is also favored in its proportions. The hands are too small or too big in relation to the rest of the body, and also of unequal size. In group representations, on the medieval model, the less important figures are scaled much smaller in their proportions than the principal figures. This even applies very often to the pieta representations, in which the scale of the body of Christ corresponds to that of a child, so that the significance of the sorrowing mother will be emphasized.

The artist still struggles for mastery of the material, he is still unable to animate his figures through movement--a small inclination of the head means here a good deal--or, in most cases, to give a deepened spiritual expression to

the faces. Thus it is sometimes quite moving to see how the peasant artist tries to balance this failing through a piling up of the external attributes of pain; witness the heart of the sorrowing mother pierced by seven swords.

Occasionally these sculptures are so simplified that one can recognize only in the typical attributes which saint the artist intended to represent. Here the religious model is completely subordinate; the presentation of form attains its own character. In such cases the artist obviously has elaborated independently and individually his own impressions, taken from the gospels or from sermons. He has then infused his own life into his sculptures. And thus, under his hands, Saint Isidore, that pious Spanish farmhand for whom the angel plowed /121/ while he prayed, became a Lithuanian farmer with straw hat, peasant jacket, and wicker seed-basket. Thus the Mother of God, as she stood upon the serpent and crushed the sins of the world, became for him a Lithuanian peasant woman who has experienced much sorrow and much work, and whose features betray all the harshness of her fate. And thus genuine artistic expression frequently exudes from all the primitiveness and traditional restraint. In such creations the people shows its own face. In them is mirrored the culture of the country and the mental attitude of its inhabitants. From these two elements the peasant sculptures are to be understood. The connecting link, however, is the religious spirit which created them.

We know today the models for a large number of these village sculptures, know that the blessing Christ holding the globe has its model in a picture in the cathedral of Vilna, just as does Saint Kazimir--know that the sculptures of Jesus bearing the cross owe their origin to a small statue in the chapel of Šnikpiškis near Vilna, and that the standing Jesus with the chained hands

goes back to a wooden statue in the Antokol 532
church, (35) but basically these things are not

35. pp. 176-180.

at all so important. For the nameless artists of the Lithuanian villages who saw such models on their pilgrimages or in pictures of saints, in woodcuts and copper etchings in religious books--they recreated these things as their own artless sense dictated, gave them their own forms and their own primitive symbolism. What had been created by the Gothic and by baroque ostentation, what the art of wood-carving produced in the Western countries out of its own feeling for style, in drama and movement, in the highest refinement of inner expression--all that was changed by these thoughtful, pious, and quiet men into simple and heavy forms, into calm and as it were motionless masses, into quiet observation and epic narrative. It was as if the hand which had guided the plow by day was also heavy in the evening when it grasped the knife. In observing these /122/ things, one should never forget with what infinitely simple tools these sculptures were produced--only with hatchet and knife. They are carved from a single piece; only the appendages are usually attached.

All their models are borrowed from the spiritual and pictorial world of the Western Middle Ages, the form of the pieta as well as the group of St. George with the dragon, who became in Lithuania the patron saint of agriculture--only that here, too, independent deviations from the model are again to be noted, for St. George in these representations carries no banner with a red cross, but occasionally has the cross on his cloak like the knights of the orders of the Middle Ages. Even the most common of these sculptures, the sorrowing Christ (Lithuanian: rupintojėlis

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or smutkelis), is already known from a wood sculpture of the German Middle Ages around 1500. (36)

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36. Dr. Willi Burger, Altdeutsche Holzplastik (Berlin, 1926), p. 179. Cf. further: Franz Wolter and Willi Burger, Die mittelalterliche Holzplastik in Deutschland (Munich, 1924).

But precisely this sculpture, about whose meaning many pious legends are woven, has become quite an original possession of the people through its treatment by the peasant artists, and has experienced many transformations and variations. One sees it above all in Samogitia again and again, in villages, at crossroads, by trees in the forests. It seems as if just this figure of the sorrowing Christ with the crown of thorns, who rests Himself, exhausted, His head supported in His hand, His elbow on His knee, particularly expresses the contemplative nature of the Lithuanian peasant and has attained an individual form from the sorrow of a people over centuries-long slavery and from the melancholy of the landscape. This sculpture as no other has inspired the carvers to individual creation and has attained inner animation. At times a really unearthly mood speaks from it, which shows how deeply the artist lost himself in his idea. (*)

(*) Cf. on this point the poem of Putinas-Mykolaitis.

Lithuanian wood sculpture did not take over and elaborate all the pictorial subjects which came from the West. To be sure, the number of saints which are represented is very great, but /123/ certain favorite motifs return again and again. Besides those already named there are St. John of Nepomuk, always in clerical robes with a

532 skullcap, in his right hand a crucifix, in his left a palm branch--St. Anthony, in monk's garb, in his left hand a crucifix, in his right hand a lily as the symbol of innocence--very seldom St. Kazimir, in royal robes with a crown on his head, in his hands a cross and a lily--more frequently St. Rokhus. Since the wood carver borrowed the features from the men of his surroundings, we occasionally meet, along with pure Lithuanian types, Russian and Tatar types also. The female saints frequently wear the Sunday dress of the Lithuanian peasant women. Especially often we see St. Barbara with a crown on her head, in her right hand a sword, in her left hand a chalice with the Host; and St. Katharina, at her left the wheel on which she was bound at the command of Emperor Maxentius; also Saints Anna and Agatha. The latter is always represented with a loaf of bread in her hand. Her veneration seems to go back to non-Christian origins, for the bread consecrated to her, which is carefully preserved throughout the year, brings help in case of fire and is carried around the burning farm.

The figures of these saints are frequently housed in groups in the little chapels of the roofed crosses, sometimes more than ten figures next to each other. There are also others for whose placement particular locations are favored: St. John of Nepomuk at bridges, John the Baptist with Christ at rivers and lakes, St. Isidore in the fields, or St. Florian near city houses which he is supposed to protect from fire. (37) John of

37. A. Rukštelė, op. cit., p. 84.

Nepomuk and John the Baptist are both joined together by the people under the name Joneliai (plural of the intimate form for John).

Like the wood sculptures of all peoples the Lithuanian ones are painted--especially for pro-

tection against the weather--and from this they often obtain a peculiar charm. But /124/ the poor Lithuanian wood carver could not procure those expensive paints with which the South German artists decorated their sculptures. He had to be satisfied with what the merchant in the nearest little town offered him. Red, blue, white, green, even silver and gold are used, not always tastefully, but at times with a decided aesthetic feeling and sense of the effect of colors.

Thus these sculptures are very uneven from the point of view of their artistic value. We know some that one can compare easily with those of the West, and which one almost does not want to attribute to a simple peasant, and also others to which the words of the pious bishop still apply today--whose faces are distorted and hardly human. But the best of these village artists have always worked out of an inner vocation, and their creations have arisen from a longing for higher spirituality. What we know of the artists themselves, is not much. The few God-carvers whom we know are pious old people, often eccentrics. They do not belong to the wealthy of the village; their work does not yield profit. When th y finally close their eyes, they will hardly leave any successors, for their art, too, is disappearing, as the crosses decay which are their witnesses.

3. Woodcuts and Paintings

In very close relationship to the village sculpture stands an area of artistic activity which is hardly known to wider circles and even less appreciated--the peasant woodcut. It, too, goes back to the beginning of the eighteenth century. Its models were altar and church paintings, above all however those little pictures of saints which were distributed from Vilna as copper etchings and usually represented copies of famous paintings, such as the Crucifixion of Dürer,

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the St. Katharina of Rubens, and many others. The creator of such woodcuts favored above all /125/ representations of miracle-working saints, which were eagerly bought by the peasants at great indulgence festivals. Thus this art, too, stand exclusively in the service of the religious idea.

The škapliernikai of the church villages, who produced and sold these simple woodcuts, used for their work very soft wood--usually linden--since their only tool was a knife. The board was smoothed and then received a coating of chalk or wax. Now the portions which were to remain white on the paper were cut out of the wood, while the actual drawing was carved in relief. The figures received a strong contour line; shadows were produced by a simple stroke technique. The woodcuts were printed without the aid of any sort of press, simply by hand. Thus, as Galaunė stresses, their technique can be compared only with the German individual woodcuts of the fifteenth century, and as a matter of fact Germany was the sponsor of this technique in Lithuania. Since the prints were made on ordinary paper and the coloring was done with inks of very little permanence, hardly any old originals have been preserved. But the number of subjects as well as their popularity among the people speaks for their wide distribution. Their popularity is proved by the fact mentioned by Galaunė, (38) that after the emergence of lithography in

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38. Cf. for the section on the village woodcuts and paintings, Galaunė, op. cit., pp. 231-238, as well as the literature referred to there. Further: P. Galaunė, Lietuvių liaudies raižinių katalogas (Catalogue of the Woodcuts of Lithuanian Folk Art) (Kaunas, 1927), as well as the pertinent chapter in A. Rukštelė loc. cit., pp. 41-48.

532 Germany the best-loved of the Lithuanian woodcuts were lithographed there and exported to Lithuania. A reprinting in Warsaw, in 1921, of the blocks available there--nearly all the blocks were taken to Warsaw by Polish connoisseurs--contains 42 Lithuanian woodcuts and 24 Polish woodcuts of a similar style.

The home of the Lithuanian woodcut is the province of Samogitia. Here even existed in Kalvarija even at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a school where one could learn this art, which was practiced in the country town Darbėnai up to the middle of the century. All but a few of the names of the producers /126/ of these woodcuts are today forgotten. From the middle of the century on, the village woodcut was supplanted by industrially produced lithographs and chromolithographs, which we find today in every farmhouse.

Just as the village sculptures, the old woodcuts, as we can see in those examples that have been preserved, deviated sometimes quite far from the religious models. And in this characteristic transformation lies also their significance for Lithuanian folk art. Often the carvers left out parts of the original model in order to put in their place familiar patterns, often even stylizations of plants and trees. We find even independent groupings of saints in some woodcuts. Everything that was said in the section on village sculpture concerning standardization of expression, proportions, and means of representation applies also to the woodcuts. Since the laws of perspective were not known to the woodcut makers, they created their figures on a double plane, placing those figures which were supposed to stand in the foreground on top of the other figures. The background of the pictures is uniform, often enlivened by small ornaments.

Concerning the artistic value of these wood-

532 cuts, too, practically the same can be said as about the sculptures: along with very primitive imitations there are those of great beauty and subtlety of interpretation. From a cultural point of view they are of interest in the way artistic impressions coming from the outside world are taken up and transferred to a completely different plane of feeling and expression through a peasant interpretation which is basically inadequate for them.

Along with these woodcuts there was also developed in Lithuania, in the nineteenth century, a type of peasant religious painting, of which a few pieces have been preserved. They, too--insofar as they are not simple copies of church paintings--reveal a fresh naivete of feeling and deep faith. Thus in one of these pictures the eye /127/ of God is represented, framed by clouds. Out of these clouds two hands reach down to earth, from one of which seed falls upon the field, while the other blesses two kneeling men with bread. A landscape with a few trees provides the background. From this picture, which is not associated with any model--and in this, to be sure, represents an exception--speaks a thoroughly independent interpretation of great charm.

The peasant artist usually had at his disposal only two or three colors. In most cases he first completed the drawing and then painted it in. Through the influence of time the colors have greatly changed, so that many of these pictures exhibit quite singular tones.

Unfortunately only a very short span of development was allotted to this kind of religious painting in Lithuania. It was destroyed by the same technique to which also the village woodcuts fell victim.

The areas of religious folk art in Lithuania treated thus far have only in the last few years

532 been to any greater extent. This happened in connection with the emergence of a new nationalism which is intent at tracing the spiritual forces of its own country as they are manifested in folk art and folk customs--on the other hand through the development of expressionism, whose representatives created mood and suggestive animation out of the art of the primitive. All external phenomena are reduced by expressionism to the last degree of their simplicity. External experiences yield to inner spiritual phenomena. Thus it is no wonder that the products of Lithuanian folk art, above all the peasant wood sculptures, at the international art exhibition in Monza, in 1925, had an unusual success. It was precisely the contrast between the naivete of presentation and the power of their expression which found understanding appreciation and recognition.

/128/ The expressionistic elements mentioned by us are characteristic not only of the area of religious folk art which we have treated so far. They are manifested with equal strength in the secular areas of peasant art. We have thus come to the extensive field of handicraft, which has been independently developed in Lithuania in the manifold forms of wood carving, weaving, pottery, decorative painting, and many others, and whose products have found loving appreciation and recognition especially among German artists and scholars.

531 4. The Home and in the Village
322 Woodwork, Ceramics, Ironwork, Decorative Painting

In considering these branches of folk art, too, we must proceed first from wood carving, for the forest gave the Lithuanian from olden times everything which he needed for his life in the way of household articles--from the wicker cradle to the towering cross in his cemetery.

If he gave to the laboriously carved object a special beauty, a characteristic ornamentation, he raised it thus above the ordinary and gave it its own stamp and individual significance. In his already mentioned essay, (39) the East Prussian poet Alfred Brust writes concerning this wood-

39. Alfred Brust, cf. note 21.

work: "The center of gravity of creative art in Lithuania has rested in handicrafts. Especially in the wooden objects of practical use an expressionistic spirit of joy and satisfaction is felt. Although very much of this home art has been lost through fire in the war, there are in the farms of remote villages still a quantity of beautiful objects which, if shown in an exhibition, would leave a deep impression among the connoisseurs. Chests, tubs, and mortars of every variety attest to great artistic /Unnumbered page with illustration--Bell Tower in the District of Telšiai/ /129/ industry, and pine-chip holders of deceptive primitiveness betray an excellent taste for a unified pattern in household articles."

The strong artistic force which speaks from these peasant articles of everyday use has also directed to itself the attention of many other artists; I may name among others Prof. Buhe and Prof. von Osterroth. Above all it is the manner in which the Lithuanian ornamentation grows out of the object itself with absolute artistic logic. Hans Heinrich Schaeder speaks of this in an essay written with great love; (40)

40. Heinrich Schaeder, loc. cit., p. 62.

"The whole creative activity of the Lithuanian is a unity, and rooted in the deepest foundations of his soul. Thus it comes about that every individual part of his life's utterances is basically

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bound to every other and seeks a relationship to the totality of his life. He does not have the intention of decorating the objects which he makes for his use, but lets the ornaments, the arabesques, sprout out of them with no less necessity than that with which a plant produces the blossom out of itself. Thus there is no handicraft among the Lithuanians; whether he weaves a belt or applies colors to the shell of an egg--always it is the truly artistic instinct that moves him. All these things have the direct effectiveness of great art."

Still a fourth person may be mentioned in this regard, the founder of the Kaunas City Museum, the old Tadas Daugirdas (Thaddäus von Dowgird), who was not only an eccentric, but also an artist, and from whom stems the characteristic saying: "The Lithuanian does not make, he creates. To make is nothing; to create is everything."

Thereby the nature of Lithuanian household art is clearly enough paraphrased: out of a creative imagination, bound by inherited traditions, originated the forms and decorative motifs of the wooden household objects as well as the patterns and colors of those colorful ribbons and aprons which will occupy us at the end of this chapter.

/130/ The ornaments which decorate the practical objects of the peasant household contain no hidden symbolism. In part they are the same geometrical forms that we already have encountered in another place. They resulted from the technique of lines and nothces which were primarily used in such articles as come frequently in contact with water, like the wash paddles which the Lithuanian peasant woman still uses today for her laundry. The most beautiful objects, however, are executed in deep carving, or the ornament is completely cut out, as we see it, for example, in towel racks, and thereby developed into some-

322 thing of their own. We find as ornaments rosettes,
531 stars, and wavy lines, interrupted and lozenge frets, also stylized plant patterns--though less often--on chests, dishes, platters, canes, etc. On spindles and distaffs, on the other hand, the favorite ornament is the circle divided into six segments, the ancient symbol of the sun, whose production presents only little difficulty and therefore is often repeated. Only on coat racks do animal forms appear, taken from nature, primarily birds. Splendidly carved towel and spoon racks, knives, forks, and spoons, shuttles and whetstone holders, boxes and caskets, even carved flasks show great technical skill and artistic manipulation. Only in rare cases does an object of household use remain without ornamentation.
[354] The old Žibintuvas, the pine chip holder, an often very beautifully carved frame holding the chips that illuminated the work room, is today
[533] found only in museums as is the kanklēs, the ancient zither-like instrument of the Lithuanians, which is also richly carved, and which today has awakened to a new life. (41) In all of these

[113] 41. On the development of the kanklēs cf. the basic work of the Swedish Professor Tobias Norlind, Bidrag Till Kantelens Historia (Särtryck ur Rig, 1923).

patterns sways an inner rhythm that attests to an absolute feeling for style. One should also never overlook the fact that these objects were created only for personal pleasure or for the pleasure of people to whom they were given--as perhaps by a youth to a maid. Thus they maintained the charm of the personal and direct and also the value of uniqueness.

/131/ In view of this joy in the ornamentation of practical objects it is almost astonishing not to find furniture decorated with carving in the

531 Lithuanian village--be they peasant beds, tables
322 or benches. Here rules rather a peculiar sobriety, which is to be explained only by the fact that there has never been a bourgeois culture in the Western sense of the term in this country, formerly a part of Russia. But this seems under any circumstances to be a prerequisite to a rural residential culture.

[438] A home industry bringing artistically worked wooden objects onto the market did not formerly exist in Lithuania. Quite in contrast to Germany, for example, folk art, although reaching such height of expression, did not produce a national handicraft. Neither was this art developed into [369] a handicraft in the countryside--this was opposed by the peasant's home economy--nor was the city handicraft--we may think, for example, of the interior furnishings of the city church--stimulated by it. The reasons for this will be discussed in the chapter on the intellectual culture of the city.* We speak, therefore, quite intentionally in this regard of a home culture. Only in recent times has a handicraft arisen in Lithuania on a national basis, such as Daugirdas aspired even before the World War.

000 There is no question that the rich store of forms of the Lithuanian home art offers a favorable soil for the development of an independent handicraft. To be sure, modern Lithuanian handicraft, as it is promoted, for example, by the trade schools, the orphanages, and similar institutions, is still today trying to develop its own avenues. This development is not without danger, for not every path leads to the goal. We see here at times efforts simply to take over Western forms and give up the indigenous ones; this would be an unfortunate break with the Lithuanians' own independently developed, /132/ tradition. On the other hand, attempts at transferring directly to wooden furniture and wooden objects the primitive weaving patterns

* [cat. 116, pp. 145-195--Analyst]

600 which were conditioned precisely by the technique of weaving must destroy the inner relationship between object and ornament. Burned or carved juostos on wooden book covers are warning examples. Nevertheless we do meet individual personalities who by their own artistic power accomplish in this area exemplary results; we may think for example of the modern weaving of the Bagnickaitė.

323 531 Compared to the products of a highly developed art of woodwork, those of Lithuanian ceramics are far inferior. Here predominate the primitive stroke, line, zigzag, and ribbon patterns, which are pressed into the clay with a stone or a splinter of wood, and which hardly differ from the patterns of the clay shards from the Old Prussian graves. In addition we find painted vessels. In recent times various attempts have been made to renew the technique of glazed painting on platters, dishes, pitchers, and vases, which has almost been forgotten today.

The forms of the pots are in general not very individual. This is probably connected with the fact that until recently the Lithuanian made his pots, too, of wood or bark, while pottery for a long time lay mostly in the hands of Jewish artists. We find here a retrogression composed to earlier times, for at the art exhibition "Vilna-Minsk" of 1918 there was among the exhibited tiles a special piece from a very old period which came from Panevėžys and was noteworthy in that it represented the Mother of God in the native costume.

531 327 Nevertheless this seems to have been an xception, for in general ceramics experienced no strong artistic development among the Lithuanian people--quite in contrast to iron work, which has been briefly dealt with in the paragraph on roofed crosses.[1] Almost every one of these high crosses ends in a /133/ second, smaller, ironwork cross, which is attached to the other with a thorn. These

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 124-133 -- Analysis]

327 iron pieces are of unusual grace and lightness.
531 They rise in a rhythmic upswing and repeat the theme of the symbolic ornamentation in their own language. Rosettes, flowers, sun, moon, and all the other symbols of the early pagan period awaken in them to a new life, and so great is the diversity of forms that among hundreds of these products of ironwork hardly one resembles another. This high development of form appears especially striking in a country which has no iron supply of its own. Perhaps just for that reason iron was valued as an especially precious metal, for it was worked almost exclusively for such decorative forms. In the daily life of the people it was not able to supplant wood. Therefore, apart from metal work on doors and windows and a very few practical articles of wrought iron, almost nothing has been preserved from olden times. The fact that the art of ironwork, too--insofar as it was art at all--satisfied only the religious need for ornamentation has made it today into a dying branch of the old Lithuanian village art.

531 Unfortunately, the same also applies to the
352 use of colored ornament and decorative painting of practical objects which was earlier practised in the country. The "colorful little windows" of which the old dainos sing have become rare, and beautifully painted chests have been relegated to museums. In Samogitia they were decorated with strong and heavy colors; in the northeast of the country, on the other hand, probably under Slavic influence, with light and lively colors. (42) In

42. A. Rukštelė, see above, p. 42.

the chests that are preserved, principally bridal chests, the predominant ornament is the lily; in addition we find other flowers and leaf patterns, sometimes in imaginative stylizations--also occasionally birds, primarily those which wear rich

531/352 decorative colors in nature. On the other hand, any representation of human life, /134/ so dear to Poles and Russians, is lacking. From the darkly toned background the colors are set in relief forcefully and without transitions--green and yellow; white and red; green, violet, and yellow--and in still other combinations, which always speak of a sure feeling for colors. In their total impression these chests, in spite of the liveliness of their colorings, have a calm effect. Nevertheless the few examples of this art which I have so far seen seem to me not to express shat I should like to consider the truly characteristic feature of coloring in Lithuanian folk art--the creative force of the colors. This can become truly effective only where it no longer stands in the service of drawing, but makes the surface itself subordinate, as in the flow of the colorful patterns of the Lithuanian decorative ribbons or in the margučiai, the Easter eggs.

531/776 The Lithuanian margučiai (marginti--to decorate in colors) exhibit the same stylized ornamentation in a state of stability that is fluidly shaped in the juostos--leaves, flowers, geomettrical figures in infinitely changing form--but here it is the color which brings it forth, which becomes an end in itself, and which controls and fashions the surface. It is precisely in the margučiai that one can observe how the nature of the complementary colors is fully grasped. The extent of the oval is seen as a unit and only rarely divided into segments. The loving investigator and collector of these little works of art, Tadas Daugirdas, has written some interesting things concerning this branch of folk art. (43) He relied

[113] 43. Thaddäus von Daugird, "Margutschai--die litauischen Ostereier," Kownoer Zeitung, 1917.

531 on a large amount of material including 4,700
796 colored ornaments and samples which he had collected in the whole area of European Russia and East Germany as far as the Riesengebirge. The egg is indeed celebrated by many peoples as the symbol of awakening life in nature. The custom of artistically painting Easter eggs is known not only in Lithuania but also in other countries, above all in Poland, and probably the Lithuanians took it over from the Poles but developed it further in their own way.

/135/According to the investigations of Daugirdas, the Lithuanian Easter eggs, the most beautiful examples of which are to be found along the central and lower course of the Memel as far as Schmalleningken, differ from the Polish primarily in their calmer colors. On these subdued colors the decorative drawing frequently has an especially beautiful effect. The eggs are cooked, dipped in the coloring--plant colorings are used--and the pattern is scratched in. In contrast to this the Poles paint the projected pattern on the raw egg with fluid wax, and employ for this a little wooden stick which is split at the end and provided with a little narrow metal tube. The eggs are dipped into a lighter, cold coloring solution. They are called pisanki. After drying, wax is again applied to the spots which are to remain lighter, and the egg is dipped into a darker coloring solution. This process is repeated various times with darker and darker colors, so that the egg finally obtains the most varied color patterns and ornaments. At the end the egg is cooked and the layer of wax is dissolved. The Lithuanians employ this process less often, and usually only with two colors.

"The making of the margučiai," says Daugirdas, "is almost exclusively the work and artistic province of the Lithuanian girl, more seldom of the married woman. The eggs are colored on Easter

531 Saturday, but not scratched until Sunday afternoon;
796 making them earlier is considered a sin." The Lithuanian Easter eggs, too, are hardly ever sold in the market. They are gifts of the godparents or the mother for the children and tokens for friends and for the clergy of the town. While the neighboring Letts know only eggs of one color, the Lithuanian margučiai are already attested in the sixteenth century. At the present time the old custom has remained alive primarily in the district of Trakai.

286 Weaving and Related Techniques

That Lithuanian folk art--we may think of the folk song or of the grave crosses, or of any branch at all--forms a unity in its innermost nature and /136/ has created an artistic style of its own, has been pointed out by many critics. The sphere of this art comprises the whole life of a rural culture with a rare compactness; one thing is related to the other, and as the last field, the village art of weaving harmoniously joins this circle.

Flax, harvested in one's own field, spun on one's own spinning wheel, woven on a peasant loom, has been a familiar material in Lithuania since very olden times. Connected with its processing was the song, whose rhythm followed the movement of the loom, and whose words extolled the weavers who knew how to weave fine patterns. Thus in this art there is nothing foreign; it does not rest in the hands of a few--every girl, every woman in the villages still knows it today. And old women still know today that ancient art of spinning where the flax wrapped around a distaff is spun off with the aid of a spindle which the spinner turns with her hand.

286 The colors, too, with which the threads
386 were dyed, were originally quite natural. They were produced from earth, iron ore, plants, birch

286 leaves, oak and alder bark, and the method was
386 guarded as a family secret. Their production was very laborious. The plants were broken up and cooked with the thread; the ashes of the plants were used as a stain. Always only the thread was dyed, never the finished fabric. Thus one obtained serene colors of unlimited durability. Aprons a hundred years old exhibit a quiet brilliance which is still enchanting today. Although the natural colors have gradually been supplanted by modern aniline colors, knowledge of the old coloring technique is still preserved in many peasant families.

286 The use of colors change. Brown, blue, and
301 red were probably the oldest colors. To them was
531 added green. The pattern originated on a white background. We can best recognize the Lithuanian interpretation of color in the juostos, those colorful decorative ribbons which /137/ serve as ribbons for belts and aprons, as fastenings of fur coats, and as decorations for the girls. They are distributed across the whole country, but show provincial differences both in the colors and in the patterns and techniques. Their coloration is analyzed in a fine manner by Karl Brammer: (44)

[113] 44. Karl Brammer, "Litauische Webereien," Litauenbuch, loc. cit., p. 52.

"The nature of complementary colors is grasped here with astonishing sureness; an error never occurs. Red and greenish blue, orange and cyanic blue, greenish yellow and violet are placed next to each other in striking fashion. Furthermore the skillful use of white with opposite colors has a very fine effect. From the use of red and yellow on a black background (*) it can be clearly be seen

* The latter occurs only very rarely. V.J.

that the relationship between dark and brilliant

301 colors is also very well known. Joy in an abundance
286 of colors indeed exists among the Lithuanians, but
531 not loud joy in loud, bright colors as among the Poles; rather, the nature of color is here much more deeply and clearly comprehended." In addition it may be noted that coloration in the Lithuanian weaving has undergone a development in the course of time--above all in the technique, which on the one hand considerably increased the number of available colors and on the other enhanced their brilliance. We can recognize this when we compare, for example, the thoroughly simple coloration of the oldest ribbons and aprons known to us with that of a later period. This means, however, no lessening of the value of the later colorful weaving patterns; and above all Brammer is right when he lays the principal weight on the sensitivity of the color composition. But just this sensitivity could only later unfold itself to full expression.

An actually inspired hymn to the colorful juostos is sung by another German artist, who was also brought to Lithuania by the World War: Hans Heinrich Schaeder. He writes: "The color is here still freer, since it is liberated from consideration of the body, the three-dimensional space, /138/ and lives only for the surface. The surface is infinitely delicate like the soft material of the ribbons; the color slings to it. One does not grasp the fact that here colorful threads are woven together; did not these patterns grow like flowers under a rising and setting sun? All the secreta and longings of the Lithuanian soul are hidden in these ribbons. These wonderful, serene colors, were they not subdued by the tears of the woman who did the weaving? This melody of lines and colored surfaces, is it not intimately related to the infinite sweetness of the Lithuanian songs?"(45)

45. Heinrich Schaeder, op. cit., p. 64.

In earlier times the juostos were never put

531
286 on the market. Women and girls gave them to those
301 whom they loved. On an old juosta the beginning
[431] of a little yearning love song is woven in. A woven dedication mentioned by Kurschat (1911) reads:

> I wove as I was able to, I gave it to
> whom I wanted.
> But I always believed that my beloved
> should receive it.

Thus these ribbons often speak of a rare tenderness of feeling, and their colorful patterns seem illuminated by longing and love, by fate and sorrow. In many ribbons there were also, as Otto Glagau (1869) informs us, mottoes in English and French whose meaning the peasant girls naturally didn't know, but which remained preserved in certain families and were always imitated anew. Here, to be sure, we have forms of a later development, just as the occasional use of metal threads goes back to the influence of the Lyon silk industry in the eighteenth century. Otherwise one used in an earlier period only threads of flax, wool, and hemp; the use of silk, on the other hand, has arisen only in most recent times. Frequently these silk juostos are sold today as binders or crocheted together as table runners, but in the villages these uses are unknown.

The production of the juostos proceeds in three different ways. We know pintinės, austinės, and kaišytinės--/139/ i.e. a braiding, a weaving, and a darning technique. The oldest of them is the braiding technique, which is still practised in the north of the province of Aukschtaiten in the districts of Zarasai, Panevėžys, and Ukmergė, though it has become quite rare. (46) The threads

46. A. Rukštelė, loc. cit., pp. 22-23 and 46.

are laid over a board and then braided, beginning

1[juostos, i.e. colorful ribbons -- Analyst]

286 from the middle. Thus result two parts in which
531 the same pattern begins at the middle and runs
301 toward the outer edges. The ribbons thus produced, which can be well stretched, are especially wide. They usually contain a simple pattern of different stripes which cross each other. Their production no more demands equipment than that of the woven ribbons (juostos austinės), which today are the most familiar types and are distributed over all of Lithuania. The weaver ties the colorful wool threads from which the juosta will be made to a hook on the wall with one end, with the other to her belt, after she has wound the threads around a little stick and laid them parallel in such a way that half of the threads are on top and half on the bottom. Thus the warp is formed. With a shuttle in her hand the weaver pulls the cross threads--the so-called woof--through the lengthwise threads according to the pattern, and pushes each cross thread against the other with a kind of wooden folder [Falzbein]. The most difficult part is the stretching out of the pattern.(46)

46. A. Rukštelė, op. cit., pp. 22-23 and 46.

In contrast to these woven ribbons, the third, the darning technique (juostos kaišytinės), has today become about as rare as the braiding technique. Its home is the Suvalkijan area. In the darning technique the colored threads that produce the pattern are pulled through by hand. During the weaving itself, the colorful pattern is embroidered in and pulled fast with the next turn. This technique, for which the weaver needs a little hand loom, "represents considerable progress in the Lithuanian ribbon technique, brought about by the increased use of stylized flowers as weaving patterns, /140/ whose imitation would encounter insurmountable difficulties in the juostos austinės (woven ribbons)." (47)

286 (woven ribbons)." (47)
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47. Johanna Behr-Heyder, Cologne, "Litauische Volkskunst," Leipziger Ill. Zeitung, November 8, 1917, p. 10.

In analyzing the weaving patterns, which are almost exclusively of a geometrical nature, it is in most cases overlooked that the technique of weaving alone had of itself to lead to specific patterns. Certainly the many terms used today were given them only much later, names supplied by all kinds of visible things of the surroundings--the duck, the cuckoo, the hoopoe, the window, the broom, the rose, the fir tree, even the goat's hoof, and many others. That from the technique of weaving many similarities arose with peoples separated in space and time, is thus only natural. From the great variety of designs results the tremendous richness of this ornamentation, especially since the patterns occur in the most varied combinations. To discuss them in more detail is forbidden by the scope of this presentation, but there are certainly many hundreds of patterns.

While in western Lithuania decorative weaving is not so strongly cultivated--apart from Palanga, where primarily juostos with star and flower patterns are favored--the whole abundance of this colored ornamentation is concentrated in the area of Suvalkija, above all in the districts
291 of Marijampolė and Vilkaviškis. This area is
53 also the home of the famous tulip pattern and of
286 the colorful Lithuanian decorative aprons. Simple aprons are known also in the region of Zanavykai and Zarasai as well as in the province of Dzūkija, while in Samogitia they are completely lacking. Nowhere, however, is the coloration unfolded so subtly and the ornamentation to such a richness as in Suvalkija. On a brown, blue, red, or green background the ornament grows like a precious flower. Perhaps the most beautiful of these patterns, the tulip stylized in the most varied forms,

286 531 291 goes back to some symbolic representation, especially since the tulip itself was an unknown flower in Lithuania. The /141/ stylization has progressed so far here that practically only the term has remained. The tulip pattern is repeated on these aprons in a continuous scrollwork, or in fours in a square, or also in combination with characteristically stylized scrolls and leaves.

Galaunė says concerning these aprons: "They are known only in the province of Suvalkija and here and there in the sections of the Vilna area bordering on Suvalkija. They form here a kind of oasis, whose origins we are unable to trace today because of the lack of almost any data. This oasis is so self-contained that its influence has hardly spread in any direction. Ribbons similar to our juostos are found among a large number of our close and more distant neighbors, but the aprons with the tulip pattern woven in are completely unknown elsewhere." (48) It may be added

48. P. Galaunė, op. cit., p. 262.

that the High Lithuanians make only white woven aprons with red cross-stripes at the bottom end, while the aprons of the Low Lithuanians (Samogitians), also white, exhibit red lengthwise stripes.

The weaving technique for the Suvalkija decorative aprons is similar to that for the juostos kaišytinės; they are woven on the loom, and the pattern is set in during the weaving from colorful wool threads, so that it appears as if embroidered. Nothing certain can be said about age and origin of these aprons. We know only that the oldest of those now existing go back to the second half of the eighteenth century. Perhaps, as Galaunė assumes, they once had a symbolic significance and symbolized innocence and virtue. And perhaps they were so beautifully fashioned because they had no practical purpose to serve. (49) In Prussian

49. p. 266.

286 Lithuania they were in any case not known and
531 according to Vydūnas were only taken over from
[291] later immigrants. (50) Much of the beautiful

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50. Vydūnas, Litauen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart (Tilsit, 1916). Emma Dethlefsen, "Über litauische Volkstrachten in Ostpreussen," Blätter für Heimatkunde und Heimatschutz, Vol. 3, Nos. 1 and 2.

Lithuanian decorative weaving is found today in the churches as altar covers, the ribbons as ornamentation on the alms bag.

As with all settled peoples, so among the Lithuanians a rural art of rug weaving--as /142/ is customarily developed among nomadic tribes as a folk art--did not exist in earlier times. The rugs and bedspreads woven today in the countryside, which are usually of one color and are frequently found in city houses, are of more recent origin. They borrow their manifold square circle or lozenge patterns from the heavy linen weaving which the peasant woman makes for her practical use. To set off the pattern in color either bleached linen is woven in together with unbleached, or a difference of tone is gained by weaving in hemp or cotton. These patterns, too, are beautiful and of great ornamental richness. From the point of view of age they represent the oldest Lithuanian weaving patterns. We find them in the coarse woolen towels as well as in the tablecloths that are laid out on festive occasions in the peasant houses. The hand towels are often decorated with artistic cross-stitch work, usually in red, primarily the decorative towels that do not serve for daily use. They formerly hung on the richly carved hand towel racks and are given only to guests to use. Their ends are formed by peculiarly braided lace, knotted by hand from the end threads of the weave. This is a very old technique that is still

286 practised today by the shepherd girls of the country.
531 Crocheted lace is in general rarer; nevertheless among prosperous farmers we often find decorative crocheting and openwork on beautiful and valuable bed linen.

291] Gloves and stockings are firmly and closely knitted in several colors, the various threads being carried along on the reverse side. They frequently make their way to Germany, where they appear on the handicraft market as "Swedish" gloves. The most varied-colored ornaments are knitted in, dots and stars, together with flower patterns, and occasionally also animal patterns.
[431] These gay and strong gloves with their bright colors often serve as gifts, and the priest is always presented with them on his winter "calender journeys." In contrast /143/ to other handicrafts, in which, as we saw, old patterns are frequently used in a not so successful manner, their borrowing from the weaving technique in the modern knitted handiwork has an organic and altogether charming effect.

[292] In the Lithuanian folk costume, too, particularly as it has been awakened to new life after the first World War, art and taste are shown: the long colored pleated coat, the colorful bodice, the white shirt with the long embroidered sleeves--everything breathes cheerfulness and joy in colors (see the title picture).*

Therewith is closed the circle which embraces the Lithuanian folk art in all its branches. Many things could be only briefly touched, since the various older and more recent techniques of knotting, crocheting, and knitting can be described only with difficulty.

286 The whole realm of weaving with all its re-
462 lated techniques is exclusively the domain of the woman, while the man has chosen for himself those areas which above all demanded bodily strength or because of the size of the objects did not attract

* [Title picture was not included in HRAF reproduction -- Analyst]

286 the woman. And perhaps it is due precisely to the
462 artistic intuition and the more sensitive sense of color of the woman that her creations unfold a quite special richness in color and ornamentation in the fields of the small handicrafts. /Unnumbered page with illustration--Old Peasant Woodcut/

/145/ Chapter Four
The Spiritual Culture of the City

113 /Unnumbered note on Chapter Four/ A comprehensive presentation of the development of Lithuanian architecture does not so far exist. A brief sketch of the architecture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is given by K. Jasenas in Vol. III, No. 5 of his Visuotinė meno istorija (General History of Art), where we also find practically the only information on Lithuanian castle structures. An appreciation of the architect Vl. Dubeneckis, the builder of the Vytautas Museum, the art school, the state theater, and other public buildings, is given by P. Galaunė in Vol. I of the almanac Prošvaiste (1937). In addition, the valuable monograph by the same author, Vilniaus meno mokykla, 1793-1831 (The Art School of Vilna) (Kaunas, 1928), should be mentioned. Also, the presentation of Lithuanian painting, sculpture, and music is so far limited to sketches and separate articles. (Cf. for example Galaunė, l'Art Lithuanien (1934); Jasenas, History of Art, III, 8, with carefully selected illustrations; etc.)

A. The Architecture
181 1. Historical Preliminaries

The investigation of the cultural elements of Lithuanian national life led us to the conclusion

181 that we have here a rounded-off and self-contained culture. Such a culture never originates through a random accumulation of human beings, but always through a nation. In our case this culture was a typical peasant culture.

369 A combination of the most varied historical
565 circumstances, which cannot be gone into in this
162 context, led to the result that the Lithuanian
563 settling in villages and individual farms has found his way to the city only in most recent times and is beginning to imprint his own stamp on it.

The cultural upper class which determined the face of the Lithuanian city in the past centuries has changed in the course of time. Little is known concerning the city's earliest inhabitants.(1)

[113] 1. A. Bezzenberger, "Der Werdegang des litauischen Volkes," Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 1915, Vol. XIII, No. 1, p. 26. "Cities existed only sparsely and, like Vilna, founded in 1321, has probably more foreign than Lithuanian inhabitants."

In the fourteenth century Grand Duke Gediminas summoned German artisans and tradesmen into the country. (2) There followed the Hanse, which had

[113] 2. On the history of the Hanse in Lithuania cf. Walther Stein, "Vom deutschen Kontor in Kowno," Hansische Geschichtsblätter, 1916, Vol. XXII, Nos. 1 and 2, as well as the references given there.

an office in Kaunas. About the same time the Jews made their entrance and completely changed the city picture. Confined to the border provinces by Russian legislation in later centuries they also /146/ gave their stamp to the Lithuanian provincial cities before the first World War. Accord-

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[113]

ing to Ljubawski and Lithuanian cities of the sixteenth century were already overcrowded with Jews (3)

3. Cf. on this point Ljubawski, Oblastnoe dielenie i miestnoe upravlenie Litovski-Russkago gosydarstva ko vremeni izdaniia pervago Litovskago statuta (Districting and Local Administration of the Lithuanian-Russian State at the Time of the Issuance of the First Lithuanian Statute), as well as S. A. Berschadski, Litovski evrei (The Lithuanian Jews) (1883). In recent times the history of Judaism experienced a detailed presentation in Prof. A. Janulaitis, Žydai Lietuvoje (The Jews in Lithuania) (Kaunas, 1923).

The third city element, however, the Poles--as the upper class--at first assimilated the Lithuanian country population which moved in. Even in the nineteenth century a Lithuanian upper class still could not be formed in the cities of the country, since Russian legislation forbade the Lithuanians to occupy any official positions in their own country. Thus--by the irony of history--the first nucleus of an educated Lithuanian bourgeoisie arose in the cities of inner Russia, where the prohibition did not apply. In place of its own officialdom the land received Russian officials and garrisons, whose religious edification was taken care of by the state in this Roman Catholic country with the erection of Orthodox churches.

The World War finally ended this development through the founding of the Lithuanian state. All at once there is a city class educated abroad and now back home, which, though, not numerous, includes all professions, even artists and scholars. In addition a strong immigration from the countryside set in, for suddenly numerous possibilities to make a living in the cities, in officialdom, in

369 the military, and liberal professions, opened up
162 to the younger peasant generation. An initially
565 favorable economic development encouraged this
563 influx, which again completely changed the face of the city: the city of Kaunas alone doubled its population in a few years. In all areas a lively activity is being unfolded; along with material problems intellectual ones, literature, art, music, theater, science, are suddenly factors in the life of the people.

341 Knowledge of the development sketched here*
121 is essential for the understanding of what follows. It might seem, that is, as if a presentation of the cultural elements of the Lithuanian people would have to be restricted solely to this most recent period of time, insofar as the city is concerned. /147/ The historic architecture of the city would then be excluded from our treatment, since it does not bear the stamp of the same racial type. This is perhaps also the reason why until today there is hardly a single Lithuanian presentation of the historic structures of the country.

341 Nevertheless the present work must consider the architecture of the Lithuanian city for various reasons: first of all it was the Lithuanian Grand Dukes, the high nobility, and the clergy who ordered the construction of churches and castles Furthermore--we may think for example of classicism-the great artistic epochs are more or less international; and third, the baroque, the most important building style for Lithuania, exercised unquestionable influence on the Lithuanian folk art.

346 There are probably no foreigners visiting
177 the country to whom the great religious structures, especially in Kaunas, would not be objects of attention and deliberation. The face of these buildings is clearly turned toward the West and not toward the Russian East. From the west came the Roman-Catholic faith, proclaimed by Benedictines, Dominicans, Cistercians, and other orders in the

* [see cat. 116, pp. 162-165 -- Analyst]

346 177 Gothic churches of the country. From the west the ideas of Lutheranism were imported, and, during the brief span of a half century, embraced by the high nobility of the country. From the West, finally, penetrated the mighty and imposing movement of the Counter Reformation, which strewed the magnificence of the baroque like precious flowers over the nordic land and won it back forever to the Roman church. Thus the history of the religious culture of the country is sealed within these buildings.

In contrast to the mighty religious witnesses of the Western spirit, what we encounter in Lithuania in the way of evidence of Eastern culture in architecture seems rather insignificant. The few monuments of Russian religious art speak the language of another spiritual world, which stands outside of the historic religious development of the country. /148/ Most of the Russian domed churches still existing today were built after the revolutions of the years 1830 and 1863, when the Russian government dispossessed Catholic monasteries and churches and summoned Russian monastic orders and settlers into the country. Monuments of Russian power politics, they were frequently erected on the most prominent points of the cities; we may think for example of the Russian cathedral in Kaunas, which today has become the Roman-Catholic garrison church. Erected in 1880, and constructed in a purely academic style, it makes up to a truly artistic organization by the massiveness of its forms. To be sure, seen from the mountain, it presents, through its location as the terminal point of the main street, its powerful contours fade in the fog, a picture that is not without its own charm, especially in the evening. For this reason, too, it probably escaped the fate of demolition which a number of the Russian churches in the provinces suffered after the departure of the Russian military and officials.

The cathedral of Kaunas is also characteristic of the rest of the Russian religious structures in the country, to which specific structural regulations applied since the middle of the nineteenth century. Here we meet the main aisle, the large central dome, and the little onion-shaped towers surrounding it (Christ and the four evangelists). There also appears the compact central construction, which, for example, in the church of Ukmergė found an exceptionally good architectonic solution. In general the Russian provincial churches still preserved today, which, when constructed of wood, partially resemble the Lithuanian log churches, lose style or artistic value when built of stone. The same applies to the solitary Mohammedan mosques.(4) On the other hand, among the wooden Jewish

4. The settlement of the Tatars, who have mostly become assimilated, goes back to Vytautas. About 700 Tatars still live today in the district of Alytus. Also in Kaunas they have their own unadorned mosque.

synagogues there are some noteworthy structures, which, primarily through the broken forms in which their roofs rise like pyramids, make a singular impression. The very old synagogue of Šaukėnai may be named here. That the Jewish synagogues have taken over much ornamental decoration from the Lithuanian folk art, is clearly /149/ proved by the synagogue of Jurbarkas (Georgenburg) on the Memel.

The religious structures of Judaism can only be briefly touched upon in this context, since the Jews in Lithuania have led the life of a strictly isolated minority for centuries and have remained without influence on the cultural development of the country. The latter was exclusively controlled by that great spiritual current which the church of the West sent out over the country in an uninterrupted stream since the late Middle Ages.

terrupted stream since the late Middle Ages.

346 2. Gothic
177 Almost the whole artistic energy of the Middle Ages spent itself in mighty religious structures. The Gothic cathedrals of France and Germany speak of freedom and bold, resplendent sublimity. They are symbols of soaring adoration of God in a period whose piety and mystical excitement penetrated all classes of society. But gradually this spirit hardened, and the style which it created also hardened in its strict architectonic constraint. In this period of late Gothic the art of the Middle Ages sent out its last offshoots toward Lithuania.

Measured on the buildings--including the secular buildings--of this period which exist in the Baltic, Lithuania plays a subordinate part, a
797 fact which is again historically conditioned: not until the year 1387 did High Lithuania embrace the Christian faith, and Low Lithuania (Samogitia) not until 1415. Now if we realize that the high period of the Gothic in Germany belonged in the fourteenth century, and the fifteenth century already was the period of the so-called late Gothic, it becomes evident why the influence of the Gothic in Lithuania was of lesser impact than that of later artistic styles. It must be mentioned, to be sure, that in Lithuania, as everywhere in the East, all styles--from Gothic through baroque to classicism--/150/ have held out longer than in the Western countries, so that one can actually speak of a
346 conservatism in Eastern architecture. Thus the Gothic St. Ann church in Vilna, whose charming facade, with its slender, rising pilasters through which the strong keel arch is laced, has often been admired, was not built until after 1500. The church of Simnas in the district of Alytus, too, built in 1520 and reconstructed in the wrong style in the eighteenth century, belongs, together with

346 other provincial buildings, into the Gothic architectural period of Lithuania.

The Gothic style has been preserved in Lithuania only in its simplest forms. We find no magnificent portals, no gigantic towers. Only the heavy and constrained is fashioned here; the liberating movement and rhythmic organization of the Western cathedral is lacking. Numerous ravaging wars, fires, and reconstructions of later periods led to the further result that the original forms were often covered over and lost their real character. While the wooden church in the countryside hardly changed its style at all through centuries, the church construction in stone faithfully followed the formal changes of the Western styles, from late Gothic to the most recent time insofar as buildings for the Roman Catholic form of worship were concerned. In the provinces we still find Gothic churches today in Kedainiai (founded in 1403), in Šiauliai, and at Jonava on the Vilija. Among the buildings of the early period belongs further the charming little country church of Zapyškis, situated below Kaunas on the Memel. It was built shortly after the introduction of Christianity.

Nevertheless the traditional dates given in this connection for founding of the individual churches say nothing concerning the question whether the churches were already executed in stone at that time, or whether it was not at first perhaps a matter only of simple wood structures. With individual churches this seems in fact to have been the case. According to Cornelius Gurlitt, stone construction /151/ reached Lithuania only relatively late. To be sure, it was already employed in northeastern Germany in the twelfth century, although almost exclusively in the construction of churches. Prof. Paul Weber, who during the World War occupied the post of art curator for the occupied areas, dates the brick structures of the

346 Gothic churches in Kaunas between 1400 and 1500. Stone construction--even already in private houses--is documented in the privilege of the basilica of the year 1503; a far older stone construction is treated in detail in the inventory of the Kaunas deanery (sheet 15). In the same way we can probably regard as reliable the presentation, thoroughly based on sources, of Bishop Valančius, who in his History of the Kaunas Churches, expressly stresses in discussing, among others, the Cistercian church (Seminary Church) that the oldest Cistercian church was built of wood, while the stone construction of the church as well as of the monastery dates from the year 1468. (5)

[113] 5. The question of the oldest brick construction in Lithuania is treated by Cornelius Gurlitt, "Alt-Litauisches Bauwesen," Baltisch-Litauische Mitteilungen, No. 127, September 4, 1918. Cf. further on this point Prof. P. Weber, "Litauische Kirchen," in Bilder aus Litauen, 2nd ed. (Kaunas, 1917), p. 123. Important for the study of sources: Kun. P. Veblaitis, "Kauno Bazilika" (The Basilica of Kaunas), Naujoji Romuva, 1935, Vol. V, No. 16/17, pp. 379-380. Further: Vyskupas M. Valančius, "Trumpa Kauna bažnyčių istorija" (Short History of the Kaunas Churches) in the periodical Žinyčia (Tilsit), 1900, No.2, pp. 32-51. According to Valančius the Franciscan church was also executed in stone as early as 1400.

In Kaunas the steep Gothic roofs which cover the red brick churches dominate a large section of the old city. In the interior we find the typical six-part vault construction which resolves the ceiling into star and net vaults and thus absorbs the rising force of the columns. Five old churches

346 of this type, all of which date from the fifteenth century, are still preserved today in Kaunas. The oldest is the Vytautas church (Franciscan church) built in 1400, which the grand duke erected in memory of the recognition of Lithuanian independence by Jogaila. The history of its founding is set down on a marble plaque near the main entrance. The interior decoration is very simple.
532] Noteworthy is a picture by Kalpokas over the main altar, whose upper half represents the ascension of Mary, while the lower half shows Vytautas with his soldiers at the Vorskla, as he pledges himself with a solemn oath to build the church. The grand duke gave this church to the Franciscan order, whose monastery then stood on the site of the present city hospital. (6) Although the church /152/ was

113] 6. Kan. J. Tumas, "Iš Vytauto bažnyčios istorijos" (From the History of the Vytautas Church), Iliustr. Lietuva, Vol. 1927, Nos. 15 and 16.

destroyed in the seventeenth century by the Swedes, in 1812 by the French, and in the middle of the nineteenth century was transformed into a Russian church, it remained the only one of the old churches which faithfully preserved its Gothic character. Its peculiar tower stems from the beginning of the nineteenth century, the facade decoration of the side wings from the same period.

The construction of the gigantic cathedral of the archbishop (Cathedral of Peter and Paul) also reaches back into a very early period. In the renewal of its privileges, of 1503, it is mentioned that the church was built "in very old times, almost at the beginning of Christianity," and was richly endowed. (7) In its size alone--

7. Valančius, see above.

it is 84 meters long, 34 meters wide, and 28 meters

346

high--it makes a powerful impression. After the great fire of 1770, which left only the foundation walls standing, it was rebuilt in a different form. Probably the church was originally built with two towers (in its present form the one tower interferes with the symmetry of the exterior). In the nineteenth century a side chapel was added to the south front by Bishop Paliulionis; it contains pictures by Tyrolian artists and a beautifully carved altar. Further to be mentioned is the building of the cathedral library, which reminds one of the Marienburg castle. The interior of the cathedral was completely covered over by later artistic styles after its reconstruction: the pilasters, the columns, and above all the numerous altars sparkle in the magnificence of the baroque, whose animation is increased still more by numerous rococo forms. But, as K. Jasenas correctly points out in his art history, a counterbalance is created by the powerful compactness of the main altar (from the year 1775), which subdues the total impression into serious and mighty solemnity. (8) Precisely this

[113] 8. Jasenas, Visuotinė meno istorijz /General History of Art/, V, p. 267.

altar, between whose Corinthian columns tower gigantic figures of the apostles, has a particularly majestic effect. Thus the impression which proceeds from this cathedral is unusually strong, and the spirit of medieval piety and religious artistic instinct becomes directly alive. The [532] church paintings were mostly /153/ painted in the middle of the nineteenth century by Elviro Andriolli, an Italian artist who settled in Lithuania and was naturalized.

Considerably younger than the cathedral, but also still stemming from the fifteenth century, the Seminary Church of St. George first meets the eye of anyone who approaches the city from the river.

1 [in Cathedral of Peter and Paul in Kaunas -- Analyst]

346

In the seventeenth century it still bore a tower, while today it is decorated only by simple crosses. This church, too, was destroyed at various times by fire, the last time in 1812. As a result it also had to undergo the stylistic change from Gothic to baroque, just as the little Church of St. Gertrude, which today leads a hidden existence in a courtyard off the main street (No. 61) and belongs among the oldest buildings of the city.

The Benedictine Church of St. Michael lies apart from the religious buildings we have mentioned. It has a peculiar effect through its lack of symmetry, but the purely Gothic style of its apse must be mentioned. From the outside it resembles more a medieval fortress than a church. In his monograph on the city of Kaunas V. Bičiūnas expresses the idea that this peculiar building, on whose origin no reports are available, may be identical with the building which Guillebert de Launnoy saw on his journey in 1413-14 and mistook for a fortress. The church is mentioned in documents only in a later period; thus we hear of privileges which were granted it in 1495. At present it belongs to the order of the Benedictine nuns; the monastery built next to the church stems from the beginning of the last century. (9)

[113] 9. V. Bičiūnas, Kaunas, 1030-1930 (Kaunas, 1930), p. 208.

Therewith the circle of the old Gothic and formerly Gothic structures in Lithuania is closed. The simplicity of their external forms frequently contrasts strongly with the ostentatious interior decoration of a later period. With the relatively small number of Gothic church buildings it might almost appear as if this artistic epoch /154/ attained very little prominence in Lithuania. Nevertheless, it did have a stronger influence on secular construction. In Kaunas there are still

341 many gabled houses in the Gothic style, and indeed here and there an old granary, hidden in the maze of twisted courtyards. Often these buildings also are hidden today under the disguise of a later period. Especially the streets behind the steamer landing are still full of old gabled brick structures today. Sometimes the courtyards of these houses, like those in Vilna, have passageways of wood which stem from a later period. How much the whole artistic epoch which is understood under the name of Gothic could be forgotten is proved by the fact that a small house with a late Gothic gable rising freely into the air is today called a "Perkunas temple" in the vernacular. The gable is found across from the city hospital; it shows the typical overly slender pilasters which blossom out in decorative finials and are connected by curved interlinking arches. Possibly this was also a little church, perhaps a secular building. (10)

[113] 10. Cf. A. Thomas "Rombinus," in Mitteilungen der litauischen litterarischen Gesellschaft, 1884, Vol. II, No. 2. In addition see the colored illustration in Vol. IV, No. 4 together with a ground plan according to the record of Kulakowski of the year 1823.

341 177 3. Renaissance and Baroque

Whoever surveys the city from the hill of the Linksmadvaris estate, rising up steeply across from the old section of Kaunas, has an unusually beautiful view of the churches of the old city. The cathedral and the Vytautas church, the Seminary Church and Trinity Church lie at his feet in a harmonious grouping. Between them rise the light towers of the Jesuit church and the slender tower of the city hall. The last three buildings lead us to a new period of style which replaced the Gothic in Lithuania. It began in the middle of the

341
177

sixteenth century and received strong stimulation through the introduction of the Counter Reformation. The late Renaissance and the baroque are characteristic of this period.

/155/ Concerning the introduction of these new styles Dr. Kairiūkštytė-Jacynienė writes in her detailed monograph on the monastery of Pažaislis: "From the beginning of the sixteenth century on the true Italian Renaissance penetrated into the country by way of Hungary, specifically through the mediation of immigrant Italian artists and artisans, who as early as the year 1502 were summoned to Cracow by King Sigismund the Elder and his wife Bona Sfroza, Duchess of Milan. . .From Cracow the Renaissance style rapidly spread through the whole country. The influx of Italian artists, principally architects, went on uninterruptedly from the sixteenth century on; they kept the leadership for three centuries, since there were no trained native elements . . . Besides the Italians, Dutch architects also worked in Poland and Lithuania from the seventeenth century on. French and German influences were added to the Italian ones, especially in the eighteenth century. All this, together with certain peculiarities of the native, indigenous interpretation of style, produced a mixed style. But the Italian artists continued to be dominant. The Italian baroque created a foundation not only for the construction of churches, but also for secular construction. Today the baroque is still the most common style in the country, and the one which speaks with the greatest force." (11)

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11. Kairiūkštytė-Jacynienė, Pažaislis, ein Barockkloster in Litauen, Zürich dissertation, 1928. Special publication of Tauta ir Žodis (Kaunas, 1928), pp. 1-2.

The transition from Renaissance to baroque

346 The transition from Renaissance to baroque
177 becomes clear, for example, in the cathedral of Seinai, built in 1619. The most important baroque churches of Lithuania, however, stem for the most part from the baroque period proper, between 1650 and 1750, when, in the train of the Jesuits many other Catholic orders also settled in the country and started a lively building activity. The outward incentive for this was given by the fact that after the devastations of the Russian invasion, in 1655, the building of numerous churches and monasteries became necessary.

The new builders brought with them from Italy a completely different interpretation of space. The Gothic main aisle /156/ was now replaced by a ground plan the form of the Greek cross, with a lengthened main nave and deep chapels at both sides. But what has already been said concerning the Gothic applies also to the baroque construction in Lithuania: its architecture is more simplified than in the West, and above all, it does not have the powerful dome vault over the crossing of the nave with the transept, otherwise so typical of the baroque church. There is in Lithuania only one exception to this--the mighty monastery church of Pažaislis, which will be treated later.

346 Along with the new interpretation of space
531 went a different world of forms.[1] The linear Gothic
177 decorative forms disappeared and made way for the "decorative ideas of the Italian late Renaissance and baroque, springing forth plastically and conceived for broad surfaces." (12) In the same way

12. Prof. P. Weber, op. cit., p. 128.

the coloration changed; in place of the red brick color came the white plaster surface which was supposed to simulate the marble of the south. Characteristic of this type of construction is the Jesuit church at the city hall square in Kaunas.

1 [From beginning of 16th century -- Analyst]

346 The high facade with its two towers, between which
531 a richly decorated ornamental gable often rises,
177 became typical for the new interpretation of the front.

The temporal relationship which existed between the emergence of baroque in Lithuania and the influx of the Jesuits was not accidental, for these buildings express a very specific spiritual attitude and intention, above all in the way these churches are decorated. (13) According to the in-

[113] 13. The Jesuits did not enter Kaunas until 1642. Cf. on this point K. Lerkis, S. J., "Kaip jezuitai isikūrė Kaune?" (How Did the Jesuits Settle in Kaunas?), Židinys, 1934, Vol. XX, pp. 184-192.

tention of the Jesuits, "mankind in the whole world should continually be torn anew from the sphere of everyday interests and should be directed to the divine through splendid churches, resplendent altars, gilded images of saints, statues, confessionals, and through perspective frescoes on the ceilings pointing up toward heaven." (14) How well

[113] 14. René Fülop-Miller, Macht und Geheimnis der Jesuiten (Berlin, 1932), p. 523.

the Catholic church succeeded with this striking architecture in influencing the peasant population of the country, is seen both in Lithuanian folk art and in the fact that the name of Queen /157/ Bona, who transplanted the Italian style to Lithuania, was kept alive through the centuries among the people and gradually took on a legendary ring.

346 Of all the baroque buildings of the city of Kaunas the Dominican church built in 1612 (the so-called student church in the Vilniaus gatvė) is the oldest. In the period of Russification it was

turned into a Pravo-Slavic church, and was not given back to the Roman Church until 1919. This transformation did not remain without influence on its outward appearance.

Of the churches in the center of the old city the Trinity Church built in 1643 (earlier the Cistercian church) makes from the outside a simple impression. In the interior it is greatly overladen with ornamental elements and contains even gold and silver plated images of saints.

A completely different feeling speaks from the Jesuit Church in the city hall square, mentioned at the beginning, which dates from the middle of the eighteenth century (built in 1759) and is of interest primarily because of its light, soaring towers, which taper steadily and end in cupolas. Finally, the very charming Carmelite Church, built in 1685, shows in its architecture a stronger echo of the high Renaissance. Its interior decoration is justly praised by Jasenas: "If one enters the interior, one stands moved by the harmony of the forms and colors, whose delicate tones are concentrated in the splendid central dome, which powerfully grips the human soul with the magic of its frescoes."(15)

15. Jasenas, op. cit., p. 270.

Unfortunately this dome does not rise to the roof and receives its light from the side (a Bohemian dome).

The most splendid example of the power which the baroque displayed in Lithuania, and at the same time a unique monument of religious architecture in general, is the tremendous monastery of Pažaislis, a mile distant from Kaunas, situated high above the Memel in the middle of the woods on the "Mountain of Peace." Its master builder was Christopher Paz, Lord High Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Like all magnates of that time /158/ he had Italian artists and painters come to Lithuania. The

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monastery was built according to the plans of the architect Lodovico Fredo, who was later followed by Pietro Putini. (16) Thus arose a baroque structure

16. Kairiūkštytė-Jacynienė, op. cit., p. 19.

on the Italian model of imposing grandeur. It required means unheard of at that time. The cut stone which covers the facade of the church and the entrance gate came from abroad, Danzig and Riga supplied the iron, the marble quarries of Cracow supplied the white, red, and black marble that covers the whole interior of the church up to the principal cornice. It was carried by waterway via Warsaw and Danzig to Königsberg, and transported on from there in wagons.

Of particular interest from the point of view of art history is the completely symmetrical composition of the whole monastery, as well as the six-sided ground plan of the church, "a highly rare, almost unique case in architecture." (17) The

17. Ibid., p. 128.

tremendous, towering dome, through which an abundance of light pours onto the main altar, while the side chapels fade in a half light, makes a powerful impression on the entering visitor, and draws his gaze upward. All the ceilings of the church[1] and of all the neighboring rooms are decorated with exuberant stuccos and fresco paintings, in which the whole art of the boldest Italian perspective painting comes alive. In their splendid colors live the traditions of Titian, Tintoretto, and Veronese. These frescoes undoubtedly belong among the most beautiful and artistically most valuable not only of Lithuania, but of the closer eastern countries in general. Of the painters three are known, Ferdinando delle Croce, Angelo Palloni da Compi, and Delbene, among whom the last should be especially mentioned.

946 52

1 [of Monastery of Pažaislis near Kaunas -- Analyst]

ially mentioned.

346 Of the monastery, which was begun in 1667, only the facade was completed by 1681. After that it took more than 30 years before the building was [193] completed. This monastery[1], too, has suffered greatly in the course of time, primarily through its transfer to a Russian /159/ monastic order which took place in 1840 (it was founded as a Camaldulian monastery). The Russian order occupied it until the first World War and throughout this war itself. In 1920 it was turned over to nuns from Chicago, of the Congregation of Saint Kazimir, and since then has been renovated as much as circumstances permitted.

Within the scope of this work it is impossible to include also the Catholic church buildings in the provinces in the presentation of Lithuanian baroque architecture, especially since all preliminary work is lacking. In the countryside, too, the baroque--in contrast to the Gothic--has had a decisive effect, as numerous splendid church buildings prove. Here only the beautiful monastery of Tytuvēnai may be mentioned. Thus the baroque gained a special home in Lithuania, where it should be evaluated not only as an expression of the power of Roman Catholicism, but also as a manifestation of a special mental attitude of its inhabitants. Even the primitive forms of the wooden village church, as was pointed out in another place, did not remain free of its influence.

[195] Protestant church construction left behind only a few traces in Lithuania. As Dr. Purickis notes, at the time of their greatest influence in Lithuania, the Protestants had many adherents but very few open followers, and possessed in the sixteenth century neither a clergy nor their own places of worship. Later they sometimes took over Catholic churches. (18) The first churches of the Pro-

[113] 18. Cf. Purickis, "Die Glaubensspaltung in Litauen im 16. Jahrhundert bis zue Ankunft der Jesuiten im Jahre 1569," (dissertation) in the periodical Litauen, 1917, Vol. II,

1 [Monastery of Pažaišis, near Kaunas--Analyst]

346

testants were built in the seventeenth century. Noteworthy here is the church of the Calvinists in Kedainiai, built by Christoph Radvila (Radziwill) in 1629, which differs considerably from the Catholic baroque buildings of the period. It shows the cool style of the late Renaissance and is decorated with a beautiful pulpit with inlaid woodwork. The present-day Evangelical church in Kaunas, on the other hand, also built in the seventeenth century (1682), looks like a comfortable village church, (19) and most of the few other Evangelical

[113] 19. On the history of the Evangelical church and its congregation in Kaunas cf. the work of Pastor Joh. Wischeropp, Die Evang.-Luth. Trinitatiskirche zu Kaunas, 1683-1933 (Kaunas, 1933).

churches in the country bear the character of village and small town churches; almost without exception they were built in the nineteenth century. (20)

[113] 20. Prof. P. Weber, op. cit., p. 141. On the church in Kedainiai see "Die evangelisch-lutherische Kirche zu Keidany," in Deutscher Genossenschaftskalender für Litauen (1931), pp. 37-41 (after a lecture by Propst Tittelbach), as well as the essay by Prof. Jonas Yčas, "Das Kulturwerk des Hauses Radziwill in Kedainiai," Deutscher Genossenschaftskalender für Litauen (1930), pp. 100-105. The immigration from Germany is reflected in the dates of the founding of the Evangelical churches in Lithuania. Up to the year 1840 the churches of Kedainiai (Keidany), 1714, and Skuodas (Schoden), 1821, were built. In the years after 1840 immigration was stepped up. Churches were built in Markjampolė, 1841; Taurage (Taur-

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167

oggen), 1844; Naumiestis (Neustadt), 1845; Priūnai, 1847; Šiauliai (Schaulen), 1851. A new period of Evangelical church construction began with the immigration in the 60's --Raseiniai (Rossieny), 1862; Vištitis (Wischtyten), 1864; Švekšniai (Schwekschny), 1867; Vilkaviškis (Wilkowischki), 1868; Garliava (Godlewo), 1870; -- and at the end of the 70's: Šakiai, 1877; Virbalis (Wirballen), 1878; Batokiai, 1885; Jurbarkas (Georgenburg), 1892. From the most recent period, finally date the churches of Sudargiai, 1914, and Pilviškis, 1926. The Evangelical congregations themselves, however, are much older.

344

/160/ Finally, a brief glance may be directed at the secular buildings of the baroque period, of which two in Kaunas are worthy of attention, the so-called Maironis house on the market place at the city hall (named after the poet Maironis) and the city hall of Kaunas itself.

The Maironis house originated as the city palace of a magnate. Its builder was Christopher Paz, the master builder of Pažaislis. Noteworthy in this building is the graded [gebrochene] roof and the high facade which does not face the market place at the city hall. The city hall was built in its present form in 1771. It is a single-storied, quadrangular building with a rustica, on the front side of which there is a terrace which leads around the tower. The tower itself is of great beauty and elegance. It tapers steadily as it rises, and gains special grace and lightness through the octagonal form which is resolved into a square from the third story on. In addition we find still a few other baroque buildings, such as the house of the Evangelical consistory, stemming from the seventeenth century.

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Few castles in the baroque style have been

342 Few castles in the baroque style have been
346 preserved in present-day Lithuania. We know that the high nobility followed the example of the court and built splendid mansions on its properties in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On the basis of the available contemporary illustrations Galaunė finds here a close relationship with the present old Lithuanian synagogues, which faithfully preserved the style of those country mansions with their high, pyramid-like, graded [gebrochene] roofs and the cubic forms of the anteroom. Thus the old synagogues seem to him to be the "last echo of an architecture of wood, already vanished, which was employed in the building of the Lithuanian estates." (21)

[113] 21. Cf. Galaunė, "Lietuvių liaudies means" (The Lithuanian Folk Art), Veröff, d. Hum. Fak. d. Univ. Vytautas d. Gr. (Kaunas, 1930), pp. 153 and 154, as well as the Russian and Polish references given there.

342 In discussing the modern castles we should
712 not forget that most of the manor houses arose in those quiet and peaceful times when the castle no longer represented a fortress. Real fortresses which served the purpose of defense did not exist in Lithuania (Unnumbered page with illustrations--Village Sculpture) /161/ in any great number. Their remains go back almost exclusively to the wars of the orders, for example the ruins of the fortresses of Kaunas and Gelgaudai, the old Christ Memel /Christmemel/. On the foundation walls of others rise castles of recent times, such as those of Raudonė and Raudondvaris. (22)

113 22. Tarasenka, Gimtoji senovė (Olden Days of the Homeland) (Šiauliai, 1925), pp. 90-92. Tarasenka, Medžiaga Lietuvos archeologijai (Material for Lithuanian Archaeology). For the fortress of Gelgaudai cf.

113 also Tarasenka, "Gelgaudų pilis" (The Fortress of Gelgaudai) in Iliustr. Lietuva, 1927, No. 39; for the fortress of Kaunas: Volteris, "Kauno senosios pilies pėdsakai ir palaikai" (Traces and Remains of the Oldest Fortress in Kaunas), ibid., No. 45.

342 The castle in the modern sense, which serves the economically and socially prominent for representation and enjoyment of life, was not built in the open country of Lithuania as of the whole Baltic area before the eighteenth century. (23)

[113] 23. Carl Meissner, Das schöne Kurland (Munich, 1917), p. 101.

Remains of this period, the mighty ruins of the castle of Biržai still tower on high, built by Prince Radvila in the year 1701. Now wars, revolutions, and devastating fires have probably in no country had a more destructive effect than in Lithuania. This is also the reason why most of the present-day manor houses go back to a much more recent time, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Thus we find among the castles of the country not a single one left which would be characteristic of the baroque of the eighteenth cen-
341 tury. The forms of the rococo, too, if we except the interior decoration of a few castles, exerted only a very limited influence in Lithuania. Only separate rococo elements mix here with the late baroque and enliven it. But most of what may have existed once has been destroyed by the storms of the first World War and postwar period.

4. From Classicism to Modernity

341 About 1800 a new style, classicism, was in-
177 troduced into Lithuania with a certain suddenness; this style had gradually spread in Western Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century. It

341 177 advanced on the one hand from Vilna and owed its introduction here principally to the activity of the architect and university professor Lauras Gucevičius, who became enthusiastic about the new direction of art during his studies in France. This first Lithuanian architect belongs among the most interesting minds of Lithuanian /162/ art history. Born in 1753, the son of a serf in the district of Ukmergė, he was early destined for the priesthood and attended the school in Panevėžys for five years. Later he succeeded in coming to Vilna. Through his unusual talent he drew to himself the attention of Bishop Massalskis, who took him along on his journeys abroad in 1778. He became acquainted with Königsberg, Danzig, Berlin, and Hamburg (here he had several adventures and was initiated into the mysteries of the Jewish cabala), visited Copenhagen and Stockholm, and later stayed in Paris and Rome. His years of study in Paris were decisive. Having returned to Vilna he obtained the chair of architecture at the university there. The castle of Verkiai as well as the cathedral and the city hall of Vilna show his work. Gucevičius can be considered the founder of classicism in Lithuania, but for the sake of completeness it should be added that even before his activity began, Paul Brzostowski, who also be ame acquainted with the new trend in art in Western Europe, had classicistic buildings erected on his estate near Vilna. (24)

[113] 24. Paulius Galaune, Vilniaus Meno Mokykla (The Art School of Vilna) 1793-1831 (Kaunas, 1928), pp. 12-45. On Brzotowski of the article in the Lietuviška Enciklopedija.

Courland seems to have been a second starting point for the new artistic trend, above all the city of Mitau. We should not forget that in that period German architects like Leo Klenze came

341 to St. Petersburg, where part of the Baltic nob-
177 ility was assembled. Thus the impetus which created the so-called Alexander style in Mitau and found its brilliant expression in buildings like the palace of Medem and the castle of Mesothen probably came by way of St. Petersburg. With the close relationship between the Baltic nobility and the nobility of Lithuania, an influence through
342 this channel, too, is to be assumed. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, in any case, there arose everywhere in Lithuania mansions and castles in the empire style, whose symmetrical partitions are characteristic of the feeling for style of the period. They give a certain character to the country even today. The center of these mansions is formed by a front of columns, which plays an important role in the total aesthetic picture and /163/ organically divides the long front of the building. This, on the one hand, creates a passageway; on the other hand, there is room for a balcony or even a terrace. At times, as in the castle of Baisogala, a dome built from the middle of the building dominates the picture and provides the setting for a representative entrance hall or a garden room. In general mansions of middling estates predominate in Lithuania. We find in them the classic style permeated with many Biedermeier elements, so that frequently a quite comfortable impression is created specifically where the buildings are executed in wood.

Characteristic of the so-called Neo-Hellenistic style is the splendid castle of Pakrojus, above which one might actually wish for the blue sky of Greece. In its classic forms it has from afar the effect of a Greek temple--it is also unique in that the same style is repeated in all the court and farm buildings, so that a rare pictorial compactness is attained. The interior corresponds to the exterior, and the great hall seems worthy of a Schinkel in its noble, bright

342 simplicity. To be sure, a castle like Pakrojus belongs to the rare exceptions in the country, especially since Courlandic models are definitely followed here. (25)

[113] 25. Otto Grautoff, Die baltischen Provinzen, Vol. 3, Bauten und Bilder, (Berlin, 1916), pp. XVII and 118. Jasenas, loc. cit., Vol. III, No. V, pp. 308-311.

[341] Although neo-classicism must be regarded as a world wide style dominating the whole monumental architecture of its century, it maintained its importance in the East considerably longer than in the Western countries--far beyond the middle of the nineteenth century. Among the castles built from the second half of the century on we find nearly all types of style; thus one could imagine the castle of Apytalauke just as well in Grunewald. Since up to now there is neither a comprehensive presentation nor a sufficient quantity of illustrations of Lithuanian castles, a detailed treatment of this subject must be left to the future. It may be added that the location of all these mansions was chosen with great taste. /164/ Situated in broad parks, at times on little hills, they are frequently mirrored in artificial lakes and ponds or gain the necessary framework for the unfolding of their artistic effects through broad lawns. To be sure, a number of these buildings are destined to decay, since their owners no longer possess the means for their upkeep as a result of the agrarian reform.

346 In general the construction of important religious buildings in the larger cities of Lithuania came to an end from the nineteenth century on. On the other hand, church construction in the provinces greatly increased. Here, however, the model of antiquity exercises a far smaller influence than the new romanticism which permits the

346 forms of the Middle Ages to come to life again. Concerning this period Prof. Weber says in the essay already mentioned: "The beauty of rising pointed spires and slender, high-pointed arch windows, and also the charm of natural brick color were discovered anew. A second great layer of Gothic red brick churches is now being laid over Lithuania's cities and villages, this time, to be sure, only imitations of real Gothic." (26) Ex-

26. Prof. P. Weber, Litauische Kirchen, op. cit., p. 138.

amples of this are the churches of Jonava and Vilkija on the Memel as well as the church of
341 Rokiskis built by Tiesenhausen. Moreover the second half of the nineteenth century is a period of imitations of all possible styles and in Lithuania, as elsewhere, completely dependent on the eclecticism with its resulting confusion of style which is characteristic of the West. Thus we frequently find in later church buildings a combination of the most varied forms of style which can
344] no longer be called organic. That even the baroque style celebrated its resurrection in the course of this neo-Renaissance[1] is seen, for example, in the former gouvernement palace, the present palace of the president. The baroque facade here is well divided by two side projections, with a rustica. The end of the roof, a cornice resting on brackets, is carried over the portal and the side projections in slightly wavy lines. These lines have their correspondence in uniquely formed /165/ chimneys.
345] From most recent times[1] finally, dates the building of the state theater, also to be mentioned in this connection, whose front shows a special lightness of organization through three high windows. The interrupted lines of the roof, which are repeated in great volutes, underline the impression of animation, movement, and grace.

1 [19th century -- Analyst]

7. Jungfer-189 S-4,5(no date)1938 RB5LithuaniansRB5

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We thereby have arrived in the midst of modernity,[1] which has brought with it a complete revolution of all living conditions through the powerful events of the first World War and the re-establishment of the Lithuanian state. This regrouping has also taken place in the area of social organization: if originally there existed only two large classes--nobility and peasantry--along with which the working class gained a certain importance in the countryside only, a new group, an urban middle class, now began to crystalize. How great a significance the urban middle class can have for the unfolding of the cultural forces of a people, the architecture of the East in general is the most telling example. In contrast to Western countries, which, along with public and religious buildings, exhibit a compact group of artistically valuable bourgeois houses, this architecture is completely lacking in Lithuania. The simple, half rural city dweller built his house through centuries either in a completely unartistic brick style--the undecorated, single-storied brick houses were almost typical of the nucleus, inhabited principally by Jews, of the small Lithuanian provincial cities--or he stuck to the familiar wood structure. The latter was transferred to the city almost unchanged and is characteristic primarily of the outer sectors not only of the small towns, but also of the larger cities. "The persistence of tradition is quite surprising. The people proper has remained untouched by all the changes of the 'great architecture,' let the foreign immigrants, let the church and nobility build as they wanted."(27)

[113] 27. Prof. P. Weber, Wilna, Eine vergessene Kunststätte (Vilna, 1917), p. 118.

/166/ The new urban middle class, which after the first World War became the bearer of the concept of the state and of cultural progress, substantially

1 [19th century modernity -- Analyst]

342 changed the external appearance of the cities of
369 the country in a few years, especially since state
[565] and communes provided the outer frame for the new bourgeois houses by asphalting on a large scale and by creating green parks. One sees this most clearly in Kaunas. Apart from the actual center, the single dwelling predominates, although, with the relatively small amount of space available in the inner sectors, it was in many cases the row house which was called for. The growth of the city, which took place at an almost American tempo, the unusual housing shortage, and the independence of the builders led in the first years to an unorganic development. In this the artistic architecture found at first no place, since the first and most necessary goal was only to create four walls and a roof over the heads of the rapidly growing population of the city. Even the building with wood was hard hit by these necessities of life, for in most cases it was no longer the comfortable forms of the roomy farmhouse which were transferred to the city, but there arose sober, quadrangular, tin-roofed wooden houses consisting of a first and second story, unattractively set in bare courtyards--houses made for profit, where even the presence of a little garden or a few blossoming shrubs constituted an exception. Along with those styleless, boxlike buildings of wood or stone, however, very recently, after the most pressing necessities of life had been satisfied, various attempts have been made to solve the housing problem according to the artistic model of the West, primarily in smaller private houses and villas in the style of the country house. The development here is still fully in foux, so that a final judgment would be premature, especially since the building activity has not come to a standstill, in spite of the difficult economic situation and the great crisis which began in 1931.

/167/ In the sphere of public building, too,

344 In the sphere of public building, too
the architectural thinking of the West found its expression. To be sure, one was not able here at first to free oneself of the preference for the representative building style of the prewar period, of which, for example, the pompous organization of the columns of the Bank of Lithuania or the facade of the Palace of Justice are characteristic. Free treatment of antique formal elements is shown in the small structure of the art school.

Along with buildings intended primarily for representation, which understandably filled a need in the first years of new statehood, there were others in which the interpretation of a new publicity is visible even from the outside; we may think for example of the new main post office with its broad, soaring glass windows, behind which in uniform rooms the whole public business--this applies incidentally also to the interior arrangement of the Lithuanian Bank--takes place before the eyes of the people. But here, too, facade and organization are strongly emphasized, and the impression of representativeness, of rhythm, and of proportion is deliberately maintained. Only in a very few of these public buildings do we find an attempt to limit them exclusively to the functional and to free them from the expression of the human element. Even a modern cement structure like the building of the Kaunas District Administration in the main street does not do away with a well executed organization--pilaster-like projecting verticals, against which the powerful horizontals of the side projections are balanced--the whole clear, cool, and though remote and impersonal with its many small windows, of a conscious refinement in all its functionality. In other buildings again we meet attempts to enliven the functional forms of modern architecture through decorative ornamentation and decorative motifs, for example in the state insurance building, where to be sure, the impression of organic consistency is

344 not achieved. On the other hand, the decoration of the ceiling in the interior of the main post office represents a thoroughly happy solution.

346 /168/ Among the most interesting buildings of the most recent times belongs the Museum of Vytautas the Great of the year 1935. In this building, which is dedicated to the old memories of a glorious past, the fortress-like character of the whole arrangement seems intentional, although the contrast between the front side of the structure and the rear is somewhat too pronounced. On a lower floor with two side wings, whose facade is divided by an unusually great number of broad, symmetrically spaced windows, the compact, windowless wall of the upper story is built up. Especially the mighty side wings are effective through the uniformly white surface of their walls, while the projection of the central facade is divided by slender, rising pilasters which seem almost too strong for the entablature which rests on them. We find here a complete renunciation of the clear separation of supporting and supported elements, the harmonizing of bearer and burden in the sense of conservative aesthetic feeling. A single example from the past, the doge palace of Venice, shows a similar distribution of mass. Perhaps, however, this example is too far-fetched, for as a matter of fact the structural feeling of the modern architect has been basically changed in relation to a still recent past through the use of steel skeletons and cement. This building, which naturally ran up against protests, (28)

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28. Cf. for example Dr. H. Kairiūkštytė-Jacynienė, "Dėl Vytauto Didžiojo vardo muziejaus projekto" (On the Project of the Museum of Vytautas the Great), in Židinys, 1931, Vol. XIV, No. 8/9, pp. 167-170.

is thus characteristic. The high tower erected ne

346 to the museum is connected with it through a sort of protected passageway, whose arcades find no correspondence in the overall arrangement. The interior architecture of the building, within its large, light exhibition halls and office rooms, serve well the purpose for which the museum is intended.

344 Out of the great number of public buildings which have arisen since the re-establishment of the state, in this context only those few can be discussed which seem characteristic of the trends in the new architecture of the country. Specific characteristics can /169/ not yet be recognized there, except, in most recent times, the transition from stone construction to cement and steel framework construction. Along with the already discussed building of the Kaunas District Administration, the building of the National Bank is representative of this style. Here one has already progressed quite a bit farther along the road to functionalism. It is a building of complete anonymity and impersonality. Large continuous verticals divide the block of the structure into narrow strips of windows. It is symmetrically fashioned out of surface and line, without decorative elements, without relation to the human factor--a many-storied office building with a regular series of windows and of functionally logical construction. The building of the National Bank, in which also the Foreign Ministry is located, was completed in 1935.

341 It is not without interest that the newest warehouse style--steel houses with broad, poster-like horizontal surfaces--such as is characteristic, for example, of the latest development in Holland (but also in Germany), has as yet met with no approval in Lithuania. Perhaps this is connected also with reasons of climate, since in a northern country natural obstacles stand in the way of the construction of broad window surfaces. We find

perhaps a slight suggestion of this style in the house of the Union of Dairy Companies (Pienocentras).

[349] In the provinces, too, state and communal building activity has been very lively in the last decades. Even to the casual observer who may know Lithuania from the preward period, it should seem remarkable that all along the railroad sections station buildings of stone have replaced the earlier Russian wooden barracks. The impression is strengthened, particularly by a visit to the district cities, for in a few years a whole series of large buildings has arisen here on Western models, above all schools and hospitals of often surprising, though necessary proportions (e.g. in Kēdainiai), and in addition many other public and private buildings. For all /170/ these buildings demonstrate a decisive effort, with the support of proven Western forms, to combine the particular purpose of the building, which is the most essential element, with a harmonious form and an overall aesthetic impression.

[361] The face especially of cities such as Šiauliai, that were completely or partially destroyed in the first World War and were rebuilt in stone has completely changed. Thus the transition to stone construction proceeds in the provinces with greater and greater speed and also reaches into the villages, primarily through the example of those who return from America. This development is hastened by the effort to protect and preserve as much as possible the forests of the country, which are not in themselves large. Perhaps only a few more decades will pass and the "Lithuania of stone" which already plays a great role in architectural discussions will have partially become a reality. The character of the Lithuanian countryside would thereby experience a basic change which is for the moment unimaginable.

B. Painting and Sculpture

532 1. Development up to the first World War.

217 The palaces of the Radvilas, of the Paz, of the Sapiehas, and many others today lie in ruins. Only one or the other ruin still reminds one in its gigantic proportions of the power of the earlier lords of the land. With the castles of Lithuania, the precious store of pictures which they contained was also destroyed at the same time. Thus in 1830 the picture gallery of Princess Sapieha went up in flames. The art collection of the Radvilas, too, was half destroyed. The uprising /171/ of the year 1863 destroyed the most valuable portion of the archaeological collection of the Museum of Vilna. Valuable objects of art were removed by the Russians to St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Kiev, where they were exhibited in galleries, if they were not burned; the last happened, for example, to the remains of the Sapieha gallery, at the command of Czar Nicolas I. The first World War, however, brought with it the greatest destruction. With it a centuries old tradition was carried to the grave, never to be reawakened to life.

532 For these reasons the new Lithuanian painting grew in a completely independent soil, without tradition or connection with the artistic past of the country. The young Lithuanian painters sought and found the soul of their people in the nature of their homeland and in their heroic past. Sometimes they also built further along the line of the old peasant folk art, which extends into our own time. Around the turn of the nineteenth century /sic/ artistic life in Lithuania achieved its first blossoming. In the year 1907 the first Lithuanian art society was founded in Vilna.

532 In order to understand the beginning of Lith-
186 uanian artistic life, which was concentrated in the old capital of the country, one must consider to what extent this spiritual life--no matter whether

It had to do with painting, poetry, or science--was focused in a single point--the national idea. The idea of the liberation of the people from the Russian yoke, at first not yet conceived of as absolute governmental independence, first gained real form at the moment when the buried springs of national consciousness again began to flow. The beginnings of pictorial art also stood partially in the service of this idea. In sagas and fairy tales, in folk songs, in wood carving and weaving of the villages lay hidden the elements to which that first generation of artists now first gave the concept of a native creativity by bringing them into consciousness. The folk art /172/ thus became a symbol of their own worth, but also a symbol of all that which separated and distinguished their own people from its neighbors. From such ideas arose the great picture book of the Lithuanian Crosses which was published in 1912 by the art society in Vilna. Along with impressive drawings by Antanas Jaroševičius, it contains an introductory essay by Dr. Basanavičius, who with the means of historical research pursued the same purpose--to awaken awareness of the value of their own folk art by carrying it forward from an archaic past and thus throwing a special light on it. The meaning of history became thus a second root of these efforts. From the deeds of a glorious past the ideals of the present were easily derived, above all the lietmotif that Lithuania had once been a powerful state and for that reason must not perish.

To be sure, such ideas did not affect all artists to the same degree and were expressed differently at different times. The glow of these ideas faded for many who were far from home. Foreign themes gained in influence; the force of Western artistic trends--realism and impressionism--allowed the spring to be forgotten from which an independent Lithuanian art could have been created--the folk art.

532 Only much later, under the imprint of expression-
186 ism, did a change set in, as will be shown later.

A third factor, however, retained for all these artists its particular tone, no matter whether they stayed long years abroad or worked in the homeland. This third factor was the earth--the Lithuanian countryside, from which they all sprang and which, in its thousandfold moods, constantly welled up in their soul anew--the little dreamy village, the babbling brook, the wide expanse of the snow-covered landscape in the winter. Thus the countryside of the homeland became a symbol of all that for which one fought.

532 /173/ The themes for that first generation of artists were thereby partially given. We see this for example in the picture "Vision" by Antanas Zmuidzinavičius (born 1876). A mystical rider gallops along the horizon of a nocturnal cemetery landscape. In his right hand he swings a sword. But the rider is a symbolization of Vytis, the old Lithuanian knight at arms, and the picture breathes not so much a romantic mood of the past as a prophecy of a future. Thus the success which Zmuidzinavičius achieved at just that time with his romantic realism, with which he brought to life the past of the people, is completely understandable. At the same time he became the representative of a realistic, more academic, school of landscape painting, which was to dominate not only the first beginnings of Lithuanian art. He received his training on long journeys to Germany, Paris, and Italy. In 1906 he returned to Vilna. We possess excellent landscapes by this artist--in some the peaceful, dreamy beauty of the Lithuanian forests and lakes finds its true expression. Many are not "realistic" in the usual sense of the word, and from the best speaks that nuoširdumas with which the Lithuanian language describes the genuineness of a deep feeling and a lyric mood.

Nevertheless in an art which proceeds primar-

532 ily by way of recounting the past there exists the danger of making concessions to public taste. I am not thinking only of several paintings in the war museum in which individual events in the country's history are illustrated, as it were, and in which obviously something other than a purely artistic purpose has been pursued. In general Lithuanian painting from that time on up to the most recent past has moved along the line of realism--impressionism. That conservative element which we have already observed in the development of architecture applies also, mutatis mutandis, to painting. Undoubtedly this development, which has been overcome by now, contained a second danger impairing the appreciation of art by a still untrained public, /174/ in that the attention of the observer remained directed predominantly to the story behind the picture.

Apart from Zmuidzinavičius there were independent personalities who stood out in that first generation of artists and who went their own ways. In the water colors of Kajetonas Šklerius-Šklerys (died 1932) was reflected all the pictorial magic of the atmosphere whose chamr is pursued by the artist with sensual refinement. Brilliance of colors is shown especially by his Italian landscapes, the results of long trips to the south. It was just this landscape of the south, in which the sun throws objects into relief up to the far distances, that gave the impressionist the subjects for a series of beautiful water colors. Side by side with this unproblematic harmony stands the mood of the Lithuanian landscape--in gardens outside the city that are covered with snow, birches along the road, accompanied by a tender, dreamy basic harmony, sections of autumn landscapes, finely toned down in their colors, everyth ng seen with a great sensitivity and directness of natural experience. From the still-lifes of this artist, too, speaks a high, colorful culture, sometimes per-

532 meated by a visionary mood. His portraits appear less characteristic.

A strong personality is the mark of Adomas Varnas (born 1879), whose creativity has passed through various stages of development. He, too, like Zmuidzinavičius, began with symbolic presentations, and, remained faithful to realism his whole life long, but he achieved thereby a feeling for form all his own, a new, heightened interpretation of reality, which led him to ever greater simplification in his modelling of the objective world. This is also evident in his coloration. In his later pictures his distance from nature becomes greater; lyric contemplation gives way to a more rational interpretation which perhaps leaves one cooler, but which gives the artist's own personal note to his interpretations of the Lithuanian countryside. After long years of silence, during which he devoted all his powers to the mastering of the Lithuanian art of woodwork, above /175/ all the roofed crosses, he presented to the public creations in which a stronger, more concise method of handling the brush is followed. The descriptive power of Varnas is most strongly shown in his portraits, which, as far as characterization and reproduction of personality are concerned, belong among the best that has yet been created by Lithuanian painters. His heads gain their effect through their greater than lifesize scale, through great simplification of details, and the art of intensification. The head of the gymnasium director Žilinskis, with its gaze turned inward and its deep thoughtfulness, is a fine example; and the self-portrait of the artist with his wife, created as early as 1912, is very impressive--two heads pressing forward in animation with wide open eyes and hair flowing against the storm. The element of motion is splendidly depicted here, the heads so near that we think we can feel their breath, while everything in the distance is dissolved in indefinite tones in which

532 one feels the waves of the sea rushing forward. (29)

[113] 29. On Varnas cf. also Ign. Šlapelis, "Adomo Varno kūrybos keliais" (Following the Paths of the Creations of Adomas Varnas), Iliustr. Lietuva, 1927, No. 12.

Among the most gifted impressionists of the older generation belongs Petras Kalpokas (born 1880). He too, like many others of the Lithuanian artists, spent long years in Switzerland and Italy, a fact which did not remain without influence on his development. Galaunė writes of him: "He is an impressionist of great style, free to the point of boldness in his technique. His portraits betray the influence of Italian painting. In his Lithuanian landscapes he knew how to let the essential features of this unique nature stand out. In his 'Temptation of Christ' and in his 'Pieta' he tries to reproduce the psyche of the Lithuanian people." (30) Kalpokas had already made a name for

[113] 30. P. Galaunė, l'Art lithuanien (Malmö, 1934), p. 34.

himself in Russia before the first World War. At the outbreak of the World War a large number of his pictures were on their way to an exhibition in Munich and, unfortunately, fell victim to the events of the war. Among his best works belong a number of landscapes and his self-portrait.

/176/ Finally to be reckoned among the older generation is Jonas Šileika, who underwent his training in Munich, a strong, artistic temperament, completely dominated by his joy in colorful compositions and decorative effects, in his portraits a realist with a striving for spirituality and animation (Portrait of a Lady, 1925, Čiurlionis Gallery). His portrait of the writer Žemaitė was honored with a prize in Chicago in 1920.

532 Among the artists who found themselves exclusively drawn to sculpture, Petras Rimša (born 1881), who stood close to academic naturalism, found early recognition. Rimša is one of the artists in whose creations the social and political distress of his people before the first World War found a special emphasis, and whose participation in the actual problems of his time also was much more active than that of many others. He became known to broad circles through his sculpture "The Battle," in which the Lithuanian knight at arms is shown in battle with the Polish eagle, which he defeats--a sculpture that aroused such strong indignation in Polish circles that the artist himself destroyed it in a fit of rage. A second famous sculpture, "The Lithuanian School," calls back into memory that period of Russian suppression in which (1864-1904) Lithuanian books and Lithuanian schools were forbidden. It shows a mother at the spinning wheel teaching her small son how to read. Quite apart from the highly impressive subject, the characterization of the two figures is also well executed artistically. Later the artist proceeded to enlivening his sculptures by the use of popular decorative ornamentation. Thus sometimes very original works were produced. From his last years, finally, date several medals and bronze plaques, which combine a clear composition with fine stylization.

Along with Rimša, Juozas Zikaras became known. The latter stood under the influence of the development of the nineteenth century, in which sculpture was completely /Unnumbered page with illustration--Pieta/ /177/ separated from architecture, left the realm of monumentalforms, and approached painting through expression. Thus his art remained small art in the sense of impressionism. In this realm Zikaras created various well executed sculptures, medals, and bas-reliefs. A bold attempt was

532 his satirical stylization of a "modern madonna," a bas-relief that shows a modern woman in a short skirt, the fashion at that time, and crossed legs, who regards her child with an expression "like a mother who does not love her child, but only tolerates it like an uninvited guest." (31)

[113] 31. Ig. Šlapelis, "Iš J. Mackevičiaus ir J. Zikaro parodos," Meno kultūra, 1928, No. 1, pp. 18-19.

532 543 Therewith the first generation of artists, whose works were represented at the first Lithuanian art exhibition in 1907, has been briefly characterized in its outstanding personalities. No less than 23 artists were represented with 242 pictures. The paintings were sent from far and wide--they came from Russia, Poland, Switzerland, Italy, Tyrol, and France--for very many of these artists lived at that time outside of the country. At the head of the art association, which in the following years sponsored a number of further exhibitions, was together with Rimša, Antanas Zmiudzinavičius, one of the most active champions of that generation of artists, who placed his organizational talents completely at the service of this idea. (32) They were joined by a third, the

[113] 32. Vydūnas, Litauen (Tilsit, 1916), p. 116.

composer and painter Mykolas Čiurlionis, an artist who, through his creations, at that time drew to himself the attention of the leading Russian artistic circles.

532 Born in 1875, the son of an organist in Druskininkai, Čiurlionis was accepted as a boy into the private orchestra of Prince Oginski in Plungė. His unusual musical talent and his likeable character caused the prince to send him to the conservatories of Warsaw and Leipzig. In 1901 we find

him, returned from Germany, in Warsaw, where he supported himself after the death of his patron by giving music lessons. Around this /178/ time began his meteoric rise as a painter and draftsman. In 1907 he moved to Vilna, two years later to St. Petersburg. Here in the center of Russian artistic life his creativity reached its high point. But quite suddenly a rapid decline took place. A serious illness overtook him, and a dissolution of his mental powers set in. Thirty-six years old, he died in 1910 in a sanatorium.

The self-willed personality of Čiurlionis reflects like a prism the peculiar character of his people which tends towards mysticism. From his creations speaks the elementary man as he grows out of the Lithuanian countryside without inwardly separating himself from it, the man from whose being the broad plain of the East shines forth and blends with him, the way the whole nature which surrounds him blends with flowers, mountains, and rocks. On this soil his special artistic quality is growing. The deeply musical and rhythmical element that carried him forward made him strive for the direct expression for his artistic revelations. Thus he consciously remounced everything conventional, even renounced the forcing, and thus the dulling, of his inner vision through the medium of the material. Filled with a cosmic religiosity, he transferred the means of music to color and created preludes, humns, sonatas, and symphonies. His last work was a tempera painting--Hymn to the Setting Sun.

From the lyric mood, however, he proceeded to the contemplation of pure form. Thus he saw the reality which lies behind things, and which manifested itself to him in geometrical laws. He fashioned with infinitely delicate colors his imaginary landscape in a noble composition of unreal mountains and broad plains, and filled the space with transparent forms, from which only the rhythmical and

geometrical principle of the material still shines forth. The human form is here of necessity excluded. Heinrich Schaeder, to whom we owe several very fine observations concerning Čiurlionis, stresses above all the cosmic element /179/ manifested in his pictures, for example in the "Pyramids": "Pure crystal forms, pyramids and obelisks, become plane surfaces and the creators of their own space. A spring wind is thrown between the many arms of two candelabra and carries long slanting streaks of light toward the sky. A powerful sight: on the globe rests 'Rex' the ruler, a transparent, straight-lined, hemmed-in surface which projects upward through two celestial spheres. Clouds swirl in the lower, in the upper armies of comets race toward the calm of the midpoint. Here the stormy movement of the spheres is truly creased." Or the artist wanders through the signs of the zodiac. "In endless distances, in unearthly worlds arise the hieratically rigid forms of Virgo, of Aquarius. And above them stands their constellation." (33)

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33. Heinrich Schaeder, "Čiurlionis--ein litauischer Maler," Das Land Ob. Ost (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1917), pp. 393-395.

Next to such visions are simpler, deeply human allegories and symbols. The symbol of friendship--a precious crystal, presented with closed eyes and the touching movement of devotion; fate--a child on a blooming meadow, an unreal, otherwordly form and landscape--overhead a black bird with gigantic, outspread wings. The number of such explanations could be increased, but little would thus be gained for the understanding of this painter; for just as in all the other pictures, the material here is not seen as material but projects into a second plane of reality which borrows from ours only the external forms. At times the force of this master is also expressed in creations that

are completely rooted in the countryside of his homeland and are completely filled with its mood, like his "Cemetery in Samogitia." But here, too, the deeper symbol of the impermanence of everything worldly grows out of the landscape which he fashions.

What affects the sensitive observer in all these pictures so strongly is the deep inner necessity to which they owe their existence, this struggle of the soul for a sublime view /180/ of the cosmos. Čiurlionis belongs among those men who receive their light from within, like Beethoven and Rilke, for example. What they create does not come about through certain impressions of the outer world which are then artistically elaborated, but everything is inner vision. An irresistible force drives them to the representation of their visions. How strong this inner force was in Čiurlionis is proved by the fact, told by his brother, that the sick artist even in his last months, in the night, when everybody in the sanatorium had gone to rest, painted uninterruptedly by candlelight until dawn. (34)

[113] 34. The literature concerning Čiurlionis is relatively extensive. It consists principally of essays in various art periodicals. Among others may be mentioned the special Čiurlionis number of the periodical Naujoji Romuva, Vol. 5, 1935, No. 42; further the brief sketch by Galaunė in l'Art lithuanien, op. cit., pp. 12-13; as well as the little article by the same author: "M.K. Čiurlionies galerijos istorija" (History of the Ciurlionis Gallery). Bičiūnas wrote a biography of Čiurlionis. In German: Schaeder, op. cit., and V. Jungfer, Hinter den Seen, hinter den Wäldern Königsberg, 1932), pp. 65-69. The great Čiurlionis monograph published by P. Galaunė in 1938, which above all contains valuable unpublished picture material, could not yet be consulted.

∞∞ not yet be consulted.

532 Thus Čiurlionis art is unique. He is one of those rare masters who even in great nations are born only once in a great while. The largest portion of his paintings--148 creations in oil, tempera, and pastel, and 35 graphic works--is found today in the State Gallery of Paintings at Kaunas, located in the Vytautas Museum. His style, i.e. the outward form of the representation, was taken over by Šimonis, who also resolves reality into geometric figures in many of his pictures. His colored compositions radiate great brilliance. Simonis made a name for himself especially as an illustrator. (35)

[113] 35. Cf. Jean Mauclère, Sous le ciel pâle de Lithuanie (Paris, 1936), pp. 52-54.

2. Recent Trends

The first spring of Lithuanian art came to an end in the first World War, which had a crippling effect on all spiritual creativity and scattered the Lithuanian artists all over the world. Nevertheless through the war several of these painters became known also in Germany, for example Varnas and Zmuidzinavičius, whose pictures at the great Lithuanian exhibition in Königsberg, in 1918, received various expressions of recognition in the German press. (36) Only after the end of the war

36. For example the Kön. Hartungsche Ztg. of August 27, 1918.

did the rest of the artists return. /181/ The beginning of new statehood gave to their creativity a broader framework. At that time (1919) there arose a "Lithuanian Art Association" which took over the heritage of the first art association but at the same time also broadened significantly its

532 circle of responsibility: it[1] called into being a
[517] theater, an opera, and a music school--institutions which the state took over--and combined within itself all the creative forces of that period which were aiming with great energy and much idealism to create the basis for a new artistic culture within the framework of the new national life.

537 In the year 1924 the founding of an art
874 school took place. At its head was the painter Justinas Vienožinskis, who, although he belonged to the older generation, pursued with great freshness the new artistic trends of Western Europe but at the same time directed attention to the values which were lying dormant in the Lithuanian folk art. A painter of colorful culture, himself a product of the impressionism of the previous century, he found a style of his own. Along with him there came as teachers a number of the older artists. In spite of unfavorable material conditions the art school today has well beyond 100 students and has become an independent factor in Lithuanian cultural life. Its director is the well-known art historian and critic Ignas Šlapelis.

532 Adomas Galdikas (born 1893), who began with drawing but found his real field as a painter, also works as a professor at the art school. A thoroughly self-willed artist, he did not remain untouched by the various new trends of European painting, but always followed independent paths. His individuality grows out of his inner ties to Lithuanian folk art. Unusually versatile--along with his landscapes and portraits his opera decorations must also be mentioned--Galdikas underwent a lively artistic development. It is characterized by the Frenchman Waldemar George, who /182/ writes in a monograph dedicated to the artist: "By approaching the archaic expression of religious folk art, Galdikas seeks something other than only an assortment of colored tones and lines. This confrontation with folk art allows him to be con-

1 [Lithuanian Art Association, 1919 -- Analyst]

532

scious of his earthly art. Galdikas . . . recognized that all objective searching in art is meaningless . . . This living faith, this power to see and understand the divine principles of nature, led him to a Lithuanian atmosphere filled with mystery." (37)

[113] 37. V. Vizgirda, "Tapyba ir skulptūra Lietovuje" (Painting and Sculpture in Lithuania), Naujoji Romuva, Vol. V, No. 10/11, March 17, 1935, p. 248.

Except in the French Museum Jeo de Paume, works of Galdikas are found in the museums of Kaunas and Riga.

Vienožinskis and Galdikas thus already belong essentially to a new generation, whose educators they become. In their ateliers a number of talented young artists received their training. The latter joined together later into a special group of "Independents" and thus separated from the "Lithuanian Artists' Association," which continued to include the artists of the older generation. Nevertheless the difference in goals of the two groups does not seem so strong as might be concluded from their names. Even among the "Independents" we do not encounter radical nor extremist tendencies. Impressionism clearly has an after effect among them, too.

In 1932 a new group, "Ars," split off from the group of "Independents" under the leadership of Galdikas; its efforts derived from completely new ideas, as appears from a proclamation which was published at the first exhibition of this group in the same year. (38)

[113] 38. Naujoji Romuva, No. 45, of November 6, 1932 (Vol. III).

Since this proclamation is of special interest

532 for the most recent development of Lithuanian painting, a part of it is reproduced here: "The world, above all our own /183/ people, has entered into a new epoch. After a whole five hundred years we have again entered into competition with the great nations of Europe. We have looked around us and have come to the conviction that the lack of deeper artistic efforts as well as the imitation of artistic forms long outgrown is destroying our art."

In these spirited utterances we see a sharp renunciation of everything that is still connected with the naturalism and impressionism of the nineteenth century. The director of the state gallery of paintings, Paulius Galaunė, expresses himself in a similarly sharp manner in the same almanac. He at first discusses the reasons why the so-called "high art" of Lithuania cannot look back on any past, while the real values of the artistic culture of the people lie concealed in folk art; and he then continues: "it is a peculiar fact that beginning with the first Lithuanian art exhibition our artists have appeared not as children of their own race, but as 'Europeanized' copyists of Lithuanian nature. The ideal of beauty of our educated class, then being crystallized, was 'like in a photograph.' And this ideal sufficiently satisfied the artists of the first Lithuanian art exhibition. When one observes the groups of our young artists being educated today, one sees clearly that this education takes place from the inside, that there is a striving to make conscious what lies dormant in the character of the Lithuanian countryside."

Even if these judgments may appear too sharp to a historical observer of the development of the young Lithuanian painting, they clearly characterize the negative limits of the most recent, as opposed to all earlier efforts. The positive program of this group, however, becomes clear from

532 the introduction to the proclamation: "We have entered upon a bare and painfully neglected field. Through the /184/ spectacles of the centuries we see in the distance a high artistic culture--the sorrowing Christ (sculpture of folk art, V.J.), the fairy tale, the folk songs. A high artistic heritage, already hidden within the walls of museums or almost destroyed by the wind of our darkness, these things contain in their primitiveness powerful artistic models for us."

The connection with the old Lithuanian folk art thus becomes in these words the program of the newest art. The national idea becomes still clearer in the following: "We have decided to serve this epoch of the reborn fatherland and to create its style. A work of art means a new reality of life. Our ardent striving is directed toward the enrichment of our life through new values. We strive for collaboration with other peoples by contributing our work, which expresses the soul of our people, to the common treasury of art. We recognize the formal victories of the current art, for they grant us greater freedom of creation. But we do not burden our members with any preconceived artistic dogmas. We are filled with the ardent desire that each one of us, according to his individual character and inclinations, may serve the artistic culture of our country."

A whole series of young artists who joined the "Ars" group have had the possibility of independently educating themselves further abroad after completing their training at the art school in Kaunas. Thus the most varied influences of modern artistic trends are expressed in their work.

It would still be premature to pronounce judgment on this most recent development in Lithuanian artistic life. Much is still in flux here. In any case the existence of a serious and pure artistic will which carries the development forward can be stated. Only a later period, looking back, will be able to judge its results.

OOOwill be able to judge its results.

/185/ C. Music and the Theater

1. Opera, Drama, Ballet

545 We cannot close the chapter on the spiritual culture of the city without having cast a brief glance at the Lithuanian theater, which, besides its purely artistic significance, is of great educational importance for wide circles of the people--the number of opera goers in the season 1936-37 amounted to about 68,000, while the drama showed an attendance of 80,000.

Seen historically, the forerunner of the Lithuanian theater is the Jesuit theater of the sixteenth century, as we already mentioned in connection with Kražiai. Although the language of this theater was Latin, in the intermissions monologues and dialogues were delivered by the students in the Samogitian dialect. (39) 'The real

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39. On the Jesuit theater cf. the detailed presentation in E. v. Ungern-Sternberg, "Aus einem erwachten Lande," Bresl. Ztg., September 24, 1923.

stimulus for the development of a folk theater, however, was provided by the dissolution of serfdom around the middle of the nineteenth century. At that time, still in the period of the prohibition on printing, when the Lithuanian movement began to stir on all sides, in all the cities where Lithuanians were present in large numbers, the institution of "Lithuanian soirées" was begun: in Palanga, Vilna, Kaunas, even in St. Petersburg, Warsaw, and many other cities. These evenings contained in their program games, dances, and songs, and also theater plays, and among the actors and directors belonged many a person who became important in the later history and political development of the country. The significance of these

"Lithuanian soirées" thus went far beyond the purpose of simple entertainment.

Nevertheless, it involved only the work of amateurs. The creation of a central Lithuanian theater that should unite all the artistic forces of the country, was an idea of the future and could only become a reality after the state had been founded. We can name two important dates here, the year 1920 as the /186/ year of foundation of the dramatic theater and the opera, and the year 1925, in which the first full-length ballet, Coppelia, was produced.

The Lithuanian opera was created almost out of nothing. Singers, choruses, orchestras, conductors, directors, as well as all the rest of the personnel did not suddenly become available, but needed a fairly long period of training. The nucleus of the new troup was formed by the famous tenor of the St. Mary Theater in Petersburg, Kipras Petrauskas, as well as M. Rakauskaitė and Ant. Sodeika, who returned from America. Other artists joined them, and thus on December 31, 1920, after the overcoming of many difficulties, Verdi's La Traviata could be performed as the first opera.

658 The Lithuanian opera and the dramatic theater which originated in the same year were founded by the Lithuanian Art Society (Lietuvių Meno Kūrėjų Draugija), and in the spring of 1922 were taken over by the state. An extraordinary development from an artistic point of view can be observed from then on. About 50 operas were performed, among them three Lithuanian: Gražina and Radvila Perkūnas by Karnavičius, and The Three Talismans by A. Račiūnas. A further opera, Eglė, the Serpent Queen by M. Petrauskas, is in preparation. From the many others, only a few may be named: Verdi's La Traviata, Rigoletto, Il Trovatore, The Masked Ball, Aida; Puccini's Madame Butterfly, La Tosca, La Bohême; Gounod's Faust; Bizet's Carmen; Tschaikovsky's Eugene Onegin and Pique Dame; Wagner's Lohengrin

and Tannhäuser; d'Albert's Lowlands; Mozart's Don Giovanni; Smetana's Bartered Bride; Délibe's Lakmé; Dvořák's Undine; and many others. There are about 115-130 performances altogether in a season.

The Lithuanian opera has found acclaim outside of Lithuania also; a number of its best representatives have had successful debuts in guest roles in Milan (La Scala), Paris, Prague, Vienna, Buenos Aires, and in the Baltic capitals.

/187/ The dramatic theater came before the public even somewhat earlier than the Lithuanian opera with the presentation of Sudermann's St. John's Fire on December 19, 1920. No less than 148 different dramas have passed over the stage since then (up to the middle of February, 1938), and nothing more strongly illustrates the artistic and educational importance of the state theater than the great number of classic works which have been produced.

Among the foreign authors can be named Shakespeare with Othello, Winter's Tale, Hamlet, King Lear, and Twelfth Night. In addition, Schiller, above all, with the Räuber, Kabale und Liebe, Don Carlos, Wilhelm Tell, and Maria Stuart. Of all the translated dramas Kabale und Liebe showed the largest attendance figures. France is represented with Molière--Tartuffe, Le Malade Imaginaire, and Georges Dandin. Among the Nordic authors Ibsen reigns alone (Nordische Heerfahrt, Ghosts, Hedda Gabler, Pillars of Society). By Maeterlinck there was L'Intruse and Intérieur; by Gerhart Hauptmann Die versunkene Glocke, Hanneles Himmelfahrt, and Fuhrmann Henschel. In addition there were a great many other classic and modern authors, of whom only a few may be mentioned: Sudermann, Fulda, Hugo, Beaumarchais, Rolland, Scribe, Goldoni, Pirandello, Dickens, Jerome, Slowacki, Gogol, Tschapek, and Ostrowski.

A broader and broader area, primarily in the last few years, is being taken over by the blossom-

ing Lithuanian drama. A number of the more important authors and their works--Gužutis Keturakis, Šiaulėniškis, Maironis, Čiurlionienė, Putinas, Krėvė, Vydūnas, Sruoga, and Vaičiūnas--will receive detailed treatment in the analysis of present-day writing. Among other Lithuanian dramatists, Pivoša, Alantas, Santvaras, Cicėnas, Sakalauskas, Inčiuras, Kapnys, and Petrulis should be named. Although their names in this context can hardly be more than statistics, /188/ they are proof of the lively interest shown for the drama as a branch of the new Lithuanian literature, ever since the possibilities of performance, which earlier had existed only in the framework of the amateur theater, have opened up for every valuable work.

The travelling Lithuanian state theaters in Siauliai and Memel are products of the Kaunas state theater. But the latter theater also gives a number of guest performances every year in the larger towns of the country, where the possibilities for production exist; and these performances are very well attended.

Starting in 1925, the ballet has also come before the public with closed performances, and since then has developed into a factor in the artistic life of the country. Its development proceeded under the leadership of well-known Russian ballet masters; since 1937 it has been under Lithuanian direction. In contrast to Germany, for example, where in general only ballets inserted in operas are known, the tradition of the Russian ballet lives on in Lithuania. From the number of full-length ballets which have been performed, Swan Lake and the Nutcracker Suite of Tschaikovsky may be named; further, Délibe's already mentioned ballet Coppelia, and Sylvia; Don Quixote by Minkus; The Hunchbacked Horse by Punis; Vain Caution by Hertel; and The Fountains of Bachtschisarai by Asawjew. Lithuanian ballets were created by Dvarionas, Gruodis, and J. Karnavičius. They will be

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discussed in another place.

In addition a large number of smaller, carefully rehearsed ballets of famous masters were produced, by Rimski-Korsakov, Strauss, Adam, Schumann, Debussy, Moussorgsky, Weber, Glazunov, and others. The Lithuanian Ballet also found recognition abroad. This is proved by its guest appearances both in Monte Carlo, where ten performances took place in the Casino Opera in 1935, and in London, where the Lithuanian Ballet gave no less than 32 performances in the Alhambra Theater.

/189/ The beautiful scenery, on which a number of the best artists of the land collaborated, contributed not a little to the success of the Lithuanian ballet. Thus the Lithuanian theater in its trinity--opera, drama, and ballet--has become a cultural factor not to be underestimated, not only in the life of the city of Kaunas but in that of the whole country.

533

2. The Development of Musical Life

The extraordinary rise of the Lithuanian state opera and the great interest of wide circles by which it was supported had, in the first years of statehood, an inhibiting effect on the realm of pure music insofar as the interest in choral music, as in concerts, evenings of chamber music, etc. in general, markedly decreased. This involved, however, only a transitional phenomenon, and the state theater itself, through the introduction of regular symphony concerts, was able to reawaken and enliven the weakened interest, so that today we can speak of a new upswing. Arrangements of symphony concerts at first took place through the Kaunas "Philharmonic Society," which today no longer exists, in which the artistic forces of the country were united. Later Stasys Šimkus, known as a composer and conductor, devoted his whole energy to those concerts. They awakened the interest of wider circles of music lovers, above all by engaging

533 famous foreign conductors (Couts, Cooper, Dovroven, Malko, Scherchen, Hoesslin, Poulet, etc.) and soloists--the pianists Hofmann, Rubinstein, E. Petri, Ellegard, Orlov, Ginsburg, and the violinists Hubermann, Thibaut, Oistrach, Elmann, and Cimbalist, along with many others may be mentioned. The number of concerts presented ran to 26 in the season 1935-36, to 22 in the following season.

Along with these symphony concerts, the choruses, above all, /190/ became important for the development of musical life. The first successful attempt in this area was the performance of the Mozart Requiem by the chorus of "Šiaulių Sajunga" (rifle association). After this there began a lively artistic competition. The student chorus of the "Ateitininkai" (Catholic student union) sang the Seven Last Words of Dubois and Verdi's Requiem; the chorus of the Šiaulių Sajunga soon after sang Handel's Messiah. Spiritual oratorios were produced by the chorus of the garrison church; and the rest of the choruses also, for example the university chorus, did not remain behind. The latter had great success on its tours through the Baltic countries.

874 Of greatest influence on the development of the whole musical life was the state conservatory, whose student count runs today to 220-250, and which has departments of composition, singing, piano, and all other instruments. The teaching staff--about 30-35--is in part also active in the opera and in the radio. From time to time the radio orchestra presents symphony concerts on a larger scale under the direction of native and foreign conductors.

If we want to know what has been accomplished so far in the purely creative field, it must first be remembered that the prerequisites for a modern Lithuanian artistic music, just as those for a Lithuanian artistic literature, were only given toward the end of the last century. The earliest Lithuanian composers, like Kudirka for example, the creator of the Lithuanian hymn, still had no prof-

533 essional musical training. The first composer educated in musical theory was Juozas Naujalis (1869-1934), organist at the cathedral of Kaunas, who was creatively active primarily in the area of church music, and who made a name for himself as the composer of many Catholic masses and symphon-
874 ic works. He also stood out as a teacher, and founded the conservatory in Kaunas, at which he was active until 1928 as director and professor of organ-playing. Many of his songs were taken over by the people and are sung today as genuine folk songs. At about the same /191/ time lived Česlovas Sasnauskas (1867-1916), professor of music at the seminary for priests in St. Petersburg, of whom a large requiem and a number of smaller creations became known. Many of his choral songs became quite popular.

Nevertheless, these beginnings of Lithuanian artistic music still bear more or less provincial features, and also sometimes are strongly under Polish influence. The first to point out new paths to Lithuanian music was Mykolas Konstantinas Čiurlionis (1875-1911), whose singular artistic personality exhibited a synthesis of the pictorial and the musical. Long years of study at the conservatories of Warsaw and Leipzig gave him a broader artistic outlook than to all the others mentioned so far. Thus he went far ahead of his time, and his compositions are still fresh and alive today. With Čiurlionis Lithuanian music got out from its former seclusion, and for the first time strong Western influences made themselves felt beside the formerly dominant Eastern elements. Among the more important works of this composer are the two great symphonic creations--the symphony Miškas (The Forest), still dating from the Warsaw period, and the later Jūra (The Sea)--musical paintings of great beauty, and, in spite of various foreign influences (R. Strauss, Reger), independent in their richness of musical ideas and their colorful

533 instrumentation. Although Čiurlionis uses none of the motifs associated with folk music, much of the soul of his country is contained in his dreamy, mystical, and melancholy music. This also applies to his piano pieces.

Of importance for the further musical development became the spirited Stasys Šimkus, born in 1887, already discussed as a choral conductor and organizer. He wrote a large number of interesting vocal pieces and made himself a name particularly through harmonizations of Lithuanian folk songs. The /192/ choruses directed by him were received with great acclaim everywhere in the country. Šimkus received his first training at the conservatories of Warsaw and St. Petersburg. After the war he studied in Leipzig. In his most recent development the transition to modernity is clearly perceptible, and his later choral creations are characterized by complicated voicing and bold harmonization. But here we have gone ahead of the development, for between these two periods lies an important event which is also decisive for Lithuanian musical life--the first World War.

533 The World War introduced a new period of mus-
177 ical development. Only a few composers were left in the country; most of them spent the war years in the big cities of Russia. It is only natural that they brought the impressions which they had gained there back to the homeland with them after the founding of the state. Thus Lithuanian artistic music came again strongly under the influence of the East in the first years of the young state. But a change was already in preparation, a change which was conditioned by the tighter and tighter sealing-off of Russia from the Western world and which pushed the stimuli coming from the East more and more into the background. Conversely the way was gradually opened for more and more active spiritual ties between Lithuania and the West. Thereby the influence of the West, and especially of Germany,

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became stronger and stronger in the realm of music. That applied only to Čiurlionis before the war--the penetration of Western elements into Lithuanian music--now became characteristic of the whole further development. Of importance were above all the influences exerted by the conservatory in Leipzig, where a number of the composers whom we are going to discuss obtained their training.

533 First to be mentioned here is Juozas Gruodis, born in 1884, a musical personality of pronounced originality. He transfers the means of expression of Western music to Lithuanian music and combines the form of the post-romantic sonata with folklore elements that he takes from Lithuanian folk music. He loves bold harmonizations /Unnumbered page with illustration--Lithuanian Landscape by Zmuidzinavičius/ /193/ and dramatic tensions, although a return to greater simplicity is to be noticed in his compositions of the last few years. His best works are a violin sonata, the two-act ballet Juratė and Kastytis, as well as the orchestral piece The Autumn. Besides other large orchestral creations, piano sonatas and other piano pieces as well as adaptations of folk songs should be mentioned. Gruodis is today professor of music at the conservatory, which was under his directorship from 1928-1937.

Next to him are a number of other composers who also obtained their training in Leipzig. Close to impressionism is K. Banaitis, a composer of distinctly Lithuanian character whose lyric compositions exhibit many national elements. His creations are rich in melodies and, in spite of their free form, of strong artistic compactness. Banaitis published a number of piano variations, a cello sonata, as well as songs and adaptations of folk songs. He directs the conservatory today and is also known to wider artistic circles as a music critic.

V. Bacevičius stands apart from those named above; he represents atonal expressionism and, as

533a pianist, is particularly close to modern art. He wrote a number of larger works for the piano, a one-act ballet, as well as an opera, Vaidilutė (The Priestess), and has also made a name for himself abroad through his piano concerts. Together with him J. Kačinskas should be mentioned, who represents the athematic twelve-tone and quarter-tone system, and has also become known as a successful conductor. To the Russian school belongs the Russian Karnowitsch (Karnavičius), born in Russia, a professor at the conservatory, also a very gifted and productive composer. Among his most important creations belong two frequently performed ballets, Gražina, which takes its theme from the work by the same name by Mickiewicz, and Radvila Perkūnas, which is laid in the time of the Swedish war.

/194/ Among the younger generation, finally, two additional gifted artists may be named, Vl. Jakubėnas and A. Račiūnas, who took part in the composition class of Gruodis. Characteristic of Jakubėnas is a searching for new forms and individual expression, which led him from the impressionism of his earliest creations to a colorful modern naturalism. A strong gift for vocal music and an abundance of ideas are shown especially in his songs and arrangements of folk songs. Basically lyric, his music is enlivened by the introduction of dramatic elements. In the compositions of Račiūnas the elegiac-lyric element predominates; this is expressed especially in his First Symphony. His songs are expressive melodies, full of melancholy and longing. He became known to wide circles through his successful opera The Three Talismans, which exercises a strong suggestive power and whose colorful harmonies excellently underline the dramatic sections. Although the composer does not make use of the melodies of the folk songs, the opera contains many Lithuanian elements, especially from the old raudos. An abundance of popular melodies are found also in the ballet The Matchmaking, a creation

533 of the gifted pianist and conductor B. Dvarionas.

Our brief survey of Lithuanian artistic music is thereby ended. Within the framework of this book it can naturally raise no claim to completeness. Only the development was intended to be shown. And this development is undoubtedly interesting, for it clearly leads from East to West. If a few years ago it was almost exclusively Germany from which the new stimuli proceeded, today it is just as much the cities of Paris and Prague.

Still a second result of the development to our present time is of interest: just as in modern literature and painting, the emergence in Lithuanian music of purely Lithuanian elements and the struggle for an individual art becomes more and more distinct.

/195/ Chapter Five

113 The Artistic Literature

/Unnumbered footnote on Chapter Five/ The following more comprehensive works on the development of Lithuanian literature were used:

Mykolaitis-Putinas, Naujoji Lietuviu literatūra (The New Lithuanian Literature), Publication of the Humanistic Faculty (Kaunas, 1936), Vol. 1, 425 pp.

Zigmantas Kuzmickis, Lietuviu literatūra (Kaunas, 1933), Vol. IV, 318 pp., same author, Vol. V (Kaunas, 1934), 235 pp.

J. Gabrys, Lietuviu literatūros apžvalga (Survey of Lithuanian Literature), 2nd revised and enlarged ed. (1924).

* 538 A. The Literature of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

The spiritual assets of the Lithuanian people were, in the beginning, limited to their oral folk tradition, their dainos, fairy tales, sagas, fables, riddles, and proverbs, as we have shown in Chapter Two. Only much later do we encounter mon-

*538 uments of Lithuanian literature, the oldest literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries being dominated exclusively by religious ideas. It originated from the struggle between two religious faiths, Protestantism, which was pressing forward toward the East, and Catholicism, which was brought by the Jesuits.

In 1544 Prince Albrecht of Brandenburg founded the University of Königsberg. In order to establish the Reformation in East Prussia, this prince attracted to the university, among others, young sons of boyars from greater Lithuania and granted them scholarships for their education as ministers. Several of them, such as Stanislaus Repagelanus Litaunus (died 1545) and Abraham Culvensis (died 1545), who obtained their further education under Luther and Melanchthon in Wittenberg, later even became professors at this university. Several translations of church songs into the Lithuanian language by these two men have been preserved.

/196/ The first book written in Lithuanian was a translation of the small Lutheran catechism by Martin Vaitkūnas Mosvidius (Lithuanian Mažydas), who also came from greater Lithuania. It appeared in 1547 and contained, along with the catechism and the primer, eleven hymns. In 1591 Bretkūnas published his postil, a voluminous work of about 1,000 pages. A bible translation by the same author remained unprinted.

These translations, sponsored by Duke Albrecht are of less literary than linguistic and also ethnographic interest, since the authors in their pre-
*538 faces describe in detail the paganism of the Lith-
797 uanians. While the Reformation gained a firm hold in East Prussia, so that the religious literature in the Lithuanian language continued the course upon which it had entered into the eighteenth century, the situation in greater Lithuania developed differently. Here, too, the Reformation had gained many

538
197

adherents primarily among the high and low nobility. In the press of the Reformed in Kedainiai, a whole series of writings of an edifying nature were published. The Reformed, who stood primarily under the protection of Prince Radvila (Radziwill), even planned the publication of a Lithuanian Bible, which was to have been printed in Edinburgh. The undertaking had to be given up, however, because of lack of money.

The counter movement, which was supported by Prince Giedraitis (Giedroc), proceeded from Samogitia. It is also of importance for the national tide of that period in Lithuania, which first prepared the way for a native literature. Although the Union of Ljublin, in 1569, brought about the political unification of Lithuania with Poland, Lithuania retained, within the framework of the whole, her autonomy in the areas of internal administration, the army, courts, and finances. When Prince Giedraitis became Bishop of Samogitia in 1576, he took up with all his strength the attack against the reformed church, summoned the Jesuits from Riga into the country, and sought /197/ to spread Christianity through Lithuanian sermons. Large areas of Lithuania had at that time fallen back into paganism, and on the sacred mountain of Patrija even the sacred fire was rekindled. For [193] the education of Catholic priests Prince Giedraitis founded, in 1579, the Academy of Vilna. The Catholic literature which now came into being was also promoted by the bishop. If the Protestants had been the first to publish their polemics no longer in Latin but, along with Polish, also in Lithuanian, the Catholic party now followed their example. In 1595 appeared in Vilna the catechism of the Samogitian Canon Daukša, who came from a noble family, and four years later followed his postil. If Prince Giedraitis can be considered the most active representative of that movement in the Lithuanian high nobility which fought energetically against the assimilation of

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191

*538 Lithuania into Poland even after the Union of
191 Ljublin, we find in his colleague Daukša a no
les energetic champion of the rights of the Lith-
uanian language. We do not propose here to in-
vestigate further to what extent he was influenced
by Western currents--the decline of Latin as the
language of the educated and the sponsoring of the
native languages in the new territorial states.
In any case, in the introduction to his postil,
Daukša demands the same rights for Lithuanian as
for Polish and Latin. He explains that he pub-
lished his writings in the Lithuanian language in
order to awaken in his brothers, the boyars, a love
for the neglected mother tongue: "I do not censure
at all the knowledge of foreign idioms, especially
Polish, which has become esteemed by us, particu-
larly since the Lithuanian-Polish union, and is
practically innate in us, but I do take exception
to the contempt in which our own Lithuanian is
held." (1)

[113] 1. Cf. on Daukša: E. Wolter, "N. Daukša, ein
litauischer Nationalschriftsteller des 16.
Jahrhunderts," Mitteilungen der Litauischen
litterarischen Gesellschaft zu Tilsit, April
22, 4 /sic/.

The cultivation of a foreign language while
neglecting one's own appears to Daikša unnatural
and strikes him "as if the goat would like to roar
like a lion, the raven sing like a nightingale, and
the nightingale croak like a raven." And he says
before: "Where in the world /198/ is there a people
so coarse and despicable that it does not call three
things its own inborn heritage: the soil of the
fatherland, native customs, and language. In all
centuries people spoke their own language and strove
to preserve, enrich, develop, and beautify it.
There is no nation so unworthy, no corner of the
earth so despised, where man does not know how to

preserve his language . . . In home and family beloved and venerable customs are observed in the native language; this we learn from nature itself, for every person already receives from his mother's breast the inclination to his own language, its care and development . . .Not through the fertility of the earth, not through the extent of its properties, not through the comforts of its land, not through the strength of its cities and fortresses does a people remain alive, but above all through the protection of its language . . ."

We have here the beginning of the red thread that runs through the whole Lithuanian literature--the beginning of the fight for the rights of the mother tongue, from which later grew the revitalization of the national idea in the consciousness of the people. But there is still a long road ahead, the voice heard here is still a long one, and the process of Polonization went on. The echo which Daukša found in the country was not very loud, although the high nobility at that time showed a certain interest in Lithuanian--on the one hand, as mentioned above, from aversion for the political aspirations of Poland, on the other hand because of the apparent similarity of this language to Latin. In 1629, the Jesuit Konstantin Širvyd (Szirvyd) published the first Lithuanian grammar, and two years later a Lithuanian-Polish-Latin dictionary which went through five reprintings. Most important is the collection of sermons by this author which appeared at about the same time. For the problem of language at that time, it is characteristic that Širvyd preached to the peasants and burghers in Lithuanian, but to the nobles in Polish. In two entr'actes from the middle of the seventeenth century--/199/ insertions in school dramas, which were performed in the Jesuit college in Kražiai in Samogitia--Lithuanian also appears as a rustic tongue. (2)

2. Prof. Bezzenberger, "Der Werdegang des

7: Jungfer-226 S-4,5(no date)1938 RB5LithuaniansRB5

113 2. Prof. Bezzenberger, "Der Werdegang des litauischen Volkes," Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 1915, Vol. XIII, No. 1, p. 19.

*538 Several other members of the clergy also published short writings and religious songs during the course of the seventeenth century, but altogether this kind of literature remained on a small scale. The religious literature of the eighteenth century is also without importance from a literary point of view. It consists solely of Bible translations, postils, prayer books, and collections of hymns, and can therefore be omitted. In all about 30 printed pieces in the Lithuanian language from the sixteenth century, about 60 from the seventeenth, and about 160 from the eighteenth have become known. (3)

[113] 3. M. Biržiškas, Mūsų raštų istorija (History of Our Literature) (Kaunas, 1925), 2nd ed., p. 40. (Publication of the book publishing commission of the Ministry of Education.)

The eighteenth century is to be regarded as the beginning of artistic poetry in the Lithuanian language, and specifically there now appeared, almost suddenly, the towering figure of a real poet, the Protestant pastor Duonelaitis (Donalitius). Concerning him Alexander Alexandrow says: "If Donalitius had written his poems in one of the great world languages, he would be recognized generally as one of the first in the ranks of great poets."(4)

[113] 4. Alexander Alexandrow, Sprachliches aus dem Nationaldichter Litauens, I, "Zur Semasiologie," (Dorpat, 1886).

B. The Beginning of Artistic Poetry in the Eighteenth Century.

*
538 Duonelaitis.

Christian Duonelaitis was born on January 1, 1714, the son of a free peasant in Lasdinehlen near Gumbinnen. He himself wrote his name Latinized: "Donalitius." (*) After attending the cathedral

* Schleicher and Rhesa write the name "Donelaitis", but "Duonelaitis" seems more correct philologically.

school in Königsberg we find him in 1732-37 as /200/ a theology student in Königsberg, where he applied himself at the same time to the study of antiquity, in 1742 as rector in Stallupönen, and after 1742 as pastor in Tolminken. He was very musical and also composed himself. Duonelaitis died in 1780. No picture of him has been preserved.

Only after the death of the poet did his manuscripts come into the hands of Rhesa, who printed them together with a translation into German under the title: Das Jahr in vier Gesängen, Ein ländliches Epos aus dem Litthauischen des Christian Donalaitis, genannt Donalitius (Königsberg, 1818). Six years later Rhesa published six fables of the poet together with his translations of Aesop. (5)

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5. The collected poems were for the first time edited by Schleicher, with a Lithuanian-German glossary (St. Petersburg, 1865). Further German editions are: Nesselmann, Christian Donalitius, Litauische Dichtungen (Königsberg, 1869) (with translations, notes, and glossary). Passarge, Christian Donalitius, Litauische Dichtungen (Königsberg, 1894). Dr. F. Tetzner, Christian Donalitius, der litauische Nationaldichter, Vol. VII of the collection: Unsere Dichter in Wort und Bild (Leipzig, R. Clausner). Especially Nesselmann (1870) and Tetzner (1880) deserve credit for their research on this poet.

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538 Concerning Duonelaitis' poetry his biographer, Prof. F. Tetzner, Leipzig, correctly notes: "It is not difficult to see that Donalitius first had to create the Lithuanian artistic style, if he did not want simply to cling to instantaneous lyric images. To be sure, where would there have been a public that would even so much as have read, much less desired or wanted in print, Lithuanian artistic poetry. Donalitius brought it about that a number of his colleagues and friends heard and wrote down these verses with pleasure, until finally Ludwig Rhesa, under the aegis of Wilhelm von Humboldt, was able to bring out, in 1818, in the Lithuanian and German languages, the most beautiful poems of the literary world." (6)

[113] 6. Prof. F. Tetzner, Leipzig, "Tolminkemer Erinnerungstage," Das neue Litauen (Berlin, 1917), Vol. I, No. 6, p. 22.

It is only natural that Duonelaitis did not remain independent of the literary currents then dominant. No poet is able to escape the contemporary atmosphere, and thus influences of Haller, Hagedorn, and Ewald von Kleist also seem to have had an effect on Duonelaitis. Stronger, however, was the direct influence of the ancient poets. Several of his idylls can be compared with those of Theocritus. It is especially noteworthy that the poet made use of the hexameter even before it became a poetic means of expression in German through Klopstock; Klopstock did not publish his Messias until 1748, while Duonelaitis /201/ wrote his first idylls around 1740. Only the past part (The Winter) originated much later, in 1773.

In his epic The Seasons the poet pictures the life of the village--the rustic joys of spring, the toil of summer labor, the blessed autumn, and the rough winter. He sees his people in the mirror of awakening, blossoming, and declining nature. They

are clearly presented and seen with great realism. From every line of the work speaks a deep knowledge of their life, their character, and their customs. Everywhere one feels the love of the poet for his peasants, especially where the social differences of the time become clear. The descriptions of nature have a particularly lively effect. The language is rich, imaginative, and musical, aided by numerous alliterations. The masterful control of form is above all astonishing because the poet was not able to base his work on amy models in the Lithuanian language and had to create everything himself. The following samples in /English/ translation may give an idea:

The Spring

Forest and thicket resounded, with loud
songs resounded
The surrounding land, the fields, the
verdant meadows.
Thrush and cuckoo carried on their play,
competing and singing;
But it was a glad song in honor of the Creator.
Swallows rose high in the air with light feathers,
Shot like bullets in joking play far through
the ether,
And held their simple meal without dainty
trimmings.
And after they had eaten, they garruously
told fairy tales.
The crane climbed high to the dark firmament
and loudly rang
To heaven his complaining voice, anxious like
a cry of woe.
/202/ But the nightingale, which till now had
been secretly hiding
Waited cunningly until each one finished his
song.
Therefore it always begins its song the last
of all,

*538 Late in the middle of the night, when the
world lies sunken in slumber,
It wakes alone in the dark and praises the
sublime protector.
(Passarge, 65-74, 80-84)

Every man, oh nightingale, praises your
sweet songs.
When you offer us the most pleasant melodies
of the nightingale songs,
The sound of the organ becomes mute and the
clang of the cymbal,
Violin and kanklys bow to you in dumb shame,
When you raise your splendid voice in ringing
song:
"Georgė, wake up, hitch up, drive off, and
crack the whip."
(Tetzner, Dainos, 25-26)

The description of autumn grows out of an abundance of images and inner experiences:

Oh, where have you gone, you cheerful days
of spring,
When we, opening the windows of the room for
the first time,
Received again the life-giving rays of the
warming sun,
Beautiful as a pleasant dream which we saw
in our sleep,
Which afterwards we remember only fleetingly,
as soon as we awaken;
Thus disappeared the summer, disappeared joy
with the summer.
Now the morass spatters as soon as the bast
shoe touches it,
Spurts up like the porridge on the burning
fire.
/203/ Everything that fluttered round about
and happily celebrated the summer,
That joyfully raised its wings in the fields
with us,

*538 Rose in soaring flight and rose high to the clouds,
That, after such delights, devoured grain and beetles,
All that now flew away and tried to hide.
The fields now stand, wherever we look, in lonely sadness,
Their beauty resembles only an aging, decaying grave.
The death goddess Giltine has long since swept through the field.
Storm wind crumpled forests and thickets and took away all grace.
Broke the branches, where under the foliage the brood crawled out of the egg,
Where in the nest, its cradle, it gave its first twittering sound,
Or later, feathered, jumped and played on branches,
Already, scurrying about, hunted nourishment without the mother.

After his representation of autumn in nature the poet leads us into the homes of the peasants, whose daily work he observes with love:

Peculiar it looks, how the women wear out the knives,
Unlovely it sounds, when they clatter and rattle with pans.
Grete and Pimme search for the flint, the notched one,
Selmyke meanwhile makes tinder of linen rags,
But Kathrine and Berge busily polish the pan;
And so that the fire will glow brightly and rapidly under the kettle,
They blow into it relentlessly with inflated cheeks.
/204/ But Magusche and Jeke split the knotty log,

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538

While Enskys brings a load [arfel] of dry
wood.
Dotschys, however, the good-for-nothing,
loiters behind the stove.
His mouth already waters when he thinks of
the delicious meal.
For Aste already stews a fat cock for the
noon meal.
Inside the stove she roasts and bakes wheat
fritters,
While Dotschys licks his lips and waits for
the noon meal.
See, there rides, in his fine clothes, the
wedding inviter to the door,
Invites everyone with a joyful speech to
Christian's wedding.
Everyone invited immediately takes off his
hat as is proper,
Says: "We thank you for the honor and will
appear at the wedding."
(Tetzner)

How much this first poem in the Lithuanian language was also appreciated on the part of the Germans, is proved, along with translations by various German scholars, by the erection of a memorial in the park of Lasdinehlen on April 8, 1896, at the dedication of which Professor Tetzner remembered the dead poet in a poetically beautiful form. Another authoritative expert on Lithuania, Prof. Bezzenberger, recognized the great artistic importance of the poet: "Still more noteworthy however, than his verses, worthy indeed of admiration, are many of his poems as to language and beauty of portrayal." (7)

7. Prof. Bezzenberger, Werdegang, see above, p. 18.

With his creations Duonelaitis represents both

538 a beginning and a climax. He has not found a successor. In greater Lithuania the Seasons remained almost unnoticed into the twentieth century. (8)

[113] 8. Lithuanian editions: Šlapelis (Vilna, 1914). M. Biržiška, Duonelaičio gyvenimas ir raštai (Life and Writings of Duonelaitis) (1921). Translations into Polish and Lettish also exist, cf. E. Volteris, Litowskaja Chrestomatija, 2nd ed. (St. Petersburg, 1904).

This may be connected with dialectical differences, which must have had a marked effect since the work did not /205/appear in print until 1818; more important, however, is probably the fact that in that period artistic creativity in the East was dominated by romanticism, so that no interest existed for a realistic work of art to begin with. In addition there was the fact that the Seasons was written without the slightest political overtones, while the whole literary development of the Lithuanian people took place in Russia in the political battle against Polish influence and Russian suppression.(9)

[113] 9. Biržiška, op. cit., p. 39. Prof. Maironis-Mačiulis, who discussed Duonelaitis in his first lecture on literature before the theological-philosophical faculty on September 26, 1923, honored the poet with the following words: "It seems to me that what was really beautiful, perfected in form, and poetic one or two hundred years ago has still retained its beauty today." (Naujoji Romuva, 1923, p. 818). Cf. also by the same author: "Kristijonas Duonelaitis," ibid., pp. 820-822, 845-848, and 868. (Unpublished lectures held at the Lithuanian University.)

In order to understand this development, we must first place briefly before our eyes the times

538 and the spirit of romanticism. We find here a close relationship with all the efforts which originated in the newly founded University of Vilna. First of all, we want to give a brief survey of the social structure of the country and the extent which the unchecked, progressive Polonization of the upper class had reached at that time.

C. The Literature of the Nineteenth Century up to the Proclamation of the Prohibition on Printing

1. The University of Vilna and the Period of Romanticism

565 The class structure of Lithuania around the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries can be outlined in a few words. We find two large classes of society: a landowning nobility--as opposed to a peasantry of serfs--between the two there was a very thin layer of free urban burghers, who, however, played a role only in the capital. The small citizenry of the rest of the small cities--even Kaunas had only about 3,000 inhabitants around 1800--offered a racially varied picture and can /206/ in no way be compared as a cultural factor with the compact German or French bourgeoisie of that period.

[177] The Lithuanian nobility--aside from Samogitia, where free Lithuanian landownership had been maintained--was almost completely Polonized, as was the upper class in the cities. Whoever rose from the peasantry thereby stepped almost automatically out of his own nationality and was assimilated to the Polish culture.

565 Through the third Polish partitioning of
177 1795, along with the largest part of Russian Poland the area of the present Lithuanian state, with the exception of a section of Suvalkija, had also fallen to Russia. The common oppression to which Lithuanians and Poles were subjected under the same foreign rule had a more uniting than separating effect, especially since both peoples also belonged to the

565 same Roman Catholic faith. Thus the national opp-
177 osition in the relations between Lithuania and Poland was not yet felt as such, while the social opposition came unusually strongly to the fore. In his informative book on the early history of Lithuania, Dr. Puzinas portrays the Polish influence in Lithuania at the beginning of the nineteenth century in the following words: "Polish influence is everywhere widespread. The educated class, consisting of scholars, clergymen, higher and lower officials, as well as landowners, is extensively Polonized, although in part of Lithuanian origin. In the cities, on the estates, and in the houses of the clergy the Polish spirit is cultivated and the Polish language dominates. Polish influence already is beginning even to penetrate into the people. But here it cannot take root; the inborn nationality is proving itself stronger. The people in Samogitia, i.e. in the north of the national area put up the strongest resistance; here, turning its back upon the influences of Poland, even the nobility still speaks Lithuanian. At the beginning of the nineteenth century this develops into a lively reaction against the Polish spirit." (10)

[113] 10. Dr. J. Puzinas, Vorgeschichtsforschung und Nationalbewusstsein in Litauen (Kaunas, 1935), p. 11.

/207/ In order to gain historical perspect-
814 ive for the period which follows, we must remember above all the far-reaching intellectual stimulus which proceeded from Bodmer, Herder, and the Grimms, and which everywhere directed attention to the mother tongue, the indigenousness, the antiquity, and the childhood years of peoples. The spiritual life of Lithuania and the University of Vilna came in this period completely under the domination of these romantic ideas, which prepared the soil for

814 the awakening of the national idea in Lithuania. In 1803, the learned society in Warsaw requested the University of Vilna to place at its disposal its reports concerning the Lithuanian people and their language. The university then asked the schools subordinate to it in Samogitia to send their reports concerning the past and the language of the province. At the same time began a lively research activity in the realm of Lithuanian history, in which a large number of Polish scholars took part. Here only the names of Jaroszewica, Lelewel, Balinski, and above all Kraszewski may be mentioned. The latter published from 1840-1851 in Vilna 66 volumes of the Athenaeum, which still represents a rich source for Lithuanian historical research today. Xaver Baužas (1746-1820) had a decisive effect on the further development, both through his numerous translations and above all through his work Über die Anfänge des litauischen Volkes und der litauischen Sprache (1806). (11)

11. Ibid., p. 13.

This work, which treats the origin of the Lithuanian people in a genuinely romantic fashion, left behind a deep effect in Lithuania. A whole series of authors now began to occupy themselves with the questions of Lithuanian nationality. Folk songs were collected, dictionaries and grammars of the Lithuanian language were written, and the early history of the country was investigated. Stimuli from Germany were also taken over; thus Rhesa's artistic translations of some Lithuanian dainos found an enthusiastic echo. Polish poets such as Stephan Garczynski, Konstantin Gaszynski, and particularly Kraszewski, learned the Lithuanian language studied the history of the country, and /208/ published extensive works. (12) Ludwig Kondratowicz

[113] 12. August Paulukat, Litauische Hoffnungen (Halle, 1915), pp. 10-11.

814 (pseudonym Wladyslaw Syrokomla) celebrated the heroic death of Prince Margis.

573 Among the poets of that period belongs Adam Mickiewicz (Lithuanian: Mickevičius), 1799-1855, whose works, like all the others named in this connection, naturally are part of Polish literature as far as their language is concerned. But he celebrates the past of Lithuania in his poems with such fervor and otherwise appears so strongly rooted in Lithuania in his motifs that he has gained recognition as a native of that country, too. Mickiewicz himself traced his lineage from a Lithuanian princely family. He also obtained his education in Vilna; the glow of romanticism which radiated from this university far into the land and from then on determined its whole artistic creativity also had an effect on him. Several examples from the poems of Mickiewicz explain the peculiar position of this poet in the literary history of the East. (13)

[13] 13. The samples are taken from A. Paulukat, op. cit., and Peter Cornelius: Die Sonette von Adam Mickiewicz (Reclambücherei). Cf. further Schwab in the Deutscher Musenalmanach (1833).

From Pan Tadéusz

Oh Lithuania, fatherland, which, when we do not have you,
Like health, we only then know how to value correctly.
Your lovely image appears before my inner eye,
Therefore I will draw it--I long for you!

From the Epic Gražina

Near Kowno have I seen that valley,
Where the Russalka, when spring has begun,

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238

Spreads out the grass and embroiders it
with flowers;
No valley is more beautiful, even in foreign
lands.

.....

Quite differently appeared, according to
ancient custom,
Lithuania's princes. For always stood
The residence in the middle of their land.
The princes were all known to me;
And if you will follow the old ways,
Have faith in me, I shall overlook nothing.

/Unnumbered page with illustration--Varnas,
In the Waves/

/209/ From Sonnets

Njemen, stream of my homeland! Where are
your waves
Which once wet the child when he picked
flowers,
Into which the boy, beguiled with ardor, then
Dived at a wild, lonely forest spot?

.....

Njemen, stream of my homeland! Where are
your waves?
With them so much happiness and blissful
fancy?
Where has the joy of my childhood fled?
The thoughts which the poet experiences far
from his homeland are also filled with the
same mood:

From Sonnets from the Crimea

The land at my feet grows green and blossoms,

538

Many a lovely eye laughs, the air grows blue:
What is it that draws my heart from these meadows
To far lands, far times?
Your forests, oh Lithuania, sing a more beautiful song
Than Baidar's nightingale and Salgyr's women,
And your moors I would rather see
Than the mulberry here, which glows with rubies.

The literary significance of the poet lies, as is well known in his consistently fought battle against the Western classic trend which at that time also dominated Polish literature. The subject matter and form of his poems are genuinely romantic. The period in Kaunas from 1799-1823, which he spent here as a teacher of Latin and Polish at the gymnasium, was especially important for his artistic creativity, for here the Middle Ages with their heroic battles gained a controlling power over him, and here also the early history of Lithuania, in which he buried himself in zealous historical work, took form before his inner eye. His epic Gražina, and still more the epic Konrad Wallenrod, contain in their plots historical material /210/ from the Middle Ages, they are in their form romantic and lyric, and at the same time are sustained by a burning nationalism. Perhaps his most important work is Pan Tadéusz. Biržiška writes concerning this epic: "Although an ardent Polish patriot, in his greatest and most famous work, Pan Tadéusz, he (Mickiewicz) does not celebrate Poland, but only Lithuania." (14) In this poem, which Otto von

14. Biržiška, loc. cit., p. 57.

Leixner describes as a "story of cultural history in verse," the heart of the plot is formed by a sajasd, i.e. an act of self-help, through which the

538 individual tries to decide some sort of legal battle by force of arms. The principal value of the poem, however, lies not in this plot, but in the masterfulepisodes and portrayals of customs, the scenes in which proud historical memories find lively reproduction, in the descriptions of nature, and in the excellent characterizations of the personalities represented. "Mickiewicz unfolds an admirable richness of moods: he achieves the tone of patriotic exaltation, charming idyllicism, and sparkling humor with the same sureness--but over the whole work lies a gripping breath of melancholy which, established in the wonderful "Introduction," constantly trembles forth anew." (15)

[113] 15. Otto von Leixner, Geschichte der fremden Literaturen, Vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1883), p. 422.

The works of the poet have also been often translated into the German language. His significance for Lithuanian literature is appreciated by Biržiška with the following words: "Born in White Russia, but of Lithuanian lineage, brought up in the Lithuanian capital, he loved Lithuania with his whole heart and gloried in being a Lithuanian, but at the same time a Polish patriot; thus he is equally beloved by Lithuanians and Poles." (16)

[113] 16. Biržiška, loc. cit., p. 59. German translations of Mickiewicz: K. von Blankenburg, Sämmtliche Gedichte (1836). Peter Cornelius, Die Sonette (Leipzig, 1868). Weiss, Gražna (Prague, 1873). The poem Konrad Wallenrod has been published in the German language by Kannegiesser, Leipzig, 1834 and 1858; by Weiss, Bremen, 1871; the poem Pan Tadeusz by Spazier, Leipzig, 1826; by Weiss, Leipzig, 1882; and by Lipiner, Leipzig, 1883. Gesammelte Werke (Leipzig, 1862-67).

177 From the attitude of this poet* we clearly recognize that up to the middle of the last century there could be no talk of a political opposition between Lithuanians and Poles. Poland still regarded this country as its original property, its history as its own; and up to the present day something /211/ of the romantic way of looking at things at that period has remained in many Poles.

565 538 Certainly, as we shall later show, the abolition of serfdom first signaled the inner break with Polish culture. This had to occur at the moment when the possibility was given to the Lithuanian peasant of rising into that educated class which determines the cultural development of a people. Nevertheless--and this is the further significance of romanticism for Lithuania--there arose in that period, along with poets of the Polish language, those who, although of boyar lineage, spoke to the people in their own language. That the first writers of this trend came from the minor nobility of Samogitia, will be understandable from what was said at the beginning. In contrast to eastern Lithuania, where it was primarily the high nobility which possessed latifundia, in Samogitia the minor Lithuanian nobility was able to maintain itself. Here, as a result, the relations between nobility and peasantry were also closer, which again reflected back on the language. Thus Dionysius Poška (1757-1832), a Lithuanian boyar, was the first to write poems in the Samogitian dialect, based on historical events in the history of
* 538 his people. Poška's life itself is highly characteristic of the romantic feeling of that period. He was a zealous collector of antiquities that had to do with the early history of Lithuania. At his order a gigantic oak in his park was felled, sawed up, hollowed out, and each section set up by itself. In these little houses, which he had fitted out with windows and doors, he placed his collections and also his workroom. The oak had at its base a cir-

*[Mickiewicz -- Analyst]

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538 cumference of 9 meters, so that 15 men could stand in it. The little oaken houses are still preserved today.

Poška took his literary material from the nature around him. Thus in his poem "My Little Garden" (1801) he portrays with great love and thoughtfulness the nature of his garden and its old trees, which stimulate him to a number of observations. More important is his /212/ poem in verses, The Samogitian and Lithuanian Peasant (written between 1816 and 1823). It contains a portrayal of the difficult and inequitable life of the enthralled peasant, with which the rich life of the boyar is contrasted. According to recent research, though, this is a translation from Polish. In another poem, written later, which became very popular, we also find the same social ideas. Here he has the peasant speak:

I swallow with tears my dry bread,
I am looked upon no differently than a cow,
I live and die without a penny.
The lord carried gold at his feet and
his hands.
He lies who says men are equal:
The boyar has no price, and the peasant
is cheap. (17)

[113] 17. A. Ješmantas gives a brief presentation with samples from the poetry of that period in the booklet: Poška, Stanevičia, Valiūnas, Strazdas ir jų raštai (Poška, Stanevičia, Valiūnas, Strdzdas, and Their Writings) (Kaunas, 1930). I have reproduced the melody of the Song of Birute in my Kulturbilder aus Litauen (1918).

Together with Poška we should mention Silvester Valiūnas (1790-1831) who wrote in both

*538 Lithuanian and Polish. Valiūnas was not of the nobility, but came from a poor bourgeois family. [533] He is the author of the famous Song of Birute (written prior to 1828), in which he describes the meeting of Prince Kestutis, who "ruled Samogitia and Lithuania," with the beautiful Biruta, whom he made his wife. This song, which he gave to Poška, became in the latter's reworking a folk song which is still sung everywhere in Lithuania today.

The writers of the Samogitian nobility--a whole series of names could be listed here--maintained a close written exchange of ideas with each other, and, according to the custom of the time, sent each other extensive literary letters. This literary movement found great support in the contemporary bishop of Samogitia, Arnulf Giedraitis (Giedroc), who was also active in a literary way and even translated Torquato Tasso into Polish and Lithuanian. Nevertheless this movement remained more or less limited to the narrow circle of the Samogitian nobility. /213/ These writers took their models from the contemporary Polish literature, and their works were only seldom known in the huts of the peasants. This applies even to Poška. In many cases they were not even printed. Of interest from a literary point of view is the fact that several of these writers, such as for example Valiūnas, wrote simultaneously in Polish and Lithuanian. Others changed over to the Lithuanian language only in their old age, like A. Klementas (1756-1823), who left behind 15,000 verses in the Samogitian dialect. Klementas in his old age translated his idyls and epigrams from Polish into Lithuanian, and stresses this change himself in a literary letter to Bishop Giedraitis in which he writes: "The youth wrote several things in the Polish language; the old man changes to the Samogitian." (18)

18. Biržiška, op. cit., p. 70.

*538 More important from a literary point of view than Klementas appears to be Stanevičia, who as the young son of a boyar (1823-24) at the university already collaborated in the association of Samogitian youth. His philological writings--a dictionary and a grammar--have been lost, but a number of his fables have been preserved as well as a lovely collection of folk songs which was put together with really artistic understanding. (19) Best known became his High

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[113] 19. I have reproduced several songs from this collection in my folklore book Hinter den Seen, hinter den Wäldern (Königsberg, 1932).

Song of the Samogitians (Žemaičių šlovė - Glory of the Samogitians), in which he expresses his joy over the fact that among the Samogitian youth at the university "the honor and tongue of their fathers" had been newly awakened. "The sun has risen brilliantly," and through the world flies "a hundred-voiced cry, beating with long wings" to announce "that Lithuania's old generations have remained uninjured in the downfall." This song stirred up great enthusiasm among the romantically inclined young nobility of Samogitia. Nevertheless in judging that period it should not be forgotten that the "Samogitian movement," as it was called, had written on its banner no political, but only cultural goals, above all the cultivation of the Samogitian language, and sometimes even exhibited a local coloring. (20) /214/

[113] 20. "XIX. amž. pradžios žemaičių sąjudis ir A. Strazdas" (The Samogitian Movement at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century and A. Strazdas), by J. Petrulis, Židinys, 1933, Vol. XVIII, pp. 372-386.

*538 On the other hand, however, such a movement could

538 not have arisen if in fact, as Stanevičia writes, "in that period the majority of the Samogitians" (i.e. among the boyars) had not "read and written" in Lithuanian, "some out of love for the mother tongue, others out of the desire to know and learn everything." (21)

21. Biržiška, op. cit., p. 73.

Thus the University of Vilna, although its instruction was in Polish, had a far-reaching influence on the awakening Lithuanian intellectual life. From it went forth the men who were in later times to become important for Lithuanian literature--Daukantas, Valančius, and others. The closing of the university in the year 1832, therefore, meant a heavy blow for Lithuanian literature which had just begun to flourish.

At about the same time at which the Samogitian boyars were creating a belletristic literature, lived a poet who has left behind a stronger impression in the memory of the people than all those previously mentioned--Antanas Strazdas (176301833). He actually became a mythical figure, the representative of a period in which serfdom was a heavy burden upon the people. His figure has even found its way into the modern Lithuanian drama.

Strazdas came from High Lithuania (Aukschtaiten). The son of an enthralled peasant, he received through the benevolence of his lord an education as a priest in the seminary at Varniai. He spent his whole life as a vicar in the most varied towns of Lithuania. In his literary history Biržiška gives us a picture of his individual personality: "The lively, temperamental little clergyman was widely famed for his energetic language, his spirited sermons which pleased the people, and the great number of jokes which he played above all on the landowners, the noble clergymen, and

even the bishops. The high lords did not like 538
him, for he was accustomed to saying the truth to
their face, reproached them with their unjust treat-
ment of their peasants, and spoke only Lithuanian
with the latter. The /215/ priests were angry
with him because of his odd interpretation of
clerical freedom: he founded a family and made
no secret of it. Many began to doubt whether he
still had the right to be a priest, and even tried
to force him to a written explanation. The people,
however, the serfs, regarded him as one of their
own, who had risen from their own class and was
their advocate. They forgave him his weaknesses,
and up to the present day he has remained unfor-
gotten, although a hundred years have already
passed since his death. This love of the people 538
was based not only on the reports of the old 583
people concerning his person[1] but also on his songs,
which became popular among the people. (22) In

22. Ibid., p. 75. Žilevičius writes con- [133]
cerning the importance of Strazdas for the
Lithuanian church songs in his essay
"Aušra ir lietuviškoji muzika" (The Aušra
and Lithuanian Music), Židinys, 1935, Vol.
XXI, p. 286.

these songs, which are still sung today, lives a
whole world--the peasant, his field, his house-
hold tasks, the farmhand and the maid, the lord
and the priest (he never disparages them), the
travelling Jewish merchant and the beggar. Often
the poet chides his peasants for their vices,
their drunkenness, hypocrisy, and laziness. Thus
in the center of these songs, which all exhibit
characteristics of the genuine folk songs, stands
man himself with his joys and sorrows, his vir-
tues and his faults. And as in the folk songs,
all the images and figures here, too, are closely
interwoven with nature.

1 [Antanas Strazdas, poet, see cat. 116, p. 245-46 - Analyst]

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533 Together with his songs Strazdas also taught the melodies. They went from mouth to mouth and were spread at first in eastern Lithuania, later also in Samogitia and Suvlkija. Along with secular songs Strazdas wrote and composed a number of spiritual songs. How well they were received is proved by the fact that they were at various times translated into Polish and included in Polish song books. Their melodies are purely Lithuanian, folk-song-like and simple, full of melancholy and sadness. Perhaps the view is correct that only through Strazdas did purely Lithuanian melodies find their way into the Lithuanian-Catholic church music. Their texts were published in 1790 and 1814. Particularly famous became the spiritual song: "Let us Fall on Our Knees."

/216/ 2. From the Closing of the University to the Ending of Serfdom

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814 With the closing of the Lithuanian University by the Russian government in 1832 began a second period in Lithuanian literature. Poland and Lithuania were still a unit. In the Polish uprising against Russia in 1830-31 the Lithuanian nobility had taken part in the same manner as the Polish. Thus the consequences of this unsuccessful rebellion were equally disastrous for Lithuania. The closing of the university, the repressive measures against the minor nobility, the expulsion of numerous professors and students, the stopping of all cultural activity--all these measures affected Lithuania just as much as Poland. But still, the ideas born in the period of romanticism remained alive. We recognize this best in the great nine volume Polish language history of Lithuania which Theodor Norbutt published during that period (1835-1841). Sprung from an old Lithuanian boyar family--Norbutt himself called

*538 himself a Lithuanian--born the son of a landowner
814 in the district of Lyda, Norbutt had obtained his education at the University of Vilna and thus absorbed the whole romantic store of ideas of that period. Probably nothing is more characteristic for an evaluation of that period than the fact that it was precisely the first three volumes of his work, in which he showed himself most strongly as a romantic and a poet--in the first he treated the mythology, in the second the oldest history, in the third the sixth to thirteenth centuries--which made the greatest impression on his contemporaries. Norbutt has been correctly accused of lack of critical judgment, indeed even of forgeries, (23) for he was essentially concerned with

[113] 23. Cf. here Karge in the Litauenbuch der X. Armee.

letting the past of his people shine forth in the brightest possible light. He best characterizes his attitude himself with the words with which he closes the last volume of his history: "I have carried my writing up to that point where the independent spirit of the people has become tired. The further course of the history I must leave to Polish historians. The last Lithuanian king, that last /217/ to wield the scepter of the Jagellons, Sigismundus Augustus, has died . . . and I break my pen on his grave." (24)

24. Quoted according to Puzinas, loc. cit., pp. 26-27. In pp. 21-27 the author gives a detailed appreciation of Norbutt's personality in his significance for archaeology.

*538 In this connection several poets in the Polish language who stand in close relationship to Lithuanian literature--also as aresult of their

*538 [814] influence on later periods--should be at least briefly mentioned. Completely in the spirit of the time, Josef Ignaz Kraszewski, one of the most productive representatives of Polish literature, wrote a two-volume work on the culture and history of Lithuania, as well as his famous poems Vitolorauda, Mindowe, and Witoldowe boje (The Battles of Vytautas), the latter of which was also translated into German. He pictures the death of the Lithuanian Prince Algirdas (Olgerd) in a completely romantic way:

Thus ends Olgerd. Hundreds of lamenting
women
Now cease their moans and cries.
They washed, then clothed the body of
the old man
In White. The golden wizos was not lacking
They girded him with the white sword,
The neck they surrounded with white crape,
Within it gold for the path to eternity.
At his belt hung the sling, on his head
The pointed fur hat, the bow lay sideways.
The old man sat as if he were still alive,
But the closed eye looked no more.
But the withered breast breathed no more.
He seemed to be resting from battle and
from life,
Opposite stood brothers and companions,
The sons, priests, and all the servants;
They drank to him a horn full of alus,
Taking their leave from Olgerd under tears
And dedicating to him songs for a good
night.
The mourning women sat round about
And collected the tears in vessels.

The past of Lithuania is also treated by Chodzko (1795-1865) (25) in his poems, but above

000 25. A short presentation of Chodzko in

[2nd quarter of 19th cent. -- Analyst]

113 25. A short presentation of Chodzko in the German language is found in Vol. 2, Nos. 6/7 of the periodical Litauen, 1917. The background of his tales is formed by the city of Vilna (the bank of the Wilja, the seats of the nobility on the Antokol, etc.). His poetic works, tales, sagas, and portrayals of the countryside he divides into two groups: "Lithuanian Pictures" and "Lithuanian Sagas."

*538 all by /218/ Ludwig Kondratowicz (1823-1862), born of noble parents, who was adopted as a Lithuanian. He, too, stands artistically under the influence of Mickiewicz. His historical poem of the death of the Lithuanian commander Margis, who together with his heroic company, committed suicide in order not to fall into the hands of the enemy, became known to wider circles. While the battle still rages around the fortress, the sacrificial fires already blaze:

And under the sacrificial knife they fall,
man for man,
The priestess of the pagans carries the
victims to the wooden pile.
Lithuania's sons all, intoxicated with
madness and anger,
Now slay each other and fall into the
flames.
The father hurries to the cradle and throws
his own son
In, where, rapidly consuming, the flames
blaze around him;
The mother presses her little child's
scorched body to her heart,
Before she is killed, she dies of grief.(26)

26. A. Paulukat, op. cit., pp. 36-38 and 42.

The most important of these poems had at

* 538 The most important of these poems had at least to be mentioned in the present context[1], for they were sooner or later translated into the Lithuanian language and in their own period were read primarily by the circles of Lithuanian boyars and high nobility. In them is mirrored all the liveliness with which, after Mickiewicz, the historical memories of the people were reawakened. And when the author of the Lithuanian national hymn began it with the words: "Lithuania, fatherland, land of our heroes, let us derive strength from our past"--we see here clearly how strongly these historical memories, which the poetry of the period liberated from the dust of the archives, * 538 influenced the later liberation movement. Around the middle of the nineteenth century the fear of 191 a Lithuanian separatist movement emerged for the first time among the Polish literati. In that [814] period, when Kossarczewski, in conjunction with German research (Schleicher), /219/ investigated the question of the scientific significance of the Lithuanian language and thereby directed the interest of wide circles to the present, the Warsaw man of letters Kaszewski wrote: "I understand the scientific investigation of the Lithuanian language, I also recognize that this language is useful for the simple people, also for the purpose of educating them in literature, but it would be utopia to wish to transform it into a language of the educated and literate, especially since Lithuania has already expressed all the nobility of its spirit and soul in the language of Mickiewicz (i.e. Polish language, V.J.)."(27)

27. Biržiška, op. cit.

To be sure, fears of this sort were still premature, for as long as the interest in Lithuania's people and history was essentially limited to the class of the nobility, which nourished

[1] [Poems in Polish on Lithuanian historical themes--Archyt]

the language out of dilettantism or a romantic attitude, Lithuanian-Polish unity remained an inseperable article of faith--in his song on the uprising of 1830 Valančius was still able to name Samogitians and Poles in one breath ("For already are coming real Poles, Samogitians under the lord of Gelgadas," Palangos Juzė, p. 43.). The compromise formula still applied which had become the slogan of the Lithuanian nobility and outlines the peculiar relationships of the two peoples: "Sum gente lituanus, natione polonus" ["I am a Lithuanian by race, a Pole by nationality"]. The Lithuanian language also, in spite of all preparatory work, still resembled that wild foundling of which Bezzenberger speaks, and still had found no entrance into the palaces of high literature. (28)

28. In the introduction to the second edition of the Polish grammar by the Suvalkijan clergyman Totoraitis, who has done a great deal in the field of popular education, the publisher writes: "With all the beauty of the Lithuanian language, one cannot speak and write in it about so many things as in Polish." Then follows the warning: "Do not forget your beloved native language nor be ashamed of it, as many of you are, who almost will not admit that you are able to speak Lithuanian; and guard with your whole heart the Lithuanian language in which you find a very valuable treasure; that is, a fine knowledge and all sorts of useful information." (1861) Biržiška, op. cit., p. 105.

But the final separation of Lithuanian literature from Polish was already in preparation, and, although at first still in the stiff and unaccustomed clothing of awkward expressions and

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538 formulations, the Lithuanian language entered a
814 land which had until now been closed to it: in the year 1845 Simon Daukantas (1793-1864) published his voluminous work on the life of the
[191] ancient Lithuanians and Samogitians. The son of a Samogitian forester, Daukantas received his education at the schools of Kretinga and Kalvarija, at the gymnasium in Vilna, and finally at the university there /220/ (1811-1821), which also had a decisive influence on his life. Long years of study of the archives in Königsberg and Riga as well as a 15-year stay in St. Petersburg, where he occupied himself in detailed study of the so-called "Lithuanian prosody," gave him the material for his work, which we can best describe as a "cultural history of ancient Lithuania." Daukantas gives in this work a plastic image of ancient Lithuanian folk life. The life of the farmers, their customs and habits, their religious festivals and celebrations, receive as detailed a presentation as the governmental organization, army, courts, warfare, monetary system, and commerce of the old period. The work closes with the year 1569. So strongly is Daukantas still under the influence of the romantic current of the period, and, not unlike Norbutt, so filled with the desire to stress the uniqueness of his people that his work--although the author fulfilled all the prerequisites of scientific procedure--cannot be regarded as a purely scientific accomplishment. For this reason it often had to undergo sever criticism even during the life of the author. At times Daukantas rises to poetic heights, for example when he describes the mysterious forests of pagan Lithuania. In the 70's and 80's, when the Lithuanian movement grew stronger, his work made a deep impression on the youth. He laid the foundation for the romantic
* glorification of the past which was characteristic
538 of the "Aušra period." Daukantas was not only a
814 historian. He also recognized the pressing need

* 7: Jungfer-254 S-4,5(no date)1938 RB5LithuaniansRB5
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for improving popular education. Thus he left behind the most varied books and articles of an instructive and educational nature, from language methods and arithmetic books to articles on beekeeping and gardening. He was a tireless worker, enthusiastic in his ideas, and he used all his funds for the printing of his books. He died in great poverty. (*)

[113] * I have given an extract from his chief work in my book Alt-Litauen (Berlin, 1926), V.J.

/221/ Daukantas was the last representative of romantic literature, for even at his time a new trend had set in, which was upheld by a strong realism. Its most important representative was the Bishop of Samogitia, Valančius (1801-1875), the son of a Samogitian free peasant. After attending the priesthood seminaries of Varniai and Vilna--the latter seminary corresponded to the later Clerical Academy--he was consecrated and soon afterward became a teacher of religion in his home province at the gymnasium in Kražiai. The copious library which this gymnasium still preserved from the time of the Jesuits gave him the stimulus and also the possibility for his most important scientific work, a history of the Bishopric of Samogitia. In 1840 we find him as professor at the Clerical Academy in Vilna. In 1842 the academy was transferred to St. Petersburg. Here Valančius entered into a close friendship with Daukantas, who was eight years his senior. From 1845-49 he was rector of the seminary in Varniai, and in 1850 the Bishopric of Samogitia was given to him. In 1864 the see was transferred to Kaunas.

Valančius' History of the Bishopric of Samogitia appeared in 1848 and was even translated into Polish twelve years later. Written with great objectivity, clarity, and scientific earnestness,

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84 this work is unquestionably the most important scientific publication that Lithuanian literature of the nineteenth century can exhibit. This bishop does not even shrink from statistics and gives us an exact presentation of the churches of the bishopric, the schools and monasteries, and the cultural peculiarities of its inhabitants. Since many of the writings and documents used by the author have today been lost, this work still represents today an irreplaceable source of historical information. Quite in contrast to Daukantas' style, Valančius' language is light, flowing, animated, and plastic in its expression.

538 The bishop also developed a productive literary activity in the religious realm. Here may be mentioned his Life of the Saints, a book that /222/ represents a real work of art in its language, its style, and the plasticity of its expression. But the great influence and reverence which the bishop gradually won in wide circles of his people he owed to his popular writings. Even in his parentage Valančius was the first "peasant" bishop of Lithuania, destined to be a man of the people and a writer of the people. Completely by himself he found the tone in which one speaks to peasants. And if this tone was wometimes quite rough and even satirical, this did not harm the seriousness of his writings, and he could afford to write, for example: "When the sick woman had received the Lord's Supper like a noonday meal, she was content," or "when the son had died, all the relatives made noises like a cat that sees a fish and does not catch it." Pleasure in such drastic comparisons lay in his blood, as can be seen from his collection Samogitian Proverbs published in 1867, the largest collection of Lithuanian proverbs that existed for a long time. Almost more famous became the bishop's own saying: "If you want to die in a swamp, go to Babtai," and others.

*538 In the popular writings of the bishop the pedagogical purpose is so unnoticeable that they are still eagerly read, and not only in the countryside. Favorable for their further dissemination was the fact that Valančius kept to the Samogitian dialect of his homeland but never emphasized its peculiarities, so that his writings were easy to understand in the whole language area. Among the approximately 30 writings of this sort, especially wide dissemination was achieved by the Booklet for Children, the Booklet for Adults, and above all his Josef from Palanga (1869). This Josef is a taylor who wanders all over the country for four years, works for peasants and boyars, and, back home, reports to his parents on his experiences. The book is of great interest from a folklore point of view. It gives us in little plastic images a good view of the material and spiritual life of the peasants in High and Low Lithuania. Weekdays and holidays, /223/ customs and habits are seen here with a sharp eye. A real classic is the detailed presentation of wedding customs. The following little extract gives us a glance into the manner of portrayal and the animation which the author attains in all simplicity of style. (29)

[113] 29. Palangos Juzė (Josef from Palanga), 5th revised ed. (Vilniuje, 1906), pp. 33-34.

After finishing my work I hiked in the direction of Zarėnai, and arranged it so that I would arrive in this little city in the evening. After I had passed through the Minija, I climbed up a high mountain. I looked around me and saw hills without end.

While I walked thus through the hilly countryside I met a chubby- faced person who was riding rapidly by with peasant horses. When he saw me, he called to me :"Stoi!" Now although I understand

#538 absolutely no Polish and Russian, I at least understood that I was to stand still, and so I stopped. The man asked me again in Russian: "koho tibi toks?" (Polish for "Who are you?" V.J.) I answered: "I have no pigtail and am not of cork either." The chubby-faced one: "Mauš ti biloti?" ("Do you have a ticket?" i.e. a passport.) I answered "I don't speak Russian." Since he could not make himself understood by me, he went his way, but waved again with his hand and said: "Look, look, I shall meet you again at the inn." ("Smutri, smutri, jau tavi i karčiama najadu.") I did not understand these words and headed for Zarenai. There I entered the inn and asked a Jew in German who had ridden by. He said a Russian assessor.

I went into the church and found there many people who were singing in Samogitian. In their clothing I noticed a great variety. The men wore jackets, of cloth or hand-woven and colored black. Others wore gray ones to which white braided cords had been attached. Almost all the women wore long-cut skirts and their heads were covered with bought fabrics; some also had hats on.

/224/ After I had left the church, I accosted a man (it was the boyar Neverdauskis) and asked: "Why is there such diversity in the clothing here? I am a stranger and would very much like to know." He answered: "Don't you know, in our parish--wherever there is a little hill there is a little estate. Almost all the people you see here in the church are boyars or semi-boyars. We have no rich lord here at all. And the peasants have copied it from them and dress like boyars."

One should notice in this description the fact that the Lithuanian understands German, but so little Russian and Polish that he even confuses the two languages; while the assessor, in the effort to express himself in a popular manner, makes use of a linguistic hodgepodge that has a comical effect.

* comical effect.
538 Valančius wrote a sequel to his Josef, which is not quite on the same level, and the Tales of Anton Tretininkas, in which a whole series of anecdotes, legends, and historical events are related.

538 At about the same time Anton Vienažindis
533 (1841-1892) wrote his songs. In him we encounter for the first time a true poet of folk songs, who lives completely in his feelings, whose verses grew out of an inner artistic necessity, and who had at his disposal a plasticity of expression that was rare not only for that period, but also for a later one:

Songs, you--you my soul!
Braid, weave the words!
From the flight of the swallow
Take your wings!
Fly, soar, run with the wind!

The most beautiful of his songs arose out of a youthful love affair. The young poet stands before his first great inner experience as before an indescribable miracle: /Unnumbered page with illustration--Čiurlionis, Tempera Painting/

/225/ Tell me why the nightingale sings
In green bushes, at the murmuring stream,
Why the gray little bee stirs
In blossoming trees, in fragrant flowers.
Tell me how your eye sees it,
Why beauty attracts everybody.
.....

Tell me why from that day on
When your eye shone in beauty,
From that day on so deep into my heart
Your image alone made its mark
Tell me how your eyes see it,

533 Can you comprehend it, can you understand
538 it?

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Oh how blessed is beauty on earth:
For you all songs and all my gifts!
And should I obtain fulfillment today,
I will as a servant have you for a queen!
Do not talk, be silent, do not speak to me--
If I am not worth your love, have pity
on me!

The love of the young poet for his neighbor's daughter, Rosa Stauskaite, led, however, to the most serious disappointment. After the second uprising her family was deported to Samara. This fact shook Vienažindis so strongly that a complete change took place in him. The spring from which he created seemed suddenly exhausted. From then on he spent his life in the priesthood, and at the same time in uninspired, prosaic work, until on August 17, 1892, highly honored by all who knew him, he closed his eyes. The poetic period of his life thus includes only the few years of his youth. But his songs, which touch the whole scale of feelings from exultant joy to deepest grief, are a memorial for him in the heart of his people, and the poet has, perhaps not quite unjustly, been compared with Béranger. As to his place within Lithuanian literature, what /226/ Tumas writes in his history of literature is applicable: "He belongs among the poets Schiller calls 'naive'; contemplation was strange to him, he did not know the literature of the world . . .But his whole life he listened to the heartbeat of the people . . . Vienažindis represents the ideal religious Lithuania. He did not exhaust the whole soul of his people, but he created out of its depths and showed it as it really is . . .How like the

Lithuanian dainos his songs sound!" (30)

30. J. Tumas, Lietuviu literatūros draudžiamojo laiko paskaitos (Lectures on Lithuanian Literature at the Time of the Prohibition on Printing)(Kaunas, 1925), pp. 64-65.

Anton Baranauskas (1835-1902) is to be names as the last poet of this period, a bishop in the grand style, philologist, shepherd of souls, mathematician, and poet--all in one person. In his talent Baranauskas comes close to Duonelaitis. The career of the bishop recalls in many ways that of Bishop Valančius. He, too, was of peasant parentage and attended the seminary for priests as Varniai and the Clerical Academy in St. Petersburg (1858-1862), he, too, later obtained there a professorship and was finally summoned to the seminary for priests, in Kaunas, where he was active for 30 years. He died as Bishop of Seiniai.

Baranauskas began his poetic career with verses in the Polish language, but very quickly transferred to the Lithuanian language. His religious songs became familiar, especially the St. Mary songs. His most important creation, the poem The Grove of Anykščiai, was written in the years 1858-59. Here the poet lets three different ages arise before our eyes--from the old era when thick forests murmured in Anykščiai he leads us into the period of the "grove" of his youth, and in a third section he pictures the sad present, when the grove falls victim to the ax and bare hills project into the countryside. In his poetry Baranauskas gives strong poetic expression to a deep feeling for nature, and at the same time there rings in his verses his grief over the devastation of his homeland by its many oppressors. If the formative element is subordinate to the purely lyrical one,

*538 the forest lives in this poetry; its voice speaks, its colors, tones, and odors /227/ come directly alive. And thus it becomes understandable, too, that this--unfortunately hardly translatable--poetry is still regarded in Lithuania today as the poetic high point of that period. Along with the Grove, Baranauskas[1] left behind another small poem, The Journey to St. Petersburg. He portrays here in verse form the impressions of a journey, in which this time it is not nature, but man--the peasant and his fate--which stands in the foreground. Here he also finds strong words against the "foreign lords" who enslave his homeland: "The broad highway does not groan as much under the heavy wagons as our peasants complain of the foreign lords," and in another place he says that the Lithuanians, persecuted by the "sons of the North" (i.e. Russians, V.J.), will nevertheless
186] not perish. Thus nationalistic tones are also mixed in the poems of this writer, and they were seized upon and carried on by the people. Baranauskas is undoubtedly of considerable importance in the awakening of national consciousness. In his later life the bishop retired almost completely from all literary efforts and lived wholly for his clerical calling.

The picture of Lithuanian literature of the middle of the last century would not be complete without the name of Laurynas Ivinskis. Widely travelled in the country as a private teacher and sometimes also supported by the landowners, he published up to the year 1864, 17 editions of his Samogitian Agricultural Calendar, which was widely distributed in Lithuania. This calendar replaced the Lithuanian press which was still nonexistent at that time, and thus reached in content far beyond the boundaries of an ordinary village calendar. We find here both fairy tales, songs, and proverbs, as well as verses by Poška, Valiūnas, indeed even Baranauskas' Grove of

1 [1835-1902--Analyst]

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538 Anykščiai, although the latter was written in the High Lithuanian dialect. In addition there were translations from foreign literatures, e.g. parts of Milton's Paradise Lost and other works.

/228/ D. The Period of the Prohibition on Printing (1865-1904)

1. The Epoch of Aušra

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178 At the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century occurred two political events which had a basic effect on the further social, national, and thereby also literary development of Lithuania. In the year 1861 the end of serfdom in the government of Kowno was decreed by Alexander II. The peasants were freed of all villeinage and services and now sat as free men on free soil and land. The liberation of the peasants effected a far-reaching social differentiation: until now social rise from the class of serfs was possible only in individual cases, specifically where the landlord accidentally became aware of a special talent and was inclined to foster it. This rise itself, however, was limited at best to an education for the priesthood. The entrance into a higher class, which, as we have shown before, was almost completely under the influence of Polish culture and language, led in most cases to the result that the few who rose in this way from the peasantry became strangers to their own people and language and felt themselves as belonging to the class of Polish "lords." Only at the moment when the whole peasantry became free, when possibilities for advancement were created not only for individuals but for all the people, could a Lithuanian educated class be established. Again, only this class could become the bearer of the new Lithuanian idea as well as all the intellectual and artistic efforts connected with it which from now on could be developed on a broader base. Besides the former Polish educated class a Lithuanian class made its appearance.

The Polish uprising, which took place in the

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178

year 1863 and also flared up at individual spots in Lithuania, led at first to a certain favoring of the Lithuanians above the Poles /229/ by the Russian government. Thus the Lithuanians were granted a gymnasium in Marijampolē and a teacher's seminary in Veveriai. Also, with the ending of serfdom, which took place in 1863 under the imprint of the revolution, the peasants were spared the ransom. A series of favorable circumstances, the natural condition of the soil, the application of the Code of Napoleon, the removal of the mixed field system and the vicinity of East Prussia led to the further result that in the following decades the material, and thereby also the spiritual, development of the peasantry in Suvalkija progressed faster than in the remaining sections of Lithuania. A prosperous peasantry arose here, from whose sons the nucleus of the new Lithuanian educated class was developed. The Russian government, striving to suppress the Polish influence which had shown itself in the revolution of 1863, granted the Lithuanian school graduates scholarships to attend the universities of St. Petersburg and Moscow, in order to Russify them there, but in any case to remove them from Polish influence. But the development could no longer be held back, the Russification miscarried, and from among the graduates of this gymnasium went forth the first leaders who fought for the right of the people to
[195] their own cultural development. The predominant position which the area of Suvalkija assumed in this intellectual development--for at first it was only a development--is also illuminated by the fact that the Suvalkijan dialect was made the basis of the literary language which was now gradually formed. What Marijampolē was for the south, Mitau later became for the north, since here too, as a result of the special privileges of the Baltic Germans, the Lithuanian element found a place for independent development.

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Among the young Lithuanian intelligentsia there arose very quickly a differentiation between those who obtained a religious education and those who turned to the secular sciences. Both groups, however, found themselves together in the cultural battle which was now breaking out against the Russification plans of the Czarist government. Then /230/ the latter took a step which had never happened before in the history of peoples by proclaiming, on August 6, 1865, that six governments of western Russia were forbidden to print writings in Latin letters. If this decree, which was not repealed until April 24, 1904, was aimed above all at the Polish literature, it also had at first the effect of a death blow on the further development of the young Lithuanian literature. It soon became evident that it was impossible to use the Russian alphabet for the Lithuanian language, and thus this prohibition was equivalent to a prohibition of all Lithuanian literature, including the religious, which tended to arouse special bitterness in this Roman-Catholic country. In order completely to paralyze the development of a Lithuanian educated class and therewith the awakening of an independent national consciousness, there followed a second prohibition according to which Lithuanians in their home provinces could not obtain any posts in the Russian government service. Thus the lay intelligentsia which was now arising, insofar as it turned to government service, was removed into the interior of Russia. A knowledge of these circumstances is a basic condition for the understanding of the further development of Lithuanian literature, for it is now clear why the further intellectual and literary development was carried forward from now on by forces that started their activities outside the political borders of the country. In addition it explains why, in this struggle for existence, whose center of gravity lay from now on on the

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661 purely political side, the literary and artistic element had to recede far into the background.

Bishop Valančius originated the idea of printing Lithuanian books in Tilsit and then having them secretly brought across the border. These books carried Vilna as their place of publication, and as date of publication any year prior to the proclamation of the prohibition. In the course of time it was possible /231/ to cover the whole country with a network of so-called "book carriers" or "book bringers" (Lithuanian: knygnešys), who secretly smuggled the books across the border and distributed them within the country, although they were threatened with prison, even death, and deportation to Siberia. The Russians set a price of 500 rubles on the head of the book carrier Bielakas in 1890. Even the clergy was not spared, a number of priests were banished to Siberia, and a trial hung over Bishop Valančius himself in 1870-71. (31)

[113] 31. A good insight into this period is given by the comprehensive two-volume collection by P. Ruseckas, Knygnešys (The Book Bringers), Vol. I (Kaunas, 1926); Vol. II (1928); it contains numerous recollections and accounts of these men themselves, along with copious references. Otherwise, too, this period in Lithuanian literature has been fre-

*538 Although in the decade from 1864-73 no
[214] less than 214, and from 1874-83 even 270 Lithuanian books and articles (principally religious in nature) were printed and distributed,(32) the year

32. Figures of the Lighuanian bibliographer Baltromaitis.

* 538 204 1883 is the first one that is again decisive for the trend of Lithuanian literature. In March of that year Dr. Basanavičius published in Ragnit the first number of a monthly newspaper with the name Aušra (The Dawn). This newspaper, became the center of the young Lithuanian literature and intelligentsia. It remained neutral with regard to the Poles, and did not actually have a political program. None of its publishers was a politician. They fought for the rights of the Lithuanian language, the Lithuanian schools, and Lithuanian education. The new national consciousness, however, which was the real foundation and prerequisite for all these demands, was carried by this newspaper into the farthest regions of Lithuania. (33) In this lies its decisive sig-

33. Cf. on this point Eduard Hermann, Die litauische Gemeinsprache als Problem der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft (Göttingen, 1929), p. 103: "I have been told by many old Lithuanians how as students they practically devoured the periodicals whose importation to Russia was forbidden so that they could read them only secretly, and how the national idea thus inspired the youth. Through these periodicals many learned Lithuanian for the first time. The essays were often read aloud to friends, since few copies were available."

* 538 204 195 nificance. It became important for a new revival of Lithuanian literature in that it provided a firm basis for a general literary language which had been lacking. There inevitably evolved the necessity of creating a general literary language, understandable to all, out of the numerous Lithuanian dialects. To be sure, this work did not succeed at one stroke, especially since

*538 the editors changed and there was no linguist
204 among them. Primarily the manner of writing re-
195 mained quite varied. (34)

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34. Cf. on this question: P. Jonikas, "Apie Aušros rašomąją kalbą (On the Literary Language of the Aušra) in Vairas, 1933, Vol. V, No. 12, p. 418, where further references are also given; also the already mentioned work of Hermann (fn. 33) in the Abh. d. königl. Ges. d. Wiss. Phil.-Hist. Kl., No. 1.

*538 The world of ideas of Aušra stands in a
204 direct relationship to that peculiar world of ideas that we /232/ became acquainted with in observing the Vilna period of Lithuanian romanticism. A romantic concern with the past of the people and their language (translations of poems by Polish romantics) is characteristic of this period. When the present is treated, elegica, thoroughly unrevolutionary moods emerge, as in the simple poem by Maironis, "Lithuanian Misery," contained in No. 6 of the year 1885, which reads:

Great God, dear God,
Say, wherein lies our sin,
Why is the sky dark,
Why do cold winds blow?

Spread over us your wings--
Although we are sinners out of weakness,
Protect us and make us one,
For we are your children.

The newspaper Aušra lasted for only three years. The romanticism of an idealized past and national unity demanded the complement of the present. Above all the split in the Lithuanian intelligentsia, mentioned before, which immediately

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538 became evident at the start of the development,
204 led to the founding of four new organs few years later: the world of ideas of Aušra that mixture of religious idealism and patriotic romanticism, lived on in the clerical periodical Apžvalga (Review) (Tilsit, 1890-96) and, after the latter had ceased to exist, in Tėvynės Sargas (Guardian of the Fatherland). The second, more realistically and practically minded group made the newspapers Varpas (The Bell) and Ūkininkas (The Peasant) its mouthpiece. The further progress of Lithuanian literature in the years following was of necessity practically oriented, since the awakening of a /233/ national consciousness appeared to that generation the most important, in-
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538 deed almost the only, task of art. But several poets emerged from this period who were to exert their literary influence on later generations (34)

34. /See above./

Born of the romantic spirit of Aušra are the creations of Vincas Pietaris (1850-1902). The son of a peasant in the district of Vilkaviškis, after graduating from the Marijampolė gymnasium he studied first physics, then medicine, and passed the state examination at the Moscow University in 1879. We find him later as a district physician in Ustiuschna, where he died. Return to his Lithuanian homeland was forbidden him, since as the recipient of a government scholarship he had to accept the position that was assigned him by the Russian government. Pietaris' literary activity began around 1890. From then on we find his name frequently in the Lithuanian press, as well as in American-Lithuanian papers. Pietaris, like nearly all the Lithuanian writers at that time, was in the first place a journalist. This also placed a stamp on his artistic creations. His most important publications are his memoirs

which appeared in 1905 in America, as well as his romantic tale Algimantas or the Lithuanians in the Thirteenth Century, to which the one-sided glorification of Poland by Sienkiewicz had inspired him. The memoirs are lively and written in a clear style and especially provide an interesting insight into the conditions in the Russified school system of that period. The tale Algimantas (new edition, Kaunas, 1921-22) deals with the life of this prince up to his attainment of power. It begins with the campaign of the cruel Prince Aršis, to whom father and grandfather fall victim. Algimantas himself, a small boy, is carried off to White Russia by Prince Romanas, the ally of Aršis, and grows up there under the name Danyla. Later, through cunning, his mother's relatives, above all Basasis Dimitras, succeed in freeing Algimantas. In the battle which now follows, Algimantas wins and Aršis is killed. In the further battles against his opponents /234/ the prince is also successful, and thereby lays the foundation of a powerful kingdom.

With all its psychological weaknesses, the tale is flowing and light, written with unquestionable talent, and is interesting especially for the lively descriptions of old customs and habits. Medieval atmosphere was obviously less important to the author; his Lithuanians of the thirteenth century recall more those of his own time. Pietaris gained dynamic importance for the development of the young Lithuanian literature in that he opened to it a great new realm--that of historical narration. The idealization of the past, although sometimes naive, is completely rooted in the ideas of Aušra; and his tender love for the homeland, from which he has been barred, often finds passionate expression. Thus he has the old Sereika say:

"If you want to become a singer, my child, then listen to the songs which ring within you and

*538 preserve them in your heart. Listen to the echo of olden times which flares up from our land; feel that which our ancestors felt; and, collect everything in your heart, if there is room for this treasure. In the depths of the forests, in the ice of the rivers, on the old graves of our ancestors lament the enchanted voices of the songs. Take them from there and you will become a singer. No man will teach you how to be a singer."

Among the further works of Pietaris may be named Keidošių Onutė, a tale in which the problem of the intellectual education of the Lithuanian woman is raised; and the stories of the life and death of the fox--a lively cycle of Lithuanian animal tales.

Among the sharpest and most independent spirits of the period belongs the young physician Vincenz Kudirka (1858-1899). His career is actually typical of the inner upheaval which a large section of the Lithuanian yough /235/ experienced in the second half of the last century. He grew up among gymnasium and seminary students, whose everyday speech was Polish, and was educated at the University of Warsaw. Suddenly influenced by the ideas which the men of Aušra were disseminating among the people, he underwent a complete inner transformation, later described in his recollections. He became a political fighter, even founded in Warsaw a Lithuanian student association, and after his return to his Suvalkijan homeland, put his whole soul into the founding of the new periodical Varpas. He sacrificed himself to the new task with tireless labor. Persecuted by the Russian gendarmes, himself seriously ill with a lung condition, he still worked for his idea in his sickbed in the Crimea and on the Adriatic, where he vainly sought recovery. He died at the age of 41.

*538 Although the chief work of Kudirka is of a journalistic and political nature--there exists today a complete edition of his writings--his name also passed over into literature. Along with a series of bitter and polished satires concerning the sins of the Russian administration (Recollections of a Lithuanian Bridge, 1896), there are poems of a political nature and translations of Schiller's Wilhelm Tell and Jungfrau von Orleans, Byron's Cain, and other works based on stirring and patriotic ideas.

With Kudirka, as has often been remarked, Lithuanian literature entered a new path which had until now only been pointed out by Valančius--realism. But even Kudirka's[1] translations and own poems reflect sometimes that ideal romantic spirit of the Aušra epoch which allows him, the creator of the Lithuanian hymn, to say in it:

> Lithuania, homeland, land of our heroes,
> Let us derive strength from the past,
> Let your children follow the paths of right
> And work for your own, your people's
> happiness!
>
> /236/ Let Lithuania's sun drive away the
> darkness,
> Let right and truth guide our steps,
> Let love for you burn in our hearts,
> Let concord flower in Lithuania's people!

In many ways similar to Kudirka was the far younger Pranas Vaičaitis (1876-1901), who came from a rural background. After graduating from the gymnasium at Marijampolė he went, against the wishes of his parents, to the University of St. Petersburg and obtained there, through the efforts of friends, a position in the library of the Academy of Sciences. Several patriotic Lithuanian songs found during a house search

1 [1858 - 1899 -- Analyst]

landed him into prison for a month. A year later he passed the state law examination (1900), but consumption, which had eaten away at his life since his earliest youth, set a limit to his further plans. He died in his homeland at 25. His artistic work moved in part in that realistic-positivistic direction already characterized above, which was represented by the newspaper Varpas. But the influence of Russian and Polish poets, particularly with regard to form, is also evident (Pushkin).

In his lyrics Vaičaitis shows a strong satiric talent. The inner hollowness of the educated classes, their drunkenness, the giving up of their own nationality in favor of the Polish are bitterly criticized. In addition there is a second group of poems whose material was taken from the old heroic period of the people, and others with a patriotic content. His talent appears strongest in the realm of pure pyricism, primarily in his elegies, in which the sad fate of his life finds expression. The genuineness of feeling, the simplicity of expression, and the quiet sadness with which the young dying poet takes leave of the world have made his lyrics known in wide circles, above all among the Lithuanians in America.

/237/ My life's sun begins to set,
Ever longer the shadows slip down,
My struggling heart longs for rest,
And daily I step nearer to the grave.

Perhaps I shall soon have set my wanderer's
staff
On the threshhold of eternity,
But I shall send to the people
The songs of my youth.

So fly then, you songs, woven of misery,
To young and old through the villages,
And comfort the hearts which cares have
worn out,

*538 And dry their tears and strengthen their minds.

2. Prose Writing by Women at the Turn of the Century

Toward the end of the century a split developed in Lithuanian literature. On the one hand, the idealism which was connected with the traditions of the Aušra epoch and was being newly revived, lived on in a patriotic-religious trend and found its strongest expression in poets, such as particularly Maironis; on the other hand, we find also a largely realistic prose writing which took its material essentially from the social and economic conditions of the villages as well as from the relations between the people and nobility. Its representatives were mostly female members of the impoverished Samogitian nobility. We remember at this point that Samogitia already once before had played a role in Lithuanian literature, and that in this province, filled with the minor nobility, the Lithuanian idea had never completely vanished, even among the outwardly Polonized landowners. Also, with estates generally small, the social contrast between landlords and peasants, who often differed hardly at all economically, could not be as pronounced here as in other cases. /238/ In any case, as we shall see from the following, unusual, mostly difficult, circumstances of life made some members of the nobility join the new Lithuanian cultural movement, in opposition to their fellow members. In this period, too, the "concept of the Lithuanian" that had been vague since the Union of Ljublin, and its distinction from that of the "Pole," was quite clearly worked out and brought to the consciousness of the broadest classes of the people. Thus, for example, the poetess Šatrijos Ragana, still before the repeal of the prohibition on printing,

wrote in the newspaper Tėvynės Sargas; "If we will be virtuous, improve ourselves, and love our fatherland, what can they do to us then who wrong us? They may send us a hundred times more priests--not one of us will become a Greek-Catholic. They may build twice as many schools--not one Lithuanian will become a Muskovite. May the Poles play up to us and disparage our speech and manners--we shall always remain Lithuanians and be proud of it!"

Among the women prose writers of this epoch which began with the discontinuation of Aušra, four names can be mentioned--Bitė (Gabrielė Petkevičaitė), Žemaitė (Julija Žimantienė), Lazdynų Peleda (two sisters Ivanauskaitė), and Šatrijos Ragana (Marija Pečkauskaitė). It may be noted in this connection that during the period of the prohibition on printing the habit was established among nearly all the Lithuanian writers of not writing under their real names, but under some characteristic pseydonym.

Gabrielė Petkevičaitė was born on a northern Lithuanian estate, the daughter of a boyar, in 1861. After a very hard childhood she attended the Dorothea School for Girls and later the Higher Trinity School for Girls in Litau, which she left at the age of 17 with her certificate of maturity. The following years became decisive for her inner development; for years she helped her father, a well known physician, with his practice and thereby also came into close contact with the poorest classes of the rural population. She published her first tales in Varpas under her first name, the later ones under the name "Bitė" (The Bee), since she was a great friend of and expert on bees.

After the death of her father she moved to Vilna and became there a collaborator in various Lithuanian papers.

In her prose works Petkevičaitė is a realist.

Her tales, not numerous, are sustained by a strong social experience. She feels deeply the cruelty of man toward each other as the source of all earthly suffering. Here she describes the harsh peasant who through his obstinacy destroys the happiness of his son; there is the poor motherless servant girl on the estate who is seduced by the inspector and experiences all the tragedy of unwed motherhood.

> A slim little thing she was, with little hands like those of an infant. From what should they have grown and become strong? . . .From the fatless turnip soup and the black bread that was eaten in the cottage and that the hand of her stepmother shoved before her? . . . Perhaps from the work outside and inside under which she almost collapsed even as a very small child, almost from the time when she had stopped crawling and was able to stand on her feet. When she now crossed the farmyard to the pigpen under the yoke with the full feed-pails, her slender body actually curved. The hasty little steps of the little feet, the swaying of the yoke back and forth from one shoulder to the other clearly showed that such an exertion was too hard for the undeveloped body of the girl. But day in and day out she ran thus back and forth, in the winter with the pails, in the summer often with a sack of green fodder on her back.
>
> Her head lowered, her eyes of indifferent color carefully gazing ahead from under her forehead, with small, wind-tanned cheeks and constantly closed lips without a drop of blood, a /240/ faded cloth on her head, her shoulders and body covered with worn-out rags--that was the picture of the swineMagda, as she was gen-

*538 erally called on the farm.

Even more effective in its realism is the presentation of the fate of the unhappy baby itself, whom its guardian, Magda's stepmother, most terribly neglects and finally leaves outside on a cold autumn night, and thus "offers it to God," so that He will take it to himself.

In such portrayals, which undoubtedly spring from genuine experiences, lies the force of the writer. The feeling and understanding for the social problems of her time and surroundings, the deep sympathy for the poorest of the poor, form with Petkevičaitė a certain synthesis with a second theme of her writings: with the portrayal of the social contrasts she combines in her works the presentation of the national contrasts between the Polonized nobility of the country and the Lithuanian peasants. This also provides the material for her only novel, Ad astra (1933), which, although written much later, deals with the "Aušra epoch." Historically the novel is not without interest, but the large subject obviously surpassed the artistic capabilities of the author. Petkevičaitė gained far greater importance through her activity in the political and educational fields. After 1900 the estate of her father became the spiritual center of the Lithuanian youth, and her saying is characteristic: "If we shall not be for our people like those fiery pillars that once showed the Jewish people their way in the desert . . .what will we accomplish? And what good shall we be?" (35) And nothing illustrates the great esteem in

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35. J. Ambrazevičius, "Gabrielė Petkevičaitė-Bitė," Židinys, 1931, No. 4, pp. 354-364.

which this woman was held in Lithuania more

strongly than the fact that she was elected to the constitutional seim and acted as chairman at its first session--an intelligent and high-minded woman, warm-hearted and honorable, filled with the ideals of a genuine humanism.

Incomparably stronger from the literary point of view was the personality of Julija Beniuševičiutė Žimantinė, who /Unnumbered page with illustration--Čirulionis, Scherzo from the Summer Sonata/ /241/ wrote under the name Žemaitė /The Samogitian/. She was born in 1845 on an estate in the vicinity of the city of Plunge. In the house of her parents, too (just as in that of Bitė), Polish was still spoken, but Žemaitė learned Lithuanian in her earliest youth from the village children of the Bukantiškė estate, where her father served as administrator. Her outward life was unusually difficult. Deprived of all material support already in her early years, she was forced to earn her bread as a seamstress and nurse, and finally married a simple farm worker, Žimantas, whom she presented with two children. Only as a mature woman did Žimantienė, who had never thought about national problems in her youth and had never felt the opposition between Lithuanians and Poles, come to a recognition of her nationality under the influence of the writings coming out of Prussia, which she read secretly. And now an odd phenomenon took place: at the age of almost 50 this woman, who owed nearly all her education to her own efforts and an infinite hunger for books, wrote her first story. It was printed in 1894, and to the end of her life Žimantienė never again put down her pen. She had recognized her pen. She had recognized her real calling.

Her outward life also now became more favorable. Her sketches attracted attention; she came in contact with the young Lithuanian intelligentsia, and became friendly with Gebrielė

Petkevičaitė-Bitė, together with whom she even composed several theater pieces for a village audience. Until the outbreak of the World War she worked on the editorial staff of Lithuanian papers in Vilna. After the end of the war we meet her in the United States, where she raised money among her compatriots for the reconstruction of the country. After her return from America, she died in 1921 in the 76th year of her life. Her pictures show an attractive, intelligent face with a high forehead; she is dressed like a simple village woman and wears a kerchief under which her smoothly parted hair shows.

/242/ Žemaitė's works betray a genuine artistic gift. She always creates intuitively, not according to a prearranged plan. Her creations are thoroughly spontaneous. In her diary Petkevičaitė relates the following charming experience, which is also mentioned by Mykolaitis-Putinas in his literary history (p. 345): at the instigation of Paul Višinskis, Žemaitė and she are supposed to write a play: "Then Žemaitė sits for one day, for two days, but she cannot think of a single subject. Višinskis becomes impatient. Žemaitė justifies herself: 'Look, dear Paul, if something happens that grips my heart, shakes me, or angers me, then I won't have to think at all, but otherwise . . .' The old woman spreads her hands apart and shakes her head. She cannot think of anything."

The manner of her artistic creativity is also clearly determined by the area of literature to which all her creations belong. They are without exception short sketches and tales from the life of the peasant, written with surprising perspicuity and plasticity. All the personalities--and there are quite a few--are seen through the lens of a sharp critical understanding. They characterize themselves by their talk and actions, and Žemaitė avoids nothing more than speaking of

the inner life of her personalities. Thereby often only the external aspect of life is grasped, but with a naive realism that is thoroughly convincing and whose forecful tones are also not lacking in humor. Although Žemaitė emphasizes the dark side of the village more strongly than its light side, her inner attitude remains thoroughly positive and optimistic. It almost seems as if the poetess transfers her own unusual vital energy to her characters.

Naturally, not all of these short stories are on the same level. When Žemaitė takes as her material the realm of city life which is less familiar to her, her presentation becomes obviously weaker, the characterization less clear. Her village tales, on the other hand, have, besides their /243/ literary value also a considerable folklorish value. Through them we become acquainted with the real life of the Lithuanian village around the turn of the century, with its customs and habits, its prejudices, its rigors, its superstitions, but also its virtues. Let us take, for example, the scene in which a landlord flees into a farmhouse in a storm and there becomes acquainted with all the superstition that comes to life on such occasions. The farmer tells the guest how in such a storm a bewitched dog once ran up to them. As a matter of fact, it was really not a dog, and if one had beaten him with a stick, he certainly would have fallen apart into money.

> "Explain it as you will, money or no money"--excited, the farmer's wife pattered across the hall and kept talking--"but in thunderstorms the devils run about, and how. They crawl somewhere into the house or somewhere else under the roof; then lightning striked the spot . . .why else does it burn?"
>
> "When I fell into your house because of the rain, you probably thought I was a devil," laughed the guest.

*538 "No, the devils don't change into people, only seldom; in a storm there usually appears a cat, a dog, a goat, or some other quick animal. Whose work was this, who broke our window?" The farmer's wife pointed to the battered window. "If his path had not been blocked, he actually would have fallen into our room. But there's a candle burning, we have burnt consecrated herbs and rung a consecrated bell . . .that was no place for Judas."

At times the presentation touches the realm of the grotesque, as in the drastic description of the farm boy, Jonukas Vingis.

The aforesaid Jonukas sauntered through the door, the only son of the Vingiai, according to his father's saying "a man in body and breeding." Bulky, tall, /244/ with very broad shoulders, walking somewhat bent over as the result of his height, his hands full of tar, a mouth like a half-hundredweight measure, his nowe like a cucumber, his eyes swollen, his head very large, hanging forward, with unkempt ash blond hair, with a strong neck rammed into his body; his forehead receding and his cap turned up at an angle. His jacket of coarse cloth of an indifferent color, wrinkled and crumpled, covered with straw and chips of wood. His shirt and pants would have been pleased to be called white--they were thick, worn black, and probably had been washed once in the past year, so that no dog could have bitten through them; he was barefoot, his dirty feet were planted in wooden shoes.

Thus he walked through the room, stretched, opened his mouth in a yawn, looked in a little mirror, and then sat down on the bench at the end of the room and began to scratch around in his pipe and to search for tobacco in his pockets.

The same realism is shown in the conversations of the peasants which she portrays. Since

538

they are written in dialect, they would also need to be translated into dialect in order to reproduce their artistic quality; on the other hand, they are so typically Lithuanian that it seems completely impossible to render into another language their images and expressions in an even remotely adequate fashion. Žemaitė preserved her artistic independence all through her life and never fell victim to the lures of journalism like so many other talented writers of that period.

Artistically weaker, but nevertheless of influence on the development of Lithuanian prose literature is Lazdynų Pelėda. Behind this pseudonym hide two sisters Ivanauskaitė, the elder of whom, Sofia (born 1867, died 1926), will be discussed first. Coming of an artistically educated boyar family--her father was active as a writer and attended the Munich Academy of Art for four years--the sensitive, altruistic, /245/ and visionary girl had been raised without a proper education on a lonely estate, in the unreal atmosphere of poems and sentimental novels. Through her marriage to an impoverished Polish nobleman (Pšibilewski) she got to know the full bitterness of life. Separated after a few years from her husband, who squandered the small estate, then emigrated to America and failed there, she struggled through life destitute with two children. "There isn't much I can write," she says when almost fifty years old in the sketch of her life which introduces the first volume of her works (Vilna, 1914), "my whole life was the sorrowful wandering about of a blind person: without goal, without purpose, empty and tragic, from beginning to end . . .If life were a book, I would tear out all the pages, burn them, and scatter the ashes in the wind, so that no memory and no trace would remain . . . It is difficult for me to look back on this foolish past, for there are relics which I would like to take with me to the

grave; there are sins of which I am ashamed--there are tragicomic things, which self-respect forbids to mention.

Liudas Gira, to whom we owe a moving presentation of the life of the two sisters, writes concerning Sofia:

> "The days of her life were, without exaggerating in the least, nothing but distress and misery, and her creativity was a tiny Golgotha with the daily crucifixion of a tortured soul. . .constantly worried, always forced anew to earn a bite of dry bread for the next day for herself and her family, without sleep, hungry, hardly able sometimes to stay on her feet from continual exertion and permanent sickliness, she was knitting, sewing, embroidering, cutting paper flowers, from early in the morning until late at night, in the winter in an unheated room, in the night usually sitting by the flickering stump of a candle. And only when time allowed did she write, copy, and write again." (36)

[113] 36. Liudas Gira, "Dvi seserys Ivanauskaitės" (Two Sisters Ivanauskaitė), Židinys, 1929, No. 4, p. 313. On the life of Sofia cf. further the essay by J. Ambrazevičius, Sofijos Pšibilauskienės biografijai (On the Life of S.P.), Židinys, 1936, Vol. XXIV, No. 12, and 1937, Vol. XXV, No. 2.

/246/ In the year 1896 Sofia became acquainted with a circle of young Lithuanian students grouped around the newspapers Varpas and Ukininkas. About 1900 began her literary activity for the Lithuanian press, where she soon made a name for herself. Her numerous tales--she did not leave behind a major work--are very rich in subject matter and embrace all the problems of

her time. Life on the rundown estates of the minor nobility is pictured with great bitterness; especially from the description of the women and girls on these estates there speaks much of her own experience. In the center of her tales stands the Lithuanian village, this also painted in gray colors--the relations between landlords and peasants, the economic distress of the country proletariat, the lack of education in the countryside, in short the whole complex of social and economic problems of the village. In addition, Russian oppression and the revolution of the year 1905 comes alive in her longer story Klaida (The Mistake).

Her younger sister Maria (born 1873) began to write even earlier than Sofia. Even as a young girl she published poemsand short stories. A life full of difficulty and misery, at first in St. Petersburg, later in Vilna, interrupted her literary work for many years. Only after the repeal of the prohibition on printing did her external circumstances give her again the inner possibility for creating on her own, and now both sisters wrote under the same pseudonym. Maria was not concerned with her own literary fame; her only desire, like that of her sister in that period, was to help her old father, who lived in dire need on his little estate, with the money she earned. The works of the two sisters are so similar, since they had inherited the same talents, had passed through the same youth, and were fashioned by the same difficult fate, that nobody would have guessed that two writers could hide behind the pseudonym. To be sure, as Mykolaitis notes in his history of literature, Sofia is closer to the Lithuanian village, while Maria is closer /247/ to the life of the city and thus to a more psychological treatment of literary problems.

The literary judgment on Lazdynų Pelėda is not unanimous, but V. Bičiūnas writes in his

obituary on Sofia in 1926: "One must admit that in that epoch Lazdynų Pelėda was one of the liveliest and most talented representatives of our literature." (37) Artistically strongest are

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37. V. Bičiūnas, "A. A. Sofija Pšybilauskienė-Lazdynų Pelėda," Židinys, 1926, Vol. III, No. 3, p. 148.

the short uncomplicated tales such as Mother Calls, a children's story that was also translated into German. (38) As to style, a peculiar mixture of

38. Printed in the Litauenbuch der X. Armee, pp. 164-171.

realism and lyricism stands out, which is frequently uneven like the portrayal itself. Unquestionably, particularly the longer stories, are nor uniformly constructed, and the characterization of the personalities is much weaker than the presentation of the plot. Undoubtedly, too, the whole interpretation of reality, veiled in the gray pessimism of an unhappy life, is without light, without nature, narrow, and partly disconsolate. But there is also probably no doubt that the artistic development of both sisters would have followed a different course under other circumstances.

The last of the prose writers to be named here, Maria Pečkauskaitė, known under the pseudonym of Šatrijos Ragana, leads us back from the depths of proletarian bitterness into the heights of ideals that are nourished by an optimistic view of life.

Maria Pečkauskaitė was born in 1878 in the district of Telšiai (in Samogitia), and spent her early youth on the estate of her parents. Aside from a brief attendance at the gymnasium in St. Petersburg, she was educated by private tutors

on account of her delicate health, and even in her youth she had a fluent command of the Russian, French, and German languages; Lithuanian (Samogitian), however, became the language in which she thought and wrote. Although the everyday language in the home of her parents was Polish, the young Lithuanian movement found here a growing echo from the year 1891 on and gripped the young girl with all /248/ its force. At 18 she wrote her first sketches for the newspaper Varpas, and at 22 she published her first longer tale Viktutė in the form of a diary. It is a largely biographical work. The young writer became here the apostle of the new ideas among the members of her class. Along with political and democratic thoughts, the religious element--she remained through her whole life a convinced Catholic--also played a role.

Although the cares of everyday life did not spare Pečkauskaitė either, and although she was forced after the sale of her father's property to earn her bread as a private tutor in noble families, her external circumstances remained on the whole happy. Her unusual talent was recognized very early; in 1905 she, though a woman, received the foreign scholarship of a Lithuanian educational society. She followed her distinct pedagogical and literary gift and became a student of the pedagogue Fr. Förster in Zürich, whose principles she later spread in her own larger works and translations into Lithuanian (The Education of Youth, Sexual Ethics and Sex Instruction, Christ and Human Life, etc.). After her return to Lithuania, she passed the private teacher examination for secondary schools and obtained, in 1909, the directorship of the girls' progymnasium in Marijampolė, which was supported by the educational society Žiburys. The war interrupted this activity. She returned to her homeland Samogitia and developed after the war a great literary activity

in the realm of pedagogy. In 1928 she was rewarded for her services to the educational system of the country by an honorary degree of doctor of philosophy degree from the Lithuanian University. She died on July 24, 1930. An almost complete collection of her belletristic writings exists in six volumes.

What distinguishes Maria Pečkauskaitė from the rest of the women prose writers of her time is first of all her high, finished education, which, in combination with her great intellectual gifts, /249/ provided her with an incomparably larger view of the realities of life. Her works are mostly written for the educated and are no village tales in the usual sense. They are dynamic insofar as they broaden the artistic area in which Lithuanian literature had moved until then, particularly toward intellectual reflection.

A further clear distinction lies in the fact that, in spite of every sympathy for the village, the writer never championed the ideology of the peasant, like those named before, but always remained a convinced aristocrat. Thus the contrasts between peasantry and nobility are not treated in her stories. Inwardly filled with the young-Lithuanian idea, she strove to bring about a spiritual change of attitude even in the Polonized members of her class. Her stories breathe the spirit and mood of the estates of the nobility, and as sharp and satirical as the presentation at times can be, it never degenerates into a lampoon. In content, those tales are of special interest in which she describes how the young-Lithuanian peasant movement of the "Litwomen" is reflected in the heads of the minor nobility (For the Fatherland, On the Old Estate). Out of pure idealism Pečkausnaitė fights for the education and improvement of the people, for charity and self-sacrifice and all the other human ideals. Upheld by a phil-

*538

osophy basically optimistic, in spite of all its melancholy elements, she sees everywhere the possibility to improve, to help, to educate. But although a large number of her prose writings serve a distinctly didactic purpose, this never becomes obtrusive. Thus in her most beautiful story, On the Old Estate, all the events are seen with the eyes of an eight year old child, and in another story, Irka's Tragedy, we experience the shock which a young human soul suffers through estrangement from its father and mother with such intensity as can only be imparted by genuine artistic talent. (39)

[113] 39. A detailed critical literary evaluation of this story is given by J. Ambrazevičius in his essay "Šatrijos Raganos 'Irkos tragedija'" (Šatrijos Ragana "Irka's Tragedy"), Židinys, 1931, Vol. XIII, No. 1, pp. 27-36.

The subtlety of her portrayal corresponds to a strong feeling for style. The language conforms to the presentation in every /250/ variation. It is economical, plastic, and expressive, and unaffected in its imagery. When Pečkauskaitė in her story Irka, for example, speaks of a "little bed white like a pansy," or says of the voice of the child: "It began to ring like a little silver bell," one must not forget what boldness of expression and at the same time what progress such poetic similes meant for the contemporary development of the Lithuanian literary language.

It is difficult to assign the stories of this writer to a specific literary trend. Unquestionably they are permeated with sentimental and romantic elements, and several poetic reveries can be described as purely romantic (Why Are You Not Here?, The Little Blue Maid). On the other

hand the economy in the description of nature should be noted, which only occasionally introduce or underlie a tender lyric mood. It is precisely this note that stands out in the recollections of her childhood. (40)

40. Works, Vol. II, p. 5. Cf. on this Vairas, Vol. III, p. 486.

On the Old Estate

Beyond the forests, beyond the streams, between river valleys and hills, stands the old wooden mansion. Not tall, but long and wide, with a large front on white pillars, full of secret little corners, warm and comfortable, faithful guardian of all our joys and sorrows. Behind it lies a large, sleepy, artificial pond with mysterious depths, gilded in the evening by the moon and stars; and--rocked into slumber by songs, full of fragrance and secret dreams--the garden.

Tenderly the garden presses the pond and the house to its wide breast--its intimate friends--and whispering tells them fairy tales without end, long, secret stories, and eternal songs. And both listen--quietly and thoughtfully.

A small peninsula lies in the garden, reaching out into the pond, covered with blossoming spiraea bushes, /251/ completely overgrown with flowers. On its shore grows a willow whose trunk was once cut down and which then shot out three new little trunks and has formed a sort of seat in which one can sit very comfortably, leaning back. I once discovered this little corner with my dear mother. Then she wrote my initials on one of the little trunks and said: "Now that is your seat, Irussja. And whenever you sit here you should think of me, and only good and beauriful thoughts can come into your head."

This spring I often sit in the willow seat,

*538

for I am working on a gift for mother's birthday. During the winter I learned how to embroider, and now I would like to give her the first results of my work. I bought the material from my own money, and now I am embroidering a little cover for her night table, leaning back in the seat so that mother does not see me. I thought of this particular gift after long deliberation. In the evening--I thought--when Mother, after reading, goes to put out the candle, her glance will fall on my cover and she will go to sleep thinking of me. And in the morning her first glance is at the clock on the table. And then she will again have to think of me.

.....

"Why do you say, dear mother, that when we come back to the nest we may not find you and father any more?" "The old birds are flying away to a place from which no one returns: Into the paradies of their fathers. So it is, children. Alas,-it can also be otherwise . . ."

Suddenly someone knocked strongly on the window of the next room.

My mother was startled; alarmed, we all sprang up and ran to see who was there. But /252/ beyond the window the night was dark, and no one was to be seen or heard.

"Who was there? Who was there?" asked mother uneasily. In her eyes I saw a painful alarm. "What sort of a sign was that? Did fate knock as in Beethoven's Symphony of Destiny?" And again mother sat down at the piano and began to play the beautiful symphony. But she did not know much from memory, and so she interrupted it and began an infinitely sad melody to which she sang in recitative;

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My dear mother sang so sadly, and a familiar feeling rose within me that everyone would die and I would then be completely alone. That was so terrible, and I said to my mother:

"Mother, let's get out of here and go where it's light." My mother closed the piano and we went into the dining-room, where the lamp burned cheerfully above the table, the samovar hummed amiably on a little table, and Nika and Jonelis, bent over a table, looked at pictures.

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And everything has vanished and flown away. . . You too have gone, my mother, flown away from the nest into paradise. But first the little birds flew off.

And the storm has torn apart the nest.

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*538

3. Maironis and the Idealism in the Lyrics of His Time

771

The works of Maria Pečkauskaitė leads us back into that romantically colored, religious-political world of ideas awakened by the periodical Aušra (1883-86); these ideas later /253/ influenced wider and wider religiously oriented circles through Apžvalga (1890-96) and the periodical founded by the clergyman Tumas, Tėvynės Sargas (1896-1904). The last paper, especially, acineved importance. In its columns, along with intelligent essays of Maria Pečkauskaitė written with great penetration, we find also other names which became known later; all of the clergy of the country, under the influence of the new movement, grouped themselves around this paper. In order to understand the spirit of that period, out of which came a new stimulus for the further development of Lithuanian writing, at least the basic thoughts

538
97

should be indicated. There was a striving for a synthesis of Catholic and national philosophy, as we can clearly see in a programmatic passage in the periodical (No. 4 of the year 1896): "Out of ardent desire to protect our faith and to preserve our people, we shall strive to enlighten them; but we shall never sacrifice Catholicism for the good of the fatherland, but we want to be filled with patriotic feeling out of the love of God." There is a warning not to use force against those in power ("He who makes war with the sword falls by the sword," Maironis), rather the awakening of opposition against the Orthodox church and Russification should proceed with spiritual means. These means, however, are the same as in the Aušra epoch--the awakening of love for the hereditary homeland, a romantic glorification of the past corresponding, on the other side, to a pessimistic interpretation of the present, and the expectation of the grace of God who will someday free the people from the Russian yoke. That is the theme of the period.

538 Now unquestionably thoughts like those indicated above, especially when they are fed by a strong emotional source, are profitable material above all for lyricism; thus it is not surprising that in this period and this world of ideas a poet arose who in Lithuania is considered the most important representative of lyricism up to the first World War, and who from the literary-historical point of view must in any case be regarded as the creator of modern Lithuanian artistic lyric poetry--/254/ the prelate Jonas Maculevičius Mačiulis, or as he called himself with his pen name--Maironis.

Born in 1862 the son of a free peasant in the district of Raseiniai, who was raised in contact with peasants as well as with the minor nobility of the vicinity, he entered the gymnasium in Kaunas and finished there in 1883. The Kaunas

priesthood seminary which he attended from 1884 on was permeated with a Polish atmosphere. Under the influence of the romantics and of historical works on the early history of Lithuania, there was awakened in him the feeling of intimate union with his homeland, to which his first poems written in Lithuanian bear witness. After completing the seminary and the Clerical Academy in St. Petersburg, Maironis became professor at the Kaunas seminary. From 1894 to 1909 we find him as professor of moral theology at the St. Petersburg Clerical Academy. These 15 years were decisive for his artistic development. Amont other things he published here as early as 1895 a collection of poetry, Voices of Spring, which made him known in wide circles and continually appeared in new editions. Also satire is congenial to his sharp and critical spirit. Later on he took over the directorship of the Kaunas seminary. After the founding of the Lithuanian University, the theological faculty summoned him as professor of moral theology and Lithuanian literature. He died, mourned by the whole people, on June 28, 1932. Among his scholarly writings can be named his Praelectiones de justitia et jure, which appeared in 1903, as well as several works in the realm of moral theology.

The great influence which proceeded from the poems of Maironis rested first of all on the fact that his time was the time of the national awakening of his nation. The soil for the acceptance of his lyric poetry was thereby prepared. Maironis can actually be regarded as the artistic awakener of the national consciousness in Lithuania. He became the singer of his country, the messenger of national unity, of love for the fatherland. With this love, however, he /255/ always preserved his spiritual ideology. When only a youth he sang (1885):

The time will come when the Almighty
Will raise for us the angry sword
And the farthest lands will hear again
The name of Lithuania today forgotten.

538 He remained true to this high style, this pathos characteristic of himself, his whole life long. His importance as a poet lies in the fact that he did not exhaust these ideas in pale allegories but expressed them in plastic form and with a strong inner passion. Thus his poems also very quickly found their way to the people. After the Russian revolution of 1905, when the oppression of the spiritual life of the border peoples was somewhat eased, the most popular songs of the poet were sung at all assemblies and gatherings in Lithuania and were later taken over in part into the school books. In general it can immediately be recognized in most of his poems that they are intended for singing or solemn declamation:

Where the Scheschupe, the Nemunas roar
Lies our Lithuanian fatherland,
Where the plowmen listen to the speech of
their homeland,
Where the Song of Birute rings across the
land.
May our rivers flow into the deepest seas!
May our songs ring through the farthest
lands!

Where the winds redden and the rue is green,
Where sisters braid their hair to look neat,
Where the cuckoo makes his lament in the
garden--
Our home--the wanderer, he finds it here.
Where the gray cuckoo is, the winds, the
rue,
There is fatherland and home, and trusted
mother-love.

Whether the sun shines, whether the earth
is dark,
You remain the dearest land of our fathers,
Here we have watered the earth with our
sweat,

*538

/256/Here it is where the heart has found
memories.
Always you remain our love, whether in
happiness,
whether in grief,
Glorious in memories, dear to our heart!

Idealization of the homeland and its early history, love for the language--these motifs recur in all the songs which inspired the young generation in its cultural battle against the Russian oppression. Almost without exception they are sustained by a romantic mood in which at times the past emerges in relief before the eyes of the hearer:

Look at Vilna there, with splendid
palaces,
How broad it rests between the mountains!
Night veils it with the darkest, best
Robes, like smoke! . . .it sleeps well!
Where is the fame with which you once
rang?
The power of the forefathers, the honorable ones?

and further:

Still the morning cannot paint itself
red with sun,
Still the night that was, sleeps all
around,
Only timidly, isolated, shine forth the
rays
Of the moon, which emerges from among the
many clouds.
So I would like to see the castle, the
dear one,
Where in silence, sleeping, stand still
the centuries
When Vilna was still to us as our eye,

*538

When it clearly shone
For Lithuania, our fatherland.

Why so sad? Why do the tears
Glide bitterly onto your breast?
Do you regret the passing of noble times?
Do you perceive a better future? Speak!
But look, in the east the dawn is al-
ready breaking!

For the poet it is the symbol that new, better times will begin for his people, too. /Unnumbered page with illustration--Benedictine Church in Kaunas/

/257/ Compared to poems of a national character and those in which he takes a stand on problems of the time, the poems of purely personal feeling are strongly subordinate. One of the reasons for this is obviously the high clerical dignity which the poet assumed in public, the priestly ideal to which he remained inwardly faithful, and which let him interpret even his own inner life only in the mirror of this ethical and religious basic attitude. Occasional conflicts which resulted from this led to resignation, as is expressed in the prayer to his guardian angel:

I do not expect much from life, you
understand me so easily,
What tortures me lies open before you;
I have suffered so much that the Almighty
perhaps
Forgives me, when I have made a mistake.

But such purely personal tones are rare, and thus Maironis remains basically more the objective poet who does not seek the object of his observation within himself, but outside--in the world. But in the purely lyrical poems which have become objectivized in this way there vibrate

many of the elements of the folk song. Poems of a narrative and balladesque content do not occupy much space in the framework of his whole work.

In spite of his basic romantic attitude, Maironis is considered in Lithuania as a representative of classic poetry, the result primarily of his great mastery of form. He postulated greatest strictness of form, and his poems are distinguished by absolute purity of rime. Thus is was first through his example that Lithuanian lyricism gained the strict formalization that dominated a whole generation after Maironis. With regard to form, the songs of the poet are beyond anything in the nature of folk song. The language of Maironis is simple, his vocabulary unaffected, and understandable to everyone, the form concise and clear. With regard to meter, his poems are treated in various ways. (41)/258/

[113] 41. Horst Engert, "Metrische Studien zu Gedichten von Maironis," Darbai ir dienos Vol. IV (Kaunas, 1936). Engerg investigates primarily the significance of the so-called "secondary stresses" of Maironis' lyrics, and establishes furthermore that the structure of the verses in these poems is built upon the purely balancing /wägende/ (in contrast to the scanning /messende/) principle.

The rhythmic melody of his verses is never accidental, but is always related to the content.

Not of the same importance as the lyrics are the epic works of the poet, although--as the first real artistic poems--they also exerted a strong influence on their time. They, too, are carried along by the same patriotic wave, and are frequently purely lyric. In his epic Jaunoji Lietuva (Young Lithuania), published in 1895 under the title Through Pain to Honor, Maironis gives a

*538 picture of awakening Lithuania; in the epic Mūsų vargai (Our Sufferings) he gives, so to speak, a continuation, in which he portrays the cultural movement in Lithuania from the revolutionary year of 1905 to the achievement of independence. In addition, his satirical poem Magda from Raseiniai and the opera libretto Where Does Salvation Lie?, printed in 1896, should be quoted. In the center of all these poems is a problem which we have already met earlier--the question of the national estrangement of the Lithuanian nobility, for which the poet entertains genuine sympathies, and which he wishes to lead back to its people.

After the founding of the state, many of the faults which are connected with such a period of transition do not escape Maironis. Thus originates in these years a series of sometimes very bitter satires, in which the temper of the poet is unloosed.

From his last creative period stem also the dramatic poems--the great Vytautas trilogy (written 1922-29). It is an idealized presentation of the medieval heroic period. Thus Maironis remained to the end of his life faithful to the task which he set himself as his calling as a young student in the seminary of Kaunas. For a generation he stood at the head of a large group of admirers and imitators; and if much that he wrote has already fallen victim to time, the sound of his songs still reverberates among the people today as on the first day. (42)

113 42. The literature on Maironis is very considerable. Apart from the extensive histories of literature, his work is treated above all in the following articles and essays: J. Tumas, "Jonas Maironis-Mačiulis" (Lectures on Lithuanian Literature), Complete Works, Vols. IV and

113

XIX. Ambrazevičius, "Maironis lyrikos sociologija" (Sociology of Maironis' Lyrics), Židinys, 1932, No. 8/9. Also Ambrazevičius, "Marionio vieta lietuvių religinej literatūroje" (The Place of Maironis in Lithuanian Religious Literature), Židinys, 1933, No. 4. V. Mykolaitis, "Visuomenės Maironio kūrybos pagrindas" (The Social Basis of the Writings of Maironis), Kultura, 1932, No. 8/9. In the German language there appeared a brief essay on Maironis in the Zeitung der X. Armee, No. 276, 1917. Cf. further Horst Engert, Aus litauischer Dichtung, Deutsche Nachdichtungen (Kaunas, 1935); 2nd ed. (1938).

/259/ Chapter Six

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538

A Cross Section of the Most Recent Developments in Lithuanian Literature

A. The Period of Transition. The New Lyricism.

It is only natural that the repeal of the prohibition on printing in 1904 also led to an increase in worthless literature on the Lithuanian book market. With sharpness and great vigor the poetess Čiurlionienė-Kymantaitė turned against this shallowness in her article "Lietuvoje" (In Lithuania) in 1910, and demanded that the connection with folk art remain preserved everywhere in literature:

> "What do our songs mean to us? Their meaning is this: that a great period of our artistic life is encompassed there. There the soul of the people finds expression, there is the first pure beginning of Lithuanian poetry. We have nothing in this regard that would be

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538 more perfect, and we must seek guidance there as to which paths the new poetry should follow . . .In poetry we must return first of all to those magnificent dainos, take over the perfection of their forms, and understand that poetry must flow from the heart of the people." (p. 33)

In opposition to the imitation of classic style and form of the Maironis stamp--in his effect on the lyric style /260/ of his period, Maironis could perhaps be compared with Heine--there arose a new movement, consciously represented by J. Herbačauskas in his essays which appeared in 1908. Erškečių vainikas (The Crown of Thorns), (1) in

[113]

1. Cf. on this point the essay by Mykolaitis-Putinas, "Naujosios lietuvių literaturos angoje" (On the Threshold of the Most Recent Lithuanian Literature), in his book Literaturos etiudai (Studies in Literature) (1937), pp. 86-104. Further, Korsakas Radzvilas, Straipsniai apie literatūrą (Essays on Literature) (Kaunas, 1932); and by the same author, Kritika (Kaunas, 1936).

which he turns against the "popular stereotype, the mannerism and literary beaurocracy" born of slavish imitation, which makes impossible the expression of individual ideas and feelings (p. 45). "It is not form that produces ideas and feelings, but ideas and feelings that produce form." Thus in this period we see everywhere the longing for expansion, for liberation from the traditional, for enrichment of style and form; and for the first time purely artistic considerations become predominant. The laws set up by Maironis concerning regularity of verse structure, lightness, and musicality were already taken for granted by this generation; and one thing should not be

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538 forgotten--what appeared in Maironis as the natural form of expression of an inborn talent became rigid among his successors and epigones and frequently degenerated into dead form.

Nevertheless--especially as long as Maironis still lived and created--the so-called "classic" trend prevailed up to the first World War, especially since it obtained a champion of high spiritual rank in the person of the prelate A. Dambrauskas, born in 1860, who wrote under the pen name Jakštas (died February 19, 1938). He exerted a decisive influence on the young Lithuanian literature, and was considered for a generation to be the aesthetic conscience of his time. In his own, somewhat cool, lyricism, too, he proved himself an adherent to a strict classicism. Thus the dynamic trend we mentioned--for which, perhaps the time was not ripe--did at first not yet gain acceptance. Only the younger generation of the postwar period passed beyond the rules set up by classicism. The striving after characteristic and genuine artistic expression and the resulting search for just those elements and /261/ forms of expression that seemed characteristic of their own people, distinguishing it from others, could already be noted in the development of modern painting. In poetry it led to the realization of the requirement set up by Čiurlionienė, insofar as the influence of folk poetry was clearly reflected from now on in the further development of Lithuanian lyricism as well as prose. It is a period of the liveliest development and of fruitful analysis.

With the end of the first World War and the founding of the state there emerges an abundance of new names, among them some really creative talents, and it appears completely impossible to characterize even the most important of them in a brief final survey. In order to give at least

a certain impression, the following may be remembered: we have seen that the Lithuanian literature of the nineteenth century was fed from two different currents, a positive-realistic one, of which the creations of Kudirka and Žemaitė, for example, are characteristic; and a romantic-idealistic current which grew out of the ideas of Aušra and Tevynes- Sargas, and which was modeled above all on the lyrics of Maironis. We can now define in broad outlines how the development proceeded on this basis, which had been established by 1905. In both cases it went from outward inward: the realistic presentation of the Lithuanian village gains psychological depth, as for example in the excellent peasant stories of Krėvė-Mickevičius; the same is true of lyric poetry. It abandons its objectivity and follows the road of a new subjective development toward an inner comprehension of reality in place of the presentation of outward images. The feeling for nature changes into subtle experience:

We look--the apple blossoms
Fall in silence--
Like white butterflies--
We look--they fall in silence.

/262/ Did not the snow
Fall only recently in flakes?--
We look--the apple blossoms
Fall in silence.

(From Binkis: Verses)

In addition should be named the unusually productive lyricist Liudas Gira (born 1886), whose poems borrow consciously from the folk song, the daina. As to content, Gira simultaneously takes over the patriotic substance of Maironis' poems, with modifications corresponding to changing times. Lighter in form, richer in subject matter, Gira's lyrics probably signify the

end of a specific development.

Balys Sruoga and Faustas Kirša, two symbolists with a strong mystical strain, go their own ways.

Balys Sruoga (born 1896) consciously throws aside the strict forms of the former Lithuanian lyricism. The rime disappears or becomes completely subordinate and is merely an occasional attribute. He introduces a dissolution into free rhythms which rush across the lines, and the content also betrays an unusual artistic temperament and intensity of experience. In an essay on the Lithuanian poetry of the period, in the Lettish monthly Sejejs (March, 1938), A. Vaičiulaitis compares Sruoga's poetry with an overflowing stream that destroys its banks. Recollections of Walt Whitman and Arno Holz, above all, force themselves upon the reader of the rimeless poems which depend entirely on rhythm and music:

Such a great, great holiday.
So red is the sky.
So many fires wander on the waves--
And far-off time gave the gliding sails
corals for decoration. . .
The moon plucks hidden at the greenish
pile of clouds.
/263/ It is as if nothing any longer
shakes my heart!
It is as if there were no more slavery
anywhere.
For centuries I went astray, like a
pillar I stop
And think.

The sun sinks sadly, so sadly--
Still more sadly than at home!
And sometimes it seems that all my sadness
Is the unearthly echo of unearthly deeds, . .
And the deepest secret is audible only
To the sorrowing heart
Alone. (From Sun and Sand)

538 We see that this freedom of form has basically nothing futuristic in it, for these poems are a peculiar mixture of spontaneous experience and reflection, and their meaning grows out of the symbol. Not without reason so we owe this poet that excellent introduction into the symbolic content of the Lithuanian dainos, which was referred to at various times (Chapter Two). Along with verses that are elementary and apparently break all bonds, there are others full of quiet melody, from which speak restrained feeling, indeed inner cheerfulness and happiness. In the verse dramas of his last period Sruoga returned completely to classic forms. Among his simpler poems many have become folk songs, like the following which is often sung:

My soul is celebrating today,
Play, sisters, a more joyful sound!
Away, you torturing thoughts!
Still more winged flies my song!

The taut strings of my kanklys,
Hardly did I touch them softly--
An army of swans arises,
Flutters away mysteriously.

/264/ My soul is celebrating today--
Quiet rest--the night flees away;
Paths that were walked in grief
Glow from the summer's song.

Look, oh sisters, up to heaven!
See how the mignonettes bloom--
Roaring resounds here our youth,
Our life strong and bold.

(From On the Paths of the Gods)

The lyric images of Faustas Kirša (born 1891) grow out of inner vision and contemplative

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538 observation. His lyrics often have a fragmentary character and for that reason are at times difficult to understand, less so in his first books than in the later ones. While great lightness and symmetrical beauty speaks from the poems of his early period (Aidų Aidužiai-Echo of the Echoes), in his last poems (Maldos and akmens-Prayers on the Stone) ascetic moods are reflected, full of heavy thoughts struggling for expression. Among the best verses of Kirša probably belong those in which ideas are cast in allegorical images taken from nature and thereby gain in color and brilliance:

As in space the crane with rushing winds,

I strayed on the green field:
My heart overflowed with sweet feelings,
covered with blossoms of love.

Nameless I strayed, engrossed in my gazing,
In the sultriness of midday so far,
I do not know the God whose fires forged me
For the road full of blossoms and sorrow.

I greet the straying winds on earth,
I discover who is borne by error.
Only death from the earth, as ripened by dreams,
Will end the flight of the wanderer.
(From Hymns (Giesmės))

/265/ Many other poets search for their own forms for the expression of artistic experience; for example, Stasys Santvaras, the earliest of the younger symbolists, and Stasys Anglickis, in whose lyrics a stronger, subjectively colored intellectualism stands out. Social problems are

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538 reflected in the poems of Kazys Boruta, and Teofilis Tilvytis is known for his satires.

The last epoch, which begins with the founding of the state (2) was particularly fruitful for the development of the Lithuanian lyric.

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2. Faustas Kirša, "Trys rašytojų kartos mūsų dailioje literaturoje" (Three generations of Writers in our Belletristic Literature/, Vairas, 1929, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 152-159.

The character of the lyrics of this postwar generation can be quite generally characterized as gloomy and pessimistic. Life is felt as a burden, its problems are broodingly examined. In content and thought many connections with the prewar period are broken. There is a definite influence of Western trends; not only symbolism, but futurism and expressionism also find expression. Characteristic of these new trends is the organization of two groups--the futurists of the "Four Winds" (Keturi vėjai), fed by Italian and Russian sources, and a group of activists who in their own organ "The Third Front" (Trečias Frontas) represented an international Marxist ideology. Both groups have ceased to exist today; only a few numbers of their periodicals have been published.

In the field of poetry written by woman in that period Salomėja Neris made a name for herself. Her lyrics show clear reminiscences of Marie Madelaine and Dolorosa:

So short and warm was your kiss,
Like lightning and full of passion like
the night.
Oh power of seduction!--the saints fall. . .
Your kiss--a spark that kindles flames!

I cannot forget the glow of your lips,
They burned their mark into my soul!

They have intoxicated me in senseless
ecstacy--
A slave, who dreams of you day and night.

/266/ No snake bit me--warm lips that
kissed. . .
Cold contracts the limbs in a shudder--
I cannot forget. . .all your fires,
They burn together in the same flames!
(From Tracks in the Sand)

Thus the development proceeds at an often practically impetuous speed, and it might almost seem to an outsider as if the young Lithuanian literature wanted now in a few decades to make up for the Western forms of style and expression of a whole century, from classicism through romanticism, naturalism, symbolism, and expressionism, up to the new functionalism. Here, however, the fact does not escape the sociologist that also this stormy literary development represents only the reflection of a deeper transformation which the intellectual upper class has undergone after the first World War, and which we have already pointed out in the chapter on the literary language. Thereby, our literary observations gain a significance beyond the artistic one. Of particular interest in this connection is the world of ideas of Antanas Miškinis. In his lyrics many patriotic motifs are sounded, along with a strong social consciousness. The Lithuanian village and the intellectual efforts and successes of the present appear in a bright light--in contrast to them the poet experiences strongly the dark sides and abuses of the new urban culture. His love belongs to the village, and it is indicative that his lyrics show a preference for the style of the daina, the folk song, though in a thoroughly intensified and subjective form.

Among the further younger poets of the

present--a listing of all their names would have no real meaning--two more may be named in conclusion--Kossu-Aleksandravičius is the honest struggle for the formation of ideas. He feels /267/ deeply how the unspoken which lives in the poet and struggles for expression is oddly devalued when fitted into words. And thus he, too, experiences what Maurice Maeterlinck expresses in his Treasure of the Poor in the chapter on Novalis: "Everything that one can say is in itself nothing."

To no one have I said it and never,
To no one can I say this:
A blossom already nipped in the bud,
The word dies on its way into the world.

(From The Lifeless Eyes of the Chimera)

The inner struggle for expression leads to unusual strictness of form, to an artistic chiseling out that stand in strong contrast to the free treatment of form by Sruoga, for example. With regard to form it should be noted here, however, that strictness of rime is not meant here, for Kossu-Aleksandravičius, like most of the younger Lithuanian poets, prefers end assonance to rime. Since, as also Horst Engert notes correctly in his already mentioned translations From Lithuanian Poetry, these assonances have an intolerable effect in German (p. 110), and since, moreover, they sometimes also appear mixed with genuine rimes, a translation or imitation of modern Lithuanian lyrics encounters unusual difficulties. The use of impure rime in place of the end assonances, which comes to mind first, is certainly not an ideal solution for a language in whose modern lyrics impure rime no longer appears. Thus the above mentioned strictness of form in

538 Kossu-Aleksandravičius is to be understood in a different sense, resulting from the development of Lithuanian lyricism, as inner necessity of expression, as transparency, restraint, clarity, and strictness of the word.

The land of this poet is the land of the faraway, of miracles, of beauty, of still nights, of the sky and the /268/ stars--a land of longing that remains unattainable to man. Thus most of these verses breathe sadness and longing:

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The evening left with a veiled face--
And we remained--the night, the longing,
and I.

Also in the last of the poets to be named here, Bernardas Brazdžionis, we find complicated moods in a mystical-symbolic form. Subtle to the highest degree, he masters the fluctuations of language, which he strips of the commonplace. His philosophy is distinctly religious. From his beautiful book which appeared in 1937, Ženklai ir stebuklai (Sings and Wonders) one poem may be reproduced here, in which the artist recognizes the imitation of Christ to be the path out of all the darkness of life:

The fire went out. The ashes
Gradually died out in darkness,
Now the last word of the wanderer, as he
died,
Strays through eternity.

The sun will stand in clouds,
You will not see its light--
Like clouds, like clouds
Will be our future, too.

*538. We leave, we return,
The old paths are strange to us, veiled,
Into the future the road, to the past
the road.
And our happiness is hidden by a pain-
ful picture,
the picture of our Saviour's cross.

The fire went out. The ashes
Gradually died out in darkness.
But the holy word of happiness guides us,
and it will,
Guide us into eternity.

/269/ B. Prose and Drama

If we first briefly look at the prose written up to the first World War, we must remember that--as had to be expected under the circumstances--it grew out of the literary section of the newspapers and out of almanac literature. This prose consisted of smaller and larger novelettes, stories, and tales. But then the Lithuanian novel was produced, the artistic novel along with the light novel, and Lithuanian prose thereby conquered a large new area. It has not yet attained a tradition of its own; even with the more gifted of the younger generation the handling of the material is still often clumsy, the style uneven and, even in works of literary value, wavering between sober reporting and passionate lyricism. Often the endeavor at psychological penetration spends itself in mere descriptions of mental conditions. But the development is striding forward with great rapidity; and if Lithuanian literature up to now still exhibits no great work that could be set beside the works of a Lagerlöf, Hermann, Sterh, Hamsun, and others, still we do have individual works whose translation into a world language promises their authors recognition

*638

such as has already been awarded, for example, to the works of Finnish and Esthonian poets.

The first of these writers is Dobilas-Lindē (1872-1934), from whom Lithuanian novel writing takes its departure, and who, at the same time, founded it on psychology. A clergyman of high culture and extensive education, Dobilas-Lindē simultaneously made a name for himself as a critic by preparing the way in Lithuania for the understanding of the art of Benedetto Croce and H. Taine. His novel Blūdas (Madness), based on the revolution of 1905, is of interest psychologically, politically, and also philosophically.

/270/ Also on the threshold of two generations stands Tumas-Vaižgantas (1869-1933), his first writings still rooted in the period of Aušra and Tēvynēs Sargas, which he founded and directed himself. One of the most popular personalities in Lithuania, clergyman, literary historian, critic, journalist, and novelist, but above all politician--not in the party sense--Vaižgantas enriched Lithuanian literature with an enormous quantity of publications. Unusually well read, educated on long trips to Russia, Sweden, Italy, and America, Vaižgantas had such a strong personality that he assimilated all these impressions within himself without losing his typically Lithuanian basic attitude; his human, artistic, and philosophical formation had been shaped in his homeland. Thus Kuzmickis can say of Tumas-Vaižgantas in his history of literature: "Vaižgantas is undoubtedly of importance in the history of Lithuanian literature. He enriched Lithuanian literature with characteristic Lithuanian creations of great value; he placed Lithuanian literature in a sphere of livelier and more creative work and made idealism his watchword." (3)

113

3. Zigmantas Kuzmickis, Lietuviu literatūra (Lithuanian Literature), Vol. V (Kaunas, 1934), p. 131.

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Although a personality like Canon Tumas-Vaižgantas cannot be fully understood except in its entirety, only the literary aspect of his creativity will be treated in this context. His belletristic writings stand under the influence of both Russian realism (Turgenev, Tolstoy) and of Polish romanticism (Mickiewicz, Kraszewski). Both trends are intertwined in his works. If we take his most important book, Pagiedruliai (Rays of Light), we see that the source from which he creates is his home village, his parents, the people close to him, and above all the nature of the Lithuanian countryside. And when the poet writes at the end of a legend: "it is pleasant and homely in Lithuania not only because it is so full of variety--but also because the land is interesting and enveloped in mystery. Its nature is a single, complete and perfect /271/ testimony to antiquity: you must learn to read it" (4) --this attitude towards

4. Writings, Vol. IX, p. 113.

nature dominates also the people of his stories, who form an inseparable unity with nature. (5)

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5. Cf. here the introduction by Mykolaitis-Putinas to Vol. X of the Writings (Kaunas, 1929), p. 17.

The subject matter of the belletristic writings of Vaižgantas is very extensive. It almost gives us a chronicle of the development of the country in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Lithuanian village appears in his books in an ideal light, and in one place Vaižgantas characterizes his position himself with the words:

"Our folk art is tender, idyllic; it loves neither what is gruesome nor what is nakedly realistic. To portray poverty would not be fitting

for it and not Lithuanian. And after all why should one portray all kinds of errors and misery when we have so much honesty, love, piety, mysticism, and compassion--so much shining beauty in songs and fairy tales, in fabrics and carvings--so much of the idyllic in nature and life." (6)

6. Ibid., pp. 13-14.

From this basic attitude, which rests on an indestructible optimism, all the works of Vaižgantas are to be understood; honesty, work, order, progress--these themes return again and again in his tales. What is most characteristic and perhaps also of the greatest literary value in them, however, is the typically Lithuanian mood with which they are filled, and which Vaižgantas achieves even in the presentation of his characters. Among the best of his stories belongs the title story of his book Dėdės ir dėdienės (Uncles and Aunts),(7)

7. Writings, Vol. X.

in which the character of the aging bachelor Mykoliukas, the dreamer, whose real world lies on another planet, is convincingly presented. Unfortunately Vaižgantas did not leave behind any other integrated work. Even his Pagiedruliai (Rays of Light), the first part of which plays in Samogitia and the second in High Lithuania, does not contain any unified story, but consists of portraits loosely strung together and interwoven with lyric moods; /272/ the latter are often of great beauty, like the introductory description of winter, for example. Kuzmickis characterizes the artistic personality of the writer in the following words:

"Life seemed to Vaižgantas like a cinematographic film in which one can see whole series of pictures. In such series, fragments

538 of pictures, Vaižgantas writes his literary creations. He hurries with his presentation, jumps rapidly from one thing and is already interested in another. This fragmentary manner also becomes evident in Vaižgantas' style; he is uneven, sudden--here lyrically tender, there philosophically serious, in other places again journalistically instructive. In general his style is full of lively beauty and has an attractive effect in its naturalness and unaffectedness." (8)

8. Kuzmickis, loc. cit., Vol. V, p. 112.

Vaižgantas is also unquestionably important for the further development of the Lithuanian literary language.

Still another poet of the older generation must be discussed in this context, V. St. Vydūnas, born in 1868. Vydūnas is first of all a philosopher and mystic. He absorbed the theosophy of India, and also fashioned his own life according to deeply religious principles; in his numerous lectures he became the preacher of an ethical world view. The essence of his poetic works is allegorical, mystical and romantic. He stands alone in the development of Lithuanian literature, without predecessors and without successors, for he remains always the messenger and admonisher, even where he makes use of poetry as a means. When we survey the content of his long series of theatrical plays, we see that--with the possible exception of a few small comedies--they aim at the deepening of the Lithuanian man. Seen through this medium of inner observation, even the national idea, where it /Unnumbered page with illustration--Monastery Church of Pažaislis/ /273/ emerges in his poems, undergoes a peculiar transfiguration, which may be characterized in his own words, taken from his prose work Lūsų uždavinys (Our Task) published in 1910:

*538 "Above all it is necessary that each person in his soul cultivate true humanity, clarify his consciousness, deepen his feelings, purify his inclinations, strengthen his morality, hold in honor and nourish love and reason, and awaken his conscience." For "a people can only survive when it has spiritual and moral life which it cherishes and strengthens, even though only one single person did this." Among the dramas in which the idea of such a deepening stands out most clearly, we should mention first the dramatic trilogy Amžina ugnis (Eternal Fire), which appeared in 1913, an apotheosis of ancient Lithuanian religion, mystically introduced and concluded by the morning and evening songs of the flames; as well as the trilogy Probočių šešėliai (Shades of the Ancestors), written earlier but not printed until 1908. Here he pictures various phases of Lithuanian history, but the totality of the external events presented here becomes in the end a symbol, as in nearly all of his works.

Of his dramas it can be said quite in general that they do not correspond to what is understood by "dramas"; that is, they contain no conflicts and intrigues and thus also no solutions in the usual sense. They are poems in dialogue form, written sometimes in verse, sometimes in animated prose, filled with enthusiasm and optimism. Even their titles are characteristic: Jūrų varpai (Bells of the Seas), a mystery in three acts, 1920; Žvaigždžių takai (Paths of the Stars), a fairy tale drama, 1920; Likimo Bangos (Waves of Destiny), 1922; and others. Vydūnas gained influence on the aesthetic and ethical development of Lithuanian artistic life and above all on one section of the youth through his poetic, and perhaps even more through his philosophical and contemplative works and essays. (9)

113 9. Among the philosophical-theosophical works of Vydūnas may be named: Mirtis ir

113 kas toliau? (Death and What Then?)--Slēpiningoji žmogaus didybė (The Mysterious Majesty of Man)--Žmonijos kelias (The Way of Humanity) and others. His book Litauen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, which appeared in 1916, became known in Germany. The two publications Deutsch-litauischer Wortschatz, 1916, and Führer zur Erlernung der Anfangsgründe der litauischen Sprache, 1924, promote the teaching of the Lithuanian language. In these little manuals Vydūnas employs his own spelling system, which differs from that officially prescribed.

538* /274/ If Vydūnas occupies a unique position in Lithuanian literature both as a personality and as a poet, two further prose writers, who also belong to the prewar generation, lead us back into the realism of the present. Jonas Biliūnas (1879-1907) is the author of numerous tersely written short novelettes and tales. Born into a period astir with revolution, inwardly upheld by a strong social feeling, he was already the leader of a socialist student group at the gymnasium in Libau. Later he was even expelled by the University of Dorpat because of participation in student disturbances, and then took an active part in the socialist movement in Lithuania. An inner transformation was brought about by a visit for study in Leipzig in 1903, his marriage in the following year, and his move to Zürich. Here he studied literature and the history of art, renounced politics completely, and dedicated himself entirely to literary activity. The last two years were the most fruitful for him. In 1907, like many other Lithuanian writers a victim of misery and privation, he died of consumption.

The artistic development of Biliūnas progresses from the pure socialism and materialism of his youth ever more strongly to an idealistic in-

538 terpretation of life, from external presentation to psychological depth. His last works are veiled in resignation. His short stories are written in a concentrated style, which is graphic and effective. Their subject matter is formed by the fate of those who are disinherited and rejected by life, presented by the author in all their somber reality. One of his best tales, "Liūdna pasaka" (Sad News), deals with the revolution of 1863.

Vienuolis-Žukauskas (born 1882) belongs today among the best known writers of the country. He treats principally problems of the present, so that the progress of the intellectual and political /275/ development after the repeal of the prohibition on printing can be clearly followed in his works. Realistic and often satirical in his presentations, he combines a vision gained through wide travelling with a great gift of observation, and for that reason he also became a leader in the field of artistic journalism. Typical of his writing is the individual characterization and psychological depth of the personalities represented. Especially well known among his works are the Kaukazo legendos (Legends from the Caucasus), the novelettes Paskendūolė (The Drowned Woman) and Inteligentų palata, as well as his novel Viešnia iš šiaurės (The Stranger from the North). Dr. G. Wirschubski actually calls him the "Lithuanian Chekhov," (10) but A. Vaičiulaitis correctly stresses

[113] 10. Dr. G. Wirschubski, "Die Entwicklung der litauischen Literatur," in the periodical Osteuropa, June, 1929.

that Chekhov was a foe of any kind of description of nature, (11) which plays an important role in

[113] 11. A. Vaičiulaitis, Natūralizmas ir lietuvių literatūra (Kaunas, 1936), p. 88.

Vienulois writing. Unquestionably, however, a dev-

538 elopment can be traced in [illegible]enuolis' work that led him from the sentimentalism of his youth through realism to an originally merciless naturalism such as characterizes the novel Prieš dieną (Before Day). With a cool, objective method of observation the author introduces us here to a number of people who move only on the lowest plane of selfishness, sensuality, and instinct. From the works of the last years speaks again a more positive interpretation of life, a conscious emphasis on the national, but without pathos, and at the same time the desire for a historical knowledge of the past. In 1932 appeared the novel Kryžkelyj (At the Crossroads), a historical tale from the time of the Grand Duke Vytautas. In view of the artistic talent of this writer, the further development of his work must be followed with interest.

Independent and self-willed in interpretation and presentation is Jurgis Savickis, born in 1891, whose two volumes of novelettes, Šventadienio sonetai (Holiday Sonnets) and Ties aukštu sostu (Before the High Throne) disclose a highly cultivated literary mind. With sharp eyes he catches life, represents it in unusual images by /276/ means of a concise style, and thus often attains special effects. Characteristic of his style is, for example, the following brief description:

> A chilly late afternoon. Behind the spruce forest the red cloth of evening let down from the sky. It is so cold. Shivering and uncomfortable. The wind makes this red cloth flutter--a rag, hung up and entangled in the two branches of a dry birch. Once lightning struck here. It is as though murderers had once been hanged on them, laden with heavy guilt, and the trees did not endure it and dried out. (12)

12. Kuzmickis, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 260.

The subject matter of the new literature

538 underwent a complete change compared to the prewar period: the political idea, the political ends (political enlightenment, educational questions) take their place within a wider area of life. Thereby the poetic work springs more and more from inner artistic compulsion and, just as in lyrics, achieves subjective depth. To be sure, along with the problems of the present a role is also played here by the dynamic forces which for almost a century carried the history of the people forward and led, through the revolutions of 1863 and 1905, to the first World War and the founding of the state. Characteristic are, for example, the three volumes of Marcinkevičius Mes ateinam (We Are Coming) and Benjaminas Kordušas, as well as the novel in two volumes of Vaidilutės Tėviškė (Home), which deals with the Lithuanian village during the years from 1905 to the postwar period. A historical tale by Šalčiuvienė, Juozukas, has as its setting the stirring revolutionary times of the last century. A large panorama of cultural history, noteworthy in its language and characterizations, is given by Simonaitytė in her novel Aukštųjų Šimonių likimas (The Fate of the Šimoniai from Aukštujai), which received the state prize for 1935. The life and times of the poet and clergyman Strazdas are reflected in the dramatic chronicle Prieš /277/ srovę (Against the Stream) by J. Petrulis. The realm of the purely historical novel and the historical narrative is fostered by K. Puida, who also became known through poetic and dramatic writings as well as through numerous translations. It is only natural that the present generation seeks to assimilate and to analyze those happenings which directed into different paths the destiny of the people and thereby of every individual, and redeemed it from the bonds of centuries.

In addition, however, the questions of the day as well as the great complex of social, economic, and spiritual problems and of the change conditioned by them, with which one has to come to

538 terms, become predominant. But not only the subject matter of the new generation of writers is basically changed; their language, too, is different: it gains in fullness, richness, and modes of expression, and it receives a thoroughly individual stamp, though it has a more or less regional coloring in very many writers. Ignas Šeinius, who is important for the development of the new prose and prose style, wrote in a light and formally beautiful language, filled with lyricism, his works Vasaros vaišes (Gifts of the Summer), Bangos siaučia (Roaring Waves), and Kuprelis (The Hunchback), the lyrically moving story of a hunchback who experiences bitter disappointment in his love through his bodily handicap, and who belongs to the dreamers who do not find their way in life. The author puts words like these in his mouth:

> "Were not the Lithuanians strong, when their way to God was still shorter, and when they felt God more strongly and more often and thought less? The symbols of their faith, the language of their faith, bound them to God with every step, at every time, and on every day. The Lithuanian felt God through the sun, the moon, the wind, and the storm--was that a bad way?"

/278/ Problems of the present are treated by Petras Cvirka in his Frank Kruk, a sharp satire against the materialism of the American Lithuanians which stirred up a good deal of dust. In Žemė maitintoja (Earth the Nourisher) the life of the new settlers comes alive, and Meisteris ir sūnus leads us into the world of tailors, carpenters, and smiths. Juozas Gruškas takes the material for his novel Karjeristai (Success Hunter) from the life of officials, and Neveravičius treats in his book Dienos ir naktys the position of the unwed mother in the framework of society. A second novel, Flickering Flames, appeared in 1936. The life of the gymnasium teacher is presented in

*538 the novel Pirmieji metai (The First Year). In his novel in two volumes Ieškau gyvenimo draugo (I Seek a Companion through Life) Liudas Dovydėnas introduces us to the life of elementary school teachers. Another of his works from peasant life, Broliai Domeikos (The Brothers Domeika) earned for him the state prize in 1936. (13) Along with

[658]

13. The Lithuanian state, since 1935, has regularly given a prize of money for the most valuable literary work of the year: the importance of this practice should not be underestimated, since in a small nation, even under the most favorable circumstances, literary works have editions of only a few thousand copies.

those already mentioned, Inčiūra and Zobarskas are making a name for themselves among the writers of novels. A tender and subtle love story, Valentina, was published by Vaičiulaitis.

536 In comparison to the abundance of prose publications, especially of the last decades, dramatic writing has been secondary, although its traditions, too, reach back as far as the period of the prohibition on printing. Along with Fromas Gužutis (1822-1900), whose drama in five acts Ponai ir Mužikai (Lords and Peasants) is based on the relations between the nobility and the people, Petliukas and Landsbergis-Žemkalnis, with his drama Blinda, became known after 1900. The greatest success was achieved by Keturakis (pseudonym for J. Vilkutaitis) with his peasant comedy, published in 1895, Amerika Pirtyje (America in the Pirtis), which at that time went across all the amateur stages of Lithuania and has still proved to be a drawing card even today. In addition, Šiaulėniškis may be named; his drama Sparnai (Wings) is under the influence of modern symbolism.

/279/ The development of Lithuanian dramatic

536 writing could become stronger only after the repeal of the prohibition on printing. The dramatic works of Maironis and Vydūnas have already been mentioned in another place. In this context belongs also the dramatic work of Sofija Čiurlionienė-Kymantaitė. Her drama Aušros sūnus (Son of Aušra) was produced with success, and her fairy play, published in 1932, of the twelve brothers who were transformed into crows, and in which various Lithuanian fairy tale motifs are interwoven, found great approval. Finally, from an earlier period stems a number of smaller comedies which appeared in 1920 under the title Komedijos (Comedies). Čiurlionienė also made a name for herself as a prose writer. Written with refined sentiment is her novel Šventmarė, published in 1937, which presents before our eyes in plastic images the conditions in a Catholic rectory toward the end of the century. In the center of the plot stands the clergyman himself, the "Šventmarė," the "holy" bigoted Marie, and above all the girl Barbutė as typical of the young female generation of the period; she is especially well characterized, with her ardent wish to learn and educate herself.

Among the most successful dramatists of the present belongs Petras Vaičiūnas, born in 1890, whose dramas have been produced by the Kaunas state theater with great popular success. Tuščios pastangos (Vain Exertions), 1926, for example is based on the problem of the educated Lithuanian who comes from the country and who is inclined in the city to forget rapidly everything that connects him with the village. In Patriotai the author exposes the false patriotism which becomes a pretence for impure purposes. In the same way Nuodemingas angelas (The Sinful Angel), Sulaužyta priesaika (The Broken Oath), and other dramas of the same author were performed with great acclaim. It may be added that 538 Vaičiūnas also possesses a reputation as a lyricist and has become very popular through several of his poems.

300 poems.

536 /280/ A great artistic success has been achieved in the last years by Balys Sruoga, who has already been discussed as a lyricist, with his verse dramas Milžino paunksnej (In the Shadow of the Giant) and Baisioji naktis (The Terrible Night). The first is built around the person of the "giant," Grand Duke Vytautas, who does not make an appearance himself but determines the course of the plot through his personality; (14) the second deals with

[113] 14. The first act is printed in Horst Engert, Aus litauischer Dichtung(Kaunas, 1935), pp. 77-104 (Deutsche Nachdichtungen).

the revolution of 1905, in which it is not the revolution but the lack of understanding in wide circles of its deeper meaning and the absence of a high goal which seems terrible to the author--the night which still enveloped the people at that time. Among the dramas of the last years, the historico-biographical portrait Vincas Kudirka by Inčiura should be named. J. Petrulis achieved the greatest success with his often produced drama Prieš srovę (Against the Stream), in which the period of serfdom comes alive. Finally, the great poems of Krėvė, Šarūnas, Skirgaila, and Likimo keliais (On the Paths of Fate), which will be discussed in the next section, also have dramatic form. Enough of names!

538 In the present context we can only give a brief survey of the Lithuanian literature of the present. Thus in conclusion only two more writers will be mentioned, who seem mature and finished enough in their art to permit a judgment, and who on the other hand can be considered as typical representatives of the Lithuanian art of the present both in their subject matter and also in their treatment of the material--Mykolaitis-Putinas and Krėvė-Mickevičius--the former born in 1894, the latter twelve years

* [see pp. 302 - 303, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

*538 older.

15. /No reference given in the text; seems to belong somewhere between fn. 14 and this point./ Ibid., pp. 65 and 67.

C. V. Mykolaitis-Putinas and Krėvė-Mickevičius

If the idea of the nation which should awaken to new life stood in the center of the poems of Maironis, Putinas embodies among the living poets the purely subjective trend. /281/ Putinas is a born lyricist; he sees all things through the prism of purely personal experience. Thus the external world of phenomena becomes for him in the last analysis only a means of giving expression to feelings and ideas. Although he, too, had originally been a priest, only a few of his poems have a religious content, and even these often change into tender and deeply felt poems on nature. Each of these poetic creations is a work of art complete in itself, finished in form, musical in expression, and sustained by a strong inner rhythm. In his earlier poems the formative, pictorial element is more subordinate to the purely emotional one, which he predominant. His most beautiful poems are written from original, elementary experience; they are no reflections. They all bear the character of uniqueness, and more than anything else the poet avoids repetitions or variations of the same theme.

In the development of the artist a clear sequence of stages can be noted, which leads from the poems of his youth first to a period of symbolism. Fairly long stays in Switzerland and in Munich were probably decisive here. Characteristic of the poems of this period are elementary, and sometimes stormy, outbreaks of mental shock and deep pessimism. In later years the poet returned to a classic simplicity of form and expression. The inner images seem now more clearly seen and more distinctly fashioned. A gentle melancholy pervades the works of the last period. Two of

538 his most beautiful poems[1] Two of are reproduced below in the German translations of Horst Engert.

The Man of Sorrows

My dear God, what bright nights!
And what a height of broad skies!
And stars, stars! large ones and also small ones,
They shine, very movingly, my dear God.

/282/ I shall go, I said to myself, on a level road;
On a level road, there the will is free,
On a level road in the bright nights,
Only there can one, young, think high thoughts.

But why do you sit, my watchful dear God,
By the level road, sorrowfully crouching?
By the level road, where those laden with care
Wander alone through the day with sighs?

My dear God, have our sorrows
Prayed you down from heaven to this road,
Perhaps too, these bright autumn nights
Have dreamed you up out of our earth?

So receive me then, watchfully, dear Lord of Sorrows,
To meditate tonight on the level road. --
Oh, that in the heights of heaven the bright stars
Shine so very movingly, my dear God.

Romance

As the first gift of the smiling sun of spring
You flew to my breast with blossoming feeling,

1 [Putinas' -- Analyst]

538

And even now, when I quietly think of your
name,
The sun always laughs at me and the blos-
soms are fragrant.

I do not know if you were with me long:
Between two dawns the night did not get
dark.
And even now, with the glow of these dawns
The sky shines here in the evening, my
being is enkindled.

I do not know if you will return someday,
Nor how far a first joy sends forth its
light;--
But the smiling and happiness of the spring
sun entreats you
To hide from me, that you cannot do.

/283/ Wherever I go, light and blossoms are
round about,
All my thoughts are again brought into
confusion,
As once, when you joyfully flew to my
breast,--
Even if today I have only night, only
night.

536 From the lyrics of his youth Putinas went on to drama and prose. In the mystery play Nuvainikuotoji vaidilutė (The Sinful Priestess) he seeks to grasp the calling and destiny of his people; in his Valdovas he gives a drama of the warlike early history: by murdering the legitimate ruler, Krūšna, an ambitious, cruel despot, has come into power. He has the son of the murdered man educated together with his own son, Gytis. But political enemies kidnap the children, who grow up far from him and finally rise up against the despot. They are taken prisoners, and at the

1 [1894 -- Analyst]

536 meeting with Krūšna Gytis provokes him so greatly that the ruler draws his sword and fatally wounds him. Only then does Gytis confess to his father who he is, and the father recognizes his son:

> It is he . . .it is he . . .only now comes recognition,
> Oh his eyes!--what eyes--oh!
> And how he looks-- --oh--yo accursed father!
> He calls his father--yes, he calls to me.

Paternal feeling gains the upper hand in Krūšna. His kingdom and his power no longer mean anything to him. All earthly values pale before the elementary experience of this hour.

538 If Putinas had already drawn to himself the attention of wide circles through his lyrics and his dramas, with his novel in three volumes Altorių šešėlyj (In the Shadow of the Altars), published in 1933, he achieved the greatest popular success that up to that time had ever been accorded a novel in Lithuania. A lively language, which, in contrast to that of most of the other authors, was not colored by dialect and was understandable to all, as well as the novelty and boldness of the theme contributed to its success.

/284/ In the center of the plot stands the young Vasaris, destined by his parents to the priesthood, a shy and uncommunicative youth. A stranger to life and the world, born to be an artist, he experiences the contradiction between the bright and shining world for which he longs and the narrowness of the external and internal life in the seminary of the prewar period. Still fully uncertain as to his real calling, driven by consideration for his parents, whose happiness he would otherwise destroy, fired by ideals to become a brilliant leader of his people like Maironis, he takes the vows. In the second part of the book

538 we see him as a young vicar in the company of other clergymen, who are all drawn with sharp strokes. There is the priest Platūnas, who lives only for his husbandry; Stripaitis, who is completely immersed in the Lithuanian cooperative movement; the idealist Ramutis; and many others. But Vasaris begins to feel ever more strongly that he lacks the calling for his profession. He fashions his life more freely, his thinking changes above all through his love for the wife of Baron Rainakis, the patron lord of his church. Then the World War overtakes him. He sets out for St. Petersburg to study at the Clerical Academy there. Once more he turns around in his wagon toward the village. He hears a thundering crash and sees the tower of his church fall, blown up by the Russians at the approach of the German troops.

It was like a blow that Vasaris felt in his breast. The tower to which the duties of the priesthood, care, and sorrow had bound him was in ruins. It seemed to him that not only the tower had fallen apart, but that with it fell apart many beautiful dreams and ideals of his youth, which had once led him to this place.

In the last part of the novel Vasaris returns to his homeland in the year 1924. Completely alienated from his profession, he lives for his artistic work.

/285/ According to the author's own confession, two problems made him write this novel--the relation of the priesthood to artistic work and the problem of the ex-priest who turns to a
538 secular activity. It should be remembered in
793 this connection that according to Russian law
565 no Lithuanian could occupy an official position
[463] in his home province, which left only the few free professions, and the priesthood for advancement from the peasant class. Thus the majority of the creative intelligentsia of the country was found among the priests to the time of

538 793 [565] the first World War. As a consequence, even after the founding of the state the Lithuanian clergy played a decisive role in many high state offices. From this results the extraordinary significance of this class at that time and also the breadth of the artistic theme, measured by Lithuanian standards, which Putinas treats in his novel. Concerning the Lithuanian clergyman the author writes in his preface:

> "The Lithuanian clergyman was both farmer and member of a cooperative, financier, politician, diplomat, minister, physican, and--God knows what else. He agitated at public meetings--even today he takes part in the internal deliberations of the political parties. The Lithuanian clergyman was a literary man as well--sometimes a story teller, but more frequently a poet . . .The Lithuanian clergyman, very often forced into the seminary, sometimes also enrolled out of a misunderstanding, attracted by foreign ideals, gathered within himself the most varied gifts and talents . . . And again and again one or another gifted Lithuanian priest feels the necessity to give up the priesthood . . . Here lies a whole series of sociological, religious, and psychological problems."

538 It is only understandable that the appearance of such a realistic and at the same time artistically fashioned work would lead to lively controversies (16) which /286/ concerned less the

113 16. Cf. for example Grinius, "Putino Altoriu šešelyj" (Putinas, In the Shadow of the Altars), Židinys, 1933, Vol. XVII, pp. 46-53 (on the first two volumes). Further: K. Korsakas, Kritika (Criticism), the chapter "Kunigas Liudas Vasaris literatūr-

113

oje ir visuomenėj" (The Clergyman Liudas Vasaris in Literature and in Public), pp. 69-159.

538 artistic structure than the content, particularly the question to what extent the characters presented here and seen sometimes in the light of sharp criticism can be generalized--the latter, the author expressly denies when he writes:

> "He (the author) knew also that the most important figures of his novel are not typical, that they are personalities who differ from the various groups, and perhaps even exceptions."

Artistically the work may be said to represent the first real psychological novel in Lithuanian literature. It is written in a lively fashion with an excellent characterization of the personalities represented, who come to life especially in the dialogues. The plot serves essentially to clarify the inner development of the hero. Along with beautiful lyric episodes--the festival of the youth on the Aukštakalnis--psychological processes undergo an artistic analysis, characteristic of which is, for example, the last temptation of Liudas Vasaris before he takes the vows: years ago as a young seminary student Vasaris saw the picture of a naked slave girl in an illustrated magazine and discussed this picture with the cynic Variokas, who later left the seminary; he is fatigued and distracted by recollections.

On this day, after the common evening prayer, while the rest of the clerics went away, the six remained behind for the usual brief conference with their spiritual father. Their spiritual father spoke about the meaning of their confessions on the following day. But Vasaris

538 heard only a few of the first sentences. Then for some reason his thoughts slid back, and Varioka suddenly stood before his eyes as if he were alive and said, laughing cynically:

. . --Comedy, everything is comedy . . .

The conversation that the two had once had in the garden of the seminary during the first course began to come to life in Vasari's memory. Variokas' /287/ reproaches against the clergymen and his own confessions were not suitable to these recollections, and Vasaris directed his thoughts again to the words of the conference. A slight dizziness overcame him, but he heard clearly how the spiritual father said:

--The lusts of the flesh, concupiscentia carnis, are the greatest and most dangerous enemy of the spiritual life.

And at the same moment there appeared in the imagination of Vasaris, as if lighted by a magic flame, the naked slave girl from the magazine Klosai, and his own voice said:

--Too slim. The thigh is thicker than the body.

--Fool! --answered the voice of Variokas. --Those are the wonderful racy forms of a woman of the East.

Vasaris shook his head to defend himself against the unchaste picture, and he heard again the words of the spiritual father:

--Oh, dear brothers, may God protect you from such misfortune! The position of a young clergyman in his community then becomes . . .

But the slave girl did not disappear from

538 Vasaris' imagination! He saw that her slender body was bent so that three soft folds were formed above her hip. He directed his eyes and all his thoughts toward the spiritual father, but the body of the slave girl did not disappear. And the more he strove to get rid of her, the clearer she became; ever stronger, like the onset of a disease, like a terror, she overwhelmed his thoughts.

--Almighty God!--thought the cleric--what is going on in me. Such a thing never happened to me before.

At the end of the conference he immediately left the chapel, since he thought that a change of place would drive away the unchaste picture. He knew from the manuals of spiritual life that one must not fight with a temptation at the beginning, but should flee it. So he tried to flee. He tried /288/ to think about the simplest things, but the temptation chased after him and stood again before his eyes. He stopped for a moment in front of the window to look at the weather, but in the glass of the window appeared again the slave girl. No longer bound with chains, but free, she stood before him with her whole body and laughed shamelessly.

That was terrible. Vasaris felt within himself the desire, which came constantly nearer from afar, to look at the picture, to see his fill of this young body . . . But that would already be assent, sin, and perhaps even heavy sin . . . So he ran further. He returned to his room and began to read in the Holy Scripture. But the letters grew hazy before his eyes; it was as if a spring wound up within him prevented him from sitting down. He went into the corridor, and striding back and forth he tried to think of something friendly that would divert him from those dangerous images. He began to dream of home, how his parents and everyone at home would

538 be glad when he returned as a subdeacon.

--And Luzie?

What then; nothing much. She had certainly given him freedom and even urged him to become a clergyman.

--Why didn't I kiss her then? Just once in my whole life. At that time I was certainly not a subdeacon . . .

He clearly felt that he was thinking with satisfaction and regret of something that did not belong to him and that was sinful. Earlier, and not only once, he had already contemplated that this kiss, if the two of them had kissed each other at that time, would have been a sin. And when it now became clear to him that his reveries about Luzie also came from temptation, Vasaris tried to flee from her too. But to flee from Luzie was even more difficult. In his imagination there awoke not only she herself, but also all his expectations, /Unnumbered page with illustration --Museum of Vytautas the Great in Kaunas/ /289/ all the impulses of his heart, which were gentle and yet powerful, since they came from nature itself. This had already happened before, but on that evening, along with these pure pulsations of a youthful heart, something low, something passionate and sensual that had not been there earlier began to confuse him.

Now his imagination began to paint Luzie for him in lascivious, impure colors. He remembered how once, when they sat on the Aušra Mountain, he had glimpsed her leg somewhat above the knee. At that time he had been very much ashamed and had not cast another glance at it. Now, however, what he had seen then, suddenly came to life, confused his thoughts, and shook him with indescribable passion. It also came into his memory how Luzie's breasts stood out under

538 her light little summer dress,--and that her lips were symmetrical, red, and swelling. The missed kiss burned him now like embers left behind in the ashes and rekindled.

He strode through the corridor, went down to the hall and back upstairs, but the insane pictures raged incessantly in his tortured brain as in a demoniacal movie. And again it was the slave girl, and again Luzie. And both at the same time, and one changed into the other.

None strokes of the bell sounded through the empty corridors--and Vasaris found himself suddenly with the crowding wave of clerics again in the church to attend the sanctissimum for the last time. That lasted five, perhaps ten minutes; the chapel was cleared quickly, but he was afraid to go to bed. His imagination and his thoughts were so excited that he knew for certain that he would not be able to go to sleep. He stayed and knelt alone in the empty chapel,which was illuminated only by a red oil lamp. In the last /290/ year he had spent many hours here, but those had been calm contemplations and later actually hours of useless sitting.

Now, however, he trembled and burned all over, seized by an incomprehensible passion. Here in this holy place across from the tabernaculum Sanctissimi he felt in the glow of the red lamp some sort of terrible being that lay in wait for his destruction. And to his greatest horror he became aware that he, who had never vividly felt God, was suddenly beginning to feel the devil. Terrified by his morbid imagination he was afraid to move and look around. The two saints placed in the niches in the wall, otherwise so still, terrified him today with their dumbness, their cassocks, their surplices, their aureoles, and their own unreality.

But the images threw him from one horror into another. What he had once unconsciously seen

538 of unchastity now grew into loathsome apparitions of immorality. He thought of some other advice in the manuals of spiritual life; that he who wanted to protect himself against temptation and did not succeed in getting away from it, must imagine the opposite things, preferably the images of the sufferings of Christ. He covered his face with his hands and tried to imagine the whole Way of the Cross, as stated in the second part of the rosary. --Deep concentration and great will power were necessary for this. In the end the Saviour is nailed to the cross which raised up on the hill. But--oh blasphemy of God! In place of the suffering Christ there jeered down shamelessly from the cross the slender slave girl.

Vasaris felt that he was sinking in a terrible black abyss and that a cold breath stroked the back of his head. He did not see it, but he felt it clearly, /291/ that the floor creaked and an invisible being shuffled toward him through the last row of benches. He wanted to pray, but an elemental fear sealed not only his lips, but also his heart and will. But the apparition bent toward his ear, and he saw that it was Variokas, no, not Variokas, but someone indescribably loathsome, who whispered:

---Comedy, comedy, comedy . . .

And from the other side someone else bent down and whispered even more horrigly:

--You, you are like us: you look at the girls, and you want to kiss, want to, want to . . .

And the first mocked again with his loathsome smile:

--Just become a priest, a good one, a good one, a good one . . .

Vasaris felt so horrible under their burning gazes and the hellish whispering that he pulled all his strength together and heavily and painfully groaned aloud. At this moment someone laid a hand on his shoulder. He sprang up

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from the bench and saw in the glow of the red lamp a tall, black figure before him.

--Why don't you go to bed?--said the spiritual father to him. --You should not exert yourself like this. You are shaking and moaning like a sick man. Is something wrong?

Laboriously Vasaris began to think over what had occurred he was dizzy, but he felt light, since everything had passed.

.....

That night Vasaris slept the sleep of the dead. On the next morning he still had a slight feeling of dizziness, and during the first meditation he slept with open eyes . . .(17)

17. Vol. I, pp. 351-358.

/292/ A second novel of his author, Crisis, leads directly into the events of the present, the great revolution that is going on in all spheres of life. (18)

18. At the time this book was completed the work was not yet available in book form.

Basically different from Putinas, but in his production just as, or perhaps even more, characteristic of what we can describe as typically Lithuanian, appears the somewhat older Vincas Krėvė-Mickevičius, born in 1882, a university professor like Putinas, for many years dean of the humanistic faculty, and a folklorist whose collections of fairy tales, sagas, and songs have also made a name for him in the scientific world. (19)

113

19. We may mention, for example, Dainavos krašto liaudies dainos (The Folk Songs of

113 the Province Dainava) (1924). --Sparnuočiai liaudies padavimuose (Winged Creatures in Folk Tradition) (1933). --Aitvaras liaudies padavimuose (The Aitvaras in Folk Tradition) (1933). --Dzūkų poringes (Folk Tales of the Dzūkijans), and others.

538 Vincas Krėvė is the creator of a neo-romanticism that is nourished from the living depths of the folk saga. At the same time he is also a realist, even a naturalist in his psychological tales, which deal with the Lithuanian village of the most recent past.

Krėvė has listened deeply to the world of old sagas and heroic stories which he found still alive today in his home province of Dzūkija. They became for him the foundation of his dramatic poems Šarūnas, Skirgaila, and others. Probably the most important is the poem of Prince Šarūnas (1911), which introduces the reader to the time before the battles of the religious orders. But this Lithuania has nothing realistic about it, historical coloring is unimportant to the author, and his poem takes place "in very ancient times"; it is a mysterious land, as it is reflected in the old sagas, and its people are doers and dreamers at the same time, mystically related to the events and the secret of nature. Mystical and mysterious, a primitive man, passionate, revengeful, an enemy of Christianity, nourished completely from the elemental qualities of his nature, is Šarūnas, the prince, who wants to overcome the local princes of his country, unite the land of Dzūkija, and establish himself as the sole ruler. Bold and ambitious in his plans, also a friend of poetry, Šarūnas is, on the other side, the man who longs for love and happiness. To these two /293/ sides of his character corresponds the double

tragedy of his fate: he is unable to realize his 538
ambitious plans and must leave them to his heir, Mindaugas; and he meets disaster in his personal fate as well, when, blinded by jealousy, he slays his noble wife Vovorē. To be sure, this family tragedy only forms a border around the basic idea of the poem--the uniting of the land of Dzūkija.

"Only one sun stands in the sky, only one ruler shall be in Dainava, or the earth will not retain me alive."

Beside Šarūnas the drawing of the other charcters in the poem pales; he himself is represented above life-size, the way the old folk sagas portray him. (20) The poem is written in

20. Cf. here Krėvė's scholarly investigations on Šarūnas, printed in Mūsų tautosaka (Our [113]
Folk Poetry), Vol. I, pp. 90-123.

lyric language.

A second historical poem of Krėvė--Skir- 538*
gaila (1925)--forms as to period and content of 536
ideas a sequel to the first. The drama in four acts is based on the relations of this Grand Duke to Poland and the German orders. In the center of the plot stands the daughter of the prince of Lyda, Ona Duonutė, who is loved by the German knight Keller and loves him in turn. In the second act there is a clash between Skirgaila and the knight. Skirgaila forces the princess to become his wife, and through this marriage unites her land with his. The climax of the drama is formed by the third act, in which the grand duke fights a difficult inner battle. He sees the importance of the old pagan gods and the power of the Christian God, he feels himself politically threatened by Poland as well as the orders, and he sees his marriage endangered by the love of his wife for the German knight. Finally the feeling of revenge gains the victory. In the last act

538 536 the conflict is resolved: the grand duke accomplishes his cruel revenge by having Keller buried alive. In the intensity of its tragedy this work achieves the power of high drama.

/294/ No less characteristic than this drama is the poem Dainavos šalies senų žmonių padavimai (Sagas of the Ancients from the Land of Dainava), written in an elevated lyric language, the introduction of which I have given in German translation in my book Hinter den Seen, hinter den Wäldern. Bilder litauischen Volkstums. Here the full romantic splendor of Krėvė's language is unfolded, and the mysterious mood of the ancient pagan land is transferred directly to the reader. This poem tells of the dreaming girls at copper gates awaiting the youths who ride up on dark brown horses with silver hoofs and golden bridles, of death in battle and mourning for the beloved. The whole mood of the idealizing dainos comes alive here.

But the Lithuanian village has still another side, and that Krėvė knew how to capture this also proves the breadth of his artistic conception. His drama Žentas (The Son-in-Law) portrays for us the results of a marriage concluded without love, only for considerations of property, and the discord in a peasant family in plastic and realistic 538 images; in the peasant tales that are collected in Volumes II and III of his works under the title Šiaudinėj pastogėj (Under the Straw Roof) he gives us analyses and pictures of conditions of the peasant life of the most recent prewar period. In their realism they actually recall at times Žemaitė, for example when the author describes a ruined village hut in "Vargingame gyvenime" (Life in Misery).

P. Lapienė very perceptively notes in one place in her analysis of the writings of Krėvė (21) that every people seen from the outside

21. In Varpas, 1932, No. 3, pp. 214-15.

makes on the observer the impression of a monolith, but that with closer observation very great differences appear. Likewise where civilization, is more firmly established, psychological differences are adjusted to a greater extent under its influence than in those countries where the general ×538 /295/ level of culture is lower. It may be left undecided whether the fact that there are in the country more independent and individual minds, more "originals" than in the city, is solely dependent on the level of culture, and whether the greater independence from other people of the peasant who works hiw own land does not perhaps also lead to a greater inner freedom with regard to people and things and thus to the development of individual characters. Such an individual character is portrayed by Krėvė, for example, in his tale "Skerdžius" (The Shepherd). The ancient Lapinas, a great joker and liar, animist, pantheist, and mystic, who believes in laumas, the evil fairies, and to whom the forest seems filled with magic, imagines that he will live as long as the linden tree of the peasant Grainis. And when the latter one day fells the linden, Lapinas also dies--perhaps from a cold--an explanation which the writer leaves open for the doubting reader. Another tale, "Bobulės vargai" (The Labors of the Old People), is more a portrayal of conditions, a presentation in which the many household tasks of a summer day which thousands of such old women have to accomplish are pictured quite realistically and typically. In the short tale "Silkės" (The Herrings) we read a fine psychological presentation of a naive country girl. Here the maid Marcelė has stolen a few herrings from an old, half-blind Jew who sold herrings to the farmer's wife and is then scolded by her and frightened by the prospect of confession. The few words are buried so deep in her subconscious that she has a very unusual dream during the night.

538 She is in heaven.

"There it was as beautiful as in the church at Pivašiūnai. Everywhere candles and lights were burning. The Lord himself, gray, with a long beard, sat high upon the altar, and round about him all the angels; some, quite small, as in the picture of the Holy Virgin at Merkinė, flew high and low around God, and others, quite large in long dresses, with large wings at their shoulders, knelt at the altar and /296/ had their delicate hands folded like young priests or clerics and praised God."

Heaven is full of souls, "like the church at Merkinė at the festival of St. Rochus." Finally Marcelė sees also her dead mother. She wants to push through to her, but an angel blocks her way. He scolds her, that she would soil the white robes of the souls in her everyday dress, and addresses her rudely:

"Why did you bring the herrings into the house of God? -- So that they will make a stench?"

Marcelė looks down at herself and sees that she is in fact holding in her hand the three herrings, which, however, she had already eaten, and that the brine runs down on her dress.

"Then the angel took her by the hand and led her through all of heaven straight to the throne of God. Marcelė was so ashamed that she would have liked best to creep into a hole" . . .

"And the souls accompanied her. The most difficult thing for Marcelė was that the angel led her past the place where her mother sat. Although Marcelė did not raise her eyes, she felt how her mother looked at her painfully. She felt it and became red as a berry of the mountain-ash.

538+

Before God she is unable to justify herself. She is thrown out of heaven, the door is locked behind her, and she stands outside, surrounded by horned devils. In a terrible fright, she wakes up bathed in sweat.

And now her naivete is shown for the second time. She sneaks stealthily into the front room in the dark night, takes three eggs of the farmer's wife out of the closet, and hides them in the sand,

> "and impatiently she waits for Sunday, when she will bring the eggs to Kušlius and thereby pay him for the stolen herrings! . . .Then she will no longer have to be afraid that she will be thrown out of heaven for stealing! . . ."

/297/ These brief examples may suffice. The psychological and also the descriptive element stands in the foreground of these tales; the actual plot is frequently subordinate. The poet sees his characters from a superior point of observation; he portrays their fates with light irony, but also with inner sympathy. With respect to their literary and folklorish value, the peasant stories of Kreve mark a high point in the development of Lithuanian literature up to now.

- -

We have thus concluded our survey of the development and growth of Lithuanian literature up to the most recent present. We have seen how this literature, which originated and grew at first under a foreign star, essentially obtained its independence and own character only in our century. Within the framework of the present book it required detailed consideration, for in it is reflected the inner spiritual development of the Lithuanian people, the driving forces of which we wanted to show, and the progress of which we wanted to determine.

7: Jungfer RB5 Lithuanians RB5
186

[For the theme of nationalism in Lithuanian literature, see category 116, pp. 221-341]

7: Jungfer RB5 Lithuanians RB5
538

[For a discussion of literature in Lithuania, see category 116, pp. 83-110, and 221-341.
Pp. 83-110 include the Raudos or Lamentations for the Dead; Fairy Tales and Sagas; Proverbs and Sayings; Folk Riddles; Study of the Lithuanian Folklore.
Pp. 221-341 cover Lithuania's Artistic Literature. Pp. 221-226: The Literature of the 16th and 17th centuries. Pp. 226-234: The Beginning of Poetry in the 18th century. Pp. 234-262: The Literature of the 19th century up to the Proclamation of the Prohibition of Printing; The University of Vilna and the Period of Romanticism; From the Closing of the University to the Ending of Serfdom. Pp. 262-298: The Period of the Prohibition of Printing (1865-1904) - The Epoch of the Ausra; Prose Writing by Women at the End of the Century; Maironis and the Idealism in the Lyrics of His Time. Pp. 298-341: A Cross Section of the Most Recent Developments in Lithuanian Literature - The Period of Transition; The New Lyricism; Prose and Drama; Mykolaitis Putinas and Kreve Mickevicius.]

7: Jungfer RB5 Lithuanians RB5
531

[For a discussion of wooden crosses in Lithuania, see cat. 116, pp. 111, 124-133.]

7: Jungfer RB5 Lithuanians RB5
341

[For the development of various architectural styles in Lithuania, see category 116, pp. 111-124 (architecture in the country), and 162b-194 (architecture in the cities).]

Dr. V. JUNGFER / LITAUEN

7: Jungfer RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Dr. VICTOR JUNGFER

LITAUEN

ANTLITZ EINES VOLKES

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VORWORT

Die Kenntnisse der Völker über einander erschöpfen sich in einer Reihe von Missverständnissen. Wohl gibt es Bücher zur Orientierung. Aber Bücher über fremde Länder schreibt man umso leichter, je weniger man von ihnen weiss. Die Schwierigkeiten steigen mit der Kenntnis. Was bei flüchtiger Betrachtung als reizvoller Gegensatz erschien, den man in einer geistreichen Antithese den heimatlichen Verhältnissen entgegenstellen konnte, löst sich bei näherer Betrachtung in einer Fülle parallellaufender Erscheinungen auf. Dinge, die zunächst absolut fremd aussehen, zeigen hinter ihrer äusseren Haut plötzlich bekannte Gesichter. Probleme werden hinfällig, die dem flüchtigen Betrachter als solche erscheinen, dafür tauchen andere auf, die mühsam zu erforschen sind, und deren selbst ausführliche Darstellung dem Autor nicht einmal die Gewissheit gibt, ob auch ihr Sinn und Wesen von den Lesern begriffen werden wird. So führen auch flüchtige Besuche fremder Länder — denken wir hier an einen grossen Teil der Russlandliteratur — eher zur Vertiefung bestehender Irrtümer als zu ihrer Beseitigung, denn auch der gebildete Beobachter wird leichter geneigt sein, im Auslande das zu finden, was er schon weiss, als das zu lernen, was er noch nicht weiss. Aus diesen Gründen leitet das vorliegende Buch seine Berechtigung her.

Unsere Literatur über die sogenannten „Randstaaten" erschöpft sich für die ältere Zeit fast ausschliesslich in philologischen, für die moderne in politischen und wirtschaftlichen Darstellungen. Wenn hier zum errten Male der Versuch unternommen wird, das geistige Eigenleben eines dieser Völker zu untersuchen und aus seinen eigenen Entwicklungstendenzen zu erklären, so musste zunächst das Bestreben massgebend sein, so viele Kenntnisse rein sachlicher Natur auf den wesentlichen Gebieten des geistigen und kulturellen Lebens zu vermitteln, wie sie für die Beurteilung eines Volkes unbedingt notwendig sind. Im Zentrum der Darstellung steht der Gedanke der kulturellen Entwicklung. So ergab sich als erste Frage: Was ist an ursprünglichen kulturellen Grundlagen vorhanden? — Sprache, Volkspoesie, Volkskunst u. s. w. — und als zweite: In welcher Richtung bewegt sich die kulturelle Entwicklung, und welche Einflüsse wirkten auf sie ein? — wobei wiederum die Kunst in ihren vielfältigen Ausdrucksformen als Malerei, Architektur, Musik, Dichtung, zum Kriterium genommen und in ein einheitliches Blickfeld zusammengefasst wurde. Dass somit die hier gegebenen ausführlichen Darstellungen etwa der Sprache, der Folkloristik oder der Entwicklung des litauischen Schrifttums nicht als Selbstzweck aufgefasst werden wollen, wird der Leser von selbst erfassen, der den weiteren Rahmen, in den alle diese Themen eingespannt sind, beachtet.

Die fachlichen Erklärungen sind grossenteils in die Literaturhinweise verwiesen worden. Dass in diesen neben der litauischen die deutschsprachige Literatur annähernd vollständig berücksichtigt wurde, sei hinzugefügt. Zur Aussprache des Litauischen sowie zur Schreibung der Eigennamen verweise ich auf das in den Anmerkungen zu Kap. I Gesagte.

Die Übertragungen sowohl der Prosastücke wie der Versdichtungen sind eigene bis auf wenige Ausnahmen, bei denen dies vermerkt ist.

Obwohl das vorliegende Buch aus einer langjährigen Kenntnis des Landes und eingehenden Studien heraus entstanden ist, habe ich bei der Abfassung einzelner Teile die Hilfe von Fachgelehrten nicht entbehren können, denn schliesslich gibt es wohl kaum einen einzigen, der auf allen hier behandelten Gebieten in gleicher Weise zu Hause wäre. Ich spreche allen denen, die mich durch Überlassung von Material und wertvolle Literaturhinweise unterstützt haben, meinen herzlichen Dank aus, vor allem den litauischen Künstlern und meinen Kollegen an der Universität.

Dr. Victor Jungfer.

Kaunas, im Juni 1938.

87

7: Jungfer RB5 Lithuanians RB5

INHALT

Erstes Kapitel: Die Sprache.

A. Die Stellung des Litauischen im Rahmen der indogermanischen Sprachen 11

B. Altertümlichkeit und Formenreichtum der litauischen Sprache 17

C. Die Entwicklung der litauischen Schriftsprache 24

Zweites Kapitel: Litauische Volksdichtung.

A. Das Volkslied 33

1. Die Singweisen der litauischen Lieder 33
2. Die Entstehung der Dainos. Das Arbeitslied 38
3. Motive und Inhalt der Dainos 46
4. Form und Ausdrucksmittel der Dainos 57
5. Das litauische Volkslied in der deutschen Dichtung 65

B. Prosadichtung 72

1. Die Raudos (Totenklagen) 72
2. Märchen und Sagen 77
3. Sprichwörter und Redensarten 85
4. Volksrätsel 91
5. Zur litauischen Folkloristik 97

Drittes Kapitel. Die Volkskunst.

A. Der ländliche Baustil 101

1. Das Bauernhaus 101
2. Die Dorfkirche 107

B. Die dörfliche Kunst 111

1. Die Dachkreuze 111
2. Die Holzplastik 118
3. Holzschnitt und Malerei 124
4. Die dörfliche Heimkunst 128

Holzkunst, Keramik, Schmiedekunst, dekorative Malerei 128

Weberei und verwandte Techniken 135

7: Jungfer RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Viertes Kapitel: Die geistige Kultur der Stadt.

A. Die Architektur 145
1. Geschichtliche Voraussetzungen 145
2. Die Gotik 149
3. Renaissance und Barock 154
4. Vom Klassizismus zur Moderne 161

B. Malerei und Plastik 170
1. Die Entwicklung bis zum Weltkriege 170
2. Neuere Strömungen 180

C. Musik und Theater 185
1. Oper, Drama, Ballett 185
2. Die Entwicklung des Musiklebens 189

Fünftes Kapitel: Die Kunstliteratur

A. Das Schrifttum des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts 195

B. Der Beginn der Kunstdichtung im 18. Jahrhundert. Duonelaitis 199

C. Die Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Erlass des Druckverbots 205
1. Die Universität Vilnius und die Zeit der Romantik ... 205
2. Von der Schliessung der Universität bis zur Aufhebung der Leibeigenschaft 216

D. Das Zeitalter des Druckverbots (1865—1904) 228
1. Die Epoche der „Aušra" 228
2. Die weibliche Prosadichtung um die Jahrhundertwende 237
3. Maironis und der Idealismus in der Lyrik seiner Zeit 252

Sechstes Kapitel: Querschnitt durch die jüngste Entwicklung der litauischen Literatur.

A. Die Übergangszeit. Die neue Lyrik 259

B. Die Prosa und das Drama 269

C. Mykolaitis-Putinas und Krėvė-Mickevičius 280

Anmerkungen 299

ERSTES KAPITEL

DIE SPRACHE

A. DIE STELLUNG DES LITAUISCHEN IM RAHMEN DER INDOGERMANISCHEN SPRACHEN

Jede Sprache ist ein Abbild des Denkens und des Empfindungslebens eines Volkes. Sie gibt ein kunstvolles und farbiges Gemälde seines inneren Wesens in den sensibelsten Schattierungen nicht nur durch das, was sie sagt, sondern auch durch das, was sie verschweigt. Denn Worte und Begriffe in all ihren Nuancen, ja selbst grammatische Konstruktionen — wenn man sie einmal nicht mit den Augen des Philologen betrachtet — sind doch nur Sinnbilder für alle die Elemente, aus denen das geistige und seelische Leben eines Volkes besteht, und durch die es sich von anderen unterscheidet.

Die litauische Sprache gehört zum baltisch-slawischen Zweig der indogermanischen Sprachen. Sie wird mit den Sprachen der Letten, Kuren, Semgaller, Selen und der alten Preussen zu einer besonderen „baltischen" Gruppe zusammengefasst. Immerhin sind hier Unterschiede zu bemerken. Die lettische Sprache steht zur litauischen im Verhältnis einer jüngeren Schwestersprache, ist durch die nahe Berührung mit dem Deutschen stärker durchsetzt mit fremden Elementen und hat viele Altertümlichkeiten, die das Litauische treulich wahrte, verloren. Das im grammatischen Bau noch altertümlichere Altpreussische hingegen schien zunächst, soweit man aus den

wenigen erhaltenen Resten schliessen konnte, dem Litauischen erheblich näher zu stehen. Immerhin fand schon Kurschat 1876, dass sprachwissenschaftlich gesehen das Verhältnis des Altpreussischen zum Litauischen doch nicht so eng gewesen sei, wie das des Lettischen zum Litauischen. Er stellt zum Vergleiche des Altpreussischen mit dem Litauischen eine Anzahl von Worten zusammen und bemerkt hierzu: „Was etwa von einer dieser Sprachen aus der anderen, von der Altpreussischen aus der Litauischen oder umgekehrt entlehnt sein mag, muss völlig dahingestellt bleiben“ [1]).

Bei der engen Verwandtschaft der litauischen, lettischen und altpreussischen Sprache sind die Gemeinsamkeiten in ihrem Wortschatz natürlich nicht überraschend:

	litauisch	lettisch	preussisch
Gott	dievas	dievs	deivs
Hand	ranka	ruoka	ranko
Kopf	galva	galva	galvo
Eisen	gel(e)žis	dzelzs	gelso
Stahl	plienas	pliens	plainis

Immerhin dürfen über solchen Ähnlichkeiten auch die grundlegenden Verschiedenheiten zwischen diesen Sprachen nicht vergessen werden, wie sie uns etwa im Worte: Brot — lit. duona, lett. maize und preuss. geitis — entgegentreten. Sehr häufig finden wir daneben den Fall, dass sich das Altpreussische schon in seinem Wortschatz deutlich vom Litauischen und Lettischen abhebt:

	litauisch	lettisch	preussisch
Butter	sviestas	sviests	anktan
Milch	pienas	piens	dadan

Die moderne Sprachwissenschaft nimmt daher an, dass sich die baltische Ursprache etwa zwischen dem 5. und 3. vorchristlichen Jahrhundert in zwei Äste spaltete — einen west-

lichen (preussischen) und einen östlichen, dem die Sprachen der Litauer, Letten, Kuren, Semgallen und Selen zuzurechnen wären. Aus dem östlichen Zweige gingen später — vermutlich im elften, zwölften Jahrhundert — die Sprachen der einzelnen Völker hervor [2]).

Die Frage nach der Stellung des Litauischen innerhalb der indogermanischen Sprachen hat die Forschung schon frühzeitig angeregt. Schon 1856 gibt uns Schleicher in der Einleitung zu seinem „Handbuch der litauischen Sprache" eine klare Definition, wenn er — im allgemeinen nicht unrichtig — bemerkt: „Die litauische Sprache gehört zum grossen indogermanischen Sprachstamme. Indisch und Persisch, Griechisch und Lateinisch, Slawisch, Litauisch und Deutsch, endlich die Keltisch genannte Sprache sind die Äste dieses Stammes, deren jeder sich wiederum mehr oder weniger in Sprachen oder Dialekte verzweigt . . . Slawisch und Litauisch aber gleichen sich in manchen Teilen der Grammatik und im Wortvorrate so sehr, dass man geneigt sein könnte, sie für Glieder ein und derselben Sprachfamilie zu halten, hielten nicht grosse Verschiedenheiten in anderen Teilen des Sprachbaus von einer solchen Ansicht ab. Unter allen lebenden indogermanischen Sprachen zeigt das Litauische in seinen Lauten die bei weitem grösste Altertümlichkeit, daher seine grosse Bedeutung für die Sprachwissenschaft" [3]).

Seitdem Schleicher diese Worte schrieb, ist eine Zeitspanne von fast 80 Jahren verflossen, innerhalb derer die litauische Sprache von einer grossen Reihe namentlich deutscher Forscher eingehend untersucht wurde. Die Stellung des Litauischen innerhalb der indogermanischen Sprachgruppe ist heute eindeutig bestimmt: Es bildet mit den übrigen baltischen und slawischen Sprachen, sowie mit Indisch, Iranisch, Armenisch und Albanisch die sogenannte satem-Gruppe des Indogermanischen, wohingegen die germanischen Sprachen, zusammen mit Griechisch, Lateinisch und Keltisch, zur kentum-Gruppe gerechnet werden. „Der Unterschied besteht darin, dass bestimmte Gaumenlaute der Ursprache in den satem-Sprachen zu Zisch-

lauten wurden, in den kentum-Sprachen aber zunächst noch unverändert blieben oder vielleicht härter wurden" [4]).

Auch der Zusammenhang des baltischen und slawischen Zweiges der indogermanischen Sprachen ist längst von einer ganzen Reihe schon der älteren Forscher, Brugmann, Leskien, Fortunatow, Porzezinski, Meillet und anderen eingehend nachgewiesen worden. Ein ethymologisches Wörterbuch der baltisch-slawischen Sprachen gab Trautmann 1923 heraus [5]).

Wenngleich nun aber die indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft die baltischen Sprachen (darunter also auch das Litauische) mit den slawischen zu einer weiteren Gruppe zusammenstellt, so muss doch in diesem Zusammenhange ausdrücklich betont werden, dass das Litauische keine slawische Sprache ist. Während alle slawischen Völker (also Russen, Polen, Tschechen usw.) sich untereinander zum mindesten verständigen können, ist eine sprachliche Verständigung zwischen Slawen und Litauern unmöglich. Es herrschen hierüber noch viele Irrtümer, zu denen vor allem die Tatsache geführt hat, dass das Litauische früher von slawischen Wörtern überwuchert war, für die es aber gleichwohl im Litauischen ureigene Worte gab. Ich denke hier etwa an Worte, wie sie noch Kurschat als „litauische" anführt [6]):

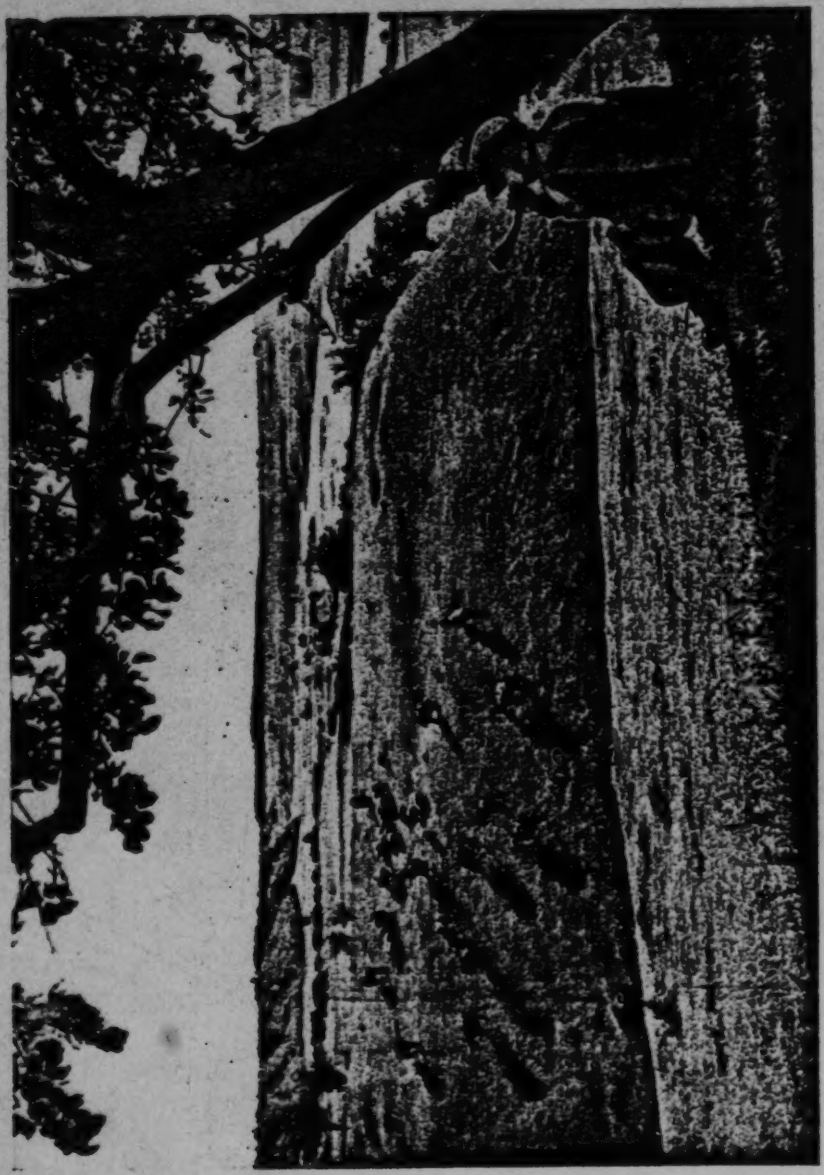
nedele — die Woche	reinlitauisch	savaitė
zvanas — die Glocke	„	varpas
dyvas — das Wunder	„	stebuklas
svietas — die Welt	„	pasaulis
sukata — die Schwindsucht	„	džiova
adyna — die Stunde	„	valanda
koroti — strafen	„	bausti
griešnas — sündig	„	nuodemingas usw.

Mögen einige der hier genannten rein litauischen Worte auch sprachliche Neubildungen sein (z. B. savaitė), so darf man doch nicht vergessen, dass diese Neubildungen jedenfalls

auf baltische Wortstämme zurückgehen. Daneben gibt es eine Reihe von slawischen Worten im Litauischen, für die sich keine echtlitauischen Worte finden lassen, vor allem auf dem Gebiete des religiösen Lebens, sowie auf den Gebieten, mit denen die Litauer durch die Vermittlung der Slawen bekannt geworden sind[7]). Eine dritte Gruppe von Worten, die häufig als slawisch angesehen werden, ist urindogermanischen Ursprungs und somit in beiden Sprachen gleich heimatberechtigt. Endlich weist auch das Litauische manche Worte auf, die in die slawischen Sprachen hinüberwanderten. Ein Vergleich der litauischen Sprache mit den slawischen Sprachen hat somit eine grosse Reihe von Faktoren zu berücksichtigen.

Alles in allem werden wir heute sagen können, dass die Verwandtschaft dieser Sprachen sich bei näherer Betrachtung doch nicht als so eng herausstellt, wie sie noch Schleicher erschien. Vor allem fällt beim Litauischen die geringe Menge der Zischlaute auf, die dem Slawischen geradezu einen besonderen Stempel aufdrücken. Slawisches Sprachempfinden spiegelt sich allerdings in Syntax und Grammatik des Litauischen häufig wider. So setzt die litauische Sprache genau wie die polnische das Prädikatssubstantiv in den Instrumentalis und bei negiertem Verbum das Objekt in den Genitiv. Gewisse Zischlaute, z. B. das tsch in mačiau (ich sah), sind um die Wende des 14./15. Jahrhunderts zum ersten Male nachweisbar, stellen aber keine Entlehnung aus dem Slawischen dar. Interessant ist es, dass der gebildete Russe und Pole von einer näheren Verwandtschaft des Litauischen mit seiner Sprache nichts wissen will, dass ihm vielmehr die litauische Sprache gefühlsmässig als absolut fremd erscheint.

Litauisch wird heute von etwa 3 Millionen Menschen gesprochen, von denen die Hälfte n u r ihre Muttersprache versteht. Da eine detaillierte Beschreibung des litauischen Sprachgebietes über den Raum dieser Darstellung beträchtlich hinausgehen würde, sei hierüber kurz nur folgendes gesagt: Litauisch ist die Muttersprache der überwiegenden Mehrheit der Bewohner des litauischen Staates. Darüber hinaus befindet



LITAUISCHE LANDSCHAFT

opp. 16

sich ein grosser Teil des litauischen Sprachgebietes heute unter polnischer Herrschaft (Wilnagebiet). Weiterhin ragt das Gebiet der litauischen Sprache einerseits nach Lettland, andererseits nach Ostpreussen hinein. Schliesslich gibt es in den Ver. Staaten grössere geschlossene litauische Gemeinden, die insgesamt etwa eine halbe Million Menschen umfassen mögen. Allein in Chikago werden 70 000 Litauer gezählt. Es handelt sich hier um Auswanderer und ihre Nachkommen. Grössere litauische Kolonien sind namentlich in der letzten Zeit auch in Südamerika entstanden.

Trotz seiner relativen Kleinheit finden wir im geschlossenen litauischen Sprachgebiet eine grössere Reihe von mundartlichen Verschiedenheiten. Die Hauptmundarten sind das Hochlitauische und das Niederlitauische (Schamaitische), von denen sich das letztere zum ersteren ungefähr wie Plattdeutsch zum Hochdeutschen verhält. Das schamaitische Platt unterscheidet sich abgesehen von seinem Wortschatz vom Hochlitauischen durch seine Betonung, die gedehnte Aussprache und den Verlust der volltönenden Endungen. Es zerfällt seinerseits in die Dialekte von Raseiniai und Telšiai, die sich hauptsächlich durch Vokalumstellung der Diphthonge von einander unterscheiden. In den Schriften seiner Dichterin Žemaitė tritt das Niederlitauische in Syntax und Wortschatz stark hervor.

Die hochlitauische Dialektgruppe zerfällt in eine östliche und eine westliche Untergruppe. Das Westhochlitauische wiederum besteht aus zwei Mundarten, deren Grenze etwa die Memel bildet. Bei der östlichen Gruppe des Hochlitauischen sind ebenfalls eine Reihe von Dialekten zu unterscheiden. Als besondere Mundart hebt sich das Dzūkische oder Südostlitauische, sowie das im Flussgebiet der Mūša (nördlich von Panevėžys) gesprochene Nordlitauische heraus [8]).

Die grosse Anzahl der mundartlichen Verschiedenheiten bedeutet für den Wortschatz und die Formenwelt der Sprache eine nicht zu unterschätzende Bereicherung. Dieser überraschende Reichtum auf einem relativ kleinen Territorium

lässt sich wohl am ehesten auf die Abgeschlossenheit der einzelnen Bezirke zurückführen. Diese war eine Folge jahrhundertelanger Zurückgebliebenheit und konservativer Beharrung auf ererbter Scholle. Die Unterschiede der Mundarten sind jedoch nicht so stark, dass sie die Einheit der Sprache zu sprengen vermöchten. Der heutigen Schriftsprache liegt der Dialekt der südlitauischen Landschaft Užnemunė (früher Gouv. Suvalkija), der besonders am Südufer der Memel gesprochen wird, anders gesagt, die südliche Mundart des Westhochlitauischen zugrunde. Wir finden daher im Schriftlitauischen die langen Endsilbenvokale erhalten [9]).

B. ALTERTÜMLICHKEIT UND FORMENREICHTUM DER LITAUISCHEN SPRACHE

Im Jahre 1625 schrieb der Königsberger Pfarrer Johannes Rhesa in der Vorrede seines litauischen Psalters: „Wenn wir viel sonderbare Wörter der litauischen Sprache betrachten, wird sich finden, dass sie eine gemischte Sprach ist, aus anderen Häuptsprachen, und namentlich der griechischen und lateinischen, herrührend, welches unter andern auch aus der Littawen ihrem Sprichworte zu ersehen: Dewas dawe dantes, Dewas dos ir dones, das ist: Hat Gott Zähne gegeben, so wird er auch Brot geben. Welcher der griechischen oder lateinischen Sprache kündig, wird befinden, dass die meisten Wort aus dem Griechischen und Lateinischen ihren Ursprung nehmen" [10]).

Die indogermanische Sprachforschung hat in ihrer weiteren Entwicklung nun freilich, wie wir sahen, diese Ansicht des alten Königsberger Pfarrers nicht bestätigt, obwohl sie noch während des Weltkrieges durch die deutsche Presse spukte [11]).

Sie hat uns vielmehr gezeigt, dass das Litauische mit dem Griechischen und Lateinischen zusammen aus einer gemeinsamen Ursprache — dem Indogermanischen entstanden ist, und dass daher die Ähnlichkeiten dieser Sprachen herrühren. Dass diese Ähnlichkeiten aber so stark ins Auge fallen, findet seine Erklärung in der ausserordentlichen Altertümlichkeit der litauischen Sprache, die in dieser Hinsicht eine Sonderstellung unter sämtlichen indogermanischen Sprachen einnimmt. Schon Schleicher findet es merkwürdig, dass eine so altertümliche Sprache sich überhaupt noch vorfinde. Er verweist auf den Dual und die indogermanische Siebenzahl der Fälle im Litauischen, die zuweilen dem Sanskrit entsprechen. Er betont, dass das Litauische von den ungeheuren Lautveränderungen, welche die übrigen indogermanischen Sprachen durchgemacht hätten, fast völlig frei geblieben sei, und weist dem Litauischen im Rahmen der ihm zunächst verwandten slawischen Sprachen eine ähnliche Rolle zu, wie sie dem Gotischen bei einer vergleichenden Darstellung der germanischen Sprachen zukäme. Schleicher erklärt sich die Altertümlichkeit des Litauischen aus der Abgeschiedenheit des litauischen Landvolkes von den geschichtlichen Bewegungen und zieht eine Parallele zum Isländischen [12]). Ähnlich drückt sich einer der besten modernen Kenner der litauischen Sprache, Prof. Bezzenberger, aus: „Fragt man aber, woher es denn komme, dass das Litauische bis heute so prächtige Altertümlichkeiten erhalten hat . . . alle übrigen indogermanischen Sprachen dagegen schon seit langer Zeit in moderner Gewandung einherschreiten, so kann die Erklärung doch wohl nur in einem ungewöhnlich starken konservativen Zug der Litauer gefunden werden“ [13]). Wenngleich es für den Sprachwissenschaftler natürlich genau so wesentlich ist zu erkennen, wodurch sich das Litauische von den alten Sprachen der Lateiner und Griechen unterscheidet, so ist es doch nicht ohne Reiz, an Hand der vorhandenen Ähnlichkeiten die hohe Altertümlichkeit der litauischen Sprache zu beleuchten. Für die Deklinationsfälle des Lateinischen und Litauischen sei das Beispiel Mann (lat. vir, lit. vyras) gegeben:

	Lateinisch	Litauisch	Lateinisch	Litauisch
	Singularis		Pluralis	
Nom.	vir	vyras	viri	vyrai
Gen.	viri	vyro	virorum	vyrų
Dat.	viro	vyrui	viris	vyrams
Acc.	virum	vyrą	viros	vyrus
Vok.	vir	vyre	viri	vyrai

Während das Lateinische bei „vir" nur einen Ablativus mit instrumentaler und lokativer Funktion kennt (viro — viris), verfügt das Litauische sowohl über einen Lokativus (vyre — vyruose), wie über einen Instrumentalis (vyru — vyrais). Zu diesen Fällen kommen im Litauischen noch drei, die durch Anhängen von Nachsilben gebildet werden, girion — nach dem Walde hin (giria — Wald), dievopi — zu Gott hin (dievas — Gott), und dieviep — bei Gott.

Wortähnlichkeiten fallen besonders ins Auge:

Gott	deus	dievas
Zahn	dens	dantis
Ohr	auris	ausis
Feuer	ignis	ugnis
Joch	iugum	jungas
Schaf	ovis	avis
Sonne	sol	saulė

Der lateinische Satz: viri trahite iugum — in modernes Litauisch übersetzt lautet: vyrai traukite jungą.

In der Formenlehre fallen Ähnlichkeiten mit dem Griechischen und dem Sanskrit ins Auge:

	Griechisch	Sanskrit	Litauisch
ich bin	εἰμί < *ἐσμί	asmi	esu und esmi
du bist	ἐσί	asi	esi
er ist	ἐστί	asti	yra und esti

Mögen diese wenigen Beispiele für die Altertümlichkeit des litauischen Wort- und Formenschatzes genügen. Ein

weiteres sehr altes Element ist der Dual, welcher vor allem in den litauischen Dialekten noch heute in seinen reichen Formen lebendig ist. So ragt das Litauische aus dem Kreise der heute schweigenden Sprachen in unsere lebendige Gegenwart wie ein Monument aus alten Zeiten herüber. Altertümlich ist der Satzstil. Satzgegenstand und Satzaussage stehen meist ohne jede Bindung nebeneinander. Das Verhältnis der Sätze zueinander wird im rein litauischen Stil nur selten durch Bindewörter bestimmt, sondern muss aus dem inneren Sinn erkannt werden. So sind die Sätze aneinander gereiht wie bei den alten Märchenerzählern oder wie in der griechischen Sprache, bevor hier der künstliche Periodenbau eindrang. Manche Satzfolgen möchte man mit alten Holzschnitten vergleichen. Besonders schwierig, namentlich für den Deutschen, ist die litauische Kasuslehre, bei der abgesehen vom Genitiv der Instrumentalis eine grosse Rolle spielt. Dem deutschen Konjunktiv entsprechen im Litauischen oft Partizipialkonstruktionen. Letztere werden auch als Absolutkonstruktionen (Abl. absol. des Lat. und Gen. absol. des Griechischen) häufig verwendet. So kennt z. B. das Litauische eine Konstruktion, die man geradezu als Dativus absolutus bezeichnen muss.

Zu den altertümlichen Bestandteilen des Litauischen lassen sich auch die Diminutive oder Verkleinerungsformen rechnen, die wohl in keiner lebenden Sprache in solcher Fülle verwandt werden. Sie umgeben die Sprache wie ein buntes Rankenwerk und sind namentlich aus den Volksliedern nicht wegdenkbar Während aber z. B. das Hochdeutsche heute nur zwei solche Diminutive kennt, ... chen und ... lein, verfügt das Litauische über eine unvergleichlich grössere Anzahl, die nicht nur an Substantive, sondern auch an Adjektive, ja sogar an Verben und Adverbien angehängt werden. Nehmen wir etwa das Wort „klein" — mažas, so finden wir folgende Formen: mažalėlis, mažilėlis, maželėlis, mažutis, mažytis, mažiukas, mažulėlis, mažiulukas, mažulytis, mažutėlis, mažiulis, mažylis, mažučiukas. W. Kalwaitis zählt in seinem „Litauischen Namensschatz" nicht weniger als 66 Verkleinerungsformen für das Wort „mama"-Mutter auf, darunter sogar ein fünffaches Diminu-

tivum mamaitužužužėlė[14]). Wir besitzen eine ausgezeichnete Spezialuntersuchung von Prof. Brender über die Bedeutung der Verkleinerungsformen im Litauischen[15]). Brender weist hier nach, dass die Diminuierung vor allem bei solchen Worten eintritt, die der Sphäre der Kleinheit oder des Affekts (Zärtlichkeit, Scherz, Verachtung) nahestehen. Die Gefühlswerte der einzelnen Verkleinerungsformen sind, abgesehen von den formelhaft gewordenen, grossenteils sehr verschieden und zeigen alle Schwankungen von zärtlichster Liebe bis zu stärkster Verachtung. Sehen wir das erstere etwa in Koseformen für die Mutter: mamelė, mamytė, mamutė, mamaitė, mamužėlė, motulė usw. — die wir im Deutschen nur mit liebes, gutes, teures, zartes, trautes, herzinniges Mütterlein wiedergeben können, also mit einem ganzen Schatz von Adjektiven, so dienen andere Verkleinerungsformen zum Ausdruck des Grausigen, Absonderlichen, Bizarren, wie etwa die Suffixe, die wir beim Worte „Teufel" — velnias finden — velniukas, velnykštis, velniukštis. So würde auch die Bedeutung von „varliukštis" (varlė — Frosch) nur mit „kleiner armseliger Frosch" wiedergegeben werden können. Vielleicht hängt mit dieser Fülle vieldeutiger Verkleinerungsformen auch das Zurücktreten der bezeichnenden Adjektive im Litauischen zusammen, welche die deutsche Sprache so gern anwendet. Bei den Zärtlichkeitsformen liegt dieser Zusammenhang, auf den meines Wissens noch nicht hingewiesen wurde, unbedingt vor, denn gerade in dieser Sphäre treffen wir auf die grösste Fülle kennzeichnender Suffixe. So lässt die Vorliebe des Litauers für Diminutive vielleicht auch den Schluss auf eine gewisse seelische Grundstimmung zu, wie ihn C. Reisig mit den Worten ausdrückt: „Wenn eine Sprache reich ist an Diminutivendungen, so lässt sich daraus ein gewisser Charakter der Nation erkennen; es liegt darin etwas Freundliches, Scherzhaftes"[16]).

Werfen wir aus der Formenwelt der Sprache einen kurzen Blick auf ihren Klangcharakter, so finden wir als sehr altertümliche Erscheinung einen eigenartig schwebenden Rhythmus. Dieser wurde schon um die Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts für Leopold Arends, den Erfinder der Stenographie,

die Veranlassung, sich mit dem Problem der Sprachmodulation, d. h. mit dem sogenannten Gesangscharakter der Sprache, zu beschäftigen. Er gehört zu den Bestandteilen der litauischen Sprache, die für einen Ausländer unerfassbar und unlernbar sind. Ich lasse daher, um von seinem Wesen wenigstens eine kleine Vorstellung zu geben, Vydūnas zu Worte kommen: „Einen ganz eigenen, für die Gegenwart einzig dastehenden Charakter hat die litauische Sprache in rhythmischer Hinsicht. Sie bewegt sich nämlich unter einer Spannung von zwei parallelen Rhythmen, die gleichsam gegeneinander wirken. Der Grundrhythmus ist derjenige des Wechsels von langen und kurzen Lauten oder Silben. Dazu kommt der Wechsel zwischen höherem und tieferem Ton. Und zwar fällt der Hochton oft entgegen der Kraft des langen vollen Lautes auf den kurzen Vokal, z. B. bei einzelnen Wörtern: sūnùs, der Sohn. ùpė, der Fluss. Der Ton wandert aber in den verschiedenen Fällen der meisten flektierten Wörter von einer Silbe zur anderen . . . Doch hat der Rhythmus des Tones nur eine sekundäre Bedeutung . . . Die Sprache bewegt sich vielmehr schwebend weiter wie ein Gesang. Deshalb hat sich auch der Formenreichtum bisher erhalten. Ein sehr starker Akzent, besonders wenn er irgendwo festgeworden wäre, hätte wohl die Abschleifung der Endungen zur Folge gehabt“ [17]).

Die heutige Sprachwissenschaft weist darauf hin, dass sich in der litauischen Sprache noch die Intonation der indogermanischen Ursprache erhalten habe. Es ist dies besonders deutlich bei einem Vergleich mit der griechischen zu ersehen: z. B. lit. algà (aus algá): griech. ἀλφή „Gewinn“, aber der Genitiv algõs, griech. ἀλφῆς.

Hinzugefügt sei, dass es allerdings auch hier im Litauischen Verschiedenheiten gibt, insofern als einige Mundarten die Längenunterschiede verwischt haben und damit in rhythmischer und melodischer Hinsicht einfacher geworden sind (z. B. das Schamaitische). Dort aber, wo der alte Rhythmus voll erhalten geblieben ist, hat er die Endungen vor Abschleifungen und Verkümmerungen bewahrt, wie wir sie etwa im

Lettischen finden, wo die Worte stets gleichmässig auf der ersten Silbe betont werden. Sicherlich beruht zum grossen Teil auch die Melodik der litauischen Sprache, die manchem Sprachkenner aufgefallen ist, auf diesem eigentümlichen schwebenden Rhythmus.

Die Schönheit und Melodik der litauischen Sprache entfaltet namentlich im Gesang ihren vollen Wohllaut. Sie ist von vielen Gelehrten und Künstlern empfunden worden. So schon von Elisée Reclus: „Si la valeur d'une Nation dans l'ensemble de l'humanité devait se mesurer à la beauté de sa langue, les Samogitiens et les Litvines seraient au premier rang parmi les habitants de l'Europe" [18]).

Wir sahen einen Grund für die klangliche Schönheit dieser Sprache in dem Zurücktreten der Zischlaute, wodurch sie sich von den slawischen Sprachen unterscheidet, einen zweiten in dem ihr eigentümlichen musikalischen Rhythmus, der ihr einen schwebenden Gang verleiht. Ein dritter Grund endlich ist ihr Reichtum an reinen Vokalen. Es sind vor allem die Vokale a, o und u, während Quetschvokale wie das russische *ы* überhaupt nicht vorhanden sind. Eine interessante Vokalstatistik verdanken wir Vydūnas. Er untersuchte Art und Häufigkeit der Vokale im Litauischen und Deutschen und fand folgendes Verhältnis [19]):

a	litauisch	5	deutsch	2
o	„	3	„	2
u	„	3	„	2
e	„	1	„	3
i	„	2	„	1

Während im Deutschen die Vokale a, o und u gleichmässig verteilt sind, überwiegen sie im Litauischen stark und verleihen der Sprache einen anderen Klangcharakter. Dagegen tritt das e, das im Deutschen überwiegt, im Litauischen stark zurück. Alles in allem entfallen auf 10 deutsche Vokale 14 litauische. Da der Klangwert der einzelnen Vokale verschieden ist, haben wir hier vielleicht auch einen der Gründe, weshalb die litauische Sprache im Gesang so dunkel erscheint.

C. DIE ENTWICKLUNG DER LITAUISCHEN SCHRIFTSPRACHE

Wir können die Entwicklung der litauischen Schriftsprache bis auf Duonelaitis (vergl. Kap. V) zurückführen, wenngleich auch schon vor ihm litauische Schriften gedruckt worden sind. 1735 erschien sogar auf Veranlassung des Königsberger Generalsuperintendenten Quant die Bibel in litauischer Sprache. Die erste litauische Bibelübersetzung schrieb Bretkunas zwischen 1579 und 1590, jedoch liegt dieses Werk bis heute ungedruckt in der Universitätsbibliothek Königsberg. Die Sprache der gedruckten litauischen Bibel atmet nicht den litauischen Sprachgeist wie die Lutherbibel den deutschen. Stets ist nur der Dichter der Sprachschöpfer. Und Luther war auch Dichter. Ausserdem ist die litauische Bibelübersetzung mit slawischen Elementen überschwemmt [20]).

Seit Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts erwacht die litauische Literatur zu selbständigem Leben, und von diesem Zeitpunkt an bildet sich eine litauische Schriftsprache heraus, welche ihren Ausdrucks- und Formengehalt den verschiedenen litauischen Dialekten entnimmt, ohne allerdings zunächst zu bestimmten klaren begrifflichen Abgrenzungen zu gelangen. Schwierigkeiten ergaben sich aus der Tatsache, dass mehrere Ausdrücke der Sprache in den einzelnen Landschaften mundartlich gefärbte und teilweise sogar entgegengesetzte Bedeutungen angenommen hatten. Die erste Aufgabe bestand somit in einer Vereinheitlichung und einer begrifflichen Abgrenzung des vorhandenen Wortschatzes. Dieser Prozess ist auch heute noch nicht vollständig abgeschlossen, wenngleich im wesentlichen beendet. Es erklärt sich hieraus ein Teil der Verschiedenheiten zwischen der damaligen und der heutigen Schriftsprache. Von Jahrzehnt zu Jahrzehnt gewinnt von nun an die litauische Schriftsprache mehr an Ausdruck, Kraft und Reichtum. Aber noch war sie in ihrem Wesen eine Bauernsprache, die der westlichen rapiden Entwicklung der Wissenschaft und Technik nicht nachgekommen war.

Einen gewaltigen Anstoss brachte die Begründung des selbständigen litauischen Staates. Es ergaben sich für die Weiterentwicklung der Schriftsprache drei Probleme. Das erste Problem bestand darin, die Sprache von den slawischen Einflüssen, von denen sie teilweise völlig beherrscht war — es gilt dies für ganze Landschaften — zu befreien und an Stelle der bisher gebräuchlichen slawischen Worte rein litauische zu setzen. Dieses Problem war durchaus lösbar, da in dem grossen Wortschatz der litauischen Alltagssprache ja die notwendigen Worte bzw. Wortstämme vorhanden waren, und es lediglich einer Erziehung des Volkes und einer Aufklärung durch Schulen und Gymnasien bedurfte. Ausserdem trieb die neuerwachte nationale Welle die Entwicklung vorwärts. Fernerhin galt es, unter den vorhandenen Dialekten der litauischen Sprache, die noch gleichberechtigt nebeneinander standen und sich in den bisherigen Schriften der litauischen Dichter in ihren grossen Verschiedenheiten deutlich widerspiegeln, einen Dialekt — es wurde, wie erwähnt, die Suwalkische Mundart erwählt — herauszunehmen und auf diesem die neue Schriftsprache, die für das ganze Land Gültigkeit haben sollte, aufzubauen. Diese Aufgabe stiess schon auf grössere Schwierigkeiten. Es bestand ausserdem die Gefahr, dass nunmehr bei der notwendig gewordenen Abstufung die übrigen Dialekte diskreditiert wurden und damit der Sprache ein grosser Reichtum verloren ging. Denn tatsächlich gewinnt ja in jedem Volke die sogenannte Schriftsprache immer wieder neue Kraft aus ihrer Berührung mit den Dialekten.

Die ungeheure Aufgabe, die neue Schriftsprache einheitlich aufzubauen und auszugestalten, wurde von dem bedeutenden litauischen Sprachkenner Jablonskis, oder wie er sich auch selbst nennt, Rygiškių Jonas, in Angriff genommen. Geboren am 12. Januar 1861 auf einem Bauerngut östlich der Šešupė hatte er das russische Gymnasium in Mariampolė besucht, in Moskau alte Sprachen studiert und später in verschiedenen Städten an höheren Schulen unterrichtet. Nach Gründung der Litauischen Universität wurde er zum Professor der litauischen Sprache ernannt. Jablonskis besass einerseits eine aus-

gezeichnete altsprachliche Schulung und stand andererseits mit dem einfachen Mann auf dem Lande in enger Fühlung. So gelang es ihm, die litauische Sprache aus ihrer Eigenart heraus zu erfassen und die fremde Beeinflussung zu erkennen. Der Reichtum an litauischen Redewendungen, der in seinen Werken verstreut ist, ist sehr gross und zeigt uns die volle Kraft und die Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten dieser Sprache. Allerdings war Jablonskis in erster Linie Grammatiker und kein Künstler. Ihm lag vor allem an schlichter Klarheit. Aber er hat es stets anerkannt und begrüsst, wenn auch Dichter und Denker sich sprachschöpferisch betätigten und niemals mit seinem Rat abseits gestanden[21]).

Hiermit kommen wir zum dritten Problem, welches bei der Schaffung der litauischen Schriftsprache zu bewältigen war und welches vielleicht das wichtigste von allen ist: es galt, die litauische Sprache aus einer Bauernsprache zu einem Instrument zu machen, mit dem auch der Gebildete, der Künstler, der Wissenschaftler zu arbeiten vermochten. In diesem Zusammenhange handelte es sich zunächst um die Ausgestaltung des Wortschatzes. Auf diesen sei daher zuerst eingegangen.

Betrachten wir den Wortschatz der litauischen Sprache, so müssen wir zunächst die weit verbreitete Meinung widerlegen, die Sprache sei wortarm. Eine Bauernsprache kann einem Vertreter westlicher städtischer Kultur als wortarm erscheinen; sie ist es aber nun und nimmer absolut gesprochen. In ihrem lebendigen Organismus besteht eine ungeheure Verästelung und Verzweigung. Es gilt dies für die litauische Sprache wie für jede andere Bauernsprache. Die unzähligen Handgriffe der bäuerlichen Arbeit, die vielerlei Nuancen des bäuerlichen Lebens selbst, von dem der typische Städter keine Kenntnis mehr hat, tragen alle besondere Benennungen. Dazu kommt eine zweite Gruppe von Worten und Wortbildungen, die der Altertümlichkeit der litauischen Sprache entspringen und in den modernen westlichen Sprachen keine Parallelen finden. Jede Sprache entwickelt sich ebensosehr vom Komplizierten zum Einfachen, wie vom

Einfachen zum Komplizierten. Wir bezeichnen das erstere als Typisieren und Generalisieren. Bei der Altertümlichkeit des Litauischen ist diese Typisierung grossenteils noch nicht vollzogen worden. Nehmen wir etwa das Gebiet der Farbengebung. Hier kennt der Litauer noch keine allgemeinen Farbbezeichnungen, er sieht vielmehr die Nuancen: das Kleid ist anders grau als das Pferd, die Katze anders als der Vogel. So kennt die litauische Sprache nicht weniger als 5 verschiedene Bezeichnungen für die Farbe grau, 2 verschiedene für rot, 3 für braun und etwa 5, die man im Deutschen nur als bunt bezeichnen kann, ohne damit aber die bestimmte Nuance des Litauischen zu erfassen. Die übrigen Farben haben ihren Gattungsbegriff schon erhalten. Ein anderes Beispiel ist das Fressen der Tiere. Der Hund frisst anders als das Pferd, der Vogel anders als das Schwein. Für jede Art des Fressens ein besonderer Ausdruck, der nur für diesen einen Fall zu gelten hat, aber keine Typisierung. Die Beispiele liessen sich vermehren. Hinzugefügt sei, dass die Fülle der Worte durch die Verschiedenheit der Mundarten noch eine beträchtliche Vermehrung erfährt, denken wir etwa an die Bezeichnungen für das litauische Bauernhaus, die aus den Dialekten auch in die Schriftsprache übernommen worden sind.

Eine dritte Gruppe von Worten, die die westlichen Sprachen nicht kennen, entstammt dem Bezirk einer bäuerlichen Lebenshaltung, die sich von der der westlichen Bauern auch heute noch unterscheidet und in besonderen Ausdrücken und Wendungen ihren Niederschlag gefunden hat. Eine vierte Gruppe hängt endlich mit der besonderen seelischen Struktur des Litauers, seinem sinnlichen Wahrnehmungsvermögen, seinem Sprachgefühl usw. zusammen.

Wenngleich diese Gruppe als Unterscheidungsmerkmal für die Sprachen aller Völker gilt, erscheint sie doch im Litauischen als unverhältnismässig gross. Nehmen wir ein Beispiel: rymoti. Dieses Wort bedeutet eine besondere Art des meist traurigen Sinnens, bei dem der Betreffende den Kopf in die Hand stützt.

Ich gebe nachfolgend noch eine Reihe dieser Ausdrücke, wie sie mir beim flüchtigen Durchblättern des Wörterbuches begegnen[22]). Sie liegen grossenteils auf dem Gebiete der menschlichen Körperhaltung und sind für die Prägnanz und Kürze der litauischen Sprache, vor allem bei Bezeichnungen des sinnlich Wahrnehmbaren, besonders charakteristisch:

atpėdžiui bėgti — auf den gleichen Spuren, die man beim Herkommen gemacht hat, zurücklaufen.
atsikalti — sich mit dem Rücken anlehnen.
drebtelėti — in etwas Dickflüssiges aufklatschen.
dunksoti — in der Ferne undeutlich sichtbar sein.
gunginti — mit hochgezogenen Schultern gebückt einhergehen.
guoglinėti — beständig mit dem Kopfe wackelnd einhergehen.
gurdelis — ein Mensch, mit dem es gesundheitlich bergab geht.
gurinti — mit kleinen Schritten in gebückter Haltung gehen.
gužėti — sich in ungeordneten Haufen eilig fortbewegen.
įkniubti — den Kopf in die Hände nehmend sich in etwas vertiefen.
dykinėjimas — müssiges Herumtreiben während längerer Zeit.
saujelė — eine Handvoll.
žiupsnis — so viel, wie man mit drei Fingern ergreifen kann.

Auch aus dem Bezirk des Seelischen liessen sich Beispiele anführen. Mögen die hier erwähnten genügen, um die Sage von der allgemeinen Wortarmut des Litauischen hinfällig zu machen. Weiter geht aus dem hier Gesagten aber auch die seelische Verschiedenheit der litauischen und deutschen Sprache zur Genüge hervor. Schon im Jahre 1800 fiel es Mielcke bei der Abfassung seines deutsch-litauischen Wörter-

buches auf, dass „die Begriffe in beyden Sprachen nicht aus einerley Merkmalen zusammengesetzt, nicht von einerley Umfang sind, und da vollends, wenn auch ein litauisches Wort den Sinn eines deutschen Wortes ausdrückt, gleichwohl oft die Nebenbedeutungen jedes dieser Wörter äusserst verschieden sind“ [23]).

Wir sehen somit, dass die litauische Sprache infolge der verschiedensten zusammenwirkenden Faktoren einen feingegliederten und reichen Organismus darstellt. Aber dieser Reichtum liegt abgesehen vom Formalen in der Hauptsache auf dem Gebiete des Sinnlichen, des Gegenständlichen. Für die Weiterbildung der litauischen Schriftsprache ergab sich als wichtigstes Problem somit ihre Ausgestaltung auf den Gebieten des Seelischen und Geistigen, also der Kunst, der Wissenschaft, der Technik usw. Dieses Problem war unlösbar, solange das litauische Volk als geschlossene und seelisch homogene bäuerliche Masse durch die Barriere der russischen Grenze und den russischen Druck von der westeuropäischen Entwicklung abgeschlossen war. Man kann nicht eine Begriffswelt in neuen Worten dort aufbauen, wo die Kenntnis und das Verständnis für die Begriffe selbst in der Masse noch nicht vorhanden sind. Zunächst muss eine breitere gebildete Schicht geschaffen werden, welche Trägerin dieser neuen Wort- und Begriffswelt ist, und von der aus die neu gewonnenen Erkenntnisse in tausend Kanälen über das ganze Land hinströmen können. So mündete das Problem der Schaffung der litauischen Schriftsprache in ein weit höheres: Es handelte sich um die Schicksalsfrage des litauischen Volkes, das viele Jahrzehnte hinter der sprunghaften westeuropäischen Entwicklung zurückgeblieben war, den Anschluss an das westliche Geistesleben zu gewinnen. Dies aber war wiederum nur auf dem Wege über die Sprache möglich, und zwar nicht dadurch, dass ein kleiner Kreis von Gebildeten unter Zuhilfenahme irgendeiner Weltsprache diesen Anschluss erreichte, sondern dadurch, dass das ganze Volk in seiner Sprache ein Ausdrucks- und Verständigungsmittel erhielt, vermittelst dessen es imstande war, an der weiteren kulturellen

Entwicklung der Welt teilzunehmen. Beide Probleme bedingen sich gegenseitig und sind nur gemeinsam lösbar. Die weitere Entwicklung der litauischen Schriftsprache bedeutet somit ebensosehr ein soziologisches wie ein sprachwissenschaftliches Problem — es sei denn, man wollte eine Kunstsprache für einen kleinen Kreis schaffen, deren Geheimnisse der breiten Masse unverständlich bleiben müssten. Daran denkt aber auch in Litauen niemand.

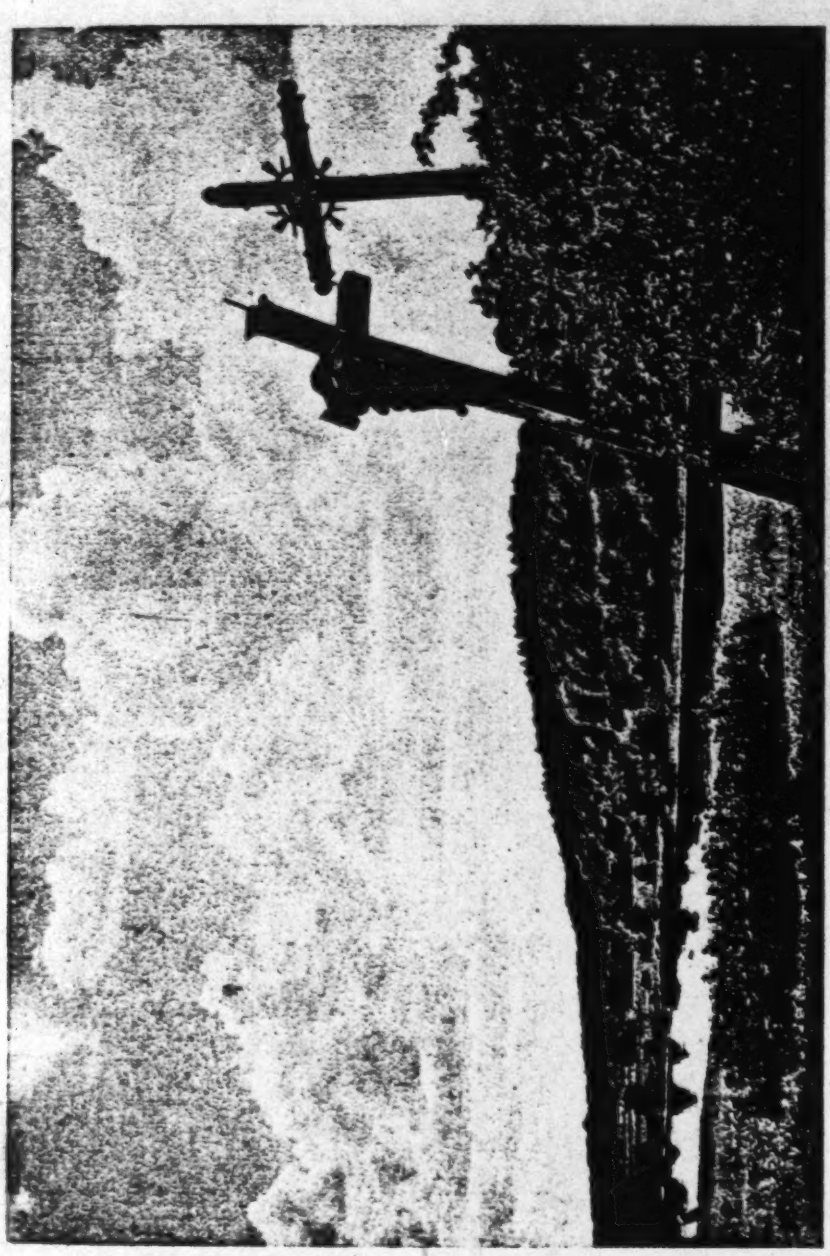
Ungeheuer war die Aufgabe und unermüdlich die Arbeit, die geleistet wurde. Sie war nicht von einem Sprachwissenschaftler und sogar nicht einmal von der Sprachwissenschaft als solcher zu lösen. Die Entwicklung musste vielmehr durch das praktische Leben erfolgen. Wer ermisst heute noch die Schwierigkeiten, eine Sprache mit Worten zu beleben, der trotz all ihres inneren Reichtums und ihrer Schönheit die Bezeichnungen für Bedarfsgegenstände eines modernen Büros ebenso fehlten wie für die Einrichtung einer städtischen Wohnung? Der rapide wirtschaftliche Aufschwung Litauens stiess auch die sprachliche Entwicklung unbarmherzig vorwärts, schuf Worte und Bezeichnungen und vernichtete sie wieder, bis allmählich das Bewährte blieb, sich einbürgerte und vor allem durch die Presse, die in hohem Masse sprachschöpferisch arbeiten musste, in den allgemeinen Wortschatz überführt wurde.

So bedeutet die Entwicklung der litauischen Schriftsprache schon durch die Schnelligkeit, mit der sie erfolgte — etwas Ähnliches gilt mutatis mutandis vom Lettischen und Estnischen — geradezu eine Revolution, die in der Geschichte der Sprachen etwas Unerhörtes und Einmaliges darstellt. Es war eine vollständige Terminologie auf allen nur erdenklichen Gebieten des Wissens zu schaffen, es war nötig, die Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten für Wissenschaft, Technik, Kunst unerhört zu steigern, Begriffe wissenschaftlich abzugrenzen, zu nuancieren, kurz alles das in wenigen Jahren nachzuholen, was bei anderen Völkern im Verlaufe von Jahrhunderten in organischem Wachstum geworden war. Die Besonderheit, die in dieser Entwicklung und in dem bisher schon Erreichten liegt, ist,

wie mir scheint, dem litauischen Volke selbst in seinen gebildeten Schichten noch nicht vollständig zum Bewusstsein gekommen. Und doch bedeutet diese Entwicklung der Sprache neben der Offenbarung eines ungeahnt starken völkischen Lebenswillens einen grossen geistigen Aufschwung, auf dessen Boden sie sich, wie wir sahen, überhaupt erst vollziehen konnte.

Fragen wir nach dem Erreichten, so sehen wir einen grossen Teil des vorgezeichneten Weges heute nach zwei Jahrzehnten schon zurückgelegt. Die Schriftsprache als solche ist stabilisiert wie jede andere Sprache und wird in einheitlicher Form durch den allgemeinen Schulunterricht über das ganze Land verbreitet. Die slawischen Beimischungen sind grossenteils abgestossen und treten in der Sprache der jungen Generation kaum mehr auf. Die Anpassung an die westeuropäischen Weltsprachen hat grosse Fortschritte gemacht; eine wissenschaftliche Sprache ist in der Entstehung begriffen. Träger auf diesem Gebiet war die Litauische Universität. Allerdings kann diese letztere Entwicklung ihrer Natur nach noch nicht abgeschlossen sein.

Es ist nur natürlich, dass die Weiterbildung der Sprache auf den verschiedenen Gebieten des Geisteslebens nicht überall mit der gleichen Schnelligkeit erfolgte. Es waren in erster Linie politische, erzieherische und auch ökonomische Probleme, die seit Beginn der 80-er Jahre den Stoff für die Ausbildung der neuen Schriftsprache abgaben, und es waren wiederum die gleichen Probleme, die, neben den Dingen der äusseren Zivilisation, nach der Gründung des Staates zwangsläufig in den Vordergrund der schriftlichen Diskussion traten. Hinter diesen Problemen musste das künstlerische und dichterische Element im Bewusstsein des Volkes zurücktreten. Dadurch blieb die litauische Schriftsprache in ihrem Wesen schlicht, natürlich, konkret. Sie blieb anschaulich, die Übertragung des Gegenständlichen auf das Geistige jedoch, die die Sprachen des Westens heute beherrscht und von ganzen Dichtergenerationen in den subtilsten Formen ausgebildet wurde, ist im Litauischen heute erst in engen Grenzen möglich. Alles ist noch konkret gesehen, die geistige Bildhaftigkeit wird noch nicht



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empfunden. So kann man in der litauischen Alltagssprache, um ein paar alltägliche Beispiele aus der deutschen Sprache zu wählen, nicht etwa sagen: die wandernden Jahre (wandern kann nur ein Mensch), ein sonniger Mensch (ein Zimmer ist sonnig), klingendes Spiel, die versunkene Erinnerung (ein Stein versinkt im Wasser), reine Augen (nur ein Gegenstand ist rein), in bescheidenen Grenzen usw. Diese geistige Bildhaftigkeit, die aus der Sprache der westlichen Dichter heute schon teilweise in die Alltagssprache ihrer Völker übergegangen ist, kann nun nicht künstlich geweckt werden, sondern setzt gleichfalls eine seelische Umgestaltung voraus. Sie war auch in der deutschen Sprache in früherer Zeit nicht vorhanden. Im Litauischen ist die Bildhaftigkeit von altersher dort vorhanden, wo es sich um die Personifizierung von Dingen handelt. Bester Beweis sind die litauischen Volksrätsel: der Fluss läuft, die Schuhe gaffen umher, das Getreide kommt nach Hause zum Schlafen usw. In der modernen litauischen Dichtung finden wir dagegen schon durchweg den Übergang zum Abstrakten. So etwa bei Balys Sruoga (Saulė ir smiltys):

Geh' auf die lange
Strasse des Herbstes . . . (S. 111).

oder

. . . die Sterne, die die Himmel entflammten
Mit dem Feuer des Lebens —
Beneide ich nicht. (S. 62).

In der modernen Dichtung — es sei in diesem Zusammenhang auch auf die Nachdichtungen im letzten Kapitel hingewiesen — zeigt sich die Vergeistigung des Gegenständlichen somit in lebendigen Bildern. Es ist zu erwarten, dass auch die Alltagssprache sich diesem Einfluss nicht entziehen wird, wenn erst die junge litauische Dichtung tiefer in das Volk gedrungen sein wird. Je langsamer und organischer gerade dieser geistige Umformungsprozess vor sich gehen wird, umso reichere Früchte werden von ihm zu erwarten sein[24]).

ZWEITES KAPITEL

LITAUISCHE VOLKSDICHTUNG

A. DAS VOLKSLIED

1. DIE SINGWEISEN DER LITAUISCHEN LIEDER

Ist die Sprache das seelische Ausdrucksmittel eines Volkes, so findet dieser Ausdruck selbst seine schönste Verklärung und höchste Steigerung im Lied. Nicht das, was ein Volk in seinen Liedern singt, ist hier wesentlich — es sind überall die gleichen urmenschlichen Regungen, Schmerz und Trauer, Freude und Stolz, Sehnsucht und Liebe, und inhaltlich sind die Lieder wohl aller Völker auf bestimmten Kulturstufen einander ähnlich. Was sie unterscheidet, ist die innere Form, in die das Volk seine seelischen Erlebnisse kleidet. Denn in ihr lebt die Natur, die das Volk umgibt, der graue Himmel des Nordens ebenso wie die helle Sonne des Südens, und das Bewusstsein des historischen Schicksals, das ein Volk zur Knechtschaft oder in die Freiheit führte. Aber die Art dieser seelischen Erlebnisse wird massgebend bestimmt nicht nur von den äusseren Umständen des Lebens, sondern genau so stark von Blut und Rasse. Wenn die Volksdichtung der Ukrainer reine Lyrik atmet, die der Weissrussen dagegen mit epischen Elementen durchsetzt ist, wenn das deutsche Volkslied, worauf schon Goethe hinwies, mehr zur Ballade neigt, das litauische dagegen zur Idylle, so werden wir diese verschiedenen Formen des Erlebnisses der Aussenwelt nicht nur

in abweichenden Völkerschicksalen, Lebensumständen und landschaftlichen Unterschieden zu suchen haben. Wir werden darüber hinaus auch einen Einblick in eine rassisch bedingte Erlebnissphäre erhalten, die nicht ohne Reiz ist. Wir werden uns nur davor zu hüten haben, die Erkenntnisse einer inneren Welt, die wir auf solche Weise gewinnen, dem Volkscharakter, wie er sich im täglichen äusseren Leben offenbart, gleichzusetzen.

Das litauische Volkslied ist ein Kind der einsamen Heide, der grossen Wälder, es kam in kleinen moosbedeckten Hütten zur Welt, in jenen stillen Dörfern, die in die weiten Linien der Landschaft so tief eingebettet sind, als seien sie selbst ein Teil von ihr. Es erwuchs aus der Knechtschaft, in die ein Volk nach kurzem meteorgleichem Aufstieg für Jahrhunderte versank, und es fand seinen Boden in den Formen einer bäuerlichen Lebenshaltung, die, von alten Traditionen gefügt, noch in unsere Tage hineinreicht. Und damit wurde es selbst fast ein Stück Mittelalter.

Man muss die litauischen Volkslieder draussen gesungen hören. In ihren Melodien lebt die litauische Landschaft mit ihren stillen Seen und Wäldern, in denen der Kuckuck ruft, mit ihren heissen Sommern, in denen die Sichel klingt, und ihren nebligen Herbstabenden, an denen die Hirtenkinder sich fröstelnd am Heidefeuer wärmen. Vielleicht spricht die abendliche Trauer der Landschaft, in der der Sommer so kurz ist, noch stärker aus ihnen als die Freude des Sommers, und vielleicht schwebt in ihnen auch etwas von der wehmütigen Bescheidung eines ganzes Volkes in sein trauriges Schicksal.

Wer einmal durch Litauen geritten oder gefahren ist, der hat wohl dem Sang der Schnitter und Schnitterinnen gelauscht, die von der Arbeit heimkehrten. Er hat vielleicht vor einsamen Waldgehöften haltgemacht, aus denen langgezogen und schwermütig am Abend der Gesang einer Daina ertönte. Oder er hat am Flusse gestanden, über dessen Spiegel in langsamen Wellen der Gesang der Holzfäller von nächtlicher Arbeit herüberklang.

Aber er wird nicht wissen, dass manche dieser melancholischen Melodien Texte verbergen, die alles andere als traurig sind, deren innere Fröhlichkeit durch die Melodie wie mit einem Schleier verhüllt erscheint. Es ist dies eine Sonderheit des litauischen Liedes, die nicht ohne weiteres für westeuropäische Musikauffassung verständlich ist. Eine besondere Ansicht hierüber vertritt Vydūnas: „Mit dem vorher Angedeuteten hängt auch zusammen, dass die litauischen Lieder für viele, besonders für Nichtlitauer, das Gepräge des Schwermütigen tragen, das oft geradezu als Traurigkeit gedeutet wird. Unleugbar gibt es litauische Lieder, die tiefes Leid zum Ausdruck bringen wollen. Aber die Verallgemeinerung dieser Tatsache beruht auf einem Missverständnis. Was in der Volksweise als schwermütig bezeichnet wird, bedeutet ein gewisses Fürsichsein mit den eigenen Stimmungen, eine Verschleierung derselben. Die Melodien bewegen sich auch darum häufig zwischen halben Tonstufen und tragen meistens den Mollcharakter“ [1]).

Die alten litauischen Volksweisen passen nicht in die Musik des Westens. Sie sind einzigartig für die heutige Zeit, denn sie beruhen auf den diatonischen Tonleitern des griechischen Tonsystems [2]). Zwar ist der altertümliche Charakter der Tonarten heute durch die um die Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts aus dem Westen eingedrungene zweistimmige Singweise in Terzen oft verhüllt, jedoch werden die Lieder, die ihren ältesten Charakter bewahrt haben, auch heute noch einstimmig gesungen (vor allem in Südwestlitauen). Die litauischen Lieder zeigen nicht den quadratischen Aufbau (je 4 und 8 Takte) der deutschen [3]), sehr oft erfolgt ein Wechsel zwischen zwei-, drei- und fünfteiligen Takten. Besonders typisch ist der Wechsel von $^5/_4$ und $^3/_4$ Takt. Diese Unregelmässigkeiten aber sind nicht willkürlich, sondern beweisen nur, dass die litauischen Volksmelodien auch in rhythmischer Hinsicht auf dem metrischen System der Griechen aufgebaut sind. Der liebevollste Erforscher der litauischen Volksmelodien, Prof. Brazys, vergleicht am Schlusse seiner Arbeit über die „Singweisen der litauischen Dainos“ eine altindische Melodie aus dem Atharva-

Veda mit einer noch heute gesungenen litauischen Melodie aus der Umgebung von Vilnius[4]). Bei der Ähnlichkeit, die beide Melodien in ihren Grundzügen aufweisen, kommt Brazys zu der Annahme, dass er die Urquelle der alten litauischen Musik in der Musik der Inder gefunden habe. Wieder taucht hier, wie schon bei der Sprache, spontan der Gedanke an die urindogermanische Heimat auf, in welcher der alte litauische Kulturbesitz verankert sei. Aber es wird auch der Abstand deutlich, der das Musikempfinden des Litauers von dem der westlichen Völker trennt. Er zeigt sich nicht nur in den Singweisen der Volkslieder, sondern auch im Kirchenchoral. In einer Osternacht, die ich in einer katholischen Parochialkirche in Schamaiten verbrachte, kam mir dies tief zum Bewusstsein: Die kleine Kirche war ganz mit Menschen gefüllt, über denen die Fahnen schwankten, die Kopftücher der Frauen leuchteten in unbestimmtem Weiss, vom schwachen Schein der wenigen Lichter getroffen, und durch die Kirchenfenster drang das Mondlicht und erzeugte eine geheime feierliche Dämmerung. Die Gesänge selbst waren von einer verhaltenen Inbrunst erfüllt, die fast bedrückend wirkte. Es gab zuweilen gar keine gemessene Reihenfolge der Noten mehr. Töne verschwanden, sprangen über, vermengten sich mit anderen, und statt der getragenen Feierlichkeit, wie sie aus den langgezogenen halben Textnoten etwa des deutschen Choralgesanges spricht, ergab sich ein Wirbel von Empfindungen, eine innere Erregung, die rhythmisch auf und ab wogte und alle in gleicher Weise mitzureissen schien.

Auch in diesen Ostergesängen wie in manchen alten Weihnachtsliedern springt das Tempo beim Singen oft aus dem Zweiviertel- in den Dreivierteltakt und dann in den Viervierteltakt über. Durch die ausserordentliche Beschleunigung, die der Melodie — z. B. in einem Gloria, das ich hörte — nach anfänglicher Feierlichkeit einen fast tanzartigen Charakter gab, wurde der Höhepunkt einer freudigen Stimmung erreicht. Unverkennbar war hier der Einfluss alter Volksmelodien auf den Kirchengesang. Die gleiche Erscheinung zeigt sich nach Hoffheinz auch beim Kirchengesang der lutherischen Litauer[7]).

Bei der tiefen Religiosität des litauischen Volkes spielen religiöse Lieder und Gesänge in seinem Leben keine geringere Rolle als die Volkslieder. Ja, bei den evangelischen Grenzlitauern, bei denen sich ein eigentümlich gefärbter puritanischer Lebensstil herausgebildet hat, muss die giesmė — das religiöse Lied — geradezu die daina — das Volkslied — ersetzen. Giesmių knygos — religiöse Liederbücher — finden wir hier in der ärmsten Hütte.

Vom Volkslied unterscheidet sich die giesmė weiterhin dadurch, dass sie immer mehrstimmig gesungen wird, während die Dainos selbst als einstimmige Lieder entstanden. Wenngleich sie seit Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts zweistimmig gesungen werden, wobei häufig ein Vorsänger (rinkėjas) Takt und Melodie angibt, so tragen sie doch noch heute den Charakter der Einstimmigkeit so stark an sich, dass die modernen Chorbearbeitungen der Volkslieder, wie wir sie in unseren Tagen etwa bei grossen Sängerfesten hören, ihr ursprüngliches Wesen oft zu verwischen scheinen. Mit Recht hat schon Bartsch auf diese Tatsache hingewiesen [6]). Das Bestreben geht somit dahin, einen besonderen Harmoniestil zu finden, der der Natur der alten Lieder angepasst ist.

Die Frage nach dem Rhythmus, die im Zusammenhang mit der Frage nach der Melodie auftaucht, ist von manchen Forschern der litauischen Lieder behandelt worden. Im Gegensatz zu Volksliedern anderer Nationen stimmt der Rhythmus des gesungenen Wortes im litauischen Liede absolut nicht mit dem Rhythmus des gesprochenen Wortes überein. Nesselmann zeigt uns dies an einem hübschen Beispiel [7]). Der Liedanfang: Auf der Brücke stand ich, mit dem Mägdlein sprach ich, lautet nach dem Wortakzent: Ant tiltúžio stovėjau, su mergýte kalbėjau, nach dem Akzent der Melodie hingegen:

Ánt tiltúžio stóvejau, su mergýte kálbejáu.

So gilt das, was Bartsch von den Melodien sagt, auch für die Texte der litauischen Lieder, die sich den Melodien so eng anschmiegen, dass wir ihrem wahren Rhythmus mit den uns

geläufigen Methoden der Messung nach Daktylen, Trochäen, Jamben usw. keineswegs gerecht werden. Hinzugefügt sei, dass kaum ein einfacher Litauer imstande ist, uns den Text eines Volksliedes so herzusagen, wie man etwa im Deutschen ein Lied deklamieren würde. Er verfällt sofort in den Rhythmus der Melodie oder beginnt zu stocken.

Das litauische Volkslied steht somit noch auf jener altertümlichen Stufe der Entwicklung, auf welcher der Wortinhalt eines Liedes vollständig von dem Rhythmus der Melodie beherrscht wird. Wie das Primäre eines jeden Volksliedes die Melodie ist, wie diese Melodie sich zunächst nur bestimmter Naturlaute für ihren Ausdruck bedient, sich allmählich aber in Richtung auf einen sinnvollen Text hin entwickelt — diese reizvolle Metamorphose erkennen wir beim litauischen Volksliede noch heute.

2. DIE ENTSTEHUNG DER DAINOS / DAS ARBEITSLIED

In seinen ausgezeichneten „Studien über die Poetik der Dainos" [8]) zeichnet B. Sruoga ein Bild von der Entstehung des litauischen Volksliedes. Er zeigt uns an alten Tanzliedern, wie ursprünglich die Melodie in einer Reihe scheinbar sinnloser Wortbildungen den Rhythmus und die Freude des Tanzes in onomatopoetischer Form zum Ausdruck brachte:

Čiulado, čiuladyta!
Lig čiuladytela, lylio!

oder

Saduto, ruto, lingo, tatato, tato!
Saduto, ruto, lingo, tatato, tato! [9])

Sruoga zeigt weiter, wie sich diese „sinnlosen" Worte allmählich teilweise zu Worten mit verständlichen Wortstämmen und endlich zu sinnvollen Worten entwickeln, die auf der nächsten Stufe mit den unverständlichen noch eine untrenn-

bare Einheit bilden. Teilweise handelt es sich hierbei um die Nachahmung von Naturlauten:

Es schwamm ein Gänslein über den See,
Über den See.
Gu, gu, gu, gu, gu, gu,
Über den See.
Es tanzt das Mägdlein
Hübsch Kasatschok,
Cak, cak, cak, cak, cak, cak,
Hübsch Kasatschok [10]).

Die litauischen Lieder sind an solchen Worten überreich und malen in ihnen eine ganze Skala von Stimmungen, so etwa die Worte sadutoj lingo eine gehobene fröhliche, die Worte lilia, tutoj liliulia eine passive und betrübte. Die Entwicklung geht nun dahin, dass auf der letzten Stufe diese Empfindungsworte, die den eigentlichen Urstoff der Lieder bildeten, in den Refrain absinken und hier später sogar in Vergessenheit geraten können. In den neueren heute entstehenden Liedern hat der Refrain eine sichtlich andere Bedeutung; für die alten aber ist er entstehungsgeschichtlich bedeutsam, denn er zeigt uns die treibende Kraft des musikalischen Rhythmus, der die Entstehung des Liedes bedingte. Dieser Rhythmus selbst hat nun seine verschiedensten Quellen, von denen wir eine, den Tanz, schon erwähnten. Weiterhin sind die Töne bestimmter alter litauischer Musikinstrumente, wie sie Biržiška schildert [11]), für seine Entstehung nicht ohne Bedeutung, ebenso wie die Töne, die der Mensch aus der ihn umgebenden Natur aufnahm. So hört der Litauer das Lied der Nachtigall:

Jurgiuk! Jurgiuk! Jurgiuk!	Georg! Georg! Georg!
Kinkyk! Kinkyk! Kinkyk!	Spann an! Spann an! Spann an!
Važiuok! Važiuok! Važiuok!	Fahr ab! Fahr ab! Fahr ab!
Sustok! Sustok! Sustok!	Halt an! Halt an! Halt an!

Auch andere Laute von Tieren und Vögeln haben im menschlichen Lied ihren Ausdruck gefunden, der wichtigste Anstoss für die Entstehung des Liedes aber kam von der menschlichen Arbeit. In seinem schönen Buch „Arbeit und Rhythmus" hat der deutsche Nationalökonom Bücher diese Beziehungen eindeutig festgelegt[12]). Es gewährt einen eigenen Reiz, den Gedankengängen dieses bedeutenden Forschers, der zugleich ein Künstler war, gerade an Hand der litauischen Volkslieder nachzugehen, da diese noch sehr ursprüngliche Elemente enthalten. Auch die litauische Forschung ist durch Karl Bücher zu selbständigen Untersuchungen über das litauische Arbeitslied und seine Entwicklung angeregt worden[13]).

Jede ursprüngliche Arbeit trägt einen bestimmten Rhythmus in sich, sei es, dass sie mit einem Vorstossen oder Zurückziehen oder einem Heben und Senken der Arme verbunden ist. Sie ist abhängig von gewissen primitiven Gerätschaften, welche in bestimmten Zeitabständen immer wieder den gleichen Handgriff erfordern, denken wir etwa an die Bedienung des Webstuhls. Sofern diese Arbeiten kein selbständiges Nachdenken erfordern, erleichtert sich der Arbeitende, sei es, dass er allein, sei es, dass er in Gruppen arbeitet, seine Tätigkeit durch ein Lied. Aber es ist genau wie bei den eingangs besprochenen Tanzliedern auf der frühesten Stufe der Entwicklung kein Lied mit sinnvollen Worten, das wir hören, sondern es sind einfache Naturlaute, die dem Rhythmus der Tätigkeit angepasst sind und die Art der Arbeit onomatopoetisch charakterisieren. Entsprechend dem Rhythmus der Bewegungen, die in ihrer Bedeutung nicht gleich sind — z. B. Heben und Senken der Arme — besteht das ursprüngliche Arbeitslied aus zwei Zeilen, von denen der zweiten schwächere Bedeutung zukommt. Ein Teil des Liedes füllt sich nun allmählich mit selbständigem Inhalt, mit Worten, die gewöhnlich den Gang der Arbeit selbst charakterisieren; die Naturlaute dagegen werden allmählich zum Refrain, der nach jeder Zeile wiederholt wird. Ein klassisches Beispiel für diesen Übergang bildet das alte Weberlied, mit dem die Liedersammlung von Niemi-Sabaliauskas beginnt:

Ich webte zierlich, tatatela
Je ein Bündel, tatatela
Fest den Faden, tatatela
Je ein Schiffchen, tatatela usw.

Man hört hier deutlich das Geräusch des Webstuhles, der von der Weberin mit den Füssen in Gang gehalten wird, während sie die nötigen Handgriffe mit den Worten des Liedes begleitet. Der Refrain selbst — gleich, ob er nun aus onomatopoetischen Lauten oder Worten besteht — ist das eigentlich Beständige an diesen Liedern. Er gewinnt Bedeutung dort, wo es sich um Arbeiten handelt, die von einer Gruppe von Menschen gleichzeitig ausgeführt werden. Hier singt lediglich der Vorsänger den Text des Liedes, den er improvisiert, wohingegen der Chor nur den Refrain wiederholt.

Während der Refrain in seinem Wesen an den Rhythmus der Arbeit gebunden ist, hat der andere Teil des Liedes die Möglichkeit zu freierer Entwicklung. So kommt es denn, dass der Arbeitende in diesen Teil allmählich, je nach seiner Stimmung, die verschiedenartigsten Gedanken und Gefühle verlegt, die nicht nur auf die Arbeit Bezug haben. Wir können diese Entwicklung bei einer ganzen Reihe von Arbeitsliedern beobachten, die beim Drehen der Handmühle gesungen wurden und die fast alle mit den gleichen Worten beginnen: Malu, malu viena, pasižiūru — diena (ich mahle, mahle alleine, ich blicke um mich — es ist Tag), während die Texte die verschiedensten Gefühle des arbeitenden Mädchens zum Ausdruck bringen. Die Veränderung der Arbeitsbedingungen hat die altertümlichen Arbeitslieder wie überall, so auch in Litauen langsam verschwinden lassen. Die Beseitigung des Frondienstes, der viele Menschen zu gemeinsamer Tätigkeit zwang, das Aufhören der „Talka", der freien Arbeitsgemeinschaft auf den Dörfern und endlich der Ersatz solcher primitiven Gerätschaften, wie sie etwa die Handmühle darstellte, durch verbesserte Arbeitsgeräte, wirkten in einer Richtung. Aber das Lied, das einst beim monotonen Rhythmus der Arbeit gesungen wurde, verschwand dennoch nicht, es erfuhr lediglich

eine Umgestaltung: Der Teil, in dem der Sänger einst seine Gefühle und Stimmungen zum Ausdruck brachte, konnte sich jetzt völlig frei entfalten und wurde zum echten Volkslied. Dies ist der Entwicklungsgang einer ungezählten Reihe von litauischen Liedern, deren Entstehung heute dunkel wäre, würden nicht gewisse Bestandteile des Textes und der Rhythmus ihre Herkunft verraten. Besonders deutlich zeigt sich dies bei dem schönen von Rhesa übertragenen Liede: Das Mädchen bei der Quirdel, dessen erste Verse den altertümlichen Anfang der bei der Handmühle gesungenen Lieder zeigen:

Rauschet, rauschet
Ihr Mühlensteine!
Mich deucht, nicht mahlt' ich alleine.

Alleine mahlt' ich,
Alleine sang ich,
Allein dreh' ich die Quirdel.

Warum verfielst du,
O zarter Jüngling,
Auf mich armseliges Mägdlein?

Du wusstest ja wohl,
O Herzensjüngling,
Dass ich im Hof nicht sitze:

Bis an die Knie
Hinein in den Sumpf,
Bis an die Achseln
Hinein ins Wasser . . .
Armselig meine Tage![14])

Nachdem die direkte Verbindung des Liedes mit der Arbeit gelöst war, änderten sich allerdings häufig Inhalt und Rhythmus, sodass seine Herkunft heute nicht mehr zu erkennen ist.

Fassen wir den Begriff der Arbeit in weiterem Sinne als jede menschliche Tätigkeit auf, so sehen wir mit Biržiška[15]),

dass sich alle Arbeitslieder in zwei Gruppen teilen lassen. Die einen wurden bei gemeinsamen Tätigkeiten gesungen — beim Flachsbrechen, bei der Heuernte, bei der Roggenmahd, beim Tanze usw. — die anderen von einzelnen bei der Handmühle, am Webstuhl, beim Melken, beim Waschen. Hierhin gehören auch die Schiffer- und Hirtenlieder und die Wiegenlieder, welche die Mütter sangen, wenn sie die von der Decke herabhängende weidengeflochtene Wiege in gleichmässige Bewegung versetzten:

Lylia, lylia, Rautenblütlein,
Lylia, lylia, goldnes Ringlein,

oder

Čiučia liulia, du mein Kleines,
Liulia, du mein armes Kindlein[16]).

Fast alle von einzelnen gesungenen Lieder dieser Art atmen eine traurige sehnsüchtige Stimmung, während die im Chore draussen gesungenen meistens von Scherz und Fröhlichkeit erfüllt sind:

Valioi, ihr Wiesen, valioi!
Valioi, ihr grünen, valioi!
Mein Sichlein ist ganz aus Stahl, valioi!
Mein Sichlein ist nicht geschliffen, valioi!
Meine Harke ist schön geschnitzt, valioi!
Vom lieben Burschen geschenkt, valioi![17])

Fröhlichkeit atmen vor allem die litauischen Tanzlieder. Wir haben schon an anderer Stelle gesehen, auf welche Weise ursprünglich der Rhythmus des Tanzes in Ermangelung einer Begleitmusik von den Tanzenden selbst erzeugt wurde. Heute ist die Begleitmusik natürlich vorhanden, und zu jedem Tanze gehört eine Reihe fröhlicher Lieder:

Tanzt der Fuchs und tanzt der Hase,
Tanzen alle Tiere,
Und der Hirsch mit langen Hörnern
Der stampft auf und nieder.

Tanzt die Krähe, tanzt die Elster,
Tanzen alle Vögel,
Kranich mit dem langen Schnabel
Schreitet auf und nieder usw [18])

Die alten litauischen Volkstänze, auf die an dieser Stelle eingegangen werden muss, waren bis vor kurzem fast vergessen und sind erst vor wenigen Jahren von neuem belebt worden. Sie sind von hohem Interesse für die Kenntnis einer bestimmten seelischen Haltung. Nehmen wir etwa den alten Tanz „Blezdingėlė" (Das Schwälbchen), einen Gruppentanz, bei dem sich Mädchen und Burschen in zwei Reihen (ähnlich dem keilförmigen Zug der Wildgänse), mit weissen Tüchern in den Händen, aufstellen und durch leichtes Heben und Senken der Arme den Flug der Schwalbe nachbilden (s. Abbildung), wobei sie singend einmal vorwärts und einmal rückwärts schreiten, so gewahren wir eine für einen Volkstanz ungewohnte Grazie und eine erstaunliche Sensibilität; es ist, als wenn der Wind über ein Kornfeld ginge. Die weiteren Figuren bestehen darin, dass die Partner nach der Mitte zu zusammengehen und die Paare bei immer schneller werdender Musik abwechselnd unter ihren hoch gehobenen Armen hindurchkriechen. Bei einem anderen Tanz „Kepurėlė" (Das Mützchen), stehen sich zwei Paare gegenüber. Sie ergreifen sich zunächst bei der einen Hand und drehen sich nach rechts, dann erfolgen die gleichen Bewegungen nach links. Beim zweiten Vers der Melodie nehmen die Burschen die Mützen ab, und die Paare verneigen sich über Kreuz gegen einander. Hierauf erfolgt auf dem gleichen Platz eine Drehung und eine Verneigung nach aussen. Das Ganze geht zwei bis drei Mal vor sich. In ähnlich zierlicher und graziöser Weise wird eine ganze Reihe der alten Volkstänze getanzt. Ein richtiger Frühlingstanz ist der gleichfalls abgebildete „Kubilas", der noch heute in Suvalkija lebendig ist.

Vor ungefähr einem halben Jahrhundert erfolgte das Aufkommen neuer Volkstänze, aus denen eine völlig veränderte seelische Haltung spricht. Es war vor allem der „Suktinis"

(Dreher), der aus den Städten kam, ins Dorf überging und viele andere Tänze verdrängte. Tatsächlich handelt es sich bei dem „Suktinis" um keinen ursprünglichen Volkstanz, sondern um gesunkenes Kulturgut. Die Melodie entstammt einer Opernouvertüre und trägt polnisch-tschechisches Gepräge. Die Paare fassen sich, halten ihre Arme auf dem Rücken verschränkt und schreiten im Polkatakt vorwärts, bis mit dem Wechsel des Tempos ein Drehen einsetzt, wobei abwechselnd Mädchen und Burschen, Partner oder Partnerin rückwärts im Kreise herumwirbeln. Auch der heute oft getanzte Tanz „Noriu miego" ist kein ursprünglicher litauischer Volkstanz, sondern die Bearbeitung eines estnischen [10]).

Der Bauer auf dem Lande kennt daneben auch deutsche Tänze, er tanzt beispielsweise die Quadrille und auch den Walzer, wenngleich mit einer kleinen Abweichung. Daneben gehört seine Liebe jenen alten eigenartigen Reigentänzen, die allen Tänzern und Tänzerinnen gleichzeitig Gelegenheit zur Betätigung geben. Sie werden in jedem Dorfe getanzt. Der Litauer bezeichnet seine Reigentänze nicht als „Tänze", sondern als „Spiele".

Da wird z. B. das Säen, Wachsen, Blühen und die Ernte des Mohnes geschildert. Tänzer und Tänzerinnen fassen sich im geschlossenen Kreise an der Hand, während das keckste und frischeste Mädchen sich in der Mitte aufstellt und das Zeichen zum Beginn des Reigens gibt. Der Kreis setzt sich hierauf in schreitende Bewegung und hält zuweilen inne, um — stets mit begleitendem Gesang — die verschiedenen Bewegungen nachzuahmen, mit denen das in der Mitte stehende Mädchen die Kultur des Mohnes symbolisch darstellt. Der Tanz heisst Aguonėlė (Mohnpflänzchen). In ähnlicher Weise werden viele andere Reigen getanzt, die auf die Tier-, Vogel- und Pflanzenwelt Bezug haben. An schönen Sommernachmittagen ziehen Mädchen und Burschen vor das Dorf hinaus auf die breite Landstrasse zum Reigen.

Die litauischen Gesangstänze bieten dem Beschauer ein farbenfreudiges Bild, namentlich, wenn die Mädchen in ihrer

alten Nationaltracht bei Festlichkeiten erscheinen. Das farbige Mieder, die langen bunten flatternden Bänder, die am Kopfschmuck befestigt werden, die leuchtenden Schürzen — alles atmet Fröhlichkeit und vereinigt sich mit dem Charakter der Tänze zu einem einheitlichen schönen Bilde.

3. MOTIVE UND INHALT DER DAINOS

Die litauischen Tanzlieder sind Lieder des Sommers, die an den Abenden erschallen, wenn draussen vor den Dörfern die Pechfackeln lodern und der Boden vom Rhythmus des Tanzes erzittert. Aber schon die Betrachtung der alten Volkstänze, der Melodien und des Arbeitsliedes zeigte uns, dass solche ursprünglichen Äusserungen lebensbejahender Freude nicht das eigentlich Kennzeichnende für die litauische Volkspoesie als Ganzes bedeuten. Inhaltlich umfassen die litauischen Lieder wohl die ganze menschliche Gefühlsskala, aber über den meisten von ihnen liegt doch eine scheue Zurückhaltung. Auch dort, wo die Daina sich zur Volksballade wandelt, behält sie im Ausdruck dies ihr eigentümliche Gepräge.

Die litauische Volksballade ist von der Literaturwissenschaft bisher nicht in den Kreis der Untersuchung gezogen worden. Die Frage, inwieweit die epischen Elemente, die viele Dainos enthalten, balladesk, also auch dramatisch, geformt sind, ist nicht ohne weiteres zu entscheiden, da der Begriff der Ballade selbst schillert. In einem mir freundlichst zur Verfügung gestellten noch unveröffentlichten Aufsatz „Über die litauische Volksballade" untersucht Dr. J. Balys das epische Element in 45 Dainos, die er in naturmagische, Geisterballaden, Schauerballaden, rührende Balladen, Schicksals- und historische Sagenballaden einteilt. Wie aus der ganzen Natur der Dainos hervorgeht, überwiegen die sogenannten rührenden Balladen, auch die Schicksals- und Sagenballaden erscheinen nur als ihre Abart. Geister- und Schauerballaden treten dagegen stark zurück. Viele dieser Gedichte sind monologartig — der Leidende selbst erzählt sein Schicksal. Daneben aber finden

wir epische Einführungen, die die Situation schildern, und Wechselgespräche mit dramatischer Steigerung. Die Beziehungen zur deutschen Poesie sind gering, stark dagegen die Berührungen mit der slawischen.

Der Unterschied zwischen der so umrissenen litauischen Volksballade und der deutschen scheint mir im wesentlichen darin zu liegen, dass die äussere Handlung, wenn wir eins dieser Gedichte als Ganzes betrachten, keinesfalls zum Selbstzweck wird. Das Dunkle, Grausige oder Schicksalhafte (Geister-, Schauer- und Schicksalsballade), findet wohl Erwähnung, aber keine Ausmalung, sondern spiegelt sich in den Stimmungen der Trauer und des Schmerzes. Die Wirklichkeit erscheint wie aus der Ferne gesehen, und ihre Erwähnung dient im wesentlichen doch nur dazu, das gefühlsmässige Erlebnis zu begründen, welches den eigentlichen Inhalt der Ballade ausmacht: Der Jüngling reitet in die Schlacht. Das Lied singt von dem Abschied und dem Schmerz der Zurückbleibenden. Der Jüngling fällt im Kampfe. Wir erfahren nichts über seinen Ritt, nichts von den näheren Umständen der Schlacht. Nur das Ross kehrt zurück und berichtet von seinem Tod. Oder der Jüngling fällt in der Schlacht, und die Trauer der zurückbleibenden Mutter, Schwester und Braut findet ergreifenden Ausdruck im Liede. Aus diesen beiden Volksballaden hat Adalbert von Chamisso seine schöne Nachdichtung „Der Sohn der Witwe" geformt. Da sie ganz aus litauischer Stimmung heraus empfunden ist und nur wenige eigene Zutaten des Dichters enthält, möge sie an dieser Stelle als stärkstes Beispiel der litauischen Volksballade ihren Platz finden:

Her zogen die Schwäne mit Kriegsgesang:
Zu Ross, zu Ross! es dröhnend erklang.

Es reiten aus allen Höfen umher
Die jüngern Söhne zum Kriegesheer,

SCHWALBENTANZ

Opp. 48

Es ist mit uns gar schlimm bestellt,
Und keiner bleibt, wenn einer sich stellt.

Du zieh'st, mein Bräut'gam, mein Bruder, mein Sohn,
Du zieh'st in den Krieg, das wissen wir schon.

Wir Frauen bedienen den Kriegesknecht,
Den Helmbusch steckt die Braut dir zurecht,

Den Rappen führt die Schwester dir vor,
Dir öffnet die Mutter des Hofes Tor.

Wann kehrst du, mein Bräut'gam, mein Bruder, mein Kind,
Wann kehrst du zurück? das sag' uns geschwind.

Sind Luft und Wasser und Land erst frei,
Dann säum' ich nicht länger, dann eil' ich herbei.

Und Luft und Wasser und Land sind frei,
Was säumt er noch länger und eilt nicht herbei?

Wir Frauen, wir wollen entgegen ihm geh'n,
Wir wollen vom Hügel entgegen ihm seh'n.

Dort harren die Frauen und lauschen zu Tal
Die Strasse entlang im Sonnenstrahl.

Und auf und nieder die Sonne steigt,
Kein Reitersmann dem Blicke sich zeigt.

Jetzt hebt sich Staub, jetzt kommt im Lauf
Ein Rappe daher — kein Reiter sitzt d'rauf.

Sie fangen ihn ein, sie fragen ihn aus:
Wie kommst du, mein Rappe, doch ledig nach Haus?

Bist, schlechter Gaul, dem Herrn du entfloh'n?
Wo blieb mein Bräut'gam, mein Bruder, mein Sohn?

Sie haben erschossen ihn in der Schlacht,
Auf grüner Heide sein Bett ihm gemacht.

Mich liessen sie laufen in alle Welt,
Ich habe die Botschaft trauernd bestellt.

Es zogen drei Schwäne mit Klaggesang,
Ein Grab zu suchen, die Heide entlang.

Sie liessen sich nieder, wie sie es ersah'n,
Zu Füssen, zu Haupte, zur Seite ein Schwan.

Zu Haupte die Schwester, zu Füssen die Braut,
Zur Seite die Mutter, hoch ergraut:

O wehe, weh', Verwaisten uns drei'n!
Wer stimmt in uns're Klage mit ein?

Darauf die Sonne, sich neigend, begann:
Ich stimme mit ein, so gut ich kann.

Neun Tage traur' ich im Nebelflor
Und komm' am zehnten nicht hervor.

Die Trauer der Braut drei Wochen war,
Die Trauer der Schwester, die war drei Jahr',

Die Mutter hat der Trauer gepflegt,
Bis müde sie selbst ins Grab sich gelegt [20])

So wie hier findet in allen litauischen Liedern das epische Element zum Schluss seine Auflösung in reiner Lyrik. Diese

Lyrik vermeidet nach Möglichkeit sogar die Erwähnung konkreter Tatsachen. Ihr Wesen wurzelt in der Ausmalung von Stimmungen und innerem Erleben. „Da die Sänger in Litauen", sagt der finnische Professor Niemi, „wie auch in Estland und Ingermanland, junge Mädchen sind, konnte man auch nicht erwarten, dass sie sich für das Heldenepos erwärmen würden, ganz anders als in Finnisch- und Russisch-Karelien, wo die Träger der Volkspoesie ergraute Männer waren" [21]). Tatsächlich sind wohl die meisten der heute in Litauen gesungenen Lieder Mädchenlieder, und hieraus erklärt sich auch das unverhältnismässig starke Überwiegen der Liebeslieder in der litauischen Volkspoesie. Mir selbst wurde eines Tages in einer schamaitischen Bauernfamilie eine Daina vorgesungen, nach deren Beendigung mich die beiden Töchter des Hauses erwartungsvoll ansahen. Als ich mich lobend über die Melodie aussprach, erklärte die Ältere errötend, sie hätte das Lied in der letzten Woche selbst mit ihrer Schwester verfasst und die Melodie dazu ersonnen. Wenn man bedenkt, dass auf diese Weise die Volkslieder in Litauen noch heute entstehen, dann begreift man, dass ein ganz persönliches Verhältnis den Litauer mit seinem Liedergut verbindet. Sogar während des Weltkrieges kam der Liederstrom dieses sangesfreudigen Volkes nicht zum Stocken, wie die neuesten Sammlungen beweisen [22]). Ein Lied, das Anklang findet, beginnt zu wandern und erlebt nun mancherlei Umformungen. Vielleicht wenige Stunden vom Ausgangspunkt entfernt wird es schon ganz anders gesungen. In Liedern mit Lokalkolorit stossen wir daher auf die verschiedensten Stadt- und Flussbenennungen — ein an der Grenze entstandenes Lied, das Riga und den Dünafluss erwähnt, setzt auf der Wanderung nach Westen vielleicht Tilsit und den Memelstrom hierfür ein. Es ist dies ein Vorgang, den man auch bei deutschen Liedern, namentlich solchen, die von wandernden Handwerksburschen gesungen werden, findet — nur mit dem Unterschied, dass in Deutschland diese Entwicklung heute meist abgeschlossen, in Litauen dagegen noch in vollem Fluss ist. Wie sich die Lieder textlich verändern, so geht es auch mit den Melodien. Es gehört dies mit zum ur-

sprünglichen Wesen des Volksliedes. Häufig wird auf diese Weise sogar der leitende Gedanke in dem gelockerten Zusammenhange unverständlich.

Betrachten wir den Inhalt der litauischen Lieder nach gewissen leitenden Gesichtspunkten, so erkennen wir, dass jede Einteilung in bestimmte Gruppen eine künstliche bleiben muss, denn tatsächlich formt das Volk sein ganzes Leben zum Lied. Das menschliche Leben aber entzieht sich jeder Klassifikation. — Weiterhin gilt gerade für den Inhalt der Dainos die am Eingang erwähnte Ähnlichkeit der Motive innerhalb der arischen Volksgruppe. Es ist darum nicht alles, was über den Inhalt der litauischen Lieder gesagt werden soll, nur für die litauische Volkspoesie typisch; wohl aber bedingen Kulturstufe, Volkscharakter und Lebensumstände grundlegende Unterschiede in der Art ihrer Behandlung.

Wir finden unter den litauischen Volksliedern viele, die alte, längst entschwundene Situationen behandeln. So berichten manche von Brautraub und Totenkult, von alten heute vergessenen Sitten. Solche Lieder vermitteln uns wertvolle Erkenntnisse über die zeitlichen Wandlungen im Lebensstil des Volkes, mag es sich hierbei nun um häusliche Arbeiten, Feldbestellungen, Farbenzubereitung und anderes mehr handeln, um Bräuche religiöser oder mythischer Art, um Aberglauben, Zauberei, oder um alte Volkssitten und Gepflogenheiten bei Totenfeiern und Hochzeiten. Keine kulturgeschichtliche Darstellung Litauens vermag daher an den Dainos vorüberzugehen. In den mythologischen Liedern sind die Gestirne beseelt, die Sonne erscheint als Mutter, die die Hirtenkinder wärmt, der Mond als Vater, die Sterne sind Brüder. Der Himmelsgott Perkunas schleudert seine Blitze. Eine grosse Rolle spielen die heiligen Zahlen Drei und Neun. Auch Lieder, die bei bestimmten kirchlichen Festen, z. B. am Vorabend von St. Johannis, gesungen werden, gehören hierher, ist doch mit diesem Heiligen der alte Feldgott Kupalo zu einer Person zusammengeschmolzen: Kupolau Šventas Jonas — Kupalo, heiliger Johannes! Nachfolgend sei für diese Gruppe von Liedern ein Beispiel gegeben:

Der verlorene Ring

Unterm Ahorn fliesst die Quelle,
Wo die Gottessöhne
In dem Mondschein tanzen gehen
Mit den Gottestöchtern.

Zu der Quelle unterm Ahorn
Ging ich mich zu waschen,
Als ich wusch gar weiss mein Antlitz,
Fiel der Ring hinunter.

Kommen wohl die Gottessöhne
Mit den seidnen Netzen,
Fischen mir mein teures Ringlein
Aus des Wassers Tiefe?

Kam herbei ein junger Bursche,
Hoch auf braunem Rosse,
Und das Ross, das braune, hatte
Goldne Hufbeschläge.

Komm hierher, mein Mädchen,
Komm hierher, du junge,
Komm, lass uns ein Wörtchen kosen,
Lass uns träumen süsse Träume,
Wo der Quell am tiefsten,
Wo die Lieb' am liebsten.

Ach, ich kann nicht, Knabe,
Kann nicht, holder Jüngling,
Schelten würde mich die Mutter,
Schelten würde sie, die alte,
Spät käm ich nach Hause,
Spät käm ich nach Hause [22]).

Das hier wiedergegebene Lied ist noch aus dem Grunde von Interesse, weil es das Ringmotiv enthält, ein uraltes Wander-

motiv, das in tiefes Altertum hineinreicht und bei den alten Griechen, bei den Indern und auch bei den Germanen in gleicher Weise beliebt ist.

Einen sehr reizvollen mythischen Vorwurf stellt das Verwandlungsmotiv dar, beruht doch eine der ältesten menschlichen Vorstellungen auf dem Glauben an Verwandlungen in Bäume oder Vögel. Die Seele eines Menschen führt nach dem Tode ihr Eigenleben als Vogel fort und singt mit unendlich süsser Stimme. Das Mädchen oder der verlassene Bruder verwandelt sich in einen Kuckuck, eine Taube oder graue Wildente und klagt am Elternhause. Dann laufen die Brüder zusammen und fragen: Welch Vöglein singt dort so wunderschön? Dem gefallenen Krieger erscheinen um Mitternacht Mutter, Schwester und Braut, setzen sich um ihn und klagen. Namentlich aus dem Ruf des Kuckucks hört der Litauer eine wehe Klage heraus. Zuweilen ist der Kuckuck auch der weissagende Vogel:

Sage, kleiner Kuckuck, sage
Wo ist unsre Schwester?

Die Seelen der verhassten Menschen aber verwandeln sich in Eulen:

Des Onkels Seele wie eine Eule
In Blindheit sass sie.

Neben den Verwandlungen in Vögel kennt das Volkslied auch solche in Bäume. Auch diese Anschauungen sind sehr alt. Sie mögen einst aus dem Glauben an die Entstehung der Menschen aus Bäumen erwachsen sein, denken wir etwa an Ask und Embla, die ersten Menschen der germanischen Göttersage.

Aus solchen Liedern spricht der enge Zusammenhang des Menschen mit der ihn umgebenden Natur, in deren Rhythmus diese Lieder selbst mitschwingen wie ein zarter Begleitakkord des Unendlichen. Besonders schön tritt dies bei den Liebes-

liedern hervor. Gerade sie atmen jene scheue Verhaltenheit und Zartheit der Empfindungen, die das litauische Volkslied vor den Liedern mancher anderen Völker heraushebt. Die Liebe selbst tritt uns in all ihrer Ursprünglichkeit und Schlichtheit und doch wie ein zartes Geheimnis entgegen. Wir finden keine Schilderung von der Schönheit der Geliebten, abgesehen von den gebräuchlichen Epitheta: Die roten Wangen, die blonden Haare, der schöne Wuchs u. a. Nur der Jüngling, der Knabe, wird besungen, das Mädchen, die Jungfrau:

Als das Söhnlein ritt zu seinem Mädchen,
Wusste nichts davon der alte Vater.
Doch er merkt es an dem braunen Rosse
Und an seines Sohnes Feierkleidern.

„Ei, mein Sohn, du lieber junger Bursche,
Wo bist du in finstrer Nacht gewesen? —
Wo hast du erhitzt den Dunkelbraunen? —
Wo den Hufbeschlag von Stahl bestossen?" —

„Schilt mich nicht, mein lieber alter Vater,
Dass ich nun heimführen will mein Mädchen.
Werd ein grünes Fuhrwerk mir bestellen
Und ein Zweigespann davor mir legen."

Kam um Mitternacht ich heimgefahren,
War noch nicht zu Bett der alte Vater,
Öffnete mir selbst das grosse Hoftor,
Hielt auch auf die dunkelbraunen Rosse.

Fragte mich der liebe alte Vater:
„Wer hat dir in finstrer Nacht geleuchtet?"
„O, mir leuchteten zwei helle Sterne,
Meines lieben Mädchens Feueraugen" [24]).

Gerade in diesen Liedern aber schwingt auch jene Note der Sehnsucht und Trauer mit, welche die Melodien teilweise so stark beherrscht, dass ein litauischer Forscher selbst zu dem

Ergebnis kommt: „Das litauische Volkslied ist ein ursprüngliches Trauern, eine unendliche Sehnsucht, ein unausgelöster Schmerz mit dem stillen Widerschein eines anderen Daseins“ [25]). Es sind immer die gleichen wiederkehrenden Motive — vom Jüngling, der in der Schlacht fiel oder das Mädchen für immer verliess, vom Leben in der Fremde, von harter Arbeit im Hause des ungeliebten Mannes, von der Sehnsucht nach dem Elternhause, vom Kränzlein, das verloren ging — und mit ihm die Unschuld der Mädchentage:

Der Kuckuck ruft in der Linde —
Mein Herz ist trübe und weh,
Es weht mein Kränzlein im Winde
Wohl über Berge und See.

Mit seidnen Segeln jagen
Die Boote hinaus auf das Meer,
Mein grünes Kränzlein tragen
Zurück sie nimmermehr.

Auf Wehmut und Sehnsucht sind auch die meisten litauischen Hochzeitslieder abgestimmt, vor allem diejenigen, die am mergvakaris (Mädchenabend) gesungen werden, an dem die Gespielinnen der Braut die Zöpfe flechten und sie für die Hochzeit schmücken. Ich habe die litauischen Hochzeitslieder und -bräuche in einem besonderen Kapitel eines früheren volkskundlichen Buches über Litauen ausführlich behandelt und dort auch eine Reihe von Volksliedübertragungen gegeben.

So sei an dieser Stelle nur soviel gesagt, dass gerade die Gruppe der Hochzeitslieder wie keine zweite alle die Töne und Stimmungen enthält, die für das litauische Volkslied auch sonst charakteristisch sind. Im litauischen Hochzeitsdrama — denn von einem solchen muss man sprechen — steht die Partei des Burschen mit seinen Gefährten der Braut und ihren Gespielinnen gegenüber. Die Handlung selbst, die sich über eine Reihe von Tagen erstreckt, wird mit ihren altertümlichen

Zeremonien und Gebräuchen von den Wechselgesängen der beiden Parteien begleitet. „So ist die Hochzeit selbst ein Wettbewerb in den allerschönsten, in den allerklingendsten Liedern“ [26]). Gerade in den Hochzeitsliedern aber bricht auch häufig eine unvermittelte Schalkhaftigkeit, ja ein kräftiger Humor durch, der zu den wehmütigen Abschiedsliedern der Braut in starkem Gegensatz steht. Nicht nur die Braut wird verspottet, nicht nur der Pirschlis, der Brautwerber, der das Mädchen mit Lügen gewonnen hat, wird im Liede bestraft — besonders gern wird die Brautmutter verspottet, und auch die Hochzeitsgäste selbst müssen sich einiges gefallen lassen:

Was seufzt der Hochzeitsgast?
Der Hut ist nicht der seinige,
Geborgt, erbettelt,
Von Hunden angebellt [27]).

Hinzugefügt sei, dass auch die Liebeslieder, die das Kennenlernen und Treffen vor der Hochzeit behandeln, an solchen ursprünglichen Tönen nicht arm sind. Hier tragen diese Scherzlieder häufig den Charakter lieblicher Schalkhaftigkeit:

Ach Gott, nicht gib mir
Ein solches Schicksal,
Dass im gleichen Dorfe
Mein Bursche aufwächst.

Dann müsste ich stets ja
Nur Wäsche waschen,
Jedes Täglein im weissen
Kleide zu gehen.

Ach Gott, du gib mir
Ein solches Schicksal,
Eine kleine Meile
Entfernt lass ihn wohnen.

Dann hab ich Musse,
Wäsche zu waschen,
Geh' jeden Sonntag
Im weissen Kleid [28]).

Wir haben mit den bisher behandelten Gruppen der Balladen, der Arbeits- und Tanzlieder, der mythologischen Lieder, der Liebeslieder, der Hochzeitsgesänge und schliesslich der Scherzlieder einen wenngleich flüchtigen Überblick über den Inhalt und die wichtigsten Motive der litauischen Volkslieder erhalten. Wir haben gesehen, dass sich fast jede Tätigkeit, jede Stimmung und jeder in der Natur beobachtete Vorgang in ein Lied umsetzt, und das die Entsprechungen aller seelischen Vorgänge stets in der Natur gefunden werden. Damit stehen wir vor der Frage nach der Form und den künstlerischen Ausdrucksmitteln des litauischen Volksliedes.

4. FORM UND AUSDRUCKSMITTEL DER DAINOS

Im Gegensatz etwa zu den Volksliedern der Weissrussen sind die litauischen stets strophisch aufgebaut. Allerdings ist die regelmässige Strophenform der neueren Lieder bei den alten Dainos oft nicht vorhanden. Hier ist sie häufig unregelmässig und undeutlich [29]). Die mehrstrophigen Lieder überwiegen. Die Strophen selbst sind in verschiedenster Art gegliedert. Eine besondere jüngere Liedform, die namentlich bei Scherzliedern angewandt wird, stellt die einstrophige „dainuška" dar. Daneben gibt es aber auch sehr alte einstrophige Lieder, und wie wir eingangs sahen, besteht wohl die älteste Liedform aus einer einzigen Zeile mit einem Kehrreim:

Es summt die Biene, summt kadijela.
Bienchen, Bienchen, kadiju.

Die schwierige Frage nach dem Rhythmus der litauischen Lieder wurde schon im Zusammenhang mit den Melodien und dem Arbeitsliede gestreift. Genau so umstritten ist

die Frage des Reims. Nach Bezzenberger „kennt die echte litauische Volkspoesie den Reim und wendet ihn oft konsequent an“ [30]). Bezzenbergers Beweisführung ist jedoch nicht schlüssig, da die von ihm angeführten Dainos nicht zu den wirklich typischen Volksliedern gehören. Wir können daher eher sagen, dass die alten Dainos stets ungereimt sind und der gelegentlich auftauchende Reim erst eine jüngere Entwicklungsstufe kennzeichnet [31]). Tatsächlich stehen die zahlreichen Verkleinerungsformen, die wir in dem Kapitel über die Sprache ausführlich behandelten, und die fast an jedes Wort angehängt werden, häufig in einem solchen Verhältnis zueinander, dass die in diesem Punkte auseinandergehenden Ansichten der Forscher verständlich sind. Demjenigen, der die litauischen Lieder gesungen hört, prägt sich vor allem der Rhythmus in dem Wechsel der langen und kurzen Silben ein, und er wird geneigt sein, den Reim als ein aufdringliches Bindemittel zu betrachten, das nicht recht in den feingegliederten Aufbau der Daina hineinpassen will. Die Diminutive selbst, die wir — allerdings in weit schwächerem Masse — auch in den älteren deutschen Volksliedern antreffen, verleihen der Daina den Charakter der Lieblichkeit und Innigkeit, zumal nicht allein das Hauptwort, sondern auch das entsprechende Beiwort in der Verkleinerungsform erscheint: seselė — jaunuolėlė — das Schwesterlein, das (liebe) junge. Ich muss hier auf das im Eingangskapitel über die Diminutive Gesagte verweisen und möchte nur hinzufügen, dass gerade an dieser reizvollen Eigentümlichkeit eine Übertragung der Dainos-Texte in die deutsche Sprache häufig scheitert. Eine wörtliche Übersetzung, wie sie etwa noch Schleicher 1857 versuchte:

Ei Schwester, ei Schwesterchen, Schwesterlein mein,
Du weisst viel, was Krieg ist, das Krieglein, das Kriegchen,
Da fliegen die Kugeln, die Kügelein, Kügelchen,

erscheint im deutschen zum mindesten süsslich. Und wenn auch das litauische Volk in stärkerem Masse gefühlsgebunden erscheint als etwa das deutsche, so darf man doch nicht ver-

gessen, dass von den zahllosen Diminutiven, welche die Dainos überwuchern wie ein schöner wilder Blumengarten, schon manche stereotyp geworden sind und dadurch ihre ursprüngliche Gefühlsbedeutung verloren haben. Besonders deutlich zeigt sich dies bei den Epitheta, den schmückenden Beiworten. Das zähe Festhalten an alten Erinnerungen hat seinen Niederschlag in zahlreichen stereotypen Beiworten und Wendungen gefunden, die immer wieder in neue Lieder hinübergenommen werden. Manchmal fühlt man sich geradezu an Homer erinnert. Über den Beiworten schwebt fast immer ein Hauch von Zärtlichkeit und eine unendliche Freude am Idealisieren. Hier ist der Drang, aus der grauen Wirklichkeit hinauszuwachsen und eine schönere Welt der Freude in sich aufzubauen. Hier spricht die Freude am Blitzenden, am Prunkenden und andererseits die Sehnsucht nach dem Edlen, dem Guten, wie sie das Herz des gedrückten Menschen bewegt. So wird das einfache Bauernmädchen zur zarten Lilie, silbern die Trage, mit der sie zum Brunnen geht; die Steigbügel des Burschen blitzen von Gold, und diamanten schimmern die Fensterlein der armen Hütte. Mit seidenen Segeln fahren die Boote ins Meer. Das Schönheitsideal der Daina ist nordrassisch — sie kennt nur die blonden Flechten der Mädchen. Nicht alle diese Epitheta, wohl aber ein grosser Teil, sind zu stereotypen Wendungen erstarrt. Zum Teil sind sie tautologischer Art. Der „junge" Bursche, der zum Mädchen reitet, die „grüne" Raute, die im Garten blüht, das „alte" Mütterlein. Nie vergisst die Daina diese Worte. Zum Teil sind sie auch erklärender Natur. Weiss und grün sind die Lieblingsfarben, daneben spielt das Leuchtende eine Rolle, und so wird selbst der graue unscheinbare Kuckuck zuweilen zum leuchtend bunten Vogel [32]).

Die Freude an bestimmten Farben, z. B. weiss und grün, kann sogar dazu führen, dass sie gelegentlich auch dort verwandt werden, wo sie nicht am Platze sind. Zu den stereotypen altertümlichen Wendungen gehört auch die Infinitiv- und Verbenverdoppelung — schwimmen hindurchschwimmen, schelten schelten, fliegen fliegen. Hiermit wird eine ver-

stärkte Handlung angedeutet, die sich in deutschen Worten natürlich nicht wiedergeben lässt.

Betrachten wir den künstlerischen Aufbau der Daina, so sehen wir zunächst, dass in den meisten die Dialogform vorwaltet. Der Wechselgesang zwischen zwei und drei Personen kann geradezu als typisch hingestellt werden. Es handelt sich hier um ein echtes Volksliedmerkmal (vergl. die bisher gegebenen Beispiele). Eine weitere Eigenart des litauischen Volksliedes, die wir übrigens auch beim estnischen und finnischen finden [22]), liegt darin, dass der gleiche Gedanke oft vom Standpunkt mehrerer auftretender Personen behandelt wird. Wir haben hier die sogenannten Wiederholungslieder vor uns, deren Form eine sehr einfache und ursprüngliche ist. Typisch litauisch sind jene Wiederholungslieder, die das Thema parallel in Anwendung auf das Mädchen und den Burschen behandeln:

Nun will ich singen ein Lied, ein Liedchen,
Ich sangesfroher Knabe.
Den kleinen Schrein auftun von Liedern,
Die Lieder heut entsenden.

Stein hat nicht Blut, Wasser nicht Flügel,
Der Farn keine Blüten,
Ich bin ein Knabe, ich bin ein Jüngling,
Kein Mägdlein ist mein eigen.

Verkaufen werd' ich das Ross und den Sattel,
Eine Weberin mir dingen usw.

*

Nun will ich singen ein Lied, ein Liedchen
Ich sangesfrohes Mägdlein,
Den kleinen Schrein auftun von Liedern,
Die Lieder heut entsenden.

Stein hat nicht Blut, Wasser nicht Flügel,
Der Farn keine Blüten,
Ich bin ein Mägdlein, geplagt von Arbeit,
Kein Knabe ist mein eigen.

Verkaufen werd' ich den Ring und das Kränzlein,
Einen Pflüger will ich mir dingen usw.[34]).

Dies Lied ist besonders reizvoll noch dadurch, weil wir an ihm eine weitere Ausdrucksform der Daina erkennen, die Metapher, die Anwendung eines konkreten Bildes auf das Geistige. An solchen Bildern sind namentlich die älteren Dainos nicht arm. Da ist die Tanne „das Waldtöchterlein", es fällt der „goldene Tau", das Mädchen steckt des lästigen Werbers „Worte in die Tasche" usw. Und in einem Liede heisst es:

„Wo der Kopf hinsank, da blühte eine Rose,
Wo das Blut hintropfte, glänzten Perlen[35]).

Wir haben mit dieser höheren Art des Vergleiches, der hier angewandt wird, schon ein künstlerisches Ausdrucksmittel übersprungen, dessen Anwendung die Daina einen Teil ihrer schönsten Wirkungen verdankt. Es ist dies die Gegenüberstellung zweier verschiedener Motive, von denen das eine dem Menschenleben, das andere der Natur entnommen ist:

Es fallen die Blätter der Bäume,
Es fallen die Äpfel,
Es fallen die bitteren Tränen.

Wir finden diesen sogenannten Parallelismus in den verschiedensten Anwendungen in einfacher, in mehrgliedriger und auch in verneinender Form:

Hat der Nordwind gestürmt?
Der Fluss überflutet?
Hat Perkunas gedonnert?
Der Blitz gezuckt?

Nicht der Nord hat gestürmt,
Nicht der Fluss überflutet,
Nicht schlug Perkunas
Donnernd mit Blitzen.

Bärtige Männer
Männer der Meere,
Erstiegen das Ufer,
Erklommen den Garten.

Zertraten die Rauten,
Zerrissen die Rosen,
Verstreuten die Lilien,
Herab floss der Tau [36]).

In Gegenüberstellungen dieser Art bildet der Mensch und sein Schicksal mit der Wirklichkeit der ihn umgebenden Natur noch eine Einheit. Die Naturerscheinungen selbst fangen das menschliche Leben wie in einem Spiegel oder sind ihm konträr und erhöhen dadurch das Bewusstsein seines eigenen Schicksals: Der Kuckuck klagt im Walde — das Mädchen weint in der Klete, das Ross des Burschen wiehert — der Bursche ist voll Freude, der kalte Wind rötet das Gesicht — die schlechten Worte der Menschen machen es noch röter. Zahllos sind diese Entsprechungen. Sie finden ihre Auflösung häufig im direkten Vergleiche:

Es weint die Schwester
In der bunten Klete
So wie der Kuckuck
Ruft in dem Walde.

Wir besitzen über die Naturvergleiche der litauischen Lieder ein schönes Werk des Holländers Dr. R. von der Meulen [37]). Er zeigt uns an einer Fülle von Beispielen, wie dem Volksdichter die Bilder der ihn umgebenden Natur zum Gleichnis für das menschliche Leben werden, ja darin ihren eigentlichen Sinn im litauischen Volkslied gewinnen. So ergeben sich tausendfältige Beziehungen zwischen Schicksal und Umwelt. Sie sind an Bilder und Vergleiche gebunden, die oft stereotyp werden, genau wie die schon erwähnten schmückenden Beiworte. Entspricht nun einem bestimmten Bilde jedesmal die Vorstellung von einem ganz bestimmten menschlichen Erlebnis, so erübrigt sich schliesslich die Darstellung des Erlebnisses an sich. Damit aber tut die Daina den letzten Schritt zur Loslösung des menschlichen Geschehens aus der Wirklichkeit und erreicht ihre höchste Ausdrucksmöglichkeit im reinen Symbol.

Wie B. Sruoga, der die Symbolik in der litauischen Volkspoesie am eingehendsten untersucht, ausführt [28]), ist die sinnbildliche Darstellung als poetisches Hilfsmittel wohl allen arischen Völkern bekannt. Während aber bei den meisten Völkern diese Symbolik heute verblasst und unverständlich geworden ist, hat sie sich in den litauischen Volksliedern in ihrer ganzen primitiven Zähigkeit bis auf den heutigen Tag erhalten. Ihre Grenzen sind fliessend, d. h. es vermag ebensowohl ein Symbol je nach dem Zusammenhang verschiedene Gedanken zum Ausdruck zu bringen, wie auch andererseits verschiedene Symbole der Darstellung ein und desselben Gedankens dienen. Der rufende Kuckuck ist der symbolische Ausdruck für die weinende Mutter, wie auch für die trauernde Waise oder das entehrte Mädchen. Umgekehrt finden wir als Sinnbild für den Burschen den Specht, den Falken, die Birke u. a. m. Lässt der Falke sich auf einem Bäumlein nieder, so bedeutet dies, dass der Bursche um ein Mädchen freit. Zerbricht er die Äste des Baumes und fliegt davon, so hat er das Mädchen entehrt. So wird der Baum zum Sinnbild des Menschen, seine Blätter sind Worte, der Tau bedeutet Tränen. Der vertrocknende Baum ist das Sinnbild für Sterben und Tod, das sprossende Bäumlein für die erste Liebe des Mädchens. Ein Baum und unter ihm eine Quelle bedeutet Mutter und Tochter. Eine Fülle von Sinnbildern ist mit dem Rautenkranz und der Raute selbst, der zauberkräftigen Lieblingsblume der Litauer, verbunden. Der Kranz ist das Symbol der Unschuld, der Tau, der auf das Kränzlein fällt, ist ein schlechtes Zeichen, und es bleibt dann nichts anderes übrig, als ihn auf den Nagel zu hängen oder in der Truhe zu verschliessen. Auch ein Nordwind (der Jüngling) kann heranstürmen, den Kranz herabreissen und im Meere versenken. Dem Kranz entspricht der Ring. Verliert das Mädchen den Kranz, so rostet ihr Ringlein, oder es fällt vom Finger und geht verloren. In jüngeren Liedern dagegen hat der Ring schon seine spätere Bedeutung als Zeichen der Verlobung erhalten. Bemerkenswert ist es, dass das dem Rautenkranz entsprechende Sinnbild beim Bur-

„KUBILAS", VOLKSTANZ

opp. 64

schen die Mütze darstellt. Auch sie wird vom Tau nass, fällt in den Schmutz und geht verloren, und der Bursche bittet:

Ach gebt sie, wer sie gefunden
Und macht mir keine Schande
Und nicht meinem lieben Mädchen[39]).

Natürlich ist auch das Ross, das im Volksliede als treuer Begleiter des Burschen eine grosse Rolle spielt, häufig nur sinnbildlich zu verstehen. Hat der Jüngling sein eigenes Ross erhalten, so vermag er ja zum Mädchen zu reiten, um es zu freien. Weigert sich das Ross zu trinken, so hat er die Liebste nicht erreicht. Strauchelt es, so gilt dies als böses Vorzeichen. Lässt das Mädchen das Ross im Rautengärtlein weiden, so bedeutet dies, dass sie dem Burschen sehr zugetan ist, denn wenn das Ross die grünen Rauten zertritt, so gehört sie ihm zu eigen. Das Rösslein soll sie nicht füttern, denn es kommt dann wohl vor, dass sie ihr Kränzlein mit in den Hafer mengt. Wenn das Rösslein draussen wiehert, so soll das Mädchen nicht folgen, wenn es die Schande vermeiden will:

Du sollst nicht gehen
So spät vor das Tor,
Du sollst nicht horchen,
Wo die Rösslein wiehern . . .

Gehorcht das Mädchen aber nicht, so kann es geschehen, dass sie bald einen kleinen Falken, d. h. ein Kind, auf den Händen trägt und der Bruder ihr Vorwürfe macht, dass sie hinausgegangen ist, denn sonst:

Würd'st du nicht tragen
Den Falken auf den Händen,
Würd'st du nur tragen
Das goldene Ringlein[40]).

Es ist unmöglich, die Fülle der lebendigen Sinnbilder, die in all ihrer Einfachheit den intimsten Reiz dieser Lieder aus-

machen und vom leichten Scherz bis zum tiefsten Ernst und zur Tragik hinüberleiten, in diesem Rahmen auch nur annähernd vollständig zu behandeln. Ihr poetischer Wert und ihre besondere Bedeutung für die litauischen Volkslieder liegen darin, dass sie ihren Dichtern die Möglichkeit geben, von der Wirklichkeit des Alltäglichen in eine zweite Ebene des Erlebens aufzusteigen und damit den Übergang in jene Welt des Idealen und des Schönen zu vollziehen, in dem die Sehnsucht der litauischen Daina ihren stärksten Ausdruck findet. Wie jede echte und nationale Kunst aber über das eigene Land hinausgreift und zum künstlerischen Allgemeingut wird, so hat auch das litauische Volkslied jenseits der ihm bestimmten Grenzen der Sprache und des Volkstums wissenschaftliche und künstlerische Anerkennung gefunden. Dass es vor allem deutsche Dichter und Gelehrte waren, die sich eingehend mit der litauischen Volkspoesie beschäftigten, erklärt sich einerseits aus der engen Nachbarschaft beider Völker, andererseits aus dem Einfluss, den die Romantik des 18. Jahrhunderts auf die deutsche Dichtung ausgeübt hat. So vermag man mit Recht von einem litauischen Beitrag zum deutschen Geistesleben zu sprechen.

5. DAS LITAUISCHE VOLKSLIED IN DER DEUTSCHEN DICHTUNG

Ungefähr am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts hören wir zum ersten Mal aus deutschen Quellen nähere Angaben über die litauische Volkspoesie. Um das Jahr 1690 schreibt Theodor Lepner, weiland Pfarrer im Ragnitschen, sein denkwürdiges Büchlein: Der Preusche Litauer. Es ist der Kurfürstin Sophie-Charlotte gewidmet und 1744 in Danzig erschienen. Kulturhistorisch ist das Buch deshalb von besonderem Interesse, weil Lepner, der im allgemeinen — das sei hinzugefügt — die Litauer gar nicht schätzt, eine recht drastische Schilderung der litauischen Volksweisen gibt. Er schreibt: „Sie haben eine sonderliche Art Trompeten oder Posaunen, welche sie Truba nennen. Diese ist von Dannenholz ausgehöhlet, am Ende ziem-

lich breit und rund wie eine Posaune, auswendig mit Birkenrinde dicht umwunden, über eine Klafter lang. Zwei Kerdels blasen auf solchen ihren Posaunen gleich, was einen ziemlichen Schall giebt. Sonst haben sie den von den Deutschen sogenannten Schweinskopf (kanklis — eine Art Zither), mit 9 oder 12 messingnen Saiten bezogen, die Trummel, Quer- und andere Pfeifen, eine Fiddel und ein Brummeisen; dieses kaufen sie nur aus dem Kram, die anderen benannten Stücke machen sie alle selbsten. Solche Künstler sind sie!

Sie sind auch alle Komponisten, die ihren Liedern selbsten die Weisen geben, wiewohl sie einige auch von den Deutschen erlernen. Sie sind von Natur zum Singen geneigt und also schöne musici naturales, welche die Zuneigung zum Singen mit auf die Welt gebracht; dannhero entsteht von den Weibern und Mägden in ihren Gelagen so ein Geheule und Gesumme, dass man sich die Ohren davon zustopfen muss. Die Kerdels legen sich auf diese Wissenschaft nicht sonderlich, sondern nur die Weiber und Mägde, welche auch des Morgens, vom andern Hahnenschrei an, bis es taget, bei der Handmühlen, da das Gesumme der Mühlen ihnen gleichsam zum Bass und Fundament dient, musicieren.

Die Materie ihres Gesanges sind Buhlenlieder, sie handeln aber auch von solchen Sachen, was ihnen nur einfällt und vor Augen stehet. Einige gar wenige singen auch bei der Handmühle geistliche Lieder, welches in ihren Gelagen beim Trunk von Mannes- und Weibspersonen geschieht, davon Wilhelmus Martinus, weiland Pfarrer im Mummelschen, artig Nachricht giebet in seinem lateinischen Lobgedicht über das litauische Gesangbuch, welches ich also deutsch gegeben:

Litauisches Volk, du wirst, halt ich, also benennet
Von einer Feldtrompet, wie sie im Griechischen heisst:
Dein Herz zum Schall, Gesäng und Reim natürlich brennet;
Du treibst dein muntres Vieh, das sich dem Stall entreisst,
Zur Weid im Singen aus, du schreist im Gehn, beim Pflügen,

Mit unermüdter Stimm. An deinem Hochzeitstag,
Bei Tauf und andrem Mahl, zu Haus und in den Krügen,
Hältst du von allem dem, was dir bekannt sein mag."

Wenige Jahre, nachdem Lepner sein Büchlein geschrieben hatte, erschien ein Buch von Johann Arnold von Brand, Professor in Duisburg († 1691): Reysen durch die Marck Brandenburg, Preussen, Churland, Liefland, Plesscovien, Gross-Naugardten, Tweerien und Moscovien. In diesem 1702 zu Wesel von Heinrich Christian von Hennin herausgegebenen Werke gibt Brand zwei Bruchstücke litauischer Volkslieder wieder.

Das erste Bruchstück, welches er als „der Littauen gewöhnliches Trinklied" bezeichnet, lautet (S. 107):

Lasst uns denn, y heisa viva y,
Lustig sein, y heisa viva y.

Das zweite, „Klagelied an die ungetreue Braut", lautet (S. 108):

Bin ich dir nicht lieb gewesen?
Schnitt ich doch mit dir den Roggen,
Harkt' ich doch mit dir das Heuchen,
Band ich doch mit dir den Hafer.

Von diesem Jahre an datiert das Interesse, mit dem sich jetzt deutsche Gelehrte und Dichter der litauischen Volkspoesie zuwandten. 1745 veröffentlicht Philipp Ruhig, Pfarrer in Walterkehmen, in seinen „Betrachtungen der litauischen Sprache" drei Volkslieder, von denen sich eines in der späteren Sammlung von Daukantas befindet, während ein anderes aus verschiedenen Anthologien bekannt geworden ist. Ruhig gibt die Texte dieser Lieder lediglich aus sprachwissenschaftlichen Gründen wieder und bittet seine Leser sogar dafür um Entschuldigung, dass er ihre Aufmerksamkeit mit solchen Eitelkeiten in Anspruch nähme.

Die Ruhigschen Übertragungen sind insofern interessant, als sie die Fülle der für die litauische Sprache charakteristischen Diminutive erkennen lassen, wenngleich der Autor das Problem ihrer Übertragung in die deutsche Sprache sichtlich noch nicht gelöst hat. So beginnt die erste der Dainos mit den Worten:

Früh Morgens am Morgelein
Ging das Sonnlein auf,
Und unter dem Glasfensterlein
Sass das Mütterlein.

Ich wollt dich fragen, Töchterlein,
Wo bist du herumgegangen?
Und wo hat dein Kränzelein
Das Nebelein befallen?
usw.

Die Anfänge der beiden anderen Dainos sind folgende: Ich hatte ein Rösslein — und: Ich hab aufgesagt meinem Mütterlein schon vor der Hälfte des Sommerleins.

Trotz der dem Wesen der deutschen Sprache widersprechenden Übersetzungen erfasste Lessing intuitiv die hinter dem Schleier der undeutschen Übertragungen verborgene Schönheit dieser litauischen Volkslieder, wenn er 1757 in seinem oft zitierten 35. Literaturbrief u. a. schreibt: „Es ist nicht lange her, als ich in Ruhigs litauischem Wörterbuche blätterte und am Ende der vorläufigen Betrachtungen über diese Sprache eine hierher gehörige Seltenheit antraf, die mich unendlich vergnügte. Einige litauische „Dainos" oder Liederchen nämlich, wie sie die gemeinen Mädchen daselbst singen. Welch ein naiver Witz! Welch reizende Einfalt! Man kann hieraus lernen, dass unter jedem Himmelsstriche Dichter geboren werden, und dass lebhafte Empfindungen kein Vorrecht gesitteter Völker sind." Wie stark Lessing den poetischen Zauber dieser schlichten Dichtungen empfand, geht aus seinen Worten hervor: „Der fromme Mann (Ruhig) entschuldigt

sich, dass er dergleichen Eitelkeiten anführe, bei mir hätte er sich entschuldigen mögen, dass er ihrer nicht mehrere anführt."

Einen noch stärkeren Eindruck machten die Lieder auf Herder, der sich in Riga schon in jüngeren Jahren mit jener Volkspoesie beschäftigt hatte [41]). Er nahm in sein Werk „Stimmen der Völker in Liedern" 1779 acht litauische Volkslieder auf. Die von Herder benutzte Übersetzung stammte von Prof. Kreutzfeld in Königsberg, der später auch unter seinem eigenen Namen zwei Lieder mit deutscher Übersetzung veröffentlichte, „Gesang am Brautabend" und „Gesang bei der Heimführung" (D. Preussische Tempel 1788, S. 12—15). Durch Herder wieder wurde Goethe beeinflusst, der, was nicht allgemein bekannt ist, sein Singspiel „Die Fischerin" mit der dritten der Ruhigschen Dainos beginnen lässt:

Ich habs gesagt schon meiner Mutter,
Schon aufgesagt vor Sommers Mitte . . .

Die andere der beiden von Lessing angeführten Ruhigschen Dainos (Eine Tochter hat ihren Geliebten begleitet), ist von Schumann komponiert worden [42]).

So gewann das litauische Volkslied allmählich Eingang in die deutsche Literatur, allerdings nicht in der Übertragung Ruhigs, sondern in den Nachdichtungen Herders. Hinzugefügt sei, dass die Gedanken der von Lessing wiedergegebenen Dainos von da ab wiederholt bei den deutschen Dichtern, von Schiller bis Baumbach, Verwendung fanden [43]).

Mit Goethe in Berührung trat im Verlaufe der Entwicklung der Mann, dessen Arbeiten bahnbrechend für alle litauischen Studien waren, und der auch dem deutschen Volke die erste Dainosammlung schenkte — Ludwig Rhesa. Geboren in dem heute untergegangenen Dorfe Karweiten auf der Kurischen Nehrung, war Rhesa nicht nur Gelehrter, nicht nur Professor der Theologie in Königsberg, sondern auch ein begnadeter Dichter. Das Kurische und das Litauische waren

seine Muttersprachen, aber auch das Deutsche war ihm innig vertraut. So verdanken wir ihm die schönsten Übertragungen litauischer Volkslieder, die die deutsche Literatur überhaupt zu verzeichnen hat. Goethe selbst schrieb eine lange Abhandlung über dieses Werk, und sein Manuskript, das der Dichter ihm sandte, befindet sich noch heute im Goethearchiv zu Weimar. Goethe selbst beginnt seine Besprechung mit den Worten: „Durch diese Sammlung ist abermals einer meiner Wünsche erfüllt. Herder liebte die lettischen Volkslieder gar sehr; in mein kleines Drama „Die Fischerin" sind einige von seinen Übersetzungen geflossen. Ausserdem liegt bereits seit mehreren Jahren eine starke Sammlung wohlverdeutschter Gedichte bei mir, die ich, wie so manches andere, in Hoffnung dessen, was gegenwärtig geschieht, im stillen ruhen liess."

Von den Rhesaschen Übertragungen sagt Goethe, dass sie „schätzbar" seien und wünscht nur eine andere Anordnung. Er schliesst mit den Worten: „Und so sind denn diese Lieder anzusehen als unmittelbar vom Volke ausgegangen, welches der Natur, und also auch der Poesie, viel näher ist, als die gebildete Welt." Eine weitere Besprechung der Rhesaschen Sammlung erfolgte durch Jakob Grimm (Gött. Anz. 1826, Nr. 104).

Nachdem das litauische Volkslied, begünstigt durch die Strömung der Romantik, in der ersten Hälfte des vorigen Jahrhunderts in die deutsche Dichtung eingedrungen war, ist es kein Wunder, dass sich auch der Berliner Dichterkreis, vor allem Adalbert von Chamisso, für die Dainos interessierte. Die deutsche Literatur verdankt Chamisso eine Reihe von schönen Gedichten, denen litauische Volkslieder zu Grunde liegen. Sie sind in den Jahren 1826—1828 entstanden und noch heute jedem literarisch gebildeten Deutschen bekannt. Von Chamisso stammt auch die hübsche Übertragung der Sperlingsjagd:

Der Vater ging auf die Jagd in den Wald;
Ein gutes Wild ersah er sich bald.

Er legte wohl an, er drückte los,
Der Sperling fiel auf das weiche Moos.

Die Brüder luden zu Schlitten den Fang,
Und schleiften ihn heim und jubelten lang'.

Die Töchter schnell das Feuer geschürt,
Sie rupften und sengten ihn, wie sich's gebührt.

Die Mutter briet und schmort' ihn gleich,
Der Braten war köstlich und schmackhaft und weich.

Geschäftig trugen die Schwestern ihn auf;
Es kamen die fröhlichen Gäste zu Hauf.

Sie setzten zu Tisch sich und sassen fest,
Und taten sich gütlich beim weidlichen Fest.

Sie schmausten den Sperling in guter Ruh'
Und tranken drei Fässer des Bieres dazu").

Chamissos Freund, Franz von Gaudy, bearbeitete 1844 eine litauische Volkssage: Die Pestjungfrau, in deutscher Sprache, und Wilhelm Jordan veröffentlichte im gleichen Jahre seine „Littauischen Volkslieder und Sagen", die stark von Rhesa beeinflusst sind. Eine grosse Anzahl litauischer Volkslieder mit Melodien und deutschen Übertragungen von H. Budrius, Ed. Gisevius und P. von Bohlen brachten die seit 1846 erscheinenden „N. Pr. Prov. Blätter". Von damals bekannten, heute vergessenen deutschen Dichtern, welche durch die litauische Volkspoesie angeregt wurden, seien Daumer (1800—1875) und J. F. Soldat erwähnt. Genannt sei auch noch Felix Dahn, dessen 1870 geschaffenes Gedicht: Die Litauer in Frankreich — echte litauische Stimmung atmet.

Schon dieser kurze Überblick über die Einwirkung der litauischen Volkspoesie auf die deutsche Dichtung zeigt zur Genüge, dass der litauische Beitrag zum deutschen Geistes-

leben des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts auf dem Gebiete der Dichtkunst kein ganz unwesentlicher ist. Die erste wissenschaftlich-kritische Übersetzung litauischer Volkslieder im Metrum des Originals stammt von Nesselmann. Auch ihm sind trotz des rein wissenschaftlichen Zweckes seines Werkes einige poetisch hervorragende Übertragungen geglückt (vergl. hierzu auch den Schluss dieses Kapitels). Der Einfluss des litauischen Volksliedes tritt auch in den Dichtungen A. K. T. Tielos: Thanatos (1905), Klänge aus Litauen (1911), Aus der Jugendzeit (1911) — hervor. „Litauische Heide-Lieder und Dainos" veröffentlichte W. W. Ulmenried-Naujeck.

Der Weltkrieg, welcher eine Reihe von deutschen Dichtern im Soldatenrock in direkte Beziehungen zu dem litauischen Volke brachte, hat das Interesse für das litauische Volkslied bei einer Reihe von deutschen Dichtern von neuem erweckt. Es seien hier nur Oskar Wöhrle, Herbert Eulenberg und Richard Dehmel erwähnt[45]). Auch in der deutschen Presse jener Jahre spiegelt sich das rege Interesse wider, welches die litauischen Volkslieder in weitesten deutschen Kreisen fanden. Leider ist das meiste von dem, was damals der Tag gebracht hat, auch vom Tage verweht worden. Erst in allerjüngster Zeit lässt sich eine leichte Belebung des gesunkenen Interesses feststellen[46]).

B. PROSADICHTUNG

1. DIE RAUDOS (TOTENKLAGEN)

Zwischen der Daina und der Prosadichtung des Volkes, wie sie in Sagen, Märchen und anderen Schöpfungen ihren Niederschlag gefunden hat, stehen die litauischen Totenklagen oder Raudos. Sie sind die ältesten Schöpfungen litauischer Volksliteratur, die in den Chroniken erwähnt werden. So berichtet

Kojalowicz, dass der Heldentod jener 300 Litauer, die 1362 bei der Eroberung der Feste Kaunas durch Winrich von Kniprode in die Flammen der brennenden Burg stürzten, vom Volke in Trauerliedern besungen wurde (vulgaribus naeniis populus decantabat)[47]). Nach Strykowski besang bei den Begräbnissen der Fürsten ein Priester ihre Toten. Sichtlich beziehen sich diese kurzen Andeutungen, mit denen unsere Kenntnisse der frühesten Zeit schon erschöpft sind, nicht auf das Volkslied, sondern auf die Raudos, die auch in späterer Zeit oft erwähnt werden. Sie stellen, obwohl jede Rauda ihre eigene Melodie hat, keine eigentlichen Totenlieder dar, sondern haben die Form einer Totenklage. Die älteren Raudos tragen keinen metrischen Charakter, sondern sind in Sprache und Form eher einer Art rhythmisch gehobenen Prosa zu vergleichen. Ihre Melodien waren von klagender Eintönigkeit. Alte Frauen sangen sie gegen Entgelt bei Beerdigungen. Durch sie wollte man die Geister der Toten, an deren Fortleben man ja bestimmt glaubte, versöhnen, damit sie nicht als böse Rachedämonen in das Haus zurückkehrten und Seuchen und Krankheiten verbreiteten. So stellen diese Totenklagen den kultischen Niederschlag jenes uralten Geister- und Dämonenglaubens dar, welcher der Seelenhaltung des litauischen Volkes besonders entsprach und noch heute in abgelegenen Dörfern des Landes lebendig ist.

Inhaltlich unterscheiden sich die Raudos nur wenig voneinander. Es wird der Guttaten der Verstorbenen gedacht, und es wird die Trauer um das Hinscheiden von Vater, Mutter, Gatten, Bruder oder Schwester oft in unendlich zarter und rührender Weise zum Ausdruck gebracht. Unter den als volkstümlich beglaubigten Raudos findet sich, worauf schon Chr. Bartsch hinwies, keine einzige, die vom Manne einem Manne oder gar der Frau nachgerufen würde. „Überall sind es Frauen (und Mädchen), die hier sprechen". Die Ehefrau als solche wird nicht erwähnt[48]). Zuweilen wirkt die Totenklage der Angehörigen und Freunde des Verstorbenen, welche dem Sarge folgen, so erschütternd, dass auch der Priester vor innerer

Bewegung und vor Mitgefühl nicht imstande ist, ohne Tränen die heilige Handlung am Grabe zu vollziehen.

Formal unterscheiden sich die jüngeren Raudos von den älteren durch ihre strophische Gliederung: aus der alten Totenklage ist ein Lied mit Raudamotiven geworden. In dieser Form haben sich die Raudos bis auf den heutigen Tag in der Landschaft Drūkija erhalten [49]). Um einen ungefähren Einblick in das Wesen der alten Raudos zu vermitteln, gebe ich im folgenden einige dieser Totenklagen wieder, die der grossen Liedersammlung von A. Juškevičius entnommen sind.

Klage um die Mutter.

Mütterchen, du meine Pflegerin, o du mein Mütterchen; ich danke deinen lieben Händen, mit welchen du mich von klein auf getragen, ich danke deinen Füssen, auf welchen du mich trugst, deiner Klugheit, dass du mich schön gelehrt, ich danke deinem Mündchen, dass du lieb mit mir geredet.

Wer wird jetzt so lieb mit mir sprechen, wer so lieb mich belehren? Mütterchen, wer wird mich schützen, wenn ich klage? Mit wem soll ich reden? Der Waldkuckuck wird aufhören zu rufen, aber ich werde nie aufhören.

Mütterchen, du atmest nicht, Mütterchen, du seufzest nicht; nur ein Wörtchen sage und tröste mein leidendes Herz. Die ganze Nacht sprach ich zu dir, mit meinem Mütterchen habe ich nicht gesprochen (d. h. keine Antwort erhalten).

O Mütterchen, Kirschlein, o mein Mütterchen, du Wandrerin. O, mein Mütterchen baut eine Heimat aus weissen Brettlein, ohne Glas die Fensterchen, ohne Tür. Du wirst die aufgehende Sonne nicht sehen und nicht ihren Untergang.

Das letztemal, das letzte Stündchen, plauderten wir. O, wenn ich mein Mütterchen aufwecken könnte!

O, wann wirst du zu uns kommen und wann uns besuchen? Von wo soll ich dich erwarten, in welchem Eckchen werd ich dich treffen? Mütterchen, Tag und Nacht bin ich gewandert, dich werde ich nirgends finden.

Klage um den Sohn.

Mein Söhnlein, du verwaistes, mein Söhnlein, du mein Rautenkränzlein, mein Söhnlein, du goldenes Ringlein, Mein Söhnlein, meine Jugendtage!
Ach, mein Söhnlein, meine Jugendtage begrub ich, ach, meine Jugendtage hab' ich nicht mehr, nicht mehr mein Söhnlein.
Ach mein Söhnlein, mein ganzer Brautschatz, all meine Habe.
Wie soll ich dich vergessen, mein Söhnlein, und meine Jugendtage?
Ach, mein Söhnlein, so kurz war dein Leben — lasse für mich noch ein Plätzchen.

Klage um den Vater.

Ach, mein lieber Vater, der du so kurz lebtest,
ach, mein lieber Vater, der du so sorgtest — du hast dir verdient deine Heimstatt aus weissen Brettlein, aus grauer Erde
dein Heimathaus. Wie schwer hast du es erworben — wirst du ertragen die graue Erde?
Ach, lieber Vater, der du für mich sorgtest, ach lieber Vater,
der du mich schütztest, wem werde ich klagen, mit wem werde ich reden?
Du mein Väterchen, die Sonne geht unter — ich kann nicht plaudern, ich kann nicht sprechen mit meinem Vater.
Lieber Vater, Väterchen, du mein Stolz, mein Väterchen, du Wandrer.

O mein Väterchen ist stille, o mein Väterchen atmet nicht mehr,
ach, mein Väterchen ruft mich nicht, er bittet mich nicht.
Ach, mein Väterchen hat nun seine Ruhestätte.
Du mein Väterchen, segne mich.
Ach, vielleicht hab' ich den Vater bitter gekränkt, dass er nicht mehr mit mir redet.
Väterchen, die Sonne geht unter — ach, man legt meinen Vater hinein in den Hügel. Mein Väterchen, wie wirst du dort weilen?
Ach, deine Heimstatt ist ohne Türchen, ohne gläserne Fensterlein.
O, wo sollen wir dich suchen, wo werden wir dich finden?
Ach, wenn ich auch gehe alle Wege und Stege, durch alle Wälder,
meinem Vater werde ich nicht mehr begegnen.
Väterchen, wer wird mit mir reden, wer mir die Tür öffnen?
Ach, Väterchen, wir werden die Wege wandern, auf denen du gingst — dort werden wir weinen.

Klage um die Tochter

O, mein Töchterchen, meine Spinnerin, meine Weberin, Stütze für meine Füsse und Hände.
Wovor hast du dich gefürchtet, vor der schweren Zeit oder vor der schweren Arbeit? Es war nicht nötig, dich zu fürchten, ich hätte dich gelehrt; die Arbeiten sind nicht schwer, wenn auch die Zeiten schwer sind; alles fiel auf Vater und Mutter, du hättest dich um nichts zu kümmern gehabt.
Meine Geisterbraut, mein klarer Eiskristall, Genossin des hohen Bergs, in welchen Blüten wirst du aufgehen, in welchen Blättern ergrünen? Wenn ich vorübergehend seitwärts schaue, welche Blüten wirst du hervorgehen lassen? Woran werde ich dich erkennen, an den Blättern oder an den Blüten?

2. MÄRCHEN UND SAGEN

Der Glaube an eine dauernde Verbindung der abgeschiedenen Seelen mit den Lebenden, wie er sich noch in den Raudos andeutet, hat das litauische Volk jahrhundertelang tief beeindruckt. Der starke mystische Zug im Seelenleben des Litauers hielt diesen Glauben umso stärker aufrecht, als Litauen noch im 16. Jahrhundert ein völlig heidnisches Land war, dessen oberflächliche Christianisierung das Bewusstsein des Volkes selbst kaum berührt hatte. So ist auch der Reichtum an abergläubischen Motiven, den wir noch heute in Litauen finden, auf dem Boden einer alten Volksreligion erwachsen. Sie vermischen sich häufig mit ganz modernen Vorstellungen. Ihren Niederschlag aber finden sie in einer reichen Märchen- und Sagenwelt, die heute erst zum Teile durchforscht ist und sich von der westlichen jedenfalls dadurch unterscheidet, dass sie noch nicht aus der Wirklichkeit des Erlebens in den Friedhof der Literaturgeschichte überführt ist. Der Reichtum an Märchen, über den das litauische Volk verfügt, ist so gross, dass die vorhandenen Sammlungen nur ein schwaches Abbild dieser Fülle zu geben vermögen.

Bei allen Völkern steht das Märchen am Anfang jeder Dichtung, es gibt uns einen Einblick in die Kinderjahre der Menschheit. Die Märchenmotive selbst wandern, viele von ihnen stammen aus dem Orient und aus Indien (Benfey). Leider kann die nachfolgende kurze Charakteristik des litauischen Volksmärchens dem Rahmen dieser Arbeit entsprechend sich nur auf die Hervorhebung einiger besonders wesentlicher Züge beschränken. Das litauische Volksmärchen enthält weder die Fülle und die Masslosigkeit des indischen, noch den strahlenden Glanz des arabischen Märchens. Die Kärglichkeit in den äusseren Lebensbedingungen des Volkes, die Sparsamkeit der Ausdrucksmittel seiner Sprache und auch das Fehlen einer Literatur, die ihrerseits wieder auf das Volksmärchen hätte zurückwirken können — alle diese Umstände geben dem litauischen Märchen eine eigene Note. Allerdings gewinnt man aus den gedruckten Sammlungen zumeist nicht das rich-

tige Bild, da die Aufzeichnenden das ihnen erzählte Märchen gewöhnlich nur dem Inhalte nach mit eigenen und häufig recht dürren Worten wiedergeben. Erst die Verwendung des Phonographen ermöglicht es heute, die Märchen so aufzunehmen, wie sie von den Erzählern auf dem Dorfe selbst vorgetragen werden[50]). Überraschend sind oft die Märchenschlüsse, wie ich sie etwa am Schluss meiner Beschreibung der litauischen Hochzeitsbräuche wiedergegeben habe und wie sie auch in den gedruckten Märchensammlungen als Märchenschluss verschiedentlich vorkommen[51]). „Lange wurde gefeiert, und ich war auch dabei. Ich ass und trank zusammen mit allen Gästen, denn ich war Koch. Als ich nach Hause gehen wollte, schenkte mir der Herr einen Wagen aus Stroh, eine Stute aus Wachs, einen Hut aus Butter, ein Kleid aus Papier und Stiefel aus Glas. Als ich durch die Stadt fuhr, fielen die Ziegen der Juden über mich her und frassen mir den Wagen auf. Ich setzte mich auf mein Pferd, um zu reiten. Mein Hinterer wurde warm, davon zerschmolz die Stute. Da kam ein Regen, der leckte mir mein Kleid ab, und ich begann zu frieren. Ich ging in eine Schenke, um mich zu wärmen. Mein Hut zerschmolz mir dabei, es blieben mir allein die Stiefel noch. Als ich aber in Tilsit über die eiserne Brücke ging, brachen sie entzwei, und ich hatte nichts mehr. Und wie ich nichts hatte, so habe ich auch jetzt nichts."

Prof. Specht sucht in der Einleitung zu seinen „Litauischen Märchen" die Quelle für diese Schlussätze in der russischen Märchenliteratur, in der sie besonders häufig vorkämen, und betont ganz allgemein die besondere Schwierigkeit, die typisch litauischen Elemente in dieser Märchenwelt zu erkennen. Da sich in Litauen der osteuropäische und der westeuropäische Kulturkreis schneiden, war das Land von jeher zahlreichen fremden geistigen Einflüssen ausgesetzt. „Man weiss nie recht, ob ein litauisches Märchen nicht einfach die Wiedergabe eines slawischen Märchens ist, oder ob nicht bei Erzählungen aus Preussisch-Litauen infolge der deutschen Schulbildung deutsche Märchen in litauischer Sprache vorliegen."

Aus vielerlei Quellen ist der Strom zusammengeflossen, der die Jahrhunderte hindurch die Märchenwelt der europäischen Völker und somit auch des litauischen beeinflusst hat. Wir wissen heute, dass ein jedes Volksmärchen ein kompliziertes Gebilde darstellt, das aus einer Reihe von einfachen und zusammengesetzten Motiven besteht, die durch die Welt wandern. Von den Motiven hat ein jedes einen festen Platz in einem bestimmten Märchentyp, aus dem es nur gelegentlich einmal in einen anderen übertragen wird. Nicht die Form also, in der ein Märchen heute erzählt wird, stellt etwas Altertümliches dar, wohl aber ragen seine einzelnen Bestandteile zumeist in ein graues Altertum hinein. Die verschlungene Form jedoch, in der sie sich uns darbieten, lehrt uns die Gesetze des volkstümlichen Geschmacks und bleibt im wesentlichen das Eigentum des Volkes, das sie schuf.

Es ist eine selbstverständliche Tatsache, dass auch das litauische Volksmärchen eine grosse Reihe uralter Motive enthält, denken wir etwa an das Brudermärchen, das, aus ägyptischer Vorzeit stammend, wohl allen Völkern bekannt ist. Sein Inhalt ist etwa folgender: Zwei Brüder wandern in die Welt. Sie trennen sich, und jeder verspricht, dem anderen bei Gefahr zu Hilfe zu kommen. Als Zeichen gilt etwa eine Pflanze, die verwelkt, ein Messer, das verrostet, oder — im litauischen Märchen — ein Becher, der sich umdreht. Aus dem Orient stammt das Motiv von den guten Ratschlägen, das in die lateinische Literatur des Mittelalters eindrang und von hier aus auch nach Litauen gekommen zu sein scheint, weiterhin das berühmte Märchenmotiv vom singenden Baum und dem sprechenden Vogel. Auch das Märchen vom Wasser des Lebens wurde schon vor Jahrtausenden in Babylon erzählt. Die Vorstellungen von den Erscheinungen und den Wanderungen der Seele, die mit dem Traumleben in Verbindung stehen, weisen bei allen Völkern grosse Ähnlichkeiten auf. Im litauischen Märchen schlüpft die Seele als Maus aus dem Munde des Schlafenden und erlebt das, was der Betreffende später als Traum empfindet. Auch eine Parallele zu der wundersamen Errettung von Moses findet sich. Kinder entrinnen durch ein

SONNENKREUZ

opp 80

gütiges Schicksal allen Gefahren und werden, wie ihnen prophezeit wurde, mächtige Herrscher.

Besonders interessant sind die Zusammenhänge mit den griechischen Märchen, erinnern wir uns etwa des Traummärchens von der verschwundenen Gattin, wie es Apulejus in Amor und Psyche erzählt. Auch das Motiv von den neidischen Schwestern und den unlösbaren Aufgaben war den Griechen schon bekannt. Besonders beliebt waren in Griechenland ferner die Tiermärchen mit ihren Verwandlungen von Menschen in Tiere. Solche Verwandlungen in Wölfe, Bären, Adler, Tauben und andere Tiere spielen auch im litauischen Märchen eine grosse Rolle. Das Lügenmärchen, das gleichfalls oft auftritt, ist ebenso griechisch-römischen Ursprungs. Es kam im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert in lateinischem Gewande durch Spielleute nach Deutschland. Oft wird die Häufung der Unmöglichkeiten zur einleitenden Märchenformel, wie sie bei den ungarischen und türkischen Märchen der Gegenwart beliebt ist. „Es war einmal, oder es war einmal nicht, es war in uralter Zeit, als man noch ins Stroh siebte, als das Kamel noch Pferdehändler, die Maus Rasierer, der Kuckuck Schneider, der Esel noch Bedienter und die Schildkröte noch Bäcker war; damals war ich nur 15 Jahre alt und schaukelte meinen Vater schon in der Wiege; damals war es . . ."[52]) usw. usw. Vergleichen wir etwa mit dieser Formel die Einleitung des scherzhaften Gerichtsurteils über den Freiwerber bei der litauischen Hochzeit, so finden wir eine überraschende Ähnlichkeit: „In einem Jahre, in jenem, in diesem, da die Katzen die Hunde schlachteten, die Hasen die Trommel schlugen, die Wölfe das Horn bliesen, die Hunde krähten, die Hähne bellten, das Reh mit der Maus tanzte, die Fische flogen, die alten Weiber die Kälber schoren, die Mädchen nicht heiraten wollten, die Burschen sie nicht mehr liebten, da es Semmeln schneite, die Kinder die ganze Nacht nicht schliefen — da hörte ein Wolf diesen Lärm . . ." usw.[53]). Das Lügenmärchen zeigt uns die Freude an Übertreibungen, die oft ins Groteske ausgemalt werden. Ihm nahe stehen die Schwänke und Narrenstreiche, wie sie im deutschen Volksmärchen vom 13.—16.

Jahrhundert gern erzählt wurden, die Geschichten von Bruder Lustig, den Wanderungen von Christus und seinen Jüngern, so wie die zahllosen Geschichten vom geprellten Teufel. Parallelen zu all diesen Märchen finden wir auch in Litauen nicht wenige, besonders das Teufelsmärchen hat hier einen dankbaren Boden gefunden und wie es scheint, sich selbständig weiter entwickelt. Auch die mittelalterlichen Heldengeschichten, wie sie die höfische Dichtung in Frankreich und Deutschland verbreitete, haben ihren Einfluss auf das litauische Volksmärchen gehabt. Hierhin gehören vor allem die Erzählungen von Unholden und Riesen, die schöne Frauen rauben, von unterirdischen Palästen, verzauberten Wäldern und Bergen und ähnliche Motive. So sehen wir, dass das litauische Märchen, wie es heute erzählt wird, viele Jahrhunderte hindurch durch Stoffe und Motive bereichert worden ist, die es von ausserhalb aufnahm und in sich verarbeitete — genau wie das deutsche Märchen, von dem es seinerseits oft befruchtet wurde. Wenn aber auch, wie wir sahen, die Märchenmotive an sich noch nicht charakteristisch für die Märchenwelt eines Volkes sind, da es nicht schwer fallen wird, überall entsprechende Parallelen zu finden, so ist doch die Bedeutung der Einzelmotive für den Gesamtschatz der Märchen der einzelnen Völker ein unleugbar verschiedener. Das litauische Volksmärchen wird beispielsweise so stark von dem Geister- und Dämonenglauben beherrscht, dass eine ganze grosse Märchensammlung von Dr. Basanavičius lediglich unter diesem Gesichtspunkt zusammengetragen werden konnte. Wie aber keine Erscheinung des Volkslebens auf Zufälligkeiten beruht, sondern stets aus der Geschichte des betreffenden Volkes zu erklären ist, so werden wir auch diese Besonderheit aus dem eingangs erwähnten Toten- und Unsterblichkeitsglauben herleiten müssen, der sich aus geschichtlichen Gründen in Litauen besonders zäh erhalten und hier seinen Niederschlag gefunden hat. Weiterhin finden wir wohl überall den Glauben an Hexen, an gute und böse Feen, jedoch kommt im Rahmen der litauischen Märchenwelt den Laumen eine besondere Bedeutung zu. Die Laumen sind zumeist böse Geister, die sich

stets in der Gestalt von Frauen zeigen. Sie quälen die Menschen zur Nachtzeit als Alp, sie stehlen oder vertauschen neugeborene Kinder, sie treiben allerhand Schabernack und vor allem am Donnerstag Abend ihr Unwesen. Man darf daher nie an diesem Abend spinnen, denn dann spinnen die Laumen in der Nacht weiter und nehmen das Gesponnene mit. Sie helfen den Menschen, knüpfen diese Hilfe aber häufig an irgendeine unerfüllbare Bedingung, sodass hieraus grosser Schaden erwächst. Zuweilen helfen sie auch verlassenen Menschen und namentlich Kindern, auch gehen sie Ehen mit sterblichen Menschen ein. Sie zeigen sich dann gewöhnlich als gute Hausfrauen, bis sie bei irgendeiner Unvorsichtigkeit des Mannes plötzlich verschwinden, aber doch noch regelmässig unsichtbar zurückkommen, um für ihre verlassenen Kinder zu sorgen. Genau so lebendig wie die Laumen-Märchen sind noch heute im litauischen Volke die Erzählungen vom Aitvaras, einem geflügelten Drachen, der den Bauern Korn ins Haus trägt und sie reich macht. Das Aitvaras-Motiv hat eine ganze Literatur hervorgerufen, da es auch in den Märchen der übrigen Ostseevölker eine grosse Rolle spielt (lettisch: pukkis, estnisch: puuk neben anderen Bezeichnungen [54]).

Der Aitvaras, der in Schamaiten unter dem Namen Kaukas bekannt ist, fliegt vor allem nachts in Gestalt einer feurigen Schlange heulend durch die Luft und verschwindet gewöhnlich im Schornstein des Bauern, dem er Reichtum bringt. Der Besitzer eines Aitvaras hat diesen Dämon mit Milch und weissem Brot zu ernähren. Man kann den Aitvaras auch bei den Deutschen in Riga kaufen, älter ist aber wohl das Motiv, wonach er aus einem Ei entsteht, das von einem schwarzen 7 Jahre alten Hahn ausgebrütet wird. Der Aitvaras leistet seinem Besitzer vielfältige Dienste, indem er sein Vieh schützt, seine Felder hütet, und ihm anderswo gestohlenes Gut zuträgt, das er zunächst verschluckt und dann ausspeit. Dieses Diebesgut bringt jedoch keinen Schaden, sondern gedeiht so gut, dass es den Neid aller Nachbarn erregt; noch heute sagt man von einem plötzlich reich gewordenen Bauern in Litauen, dass er einen Aitvaras besitze. Man kann den Dämon auch zwingen,

seine Beute fallen zu lassen und das Haus seines Herrn zu verbrennen, indem man die Hosen herunterlässt bzw. den Rock auszieht und ihm das nackte Hinterteil zeigt.

Auch für das Märchen vom Aitvaras lassen sich mancherlei Parallelen bei anderen, vor allem den nordischen Völkern, anführen, im slawischen Märchenschatz dagegen spielt es nur eine untergeordnete Rolle. Auf den litauischen Mythos gehen jene zahlreichen Märchen zurück, in denen ein Jäger mit einer roten Mütze hinter dem Teufel herjagt: es ist Perkunas, der den Menschen wohlgesinnt ist und sie belohnt, wenn sie ihm Hilfe leisten. Der alte litauische Schlangenkult dagegen, der aus früheren Jahrhunderten vielfach bezeugt ist, hat das litauische Märchen nur wenig beeinflusst. Allerdings erscheint er in einem der schönsten und farbenprächtigsten Märchen von „Eglė, der Schlangenkönigin", jedoch hat hierfür schon Koncewicz eine russische Parallele geliefert, sodass die Frage der Entlehnung offen bleibt[35]). Eine besondere Vorliebe hat der Litauer für Tiermärchen, die oft in Form einer belehrenden Fabel erzählt werden. Sie verraten die gleiche scharfe Beobachtungsgabe der Umwelt, die wir schon aus den Dainos kennen lernten. Wenngleich es dahingestellt bleiben mag, was von diesen Tiermärchen aus dem Pantschatantra, von Phädrus, Aesop oder gar Lafontaine stammen mag, was aus Deutschland entlehnt ist, und was davon als uralter arischer Besitz anzusehen ist, so tragen doch viele dieser Märchen und Fabeln unverkennbar litauisches Kolorit. Mit den ländlichen und einfachen Lebensbedingungen des Volkes und dem Vorhandensein einer fremdstämmigen Oberschicht hängt es ferner zusammen, dass das bäuerliche Leben in all seinen Formen im litauischen Märchen die Hauptrolle spielt. Der Jude als betrogener Betrüger, der Zigeuner, der mit Pferden handelt und seinerseits wieder den Juden betrügt, sind die beliebtesten Figuren einer märchenhaften Schwankliteratur. Der polnische Gutsherr (Ponas), der über dem Bauern steht, wird gleichfalls stets als der Unterlegene geschildert, seine Ränke missglücken, und oft gelingt es dem Burschen durch seine Klugheit oder ein gutes Schicksal, selbst in diesen Stand aufzusteigen und

Reichtum zu erwerben. Unter der äusseren Schale solcher Erzählungen, die häufig eine ganz schlichte Form haben, verbergen sich vielfach einfache tiefe Wahrheiten, der Wunsch nach einem gerechten Ausgleich des Schicksals und die gleiche Sehnsucht nach dem Hellen und Strahlenden, die auch die litauischen Dainos durchflutet. Sehr selten werden geistliche und christliche Stoffe in den Märchen behandelt. Sie bilden einen dankbaren Stoff der litauischen Sagenwelt.

Märchen und Sage laufen in den litauischen Volksüberlieferungen häufig durcheinander. Betrachten wir diejenigen Sagen, die mit einem Ort oder einer Person verbunden und der ernsten Wirklichkeit zugeneigt sind, so finden wir auch hier noch manches, was als selbständiges Sagengut im Volke fortlebt — Erinnerungen an alte ruhmreiche Zeiten des Wunders und der Geheimnisse, die die Burgberge des Landes (piliakalnai) umweben und mit den Namen seiner Städte verknüpft sind. Aus solchem Sagengut schöpfte der litauische Dichter Krėvė-Mickevičius den Stoff zu den Heldenerzählungen seines Werkes vom Lande Dainava. Allerdings dürfen wir den Reichtum Litauens an historischen Sagen nicht mit dem der westlichen Völker vergleichen: die Fantasie des litauischen Volkes fand zu wenig Anknüpfungspunkte dafür in einem Lande, das an alten Ruinen, Schlössern, Mauern und sonstigen von Menschenhand geformten Erinnerungen der Vergangenheit ja arm ist. Die Sage von der Gründung von Vilnius, die Sage, welche die Liebe des letzten Jagellonenkönigs Sigismund Augusts zu Barbara Radziwill zum Stoff hat, die Sage endlich von der verzauberten Königin Bona, die im Schlosse der Kauener Burg mit ihrem schlafenden Heere auf den Tag wartet, an dem sie das Reich zu neuer Herrlichkeit führen wird, alle diese sagenhaften Überlieferungen entstammen sichtlich einer späteren Zeit. Sie sind mit jenen grossen Bauten des 16. Jahrhunderts verbunden, die auf das einfache Volk, das bis dahin nur den schlichten Holzbau kannte, einen überwältigenden Eindruck machen mussten. So wurden diese Städte und Burgen mit einem reichen Sagenkranze umwunden. Auch die Erzählung vom verzauberten Schatz von Trakai gehört hierher. Die

poetische Sage von Birute dagegen, die im Heiligtum des Perkunas zu Palanga das Feuer als Vestalin hütete und von König Kęstutis zur Gemahlin erhoben wurde, geht auf Berichte mittelalterlicher Chronisten zurück. Die Sagen, die sich um den Rambynas, den heiligen Berg an der Memel, schlingen, weisen sichtlich auf heidnische Zeiten.

Neben solchen Sagen allgemeinerer Bedeutung gibt es eine grosse Reihe von anderen, die über den engen Bezirk ihrer Entstehung nicht hinausdrangen. Gerade sie sind noch heute am lebendigsten. So ist fast mit jedem der litauischen Burgberge eine Sage verbunden, die von versunkenen Schätzen und geheimnisvollen Rittern zu erzählen weiss. Andere wieder knüpfen an jene grossen Findlingssteine an, deren Erklärung das Volk sich gleichfalls nicht zu deuten vermochte. Diese Sagen sind mit manchen märchenhaften Elementen verbunden. Damit schliesst sich der Kreis, der uns vom Märchen zur Sage und von der Sage zurück zum Märchen führte, und es bleibt uns nur noch die Aufgabe, ein letztes Gebiet der litauischen Volksliteratur zu betreten, das, obwohl etwas abseits gelegen, dennoch wie kein zweites geeignet erscheint, uns einen Blick in eine besondere Sphäre bäuerlichen Denkens und bäuerlicher Lebensauffassung zu gewähren. Es ist die Welt der litauischen Sprichwörter, Redensarten und Rätsel.

3. SPRICHWÖRTER UND REDENSARTEN

Das litauische Volk verfügt über einen grossen Schatz von Sprichwörtern und Redensarten, aus denen ein aufmerksamer Verstand und ein sehr gesunder Mutterwitz spricht, zuweilen Humor, zuweilen auch sehr scharfe Satire. Von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht hat sich dieser Schatz altertümlicher und teilweise hausbackener Bauernweisheiten vererbt, die noch heute auf dem Lande das tägliche Gespräch würzen. Auch die Sprache, die im Munde des Gebildeten durch das Streben nach Korrektheit manches von ihrer Bildhaftigkeit und Kraft eingebüsst hat, erscheint hier von einer völlig neuen Seite. Sie sprüht

und funkelt in Bildern und Vergleichen, und hinter manchem ihrer Worte verbirgt sich der Schalk. Die Prägnanz des Ausdruckes, ihr grösster Vorzug, macht teilweise allerdings eine wörtliche Übertragung unmöglich. Immerhin bleibt noch genug. Sämtliche Bilder und Vergleiche sind dem Bauernleben entnommen und geben dem Hörer oft einen unmittelbaren Einblick in das Leben und die Anschauungen des Volkes. Im Zentrum der Betrachtung stehen die Faktoren, die dem Bauern im sozialen Leben als problematisch erscheinen — die Beziehungen zwischen den Geschlechtern, die Familie, das Verhältnis zum Nachbarn, das Verhältnis von Herr und Knecht. Aus diesem Rahmen erwächst die Betrachtung der Einzelprobleme in all ihrer Mannigfaltigkeit — das menschliche Schicksal, Gott und Teufel, die Natur und ihre Geschöpfe, die Arbeit und vor allem die Eigenschaften des menschlichen Charakters. Natürlich ist die in den Sprichwörtern enthaltene Moral cum grano salis zu verstehen, denn wie in allen Ländern besagen auch in Litauen häufig zwei Sprichwörter genau das Gegenteil voneinander. — Weiterhin können nicht alle Sprichwörter die gleiche Bedeutung beanspruchen. Nicht wenige stellen Überreste früherer Meinungen und Bräuche dar. Andere wieder beruhen auf abergläubischen oder magischen Vorstellungen. „Auch kann man nicht immer den wirklichen Sinn des Sprichwortes erfassen oder seinen Ursprung finden, da es, von Mund zu Mund, von einer Generation zur anderen übergehend, häufig entstellt wird“ [56]).

Noch schwieriger ist wohl die Frage des Ursprungs der Sprichwörter zu lösen, das hochinteressante Problem ihres Überganges aus dem Sprachschatz eines Volkes in den eines anderen. Für Litauen kommen wie bei den Märchen Einflüsse aus der slawischen wie aus der germanischen Kulturwelt in Frage. So trägt eine ganze Reihe von Sprichwörtern unverkennbar deutsche Färbung. Andere wieder mögen bei verschiedenen Völkern selbständig, jedoch unter ähnlichen sozialen Bedingungen entstanden sein, sodass sich hieraus der Gleichklang erklärt. Bei der ungeheuren Fülle des Materials wird die Untersuchung dieser hier nur angedeuteten Probleme Spezial-

gelehrten überlassen bleiben müssen. Die nachfolgend angeführten Sprichwörter entstammen teilweise gedruckten Sammlungen [87]), teilweise habe ich sie selbst auf dem Lande gehört.

Für die Wahrheit wirst du kein Nachtquartier bekommen.

*

Wer das Kind an der Hand fasst, fasst der Mutter ans Herz.

*

Gib dem Ferkel, wenn es grunzt, und dem Kind, wenn es weint, so ziehst du eine gute Sau und ein schlechtes Kind gross.

*

Kleine Kinder zerreissen den Schoss, grosse Kinder das Herz.

*

Gute Worte kosten nicht mehr als schlechte.

*

Schwarze Hände ernähren die Welt.

*

Gott gab Kinder, Gott wird auch den Kindern geben.

*

Aus dem Mund fliegt das Wort wie ein Sperling und kehrt als Ochse zurück.

*

Der eine pflügt, der andere säet, aber wer ernten wird, weiss keiner von ihnen.

*

Ein grosser Dieb wird auch von den Herren geehrt.

*

In einer fremden Tasche mögen alle gern zählen.

Wer auf dem Markt lobt nicht seinen Ochsen?

*

Den Armen fragt niemand nach der Wahrheit.

*

Die Not hat keine Zähne, und doch frisst sie den Menschen auf.

*

Du sollst den Tag nicht vor dem Abend loben — und das Mädchen nicht vor dem Morgen.

*

In der Kirche mit Flügelchen, zu Hause mit Kratznägelchen.

*

Die Frau ist kein Ärmel — du wirst sie nicht umdrehen.

*

Den Hund wirst du nicht überbellen, die Frau nicht überreden.

*

Lass das Schwein nicht zu den Kartoffeln, lass die Frau nicht ans Geld.

*

Ist die Frau aus dem Wagen, geht's leichter.

*

Wenn du einen Mann heiraten willst, mach dir drei Säcke Geduld.

*

Eine fremde Kuh zu melken ist leicht, aber versuch einmal sie zu füttern.

*

Nicht der ist glücklich, der die Kuh bei den Hörnern hält, sondern der, der sie melkt.

*

Wer wird dem Hund den Schwanz heben, wenn er es nicht selbst tut? (Gilt für den Prahler.)

*

Im eigenen Hofe ist auch der Hahn frech.

*

Führe den Ziegenbock nicht in den Garten — er wird schon von selbst hineinspringen.

*

Ehe du nicht über den Fluss gesprungen bist, sag nicht: hopp!

*

Schnell wie der Zigeuner zur Arbeit.

*

Den Sperling wird auch die Nachtigall nicht zum Singen bringen.

*

Auch der Hase würde den Fuchs nicht fürchten, wenn er Wolfsklauen hätte.

*

Eine kleine Schlange bringt auch einen grossen Ochsen um.

*

Ein geliehenes Pferd fällt auch auf ebenem Wege.

*

Das Schwein stinkt draussen, aber auf dem Tisch duftet es.

*

Vor dem Wolf lief er fort, auf den Bären fiel er.

*

Wer nach jedem bellenden Hund werfen will, braucht viele Steine.

*

Im Sack wirst du keine Nadel verstecken, im Sieb wirst du die Sonne nicht fangen.

*

Mit der Lüge kommst du weit — aber nicht nach Hause zurück.

*

Nicht alle sind Diebe, welche die Hunde anbellen.

*

Wenn du den Teufel in den Wagen nimmst, musst du ihn auch nach Hause fahren.

*

Fordere einen Dummkopf nicht zum Fischen auf — er wird doch nur Frösche fangen.

*

Man muss einen langen Löffel haben, wenn man mit dem Teufel aus einer Schüssel essen will.

*

Er betet zu Gott, aber den Teufel hält er am Schwanz.

*

Mit dem Schwanz des Teufels brennt er Gott eine Kerze an.

*

Ein Teufel macht noch keine Hölle.

*

Wer verliebt ist, meint, dass die andern blind sind.

*

Ein böses Wort hören alle.

*

Die Hände der Mutter sind weich, aber ihre Tränen schwer.

*

Den Lebenden treibt man ins Grab, aber wenn er gestorben ist, hebt man ihn in den Himmel.

*

Eigene Tränen sind bitter, fremde nur nass.

*

Einem guten Menschen ist auch der Dieb ein Gast.

*

Auch ein kleiner Stumpf wirft einen grossen Wagen um.

*

Eine Not — keine Not, zwei, drei fressen den Menschen auf.

*

Im Winter ist der Ofen ein Bruder, im Sommer — Lehm.

*

Der Herbst macht uns alle zu Herren.

4. VOLKSRÄTSEL

Den Sprichwörtern und Redensarten an geistigem Gehalt ebenbürtig sind die litauischen Rätsel. Auch sie verbinden eine scharfe Beobachtungsgabe mit grossem Phantasiereichtum und gehören in ihrer Kürze und Geschlossenheit mit zu den

eigenartigsten Schöpfungen einer bäuerlichen Kultur. Das Rätsel führt uns gleich dem Märchen in die Kinderjahre der Menschheit zurück, es enthält den Niederschlag uralten Denkens. Kein geringerer als Bielenstein hat aus der ausserordentlichen Ähnlichkeit der litauischen mit den lettischen Rätseln die Folgerung gezogen, „dass die beiderseitigen Rätsel aus einer Periode stammen, wo Letten und Litauer noch eine Sprache redeten und ein Volk waren“ [55]), und uns über den mythologischen Inhalt einer Reihe von Rätseln überraschende Aufklärung gegeben. In diesem Zusammenhange sei nur so viel bemerkt, dass die Rätsel beider Völker kennzeichnend für eine Geisteshaltung sind, die wir — so eigenartig sie auch den Städter unserer Tage berühren mag — auch jetzt noch in solchen Gegenden Deutschlands antreffen, die abseits von den grossen Verkehrsstrassen liegen; denken wir etwa an Volksrätsel, wie sie noch heute im bayrischen Wald lebendig sind und dort von der Brautmutter dem Brautweiser aufgegeben werden: Zwei lange Eltern und viele kurze Kinder (die Leiter). Oder: Es sind neun Jungfern, sie liegen alle in einer einzigen Bettstatt, alle in der Mitte, keine am Ende (ein neunspeichiges Spinnrad). Wir haben hier eine Kulturstufe vor uns, in welcher der Bauer geistig noch ganz aus eigenem schöpft. So gilt das meiste, was über die litauischen Sprichwörter und Redensarten gesagt wurde, auch von den Rätseln. Die ganze Natur lebt in ihnen, jedes Ding, jeder Gegenstand wird von ihnen ergriffen, in eine höhere Sphäre erhoben und nimmt an dem menschlichen Leben teil. Kraft und Kühnheit des Vergleiches überraschen oft. Auch in die Dainos spielt die Freude des Litauers an solchen Rätseln hinein, denken wir etwa an das schöne durch Rhesa bekannte Lied, in dem das Mädchen von der Schwiegermutter ausgesandt wird, um „Wintermai und Sommerschnee“ zu holen. In anderen Liedern, die in Dialogform gehalten sind, werden mehrere Rätsel miteinander verbunden, wobei auf die Frage der ersten Strophe die Auflösung in der zweiten erfolgt.

Die nachfolgenden Beispiele sind der Sammlung von Krėvė-Mickevičius enthommen, der sie in den Kirchspielen Alytus,

Merkinė und Kabeliai in den Jahren 1909 bis 1925 aus dem Munde des Volkes aufgezeichnet hat[20]).

Es läuft, es spricht, es bleibt nicht stehen und trotzdem liegt es. (Der Fluss.)

*

Draussen geboren, draussen gewachsen, kommt es nach Hause zum Schlafen. (Das Getreide.)

*

Am Tage trägt es Knochen, in der Nacht gafft es umher. (Die Schuhe.)

*

Wenn es weint, freuen sich alle und heben die Füsse. (Die Geige.)

*

Es kam ein Vogel geflogen ohne Flügel, er setzte sich auf einen Baum ohne Äste. (Der Schnee.)

*

Eine junge Frau in der Stube, die Zöpfe im Freien. (Die Mohrrübe.)

*

Es stehen zwei Säulen, auf den Säulen ein Bienenstock, auf dem Bienenstock ein Ei, auf dem Ei ein Wald. (Der Mensch.)

*

Es läuft ohne Füsse, es schreit ohne Kehle. (Das Wagenrad.)

*

Eine eiserne Stute, das Schwänzchen aus Hanf. (Die Nähnadel.)

*

Zehn Männer stopfen einen Sack. (Finger und Mund.)

*

Die Familie isst, der Tisch jammert. (Die Sau.)

*

Es hat Beine, aber es geht nicht, es hat Federn, aber es fliegt nicht, es hat Stroh, aber es frisst nicht, es hat eine Seele, aber nicht immer. (Das Bett.)

*

Was ist härter als Stahl? (Die Schnauze.)

*

Ich keimte, gekeimt wurde ich gross; gross geworden ward ich ein Mädchen und aus dem Mädchen eine junge Frau, aus der jungen Frau eine alte. Alt geworden bekam ich Augen, und aus den Augen kroch ich selber heraus. (Der Mohn.)

*

Es kommt ein feiner Herr mit einem roten Jäckchen: treib' die Hühner weg, vor den Hunden hab ich nicht Angst. (Der Regenwurm.)

*

Wer ist in der Kirche nicht demütig? (Die Fliege.)

*

Einmal höher als das Dach, einmal kleiner als die Maus, grün wie Gras, süss wie Honig. (Die Birne.)

*

Wenn es singt, dann höre ich nicht, wenn es schweigt, kann ich nicht schlafen. (Das Glück.)

*

Wer ist lieber als Vater und Mutter? (Der Schlaf.)

*

Alle kaufen ihn, aber niemand will ihn. (Der Sarg.)

*

Mitten im Felde kocht ein schwarzer Topf. (Der Ameisenhaufen.)

*

Die Füsse aus Stein, der Rumpf aus Holz, die Mütze aus Stroh, die Augen aus Glas, und auf der Mütze sitzt ein Alter und raucht die Pfeife. (Das Haus.)

*

Der Vater ist noch nicht geboren, der Sohn langt schon nach dem Himmel. (Das Feuer und der Rauch.)

*

Zwei Schwesterlein kommen über einen Hügel nicht zusammen. (Die Augen.)

*

Kein Gebüsch, aber mit Blättern, kein Hemd, aber zusammengenäht, kein Mensch, aber es spricht. (Das Buch.)

*

Ohne Bleistift, ohne Hände, malt er Blumen auf das Fenster. (Der Frost.)

*

Ein schwarzer Teufel sitzt auf einem goldenen Sessel. (Der Kessel auf dem Feuer.)

*

Durchschlägst du Eis, findest du Silber, durchschlägst du das Silber, findest du Gold. (Das Ei.)

*

KREUZE AM ABEND

Opp 96

Fünf Ställe, eine Tür. (Der Handschuh.)

*

Sommer im Pelz — Winter ohne Pelz. (Die Erbse.)

*

Weder Beine noch Hände, den Baum erklettert es doch. (Der Hopfen.)

*

Es geht durchs Feuer — es brennt nicht; es geht durchs Wasser — es ertrinkt nicht; es geht übers Stroh — es raschelt nicht. (Der Schatten.)

*

Rotes Röckchen, grünes Mützchen. (Die Mohrrübe.)

*

Ein kleines Mütterchen bekleidet die ganze Welt. (Die Nadel.)

*

Schönes Fass ohne Reifen. (Das Ei.)

*

Im Walde geboren, dort aufgewachsen, kam es nach Hause und wurde heilig. (Das Kreuz.)

*

Ohne Seele, ohne Atem, sagt es die Wahrheit. (Die Uhr.)

*

Wer ist nach dem Tode rot? (Der Krebs.)

*

Ein blindes Täubchen flattert durch die ganze Welt. (Der Brief.)

*

Ein einfüssiges Frauchen hat 1000 Kleider. (Der Kohlkopf.)

5. ZUR LITAUISCHEN FOLKLORISTIK

Wir können das vorliegende Kapitel nicht abschliessen, ohne nicht einen Blick auf die volkskundliche Forschung selbst geworfen zu haben, deren Ergebnisse hier eine kurze im wesentlichen von künstlerischen Gesichtspunkten ausgehende Darstellung fanden. Der Beginn dieser Forschung liegt etwa hundert Jahre zurück, als man mit der Aufzeichnung von Liedern, Märchen, Sprichwörtern und anderen Texten begann. Heute umfassen allein die gedruckten Sammlungen 12 000 Volkslieder mit 3000 Melodien, dazu gegen 4000 Märchen und Volkserzählungen und tausende von kleineren Stücken. Von besonderer Wichtigkeit, vor allem für den Beginn der wissenschaftlichen Erforschung der litauischen Volksdichtung, wurde die deutsche Wissenschaft. Zunächst war es die Sprachwissenschaft, die litauische Lieder, Märchen, Sprichwörter u. a. in ihren Bereich zog, später wird die Erforschung der litauischen Volksliteratur zu einem besonderen wissenschaftlichen Gebiet, das allerdings bis in die jüngste Zeit in gewisser Abhängigkeit von der Sprachwissenschaft steht. Namen wie Schleicher, Bezzenberger, Geitler, Brugmann, Leskien, Chr. Bartsch, Passarge, Zweck, Sauerwein, Gisevius, Tetzner, Scheu und viele andere sind aus der Entwicklung dieser Wissenschaft nicht wegzudenken. Die Veröffentlichungen der vor dem Weltkriege bestehenden „Litauischen Literarischen Gesellschaft" enthalten auf allen Gebieten der litauischen Volkskunde wertvollste Ergebnisse und Anregungen, zumal die Gesellschaft ihr Organ auch nichtdeutschen Forschern zur Verfügung stellte. Schwächer ist der Anteil anderer Völker, wenngleich auch hier für die Folkloristik wichtige Namen zu nennen sind wie Fortunatow, Boudouin de Courtenay und in neuerer Zeit der finnische Professor Niemi.

Ungefähr gleichzeitig — zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts — wird die Forschung in Litauen selbst aufgenommen. Auch hier entstehen umfangreiche Sammlungen von Liedern, Märchen, Sprichwörtern, es seien nur die Namen Stanewicz (1828), Daukantas (1846), Valančius, Jonas und Antanas Juškevičius,

Sabaliauskas, Basanavičius, Volteris neben vielen anderen erwähnt, die zugleich auch auf dem Gebiete der reinen Forschung arbeiteten und die wissenschaftliche Literatur um zahlreiche folkloristische Untersuchungen bereicherten.

Nach Gründung der Litauischen Universität wurde die Forschung zunächst von der Humanistischen Fakultät aufgenommen, die sie 1930 einer besonderen „Kommission für Volksdichtung" übertrug. Sowohl die Veröffentlichungen der Fakultät in ihrem Organ „Tauta ir Žodis" (Volk und Wort), dessen 7. und letzter Band 1931 erschien, wie diejenigen der Kommission, deren Forschungen in insgesamt 10 Bänden niedergelegt sind („Mūsų Tautosaka" — Unsere Volksdichtung), enthalten reiches und wertvolles Material. Wichtig für die Märchenforschung ist vor allem Bd. 9. Eine weitere Kommission wurde mit der Erforschung der Volkslied-Melodien beauftragt.

Im Jahre 1935 trat anstelle der bisherigen Kommissionen das „Lietuvių Tautosakos Archyvas" (Litauisches Archiv für Volksdichtung) als selbständiges von der Universität losgelöstes Forschungsinstitut. Die Veröffentlichungen des Archivs erscheinen unter dem Titel „Tautosakos Darbai" (Arbeiten auf dem Gebiete der Volksdichtung, bisher 3 Bände). Für die Märchenforschung grundlegend ist Bd. II, der einen „Katalog der Motive der litauischen erzählenden Volksdichtung" in litauischer und englischer Sprache von J. Balys mit insgesamt 3912 Nummern enthält.

Zu Beginn des Jahres 1938 beliefen sich die Sammlungen des Archivs auf 112 000 Texte von Volksliedern mit rund 13 000 Melodien, 21 000 Volkserzählungen, 49 000 Sprichwörter und Redensarten, 34 000 Rätsel, 55 000 Texte aus dem Gebiete des Aberglaubens und eine grosse Anzahl anderer Stücke, insgesamt 305 000. Zu diesen kommen noch die grösstenteils vor dem Weltkriege entstandenen Sammlungen der „Litauischen Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft" (Lietuvių Mokslo Draugija) in Vilnius mit etwa 10 000 Liedern und gegen 4000 Märchen und anderen Volkserzählungen.

Es ist also ein ungeheures Material, das heute schon zur Verfügung steht. Für die weitere Forschung wird es in der Hauptsache auf die Sammlung von Varianten ankommen **). Zur Arbeit des volkskundlichen Archivs sei noch bemerkt, dass die Texte und Melodien heute nicht nur zu Papier gebracht, sondern auch in den Phonographen gesungen und gesprochen werden. Die Anzahl der in dieser Form fixierten Melodien und Texte beläuft sich gegenwärtig auf über 6000.

Von den litauischen Gelehrten, die in den letzten beiden Jahrzehnten auf dem Gebiete der Folkloristik hervorgetreten sind, sind vor allem die Professoren Krėvė-Mickevičius, Balys Sruoga, Mykolas Biržiška und Dr. Jonas Balys zu nennen. Zur Erkenntnis der Melodien der litauischen Volkslieder lieferte Prof. T. Brazys wichtige Beiträge. Das starke Interesse, das in Litauen heute für die Sammlung und Erforschung der Volksliteratur besteht, drückt sich auch in der grossen Anzahl der freiwilligen Mitarbeiter aus, die sich in allen Kreisen der Bevölkerung zur Verfügung gestellt haben.

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DRITTES KAPITEL

DIE VOLKSKUNST

A. DER LÄNDLICHE BAUSTIL

1. DAS BAUERNHAUS

Im vorhergehenden Kapitel wurde gezeigt, wie der Kunstwille und die künstlerische Begabung des litauischen Volkes sich in seinen Liedern, in Sagen, Märchen, Sprichwörtern und Rätseln äussert. Darstellungskraft und Formwille offenbaren sich aber nicht weniger stark in der eigenartigen Verarbeitung und bildnerischen Gestaltung solcher Materialien, die zu den ursprünglichsten des menschlichen Lebens gehören, denken wir hier an die Motive der bäuerlichen Webekunst oder an die Holzschnitzkunst in allen ihren Verzweigungen.

Die litauische Holzschnitzkunst ist aus einer unbekannten aber seelisch reichen Vorzeit herausgewachsen. Noch heute steht das holzgebaute Wohnhaus des Bauern neben der Holzkirche und dem hölzernen Glockenturm in den Dörfern des Landes. An Kreuzwegen und auf den Friedhöfen ragen die alten Kreuze empor, mit ihren reichen Ornamenten und Schmuckmotiven, mit ihren holzgeschnitzten Heiligenfiguren. Auch hier treffen wir auf die gleichen Elemente ästhetischer, rhythmischer und mystischer Natur, aus denen alles künstlerische Empfinden seinen Ursprung herleitet. Ehe wir jedoch zu den einzelnen Gebieten dieser Kunst übergehen, müssen wir einen kurzen Blick auf das litauische Bauernhaus und die litauische Dorfkirche werfen.

Gleich zu Beginn sei bemerkt, dass gerade auf das Bauernhaus und seine Form die verschiedensten Einflüsse zu wirken pflegen, in erster Linie geografische, weiterhin vor allem die allgemeine wirtschaftliche Lage und die Kultur des Landes. Jede wirtschaftliche Umwälzung berührt auch die Hausform, und an ihnen hat es auch in Litauen nicht gefehlt. So weisen die gegenwärtigen Haustypen in diesem Lande auf eine relativ junge Entwicklung hin. Von der Gegenwart den Faden nach rückwärts zu verfolgen, würde in diesem Zusammenhange zu weit führen; so seien nur kurz einige Gedanken wiederholt, die Prof. H. Naumann in seiner „Deutschen Volkskunde" etwa folgendermassen formuliert: Ureuropa kannte zwei Hausformen, den steinernen Rundbau in den südlichen und mittleren Gegenden und den Holzbau im Norden und Osten. Beide Formen waren materialbedingt. Der grössere Waldreichtum des Ostens lieferte das Baumaterial genau so wie der steinerne Boden der waldärmeren Gegenden im südlichen Europa. „Das Holzhaus reicht noch unmittelbar in den Wald, das Steinhaus zeugt von glühender Sonne, vor der es bessere Kühlung bietet. Das rechteckige Holzhaus ward hauptsächlich mit zu dem Zweck aufgeführt, den Herd in einem geschützten Raum einzufangen und einen Ort der Wärme zu schaffen"[1]). So ist das Herd- oder Rauchhaus der älteste Typ des Holzhauses überhaupt. Zwangsläufig entwickelte es sich zum Vorhallenhaus. Da der Rauchabzug nur unvollkommen durch das Dach erfolgte, sah man sich veranlasst, eine Vorhalle zu konstruieren, in der man Luft schöpfen konnte.

Wenn allerdings noch im Jahre 1413 Długosz das schamaitische Haus als Rauchhaus beschreibt, in dem Mensch und Vieh zusammenlebten, ist diese Darstellung sichtlich tendenziös, denn die wenig älteren sogenannten „Inventarien" erwähnen schon alle Gebäude des heutigen litauischen Bauerngehöftes, und zwar sämtlich mit eigenen litauischen Bezeichnungen, obwohl die „Inventarien" in weissrussischer oder polnischer Sprache abgefasst sind. Wo unter besonders ärmlichen Verhältnissen Mensch und Vieh unter einem Dache zusammenwohnten, war jedenfalls der Stall durch eine Querwand von

der menschlichen Behausung getrennt. Auch die Pirtis, das litauische Dampfbad, ist, im Gegensatz zu Weissrussland, schon im 16. Jahrhundert als besonderes Gebäude im Rahmen des litauischen Bauernhauses bezeugt [2]).

Im Gegensatz zum Fachwerkbau kennt das litauische Gehöft nur den Blockverband, den der Holzreichtum des Landes gestattete. Das Dach besteht zumeist aus Stroh, seltener aus Schindeln. Die Wände werden in der bekannten Weise des Schurzholzbaus (Gehrsassbau) aus langen Balken zusammengefügt. Genau so sind die Zwischenwände gebildet. Türen und Fenster werden angefertigt, indem man Stücke der Rundhölzer ausschneidet und die Reststücke in seitlich vom Fenster aufgestellte Gewände einlocht. „Es ist dies die überall im Blockbau auftretende Werkform, wie sie sich aus dem Wesen des Holzes ergibt" [3]).

Das ländliche Gehöft, wie es heute für Litauen typisch ist, ist in verschiedenen Einzelgebäuden um einen Hof gruppiert. Der Stall liegt rechtwinklig zum Wohnhause, dem Wohnhause gegenüber liegt die grosse Scheune, und an der vierten Seite des Rechtecks befindet sich die Klete (lit. klėtis), die Schatzkammer des Bauern, in der er seine beste Habe aufbewahrt, und in der sich auch ein Schlafraum befindet. Ihre Fenster sind der Sicherheit wegen ausserordentlich klein. Vor dem Eingang befindet sich eine säulengetragene zumeist schön verzierte Vorlaube, zu der einige Stufen emporführen [4]).

Wir müssen bei diesem bemerkenswertesten Gebäude des litauischen Gehöftes ein wenig verweilen, denn wir haben hier anscheinend den Urtyp des litauischen Hauses vor uns, von dem schon Caspar Hennenberger 1595 in seiner Beschreibung der auf preussischem Boden lebenden Litauer berichtet: „Das haus darinnen sie alle essen heist das Schwartzhaus / vnd ist in der wahrheit vom Rauch vnd Rusz schwartz genug. Darneben hat ein jeglich par Ehegatten ein sönderliches heuszlein / das heist man ein Kleidt / (Klete) ist von rundem holtz gesatzt / vnten hats wie ein nidriges Kellerlein / oben darauff wie eine Kamer ohne Fenster / nur eine Thür / da sie hinein

gehen / . . ."[5]). Die heutige litauische Klete, die in ihrer einfachsten Form nur einen kleinen viereckigen Raum enthält, manchmal quadratisch, manchmal rechteckig, trägt ein Strohdach, dessen First parallel zur Längsachse verläuft, zuweilen jedoch auch senkrecht zu ihr steht und dann die Dachflächen nach vorn und hinten abfallen lässt anstatt nach rechts und links. „So steht diese seltsame Kornkammer mit dem unverkennbaren Grundriss eines kleinen altgriechischen Tempels der frühesten Zeit da"[6]).

Die Entwicklung ging nun vermutlich dahin, dass sich mit der Steigerung der Bedürfnisse aus den Formen der alten Klete heraus das W o h n h a u s entwickelte, während die Klete selbst ihre heutige Bestimmung erhielt. Dass das litauische Bauernhaus, wie es später wurde, in sich alle konstruktiven Elemente der alten Klete enthält, weist Galauné an Hand des von Tumas beschriebenen schamaitischen „numas" (Hauses) nach[7]), und auch Prof. Naumann macht auf diesen Zusammenhang aufmerksam, wenn er schreibt: „Löst man des Bauernhauses Flügelräume rechts und links von seinem Mittelteile ab, sodass nichts als dieser übrig bleibt, erhalten wir dann nicht genau eben unsere Kornkammer, jenes Urbild eines kleinen einfachen altgriechischen Tempels? Erstreckt sich hier vielleicht ein Zusammenhang nach dem Südosten Europas hin? Sieht es nicht aus, als ob wir das osteuropäische Urhaus vor uns hätten, das zur Kornkammer wurde hier, zum Tempel da, als die Bedürfnisse erweiterte Anwesen verlangten?"[8]).

Da eine Darlegung der inneren Gliederung des litauischen Wohnhauses jenseits des Rahmens dieser Darstellung liegt, sei im Zusammenhang mit den Vermutungen Naumanns nur auf die sich in verschiedenen Formen stets wiederholende Dreiteiligkeit des litauischen Bauernhauses sowie seinen typischen Säulenvorbau hingewiesen. Wenngleich letzterer sich nicht überall vorfindet, so ist das Bauernhaus in dieser Form doch in die Städte gewandert und hat hier oft genug seine Nachbildung in Stein gefunden[9]). Besonderes Interesse erwecken die Dachformen: Am verbreitetsten ist das Haus mit senkrechtem Giebel, bei dem der oberste dreieckige Teil der

Giebelwand aus Brettern besteht. Neben dieser Form finden wir als einfachste den Vollwalm ohne Eulenloch oder mit Eulenloch, weit häufiger den Halbwalm, der in verschiedenen Formen auftritt. Dr. Hans Mortensen, der die Dachformen Litauens bezüglich ihrer landschaftlichen Verschiedenheiten genauer untersucht hat, hat keine „unmittelbare geographische Bedingtheit der verschiedenen Aufrisstypen" feststellen können. Als Grundform der einzelnen Typen erscheint ihm das Haus mit völlig gewalmtem Giebel. „Diese Grundform ist nach Grisebach aus dem „Zelthaus" durch Einfügen eines Dachfirstes hervorgegangen". Das Nebeneinanderbestehen von 6 verschiedenen Aufrisstypen, wie wir sie heute beim litauischen Bauernhause antreffen, spricht jedenfalls trotz aller traditionellen Gebundenheit doch für eine geistige Beweglichkeit seiner Bewohner und begleitet den Weg der natürlichen Entwicklung, der vom alten „Rauchhause" zur heutigen Form des litauischen Gehöftes geführt hat[16]).

Ist die äussere Form und Gliederung des Bauernhauses zunächst aus praktischen Bedürfnissen heraus erwachsen, so kam doch infolge der leichteren Bearbeitung der Holzbau in höherem Masse dem Schmuckbedürfnisse entgegen als der einfache Steinbau. Es ist verständlich, dass die künstlerische Ausschmückung sich vorwiegend auf die Nebenteile der Gebäude erstreckte. Hier entfaltete sich die litauische Ornamentik in schönen Mustern, deren Vorlagen teilweise der umgebenden Natur entnommen, teilweise nach streng geometrischen Prinzipien aufgebaut sind. Die reichsten Verzierungen dieser Art finden wir bei der Klete, wieder ein Beweis dafür, dass es sich bei diesem eigenartigen Gebäude nicht um einen einfachen Kornspeicher, sondern das ursprüngliche Wohnhaus handelt. Wir finden den Willen zur künstlerischen Gestaltung sowohl bei den verschiedenartig ausgeschnitzten Säulen der Vorlaube, wie in den schön geschwungenen Bögen der seitlichen Abschlüsse[11]).

Der auf vier Säulen ruhende Vorbau des Wohnhauses weist in seiner Ornamentik Elemente des Barocks und der Renaissance auf, deren Vorbilder wir mit Galaunė am ehesten

in dem Bau der litauischen Schlösser und Gutshöfe jener Zeit zu suchen haben werden. Eine Parallelerscheinung für derartiges „gesunkenes Kulturgut" bildet die farbenreiche Ornamentik der alten süddeutschen Bauernhäuser. Namentlich die ausgeschnitzten Zierleisten, welche den Vorbau des litauischen Wohnhauses gegen das Dach abschliessen, weisen einen grossen ornamentalen Reichtum auf. Die massiven Vordertüren der Bauernhäuser sind zumeist mit einer Rosette, dem Sinnbild der Sonne, geschmückt. Stilisierte Tier- und Pflanzenmuster tragen vor allem die oberen Abschlussleisten der Fenster, während die oft bunt bemalten Fensterläden selbst mit ausgeschnitzten Rosetten verziert sind. Die sogenannten „Giebelhörner" sind zunächst nichts anderes als die gabelförmigen Träger jener langen Stange, die den First des Holzhauses bildet. Ein lebendiges Schmuckbedürfnis hat sie in Litauen, ähnlich wie in Niederdeutschland, zu den verschiedensten Formen gestaltet. Wir finden die silhouettenhafte Nachbildung von Pferdeköpfen wie auch von Vögeln, Blumen und Menschen.

Der ornamentale Schmuck des litauischen Bauernhauses weist im Norden und Nordosten des Landes häufig russische Stileinflüsse auf, die sich von den litauischen Mustern deutlich abheben. Letztere reichen in ein tieferes Altertum zurück. „Wir werden nicht irren", so äussert sich der litauische Kunsthistoriker Galaunė, „wenn wir erklären, dass sich bei keinem anderen Volke, ausgenommen vielleicht die Letten und Finnen, ein solcher Reichtum an ursprünglichsten Elementen erhalten hat wie in unserer Ornamentik" [12]). Diese Ornamentik, über die an anderer Stelle noch einiges gesagt werden muss, ist in ihrer Anwendung auf das litauische Bauernhaus von strenger Bescheidung und reiner Form. Sie fügt sich den Gesetzmässigkeiten seines Aufbaus in Proportion und Linienführung harmonisch ein. Und wie es kein Bauernhaus im ganzen Lande gibt, das nicht seinen kleinen Blumengarten hätte, der von den Mädchen mit Liebe gepflegt wird, so ist es die gleiche Verbundenheit, welche die Elemente der litauischen Ornamentik aus der umgebenden Natur entnahm und das schlichte Haus des litauischen Bauern mit ihren Symbolen schmückte.

2. DIE DORFKIRCHE

Aus dem oben Gesagten ergibt sich auch der besondere Stimmungsgehalt, der über den litauischen Dörfern liegt, und dem sich kaum ein Künstler entzogen hat, der einmal in Litauen weilte. Man muss vielleicht selbst durch das Land gewandert und in einem dieser stillen Gehöfte eingekehrt sein, die nichts von weitem verrät als der Kranz der sie umgebenden Bäume. Man muss einmal so eine lange Fahrt durch das Land gemacht, die farbigen Übergänge des Abends im Osten erlebt haben, das Rauschen des Dorfbachs, den Duft der kleinen versteckten Gärten. Denn diese Stimmung ist notwendig zum Verständnis des litauischen Dorfes.

Auf dem höchsten Hügel am Dorf liegt die Kirche, schlicht in den einfachen Formen des Blockbaus gefügt.

Man denke, wie wir die Stadtkirche werten oder den Dom als das Sinnbild aufstrebender Gottesverehrung einer reichen Handels- und Königsstadt. Hier spürt jeder die zusammengeraffte Energie der gesamten Einwohnerschaft, die sich auf die Erlangung eines höheren Zieles richtet, sich einem höheren, überweltlichen Gedanken widmet und hier ihr Bestes geben will. Aber ist es bei den kleinen katholischen Dorfkirchen Litauens im Grunde etwas anderes? Ist nicht letzten Grundes alles, was menschlicher Geist im Sinne eines höheren Gedankens, eines frommen Ideals geschaffen hat, als gleich wertvoll zu betrachten? — mit dem einzigen Unterschiede, dass sich die Idee das eine Mal frei entfalten konnte, während sie das andere Mal in schlichte Begrenztheit gebunden blieb. Mit solchen Gedanken möge man in die kleinen litauischen Dorfkirchen eintreten.

Wenn wir von dem Gedanken ausgehen, dass jede künstlerische Leistung durch das Vorhergehende bedingt war und für das Nachfolgende bedingend ist, dann muss man grundsätzlich bei der Betrachtung der litauischen Kirchen an dem klaren Unterschiede festhalten zwischen den einfachen Holzkirchen auf dem Lande und den gotischen oder Barockkirchen in den

Städten. Beide haben ursprünglich nichts Gemeinsames. Beide sind aus verschiedenen Traditionen hervorgegangen.

Schon das litauische Bauernhaus hat uns gezeigt, dass das einzige Baumaterial, das auf dem Lande seit ältester Zeit zur Verfügung stand, das Holz war. Aus Holz sind auch die frühsten Kirchen des Landes erbaut. Diese Wohnhäuser, die das Volk seinem Gott auf dem Lande errichtete, unterschieden sich anfangs kaum von den Wohnhäusern der Bauern selbst. Es waren kleine Kapellen, wie wir sie heute noch auf manchen litauischen Friedhöfen sehen können, im Grundriss ein längliches Rechteck, an dessen einer Schmalseite das Dach vorgezogen und von 4 Säulen gestützt wurde, ähnlich wie bei der Klete. Ein kleines Dachreitertürmchen diente zur Aufnahme des Glöckleins. So lassen sich auch auf die alte litauische Dorfkirche die Worte anwenden, mit denen Naumann die aus den gleichen Elementen entstandene deutsche Dorfkirche beschreibt: „Fast niemals kommt ein Querschiff vor, meist handelt es sich nur um das einfache kleine rechteckige Langhaus, das besonders in Holz einen uraltertümlichen Eindruck macht. In den deutschen Distrikten Ungarns und Siebenbürgens, ferner in Oberschlesien, ähneln die Holzkirchen auffallend den nordischen; sie zeigen Blockbau und kleine Fenster . . . An der Stirnseite befindet sich die meist offene Vorhalle“ [13]).

Leider sind die ältesten litauischen Holzkirchen dieser Art aus dem 15. und 16. Jahrhundert nicht mehr erhalten; die frühesten der noch vorhandenen entstammen dem 17. und 18. Jahrhundert und haben infolgedessen schon eine erhebliche Stilentwicklung hinter sich. Als wichtigste Aufgabe ergab sich in den meisten Fällen das Problem der grösseren Raumspannung. So kam man dazu, den Blockholzverband zu Gunsten des Schrotholz- und Fachwerkverbandes aufzugeben. Um die geringen Spannungen zu vergrössern, ging man zur Aufstellung von Ständern und damit zur dreischiffigen Anlage über. Ursprünglich fehlt jeder Choranbau. Später zwingt Raumnot zu seinem Bau, und zwar wird die hintere Seite der Längskirche zu einer Apside ausgebaut, die damit als neuer selbständiger Teil an die Kirche angefügt wird.

Im Gegensatz zum Bauernhause führte die Stilentwicklung der Dorfkirche im 17. Jahrhundert zu einem stärkeren Eindringen von Barockelementen. Auch die Form der Kirchen selbst erfährt eine Wandlung: Der Grundriss der Langkirche erhält durch Anfügung von zwei fast symmetrischen Seitenflügeln, in deren einem die Sakristei, in deren anderem eine Kapelle untergebracht wird, die Form eines Kreuzes. Die Bedeutung dieser Formänderung liegt darin, dass ein kürzeres Querschiff den Langbau genau halbiert. Dadurch entsteht zwar im Durchdringungspunkt ein Raumzentrum, „doch verschiebt die Kürze der Querarme den zentralen Raumeindruck zugunsten der Längsrichtung“ [14]). Die Türme verwandeln sich in Barockhauben. Das Dach wird höher, die Aussenwände der Kirche werden mit Brettern verschalt und mit ausgesägten Zierleisten geschmückt. Das 19. Jahrhundert bringt dann eine starke Beeinflussung durch die Gotik mit sich. So stossen wir heute gelegentlich auf grosse Holzkirchen, die, aus der Ferne gesehen, wie Steinkirchen wirken oder wirken wollen, was zweifellos als ein „Abweichen von der logischen Verwendung des Baustoffes“ bezeichnet werden muss [15]). Der Bauer wollte seine Kirche nach dem Muster der Stadtkirche bauen. So bescheiden er auch für seine Person lebt, so wünscht er doch seine Kirche schön, ja prunkvoll zu sehen, bestehen doch zwischen Dorf und Kirche ganz besondere Beziehungen in einem Lande, in dem das Dorf nur Dorf ist, das kein Wirtshaus kennt, ja kaum einen bescheidenen Kaufladen. So ist „die Kirche mit ihren Festen und Prozessionen, mit ihren Farben und Tönen, mit ihren Kerzen und Weihrauchwolken dem Bauern Erhebung und Erholung zugleich, ist ihm gute Stube und Festsaal“ [16]).

Gerade der Prunk des Barocks, der von Vilnius her im 17. Jahrhundert durch die Jesuiten ins Land getragen wurde, musste dem bäuerlichen Schmuckbedürfnis besonders entgegenkommen. So finden wir auch die Inneneinrichtung der hölzernen Dorfkirchen mit barocken Stilelementen durchsetzt, nur dass sich hier im Gegensatz zur Steinkirche der Stadt dieser Stil nicht frei entfaltete, sondern unter den Händen bäuerlicher

Meister in primitive Formen abgewandelt wurde. Wir sehen dies vor allem bei der Ausschmückung der Altäre und Beichtstühle [17]).

Weisen somit Architektur und Innenausstattung der heutigen litauischen Dorfkirche auf zahlreiche fremde Einflüsse hin, so hat der Glockenturm, der heute in den meisten Fällen als selbständiges Gebäude seinen Platz neben der Kirche behauptet, in Litauen sehr alte und eigenartige Formen bewahrt. Er gehört zu den reizvollsten Schöpfungen bäuerlicher Architektur und wird noch heute — selbst dort, wo die ursprüngliche Holzkirche längst dem Steinbau gewichen ist — meist in Holz aufgeführt. Architektonisch bildet er mit der danebenstehenden Kirche keine Einheit.

Die ursprüngliche Bedeutung dieser alten Glockentürme scheint nicht die des Campanile gewesen zu sein. Für diese Funktion hätte das eingangs erwähnte Dachreitertürmchen vollauf genügt. Wir haben den Ursprung dieser eigenartigen Türme vielmehr in kriegerischen Zwecken zu suchen. Noch heute finden wir in Deutschland, in Österreich, regelrechte festungsartige Wehrkirchen, die auf dem höchstgelegenen und strategisch sichersten Punkte des Dorfes errichtet sind. „Da trat der Turm wie ein Berchfrit hinzu, angefügt nach dem Muster der Burg“ [18]). Dass auch in der Ukraine und in Polen hölzerne Türme die Muster für die späteren Glockentürme abgegeben haben, beweisen die Untersuchungen polnischer, russischer und ukrainischer Kunsthistoriker wie Moklowski, Iwarnicki und Pawlucki. Bei den engen Beziehungen Litauens zu diesen Ländern ergab sich von selbst eine Beeinflussung, sodass Galaunė zu dem Ergebnis kommt: „Die Glockentürme der Ukraine, vor allem aber Galiziens, sind aus weit älteren Zeiten (dem Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts) als die unseren bekannt, einige von ihnen unterscheiden sich in ihrer Form nur wenig von unseren Glockentürmen. Deshalb muss man unserer Meinung nach auch in der Architektur der litauischen Glockentürme die Elemente der hölzernen Burgen suchen“ [19]).

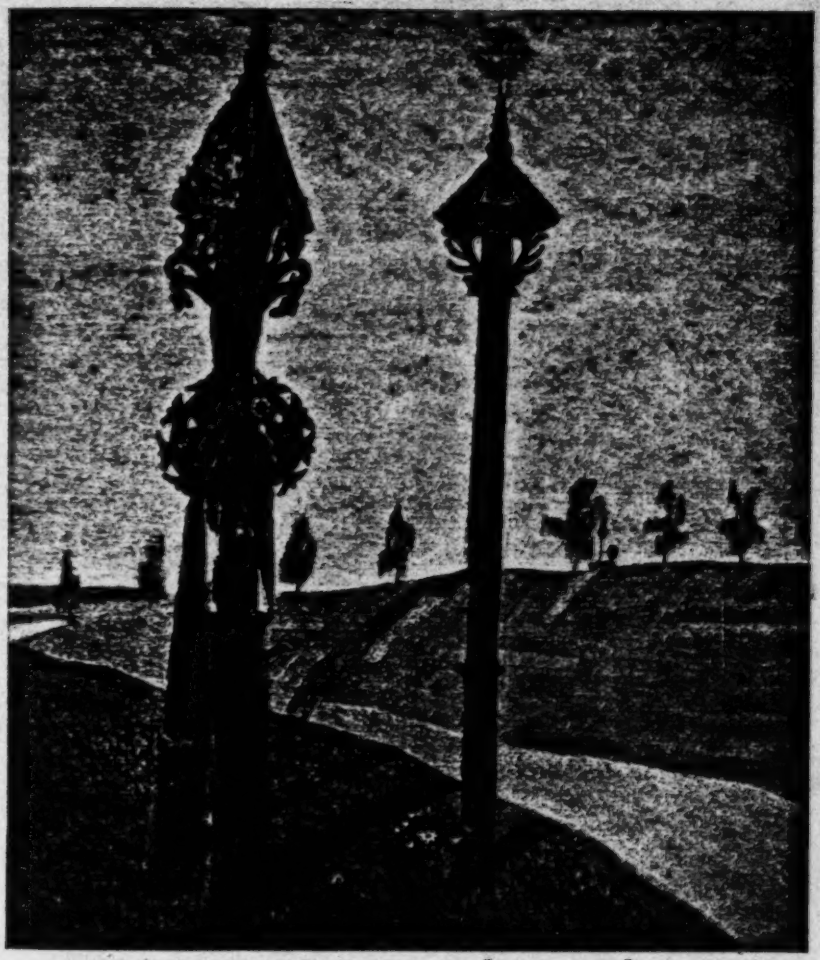
Ist mit diesen Feststellungen gesagt, dass die litauischen Glockentürme in ihrer Entstehung ziemlich sicher auf ältere Vorbilder zurückgehen, so enthalten sie doch andrerseits zahlreiche selbständige architektonische Elemente, die als rein litauisch anzusehen sind. Der dörfliche Künstler strebte in dem ihm zur Verfügung stehenden Rahmen nach möglichster Abwechselung. Immer von neuem überrascht uns der grosse Formenreichtum, die Vielfältigkeit der Massenverteilung, die alle Phasen des Ausdrucks enthält, von leichter Beschwingtheit zum ruhigen Ernst und von schlichter Bescheidung zum komplizierteren Ausdruck. So ist jeder einzelne dieser hölzernen Glockentürme ein individuelles Kunstwerk, tief verwurzelt im Leben der litauischen Bauern und nicht fortzudenken aus dem Bild der litauischen Landschaft.

B. DIE DÖRFLICHE KUNST

1. DIE DACHKREUZE

War bei der Errichtung des Bauernhauses, der Dorfkirche, des Glockenturmes, der dörfliche Künstler durch den praktischen Zweck seiner Arbeit gebunden, so konnte sich seine Kunst umso freier bei jenen hochragenden seltsamen Kreuzen entfalten, die das eigentliche Monument der litauischen Landschaft darstellen. Der deutsche Dichter Herbert Eulenberg gibt den Eindruck dieser Kreuze mit folgenden schönen Worten wieder: „Nirgends in der Welt, ausser vielleicht in Tirol, sieht man so viel Kreuze wie in Litauen. Gleich hohen Masten stehen sie einzeln an der Dorfstrasse, an Feldrainen und Kreuzwegen. Zusammengeschart findet man sie auf den Friedhöfen Litauens, wo sie aus den Gräbern aufwachsen wie grosse düstere Lilien. Schief von der Zeit geneigt, grüssen diese hohen Grabkreuze als Wahrzeichen der Toten, mit denen das litauische Volk wie kein anderes in beständiger ängstlicher oder freundlicher Berührung lebt, den vorüber Wandernden oder Fahrenden. Besonders im Winter wirkt es oft unheimlich, wenn aus der weiten Schneefläche, die das ganze Land

7: Jungfer RB5 Lithuanians RB5



DACHKREUZE / NACH EINEM GEMÄLDE VON ČIURLIONIS

opp.112

zudeckt, die schwarzen hohen Kreuze herausragen und einem mit ernstem Finger zu winken scheinen. Und unvergesslich wird jedem der Anblick eines litauischen Friedhofs im Winter in der Erinnerung haften geblieben sein, wenn gegen das blutende Abendrot sich die düsteren Umrisse einer solchen Kreuzgruppe abheben wie die Schatten von Golgatha"[20]). Von den gleichen Kreuzen sagt der Ostpreusse Alfred Brust: „Es sind Kunstwerke darunter, die, hier jedem Wind und Wetter preisgegeben, zu den grossen Seltenheiten einfachster aber tiefsinnigster Volkskunst gehören"[21]); Professor Otto Schwindrazheim erklärt die litauischen Kreuze als „Meisterwerke volkstümlicher Holzkunst"[22]), und der italienische Kunsthistoriker Luigi Caglio bezeichnet sie geradezu als die „typischste Offenbarung der Volkskunst in Europa"[23]).

Kein Künstler aber hat den mystischen Eindruck, der von diesen Kreuzen ausgeht, stärker erfasst und gestaltet als der litauische Maler Čiurlionis in seinem Bilde: Schamaitischer Friedhof. Es ist charakteristisch, dass fast jeder Beobachter, der sich dem starken Stimmungsgehalt dieser Kreuze hingab, zugleich auch den Gegensatz erfühlte, der zwischen diesen scheinbaren Offenbarungen christlichen Glaubens und dem rationalen Wesen des Christentums selbst besteht — ein Gegensatz, der natürlicherweise den heutigen „Herrgottsschnitzern", die im Rahmen uralter Traditionen arbeiten, nicht zum Bewusstsein kommt. Und zwar ist es nicht nur die Fülle heidnischer Symbole, mit denen diese Denkmäler gläubiger Totenverehrung geschmückt sind, als vielmehr die Gesamtheit des Eindrucks, der den Beschauer mit zwingender Kraft erfasst. Schon ihre gewaltige Höhe — 5—6 Meter — ist einzigartig und unterscheidet sie von allen ähnlichen Denkmälern christlicher Herkunft. Aber auch die wissenschaftliche Forschung, die sich seit Beginn dieses Jahrhunderts den litauischen Kreuzen zuwandte und in erster Linie das Problem ihres Ursprungs zu lösen versuchte, ist, von den verschiedensten Gesichtspunkten ausgehend, zu dem gleichen Ergebnis gelangt: Die litauischen Kreuze sind aus der heidnischen Totenverehrung der Litauer erwachsen und stellen ein ursprüng-

liches Monument der alten litauischen Kultur dar. Erst in späterer Zeit gewannen sie ihr heutiges christliches Aussehen, ohne jedoch darum ihre alten Formen völlig abzustossen. Diese Anschauung, die bei Szukiewicz, dem ersten Erforscher der Kreuze des Wilnagebiets, erst leicht angedeutet wird, tritt uns in der Arbeit Brensteyns über die schamaitischen Dachkreuze 1906 schon als begründete Theorie entgegen, die später durch die archäologischen Untersuchungen des Dr. Basanavičius weitgehend gestützt wird. Mit diesen Ergebnissen stimmt auch das berühmte kirchliche Verbot überein, durch das Michael, der Bischof von Sambia, im Jahre 1426 die Aufstellung von Kreuzen auf den Friedhöfen untersagte. Die Gründung des litauischen Staates gab der Forschung einen weiteren Anstoss: Viele tausend Kreuze im Lande wurden photographiert und zeichnerisch festgehalten, sodass die kunsthistorische Wissenschaft heute über ein unvergleichlich grösseres Material verfügt als vor dem Weltkriege.

Nach dem gegenwärtigen Stande der Forschung, wie er in den Werken von Galaunė und Rūkštelė zur Darstellung kommt [24]), sind die heutigen Dachkreuze aus einfachen Holzsäulen hervorgegangen, die schon zu heidnischer Zeit an den Gräbern der Toten errichtet wurden. Sie entstanden aus dem Totenkult und waren vermutlich als Wohnsitze für die Seelen der Abgeschiedenen gedacht. Als solche sind sie auch bei benachbarten Völkern bezeugt.

Die Entwicklung ist etwa so zu denken, dass man auf diese Säulen ein zweiteiliges, später polygones oder kreisrundes Dach aufsetzte, um den Stamm vor Regen und Schnee zu schützen. In diesen viereckigen Säulen, die von beträchtlicher Stärke waren, schnitzte man kleine Nischen aus, vielleicht um hierdurch für die Seelen der Toten einen Wohnraum zu schaffen, vielleicht auch schon unter christlichem Einfluss; denn in diesen heute noch gelegentlich anzutreffenden Nischen haben wir die Urform jener kleinen Heiligenkapellen zu sehen, mit denen die meisten der heutigen Kreuze geschmückt sind. Mit dem Seltenerwerden starker Bäume befreiten sich die Kapellen von ihrer Bindung, gewannen konstruktive Selbständigkeit

und wurden auf die hölzernen Säulen aufgesetzt — zunächst anstelle des Daches, das nun gehoben und von Säulchen getragen erscheint, später als richtige kleine Kapellen mit teilweise geschlossenen Seitenwänden. Damit war der Weg für ihre weitere künstlerische Ausgestaltung frei, und die litauische Holzornamentik konnte an ihnen ihre eigenartigen Formen entfalten. Erst am Ende des 17. oder zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts haben die hier beschriebenen litauischen Grabsäulen nach Galaunès Ansicht teilweise die Kreuzform erhalten. Ursache waren Verbote der Geistlichkeit, die sich gegen die Aufstellung von Heiligenfiguren in solchen Kapellen richteten, die auf einfachen Holzsäulen befestigt oder aus diesen ausgeschnitzt waren [25]).

Die Formen der litauischen Kreuze, ihrer Kapellen und ihrer Ornamentik weisen eine unendliche Vielfältigkeit auf. Fast jede Landschaft, ja jede Parochie hat ihre Besonderheiten. Von den oben erwähnten tausenden von photographischen Aufnahmen, die sich heute im litauischen Museum für Volkskunde in Kaunas befinden, sieht kaum eine der anderen ähnlich. So stark haben die Herrgottsschnitzer bei aller Traditionsgebundenheit individualisiert.

Im geistigen Leben des Landvolkes haben diese Kreuze noch bis vor ganz kurzer Zeit eine überragende Stellung eingenommen. Man setzte sie bei allen wichtigen Gelegenheiten, bei Geburt, Taufe und Hochzeit, bei Unglücksfällen und Krankheiten, bei schlechten Ernten und als Dank für gute. Man setzte sie nicht nur auf Friedhöfen, sondern ebenso am Dorfeingang, im eigenen Garten, auf Hügeln und Feldern, an Flüssen und Quellen und in dunklen Wäldern. So gross war ihre Zahl, dass der durch Schamaiten Fahrende sie auf Schritt und Tritt antraf und sie im Gebiete von Vilnius, wie Szukiewicz berichtet [26]), sogar den Bäumen den Platz wegnahmen. Obwohl seither manche die Natur selbst vernichtet hat und viele auch dem Kriege zum Opfer gefallen sind, verfügt die alte litauische Landschaft Schamaiten auch heute noch über einen unübersehbaren Reichtum an Kreuz-Motiven und -Schmuckformen. Eine Gliederung dieser Kreuze in bestimmte Typen, die die kunst-

geschichtliche Forschung verschiedentlich versucht hat, ist bei diesem Formenreichtum nur möglich, wenn man von den konstruktiven Formen der Kreuze selbst ausgeht und alle Schmuckmotive beiseite lässt[27]). Wir erhalten dann drei grosse Gruppen — die nur mit einem Dach versehenen Holzsäulen, zweitens die Kapellensäulen, und drittens die eigentlichen Kreuze. Bei den Dachsäulen unterscheidet Galaunė 44, bei den Kapellensäulen 12 und bei den Kreuzen mit Querbalken nicht weniger als 46 verschiedene Typen[27]). Von diesen Gruppen ist die erste und älteste in Litauen heute fast verschwunden, die letzte und jüngste am häufigsten vertreten.

Nicht alle Kreuze, aber doch sehr viele, sind mit den eingangs erwähnten Heiligenkapellen geschmückt. Letztere gehen allerdings, wie aus ihrem Stil zu ersehen ist, auf erheblich jüngere Zeiten zurück, und scheinen in dem Stil der hölzernen Glockentürme und Dorfkirchen ihr Vorbild gefunden zu haben.

Wir finden solche kleinen Kapellen nicht nur in Verbindung mit den Kreuzen — sei es am Schnittpunkt des Querbalkens, oder am Ende der Holzsäule — auch selbständig auf der Erde ruhende oder auf steinernem Untergrund erbaute Kapellen von 1—2 m Höhe sind keine Seltenheit. Ihre Ausschmückung lässt verschiedene Stilarten von der Gotik bis zum Barock, ja Rokoko, deutlich erkennen. Vor allem kam, wie an anderer Stelle schon erwähnt, der Barockstil dem Schmuckbedürfnis des bäuerlichen Künstlers sichtlich entgegen. Seine Anwendung verrät vielfach grossen Geschmack. Aus den dekorativen Elementen dieser kleinen Kunstwerke strömt, wie Galaunė sagt, „eine solche Einfachheit, ein solcher Ernst und ein so subtiles Empfinden, dass man zu der Überzeugung kommen muss, der Barockstil in Litauen sei nicht nur mit der steinernen Architektur der Städte des Landes, sondern auch mit der Psyche des Volkes eng verwachsen“[28]). Angefüllt sind diese Kapellen mit Statuetten holzgeschnitzter Heiliger, auch Weihegaben finden sich dazwischen, und zuweilen sehen wir die Darstellung ganzer biblischer Szenen, vor allem des Leidensweges Christi.

Sehr mannigfaltig sind auch die Heiligenkapellen an den Kreuzen und Säulen selbst. Wir finden sie bis zu dreien übereinander und manchmal zu vieren herum um die Hochsäule. So wirkt das litauische Kreuz gelegentlich mehr wie eine kleine chinesische Pagode als wie ein christliches Kreuz. Die Zahl der Kapellen ist abhängig von der Zahl der Heiligenfiguren, die man in ihnen unterbringen wollte. Jede Etage ist in Abteilungen eingeteilt, sodass jeder Heilige für sich untergebracht ist. Die Form der Kapellen ist viereckig, aber auch sechs- und achteckige, deren Frontalseite offen ist, sind keine Seltenheit. Andere wieder, die nur auf mässig hohen Säulen ruhen, haben die Form kleiner Altäre. Wieder andere sind nicht an Kreuzen befestigt, sondern an Bäumen angebracht. Daneben finden wir ganz einfache, nur mit einem Dach über dem Christusbild, die wir kaum mehr als Kapellen bezeichnen können.

Unter den Schmuckformen der kleinen Kapellen fallen zunächst die ausgesägten, gezackten, gewellten und durchbrochenen Ränder der Brettchen, zuweilen ganz ausgesägte Zierbretter, ins Auge[29]). Dazu kommt, sowohl bei den Kreuzen wie bei den Kapellen eine grosse Fülle von Ornamenten: gewundene Säulchen, barocke Schnörkelornamente, herabhängende Holzglöckchen, Stilisierungen von Kränzen, Blättern und Blumen. Viele dieser Ornamente stammen zweifellos aus sehr alten vorchristlichen Zeiten, vor allem jene geometrischen Muster, denen wir auch noch bei anderen Erzeugnissen der Volkskunst begegnen werden, und die uns an die Ornamentik prähistorischer Töpfer- und Broncearbeiten erinnern. Der Zickzack, das Bandmuster, das Flechtmuster, das Tannenmuster, die Rosette — sie alle kehren in immer neuen Kombinationen wieder. An Stilisierungen von Tieren — letztere treten seltener auf — finden wir Vögel und Schlangen, Erinnerungen an den Schlangenkult der alten Litauer. Ihr besonderes Kennzeichen aber erhalten die Kreuze durch die Darstellung von Sonne, Mond und Sternen. Die Sonne wird meist als aufgesetztes eisernes Strahlenkreuz dargestellt, zuweilen nach dem Schnittpunkt des Querbalkens verlegt. Ihr Symbol

ist der Kreis, gelegentlich auch eine deutlich ausgeführte Sonnenscheibe, von welcher Strahlen ausgehen. Ganz im Gegensatz zu denen des christlichen Heiligenscheines sind die Strahlen des litauischen Kreuzes zickzack-, spiralen-, lotusblatt- und dornähnliche. Andere wieder sind wie Blüten, Anker und Kreuze geformt oder wie Hammer und Pfeile. Die Sterne erscheinen auf den Enden der Strahlen des Sonnenkreuzes, der Mond ist ein nach oben geöffneter Halbmond unterhalb der Sonnenscheibe. Neben den heidnischen Symbolen des Lebens stehen die christlichen des Leidens und Sterbens Jesu — Speer, Hammer und Leiter — daneben Kelche und Monstranzen, Kronen haltende und Posaunen blasende Engel und noch manche anderen christlichen Attribute. Immerhin tritt diese zweite Gruppe hinter der ersten zurück.

Vielleicht vermag eine spätere folkloristische Forschung noch einmal den Sinn der hier dargestellten Symbolik tiefer zu ergründen [30]). Die heidnischen Symbole des Lebens, Bäume und Pflanzen, das Sinnbild des Lichts und der belebenden Wärme, Sonne und Himmelsgestirne, die Sinnbilder der Liebe und der zärtlichen Zuneigung, Blumen, Herzen und Vögel, und noch manche andere, deren Sinn uns verborgen ist, erwachsen aus den litauischen Kreuzen wie der Ausdruck einer tiefen seelischen Stimmung, die dem Geistesleben eines innerlich reichen Volkes entströmt. Rein künstlerisch berührt uns bei der litauischen Kreuzornamentik, die von treuester Anhänglichkeit an den Glauben sowohl, wie von enger Gemeinschaft mit den Toten kündet, die Geschlossenheit, mit der sie aus den Kreuzen erwächst und mit ihnen zu einer Einheit verbunden ist [31]). In heutiger Zeit allerdings ist zu erkennen, wie bei einer jüngeren und rationalistischeren Generation die alte Symbolik der Vorfahren immer mehr in Vergessenheit gerät. Nicht nur die alte Sitte des Aufstellens der Kreuze schwindet dahin. Auch dort, wo noch Holzkreuze errichtet werden, trifft man immer häufiger auf schlanke glatte Kreuze ohne jede Ausschmückung, bei denen nur noch die gewaltige Höhe an ihre uralte Tradition gemahnt [32]).

2. DIE HOLZPLASTIK

Unser Überblick über die litauischen Kreuze und ihre Kapellen wäre nicht vollständig, würden wir nicht jene holzgeschnitzten Nachbildungen der christlichen Heiligen mit in unsere Darstellung einbeziehen, von denen oben die Rede war, und um derentwillen die Kapellen der litauischen Kreuze geschaffen wurden.

Die litauische Holzplastik, der wir uns damit zuwenden, ist in ihrer Entstehung und ihren Anfängen nicht geklärt. Die romantische Forschung, zu der auch Brensteyn und Dr. Basanavičius zu rechnen sind, leitete sie aus dem Heidentum her und stützte sich hierbei auf ein Verbot des Bischofs Tyszkiewicz aus dem Jahre 1752, in welchem es heisst: „An vielen Orten in Schamaiten treiben sich höchst unerfahrene Bildschnitzer herum, richtiger Bildzerstörer und Bilderschänder, die auf eigene Rechnung und Gefahr die Bilder von Heiligen schänden, sodass sie nicht wie Götter, sondern wie Lernäische Untiere aussehen, die garnichts mit jeder heiligen Tradition, was Äusseres und Gesichtszüge anbelangt, zu tun haben" [33]).

Die heutige Bezeichnung dieser Plastiken — im Volksmunde „dievukai"-Götterchen — schien diese Theorie weiter zu stützen. Nun haben wir aber für einen anthropomorphen Glauben bei den alten Litauern überhaupt keine zuverlässige Stütze und wissen nur, dass sie Flüsse, Quellen und Wälder als Sitze ihrer Gottheiten für heilig hielten. Andrerseits ist die Bezeichnung „dievukai" für diese Plastiken bei einem römisch-katholischen Bauernvolk so verständlich, dass es hier keiner weiteren Erklärungen mehr bedarf. Die Tatsache, dass sich auch in heutiger Zeit gelegentlich Geistliche weigern, diesen Plastiken die Weihe zu erteilen, wenn sie aus dem Rahmen kirchlicher Tradition herausfallen, lässt das Verbot des Bischofs in einem ganz anderen Lichte erscheinen. Es ist also nicht angängig, aus dem künstlerischen Unvermögen mancher Bildschnitzer oder ihrer Unkenntnis der kirchlichen Vorlage auf ein unbewusstes Fortleben heidnischer Göttervorstellungen zu schliessen. Im Gegenteil scheint der Ursprung der bäuerlichen Holz-

plastik in Litauen noch garnicht so weit zurück zu liegen und ist, wie wir sehen werden, mit der religiösen Auffassung des westlichen Mittelalters eng verbunden.

Fraglich erscheint es allerdings, ob Galaunė nicht zu weit geht, wenn er die frühesten dieser Plastiken erst auf den Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts ansetzt und das Verbot des Bischofs damit erklärt, dass die ersten primitiven und schüchternen Ansätze zu dieser neuen Kunst durch das Barockzeitalter bedingt waren, in welchem die Stadtkirchen des Landes mit einer besonderen Fülle von Bildern und Skulpturen geschmückt wurden. In ihnen habe der dörfliche Künstler seine ältesten Vorbilder gesehen, während die zeitlich vorausgehende Gotik die kirchliche Skulptur in Litauen nicht so allgemein gepflegt habe und daher auch auf das Dorf ohne Einfluss geblieben sei [34]). Da alle schriftlichen Quellen fehlen, infolge der Vergänglichkeit des Materials aber, das jeder Witterung ausgesetzt war, keine Plastiken aus früheren Zeiten erhalten geblieben sind, wird die Frage des Alters wohl kaum vollständig zu lösen sein.

Tatsächlich finden wir in den dörflichen Plastiken wohl verschiedene Elemente des Barock, auch einige der Gotik, zumeist aber handelt es sich um eine primitive Kunst bäuerlicher Prägung, der man eventuell einige archaische Beispiele aus der Frühzeit der deutschen Kunst zur Seite stellen könnte [35]).

Aus den litauischen Skulpturen spricht zunächst der ganze Inhalt einer festen abgerundeten bäuerlichen Kultur, gelegentlich durchsetzt von einer gewissen Hausbackenheit der Auffassung, und vom Standpunkt der religiösen Idee aus gesehen, Einfachheit des Glaubens. Die besten dieser Plastiken tragen einen ernsten und feierlichen Charakter. Die Kunstmittel, die angewandt werden, sind elementar. Der Eindruck auf den Beschauer ist häufig ein sehr starker und unmittelbarer. Es gibt unter diesen Figuren solche von blockartig monumentaler Wirkung, bei denen auf die Details wenig Wert gelegt ist, während sie bei anderen wieder sorgfältig ausgeführt sind. Gerade das Bestreben, durch einfachste Formgebung zum monumentalen Eindruck zu gelangen, beweist häufig Sinn und grosses Verständnis für die Anforderungen der Plastik.

Die Haare der Figuren sind symmetrisch gescheitelt, häufig ornamental stilisiert — bei anderen Teilen der gleichen Skulptur kann wieder eine realistische Auffassung zum Durchbruch kommen. In der Kleidung herrscht Längsfaltenwurf. Die Haltung aller Gestalten ist eine streng frontale.

Das Körpergefühl des Herstellers ist noch nicht entwickelt. Der Kopf der Figuren als Sitz der geistigen Funktionen ist auch in den Proportionen bevorzugt. Die Hände sind im Verhältnis zum übrigen Körper zu klein oder zu gross, auch von ungleicher Grösse. In Gruppendarstellungen sind nach mittelalterlichem Vorbild die weniger wichtigen Figuren in ihren Proportionen viel kleiner bemessen als die Hauptfiguren. Dies gilt sogar sehr oft von den Pieta-Darstellungen, bei denen die Masse des Christuskörpers denen eines Kindes entsprechen, wodurch die Bedeutung der trauernden Mutter hervorgehoben werden soll.

Noch ringt der Künstler um die Beherrschung des Stoffes, noch vermag er seine Gestalten nicht durch Bewegung zu beleben — eine kleine Neigung des Kopfes bedeutet hier schon viel! — noch vermag er den Gesichtern in den meisten Fällen keinen vertiefteren seelischen Ausdruck zu verleihen. So macht es denn manchmal einen geradezu rührenden Eindruck, wenn man sieht, wie der bäuerliche Künstler durch eine Häufung der äusseren Attribute des Schmerzes diesen Mangel auszugleichen versucht, betrachten wir das von sieben Schwertern durchbohrte Herz der trauernden Mutter.

Gelegentlich sind diese Skulpturen so vereinfacht, dass man nur an den typischen Attributen erkennen kann, welchen Heiligen der Künstler darzustellen beabsichtigte. Hierbei tritt die kirchliche Vorlage völlig zurück, die Formgebung gewinnt eigenen Charakter. Der Künstler hat in solchen Fällen sichtlich eigene Eindrücke, die er aus den Evangelien oder Predigten genommen, selbständig und eigenartig verarbeitet. Er hat dann in seine Plastiken sein eigenes Leben hineingedacht. Und so wurde ihm unter den Händen der heilige Isidor, jener fromme spanische Bauernknecht, für den der Engel pflügte,

während er betete, zu einem litauischen Bauern mit Strohhut, Bauernjoppe und dem geflochtenen Saatkorb. So wurde ihm die heilige Mutter Gottes, wie sie auf der Schlange steht und die Sünde der Welt zertritt, zu einer litauischen Bauernfrau, die viel Leid und viel Arbeit erlebt hat, und deren Züge die ganze Herbheit ihres Schicksals atmen. Und so drängt aus aller Primitivität und traditioneller Gebundenheit heraus häufig echte künstlerische Expression. In solchen Schöpfungen zeigt das Volk sein eigenes Gesicht. In ihnen spiegelt sich die Kultur des Landes und die seelische Haltung seiner Bewohner. Aus diesen beiden Elementen sind die bäuerlichen Plastiken zu begreifen. Bindendes Glied aber ist der religiöse Geist, der sie schuf.

Wir kennen heute die Vorlagen für eine ganze Reihe dieser dörflichen Plastiken, wissen, dass der segnende Christus, der die Erdkugel hält, in einem Bilde in der Kathedrale von Vilnius sein Vorbild hat, genau wie der heilige Kasimir — wir wissen, dass die Plastiken des kreuztragenden Jesus einer kleinen Statue in der Kapelle von Šnipiškis bei Vilnius ihren Ursprung verdanken und der stehende Jesus mit den gefesselten Händen auf ein hölzernes Standbild in der Antokol-Kirche zurückgeht [35]), aber im Grunde sind diese Dinge garnicht so wichtig. Denn die namenlosen Künstler des litauischen Dorfes, die solche Vorbilder auf ihren Wallfahrten sahen oder auf Heiligenbildern, Holzschnitten und Kupferstichen in frommen Büchern — sie schufen diese Dinge doch um, wie ihr eigener einfältiger Sinn sie hiess, gaben ihnen eigene Formen und eigene primitive Symbolik. Was die Gotik, was der Prunk des Barocks geschaffen, was die Holzschnitzkunst der westlichen Länder an eigenem Stilgefühl, an Dramatik und Bewegung, an höchster Verfeinerung des inneren Ausdrucks hervorbrachte — all das verwandelte sich bei diesen besinnlichen, frommen und stillen Menschen zu einfachen und schweren Formen, zu ruhigen und gleichsam unbewegten Massen, zu stiller Betrachtung und epischer Erzählung. Als ob die Hand, die am Tage den Pflug geführt, auch am Abend noch schwer gewesen sei, wo sie das Schnitzmesser ergriff. Man darf ja bei der Betrachtung dieser

Dinge nie vergessen, mit welch' unendlich einfachen Werkzeugen diese Plastiken hergestellt sind — nur mit Beil und Messer. Sie sind aus einem einzigen Stück geschnitzt, nur die Nebenteile sind zumeist angefügt.

Alle ihre Vorbilder sind der westlichen mittelalterlichen Geistes- und Bilderwelt entlehnt, die Gestalt der Pieta sowohl wie die Gruppe des heiligen Georg mit dem Drachen, der in Litauen zum Patron der Landwirtschaft wurde — nur dass auch hier wieder selbständige Abänderungen der Vorlage zu bemerken sind, denn der heilige Georg trägt in diesen Darstellungen keine Fahne mit rotem Kreuz, wohl aber gelegentlich das Kreuz auf dem Mantel wie die Ordensritter des Mittelalters. Sogar die verbreitetste dieser Plastiken, der trauernde Christus (lit. Rupintojėlis oder Smutkelis), ist schon aus einer Holzplastik des deutschen Mittelalters um 1500 bekannt [36]). Aber gerade diese Plastik, um deren Sinn sich viele fromme Legenden schlingen, ist durch die Behandlung der bäuerlichen Meister mit zum ureigenen Besitztum des Volkes geworden und hat vielerlei Umformungen und Varianten erfahren. Man sieht sie vor allem in Schamaiten wieder und wieder, in Dörfern, an Kreuzwegen, an Bäumen in den Wäldern. Es scheint, als ob gerade diese Gestalt des trauernden Christus mit der Dornenkrone, der sich ermattet ausruht, den Kopf in die Hand gestützt, den Ellbogen auf dem Knie, der kontemplativen Natur des litauischen Bauern besonders entspräche und aus der Trauer eines Volkes über jahrhundertelange Knechtschaft und der Melancholie der Landschaft eine eigene Gestaltung erfahren habe. Diese Plastik hat wie keine zweite die Schnitzer zu individuellem Schaffen angeregt und vor allen anderen innere Beseelung gewonnen. Zuweilen spricht aus ihr eine wirklich unirdische Stimmung, die davon zeugt, wie tief der Künstler sich in seine Idee versenkt hat *).

Die litauische Holzplastik hat nicht alle bildlichen Vorwürfe, die aus dem Westen kamen, übernommen und verarbeitet. Zwar ist die Zahl der dargestellten Heiligen sehr gross, aber

*) Vergl. hierzu das Gedicht von Putinas-Mykolaitis.

gewisse Lieblingsmotive kehren immer wieder. Ausser den genannten sind es der heilige Nepomuk, stets in geistlichem Gewande, mit Barett, in der Rechten das Kruzifix, in der Linken den Palmzweig — der heilige Antonius, in Mönchskleidern, in der Linken das Kruzifix, in der Rechten die Lilie als Sinnbild der Unschuld — sehr selten der heilige Kasimir, in königlichen Kleidern mit einer Krone auf dem Haupte, in den Händen Kreuz und Lilie, häufiger der heilige Rochus. Da der Schnitzer die Gesichtszüge den Menschen seiner Umwelt entlehnt, treffen wir neben rein litauischen auch gelegentlich auf russische und tatarische Typen. Die heiligen Frauen tragen häufig die Sonntagstracht der litauischen Bäuerinnen. Besonders oft sehen wir die heilige Barbara mit einer Krone auf dem Haupt, in der Rechten das Schwert, in der Linken Kelch mit Hostie, und die heilige Katharina mit dem Rad zur Linken, auf das sie auf Befehl des Kaisers Maxentius gebunden wurde, daneben die heilige Anna und Agathe. Letztere wird stets mit einem Brot in der Hand dargestellt. Ihre Verehrung scheint auf nicht christliche Ursprünge zurückzugehen, denn das ihr geweihte Brot, das sorgfältig das Jahr hindurch aufbewahrt wird, gibt Hilfe bei Feuersnot und wird im Falle eines Brandes um das betreffende Gehöft herumgetragen.

Die Figuren dieser Heiligen werden in den kleinen Kapellen der Dachkreuze häufig in Gruppen untergebracht, manchmal über zehn Figuren nebeneinander. Daneben gibt es andere, für deren Aufstellung besondere Plätze bevorzugt werden, so den heiligen Nepomuk an Brücken, Johannes den Täufer mit Christus an Flüssen und Seen, den heiligen Isidor auf den Feldern, oder den heiligen Florian in der Nähe von städtischen Häusern, die er vor Feuersbrunst schützen soll [37]). Nepomuk und Johannes der Täufer werden vom Volke beide unter dem Namen „Joneliai" (Pluralis der Zärtlichkeitsform von Johannes) zusammengefasst.

Wie die Holzplastiken aller Völker sind auch die litauischen — schon zum Schutz gegen die Witterung — farbig getönt und erhalten hierdurch oft einen eigenartigen Reiz. Nur konnte

der arme litauische Schnitzer sich nicht jene kostbaren Farben beschaffen, mit denen die süddeutschen Meister ihre Skulpturen schmückten. Er musste mit dem vorliebnehmen, was ihm der Händler der nächsten Kleinstadt bot. Rot, blau, weiss, grün, auch wohl Silber und Gold werden verwandt, nicht immer geschmackvoll, zuweilen aber auch mit ausgesprochenem ästhetischen Gefühl und Sinn für Farbwirkung.

So sind diese Plastiken ihrem künstlerischen Wert nach sehr verschieden. Wir kennen solche, die man den westlichen durchaus an die Seite stellen kann, die man einem einfachen Bauern fast nicht zuschreiben möchte, und daneben solche, auf die die Worte des frommen Bischofs noch heute zutreffen — deren Gesichter verzeichnet und kaum menschenähnlich sind. Aber die besten dieser dörflichen Künstler haben doch stets aus einer innerlichen Berufung heraus gearbeitet, und ihre Schöpfungen sind aus Sehnsucht nach höherer Geistigkeit entstanden. Was wir von den Künstlern selbst wissen, ist nicht viel. Die wenigen Herrgottschnitzer, die wir kennen, sind alte fromme Leute, vielfach Sonderlinge. Sie gehören nicht zu den Reichen im Dorfe, Gewinn wirft ihre Arbeit nicht ab. Wenn sie einmal die Augen schliessen, werden sie kaum Nachfolger hinterlassen, denn auch ihre Kunst schwindet dahin, wie die Kreuze verfallen, die von ihnen zeugen.

3. HOLZSCHNITT UND MALEREI

In sehr engem Zusammenhang mit der dörflichen Plastik steht ein Gebiet künstlerischer Betätigung, das weiteren Kreisen kaum bekannt und noch seltener gewürdigt worden ist — der bäuerliche Holzschnitt. Auch er geht auf den Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts zurück. Seine Vorlagen waren Altar- und Kirchengemälde, vor allem aber jene Heiligenbildchen, die als Kupferstiche von Vilnius aus verbreitet wurden und meist Kopien berühmter Gemälde darstellten wie den Gekreuzigten von Dürer, die heilige Katharina von Rubens und manche andere. Vor allem bevorzugte der Hersteller solcher Holz-

schnitte Darstellungen von wundertätigen Heiligen, die von den Bauern bei grossen Ablassfesten gern gekauft wurden. So steht auch diese Kunst ausschliesslich im Dienste der religiösen Idee.

Die „Škapliernikai" der Kirchdörfer, die diese einfachen Holzschnitte herstellten und verkauften, verwandten für ihre Arbeiten sehr weiches Holz — gewöhnlich Linde — da ihr ganzes Handwerkzeug nur aus einem Messer bestand. Das Brett wurde geglättet und erhielt dann einen Überzug aus Kreide oder Wachs. Nun wurden aus dem Holz die Teile weggenommen, die auf dem Papier weiss bleiben sollten, während die eigentliche Zeichnung reliefartig ausgeschnitzt wurde. Die Figuren erhielten eine starke Konturlinie, die Schatten wurden durch einfache Strichtechnik erzeugt. Gedruckt wurden die Holzschnitte ohne Zuhilfenahme irgendwelcher Pressen, lediglich mit der Hand. So lassen sie sich, wie Galaunė betont, technisch nur mit den deutschen Einzelholzschnitten des 15. Jahrhunderts vergleichen, und tatsächlich hat auch Deutschland bei dieser Technik in Litauen Pate gestanden. Da die Abzüge auf gewöhnlichem Papier hergestellt wurden und die Kolorierung in sehr wenig dauerhaften Farben erfolgte, haben sich ältere Originale kaum erhalten. Für ihre grosse Verbreitung spricht jedoch die Anzahl der Sujets sowie ihre Beliebtheit im Volke. Letztere beweist die von Galaunė angeführte Tatsache [38]), dass nach Aufkommen des Steindrucks in Deutschland die beliebtesten der litauischen Holzschnitte dort lithographiert und nach Litauen exportiert wurden. Ein im Jahre 1921 in Warschau erfolgter Neudruck von den dort befindlichen Bildstöcken — fast sämtliche Bildstöcke sind durch polnische Liebhaber nach Warschau gelangt — enthält 42 litauische und 24 polnische Holzschnitte ähnlicher Art.

Heimat des litauischen Holzschnitts ist die Landschaft Schamaiten. Hier bestand in Kalvarija sogar zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts eine Schule für das Erlernen dieser Kunst, die in dem Landstädtchen Darbėnai noch bis zur Mitte des Jahrhunderts betrieben wurde. Die Namen der Hersteller

dieser Holzschnitte sind bis auf wenige heute vergessen. Von der Mitte des Jahrhunderts an wurde der dörfliche Holzschnitt durch den fabrikmässig erzeugten Stein- und Öldruck, den wir heute in jedem Bauernhause finden, verdrängt.

Genau wie die dörflichen Plastiken entfernten sich die alten Holzschnitte, wie wir an den erhaltenen Beispielen sehen, teilweise recht weit von der kirchlichen Vorlage. Und in dieser eigenartigen Umschaffung liegt auch ihre Bedeutung für die litauische Volkskunst. Vielfach liessen die Schnitzer Teile der Originalvorlage fort, um an ihre Stelle eigene vertraute Muster, auch wohl Stilisierungen von Pflanzen und Bäumen zu setzen. Wir finden auch selbständige Gruppierungen von Heiligen auf einzelnen Schnitten. Daneben gilt für die Holzschnitte alles das, was im Absatz über die dörfliche Plastik, über Typisierung des Ausdrucks, Proportionen und die Mittel der Darstellung gesagt wurde. Da den Holzschnitzern die Gesetze der Perspektive nicht bekannt waren, schufen sie ihre Gestalten auf einer doppelten Ebene, indem sie diejenigen, die im Vordergrunde stehen sollten, über den anderen Figuren anbrachten. Der Hintergrund der Bilder ist gleichmässig, häufig durch kleine Ornamente belebt.

Auch über den künstlerischen Wert dieser Holzschnitte lässt sich etwa das Gleiche wie über den der Plastiken sagen: Neben sehr primitiven Nachahmungen gibt es solche von grosser Schönheit und Subtilität der Auffassung. Vom kulturellen Standpunkt aus sind sie von Interesse durch die Art, wie hier von ausserhalb kommende künstlerische Eindrücke aufgenommen und durch eine ihnen im Grunde unadäquate bäuerliche Auffassung auf eine völlig andere Ebene der Empfindung und des Ausdrucks gehoben werden.

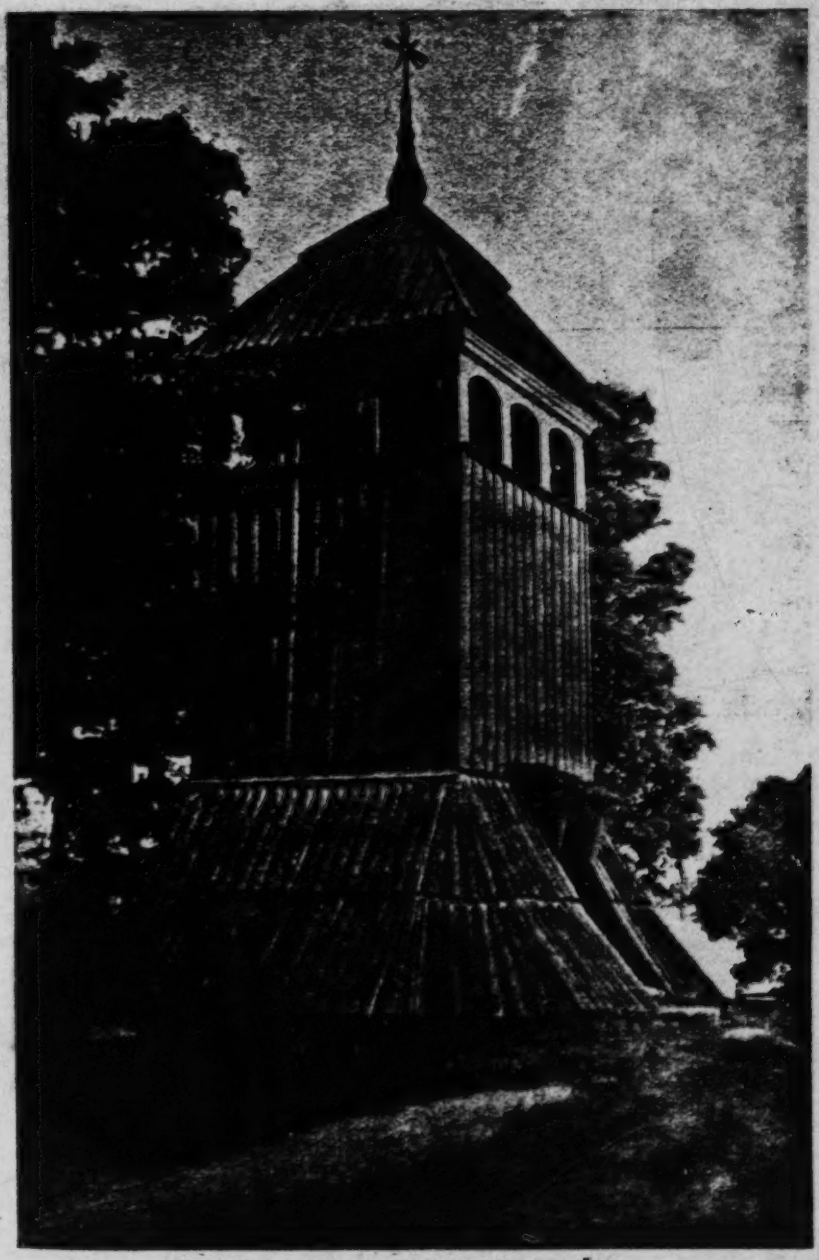
Neben diesen Holzschnitten entwickelte sich in Litauen im 19. Jahrhundert auch eine bäuerliche kirchliche Malerei, von der einige wenige Stücke erhalten geblieben sind. Auch aus ihnen spricht — sofern sie nicht einfach Kopien von Kirchengemälden sind — eine frische Naivität des Empfindens und tiefe Gläubigkeit. So ist auf einem dieser Bilder das Auge

Gottes dargestellt, von Wolken umrahmt. Aus diesen Wolken strecken sich zwei Hände zur Erde herab, aus deren einer Saat auf den Acker fällt, während die andere zwei knieende Menschen mit Brot segnet. Den Hintergrund gibt eine Landschaft mit wenigen Bäumen. Aus diesem Bilde, das sich an keine Vorlage anlehnt — und hierin allerdings eine Ausnahme darstellt — spricht eine durchaus selbständige Auffassung, die von grossem Reiz ist.

Dem bäuerlichen Künstler standen gewöhnlich nur zwei, drei Farben für seine Bilder zur Verfügung. In den meisten Fällen fertigte er zunächst die Zeichnung an und malte diese dann aus. Durch den Einfluss der Zeit haben die Farben sich stark verändert, sodass manche dieser Bilder eine ganz eigenartige Tönung aufweisen.

Leider ist auch dieser kirchlichen Malerei in Litauen nur eine ganz kurze Spanne der Entwicklung beschieden gewesen. Sie wurde durch die gleiche Technik vernichtet, der auch die dörflichen Holzschnitte zum Opfer fielen.

Die bisher behandelten Gebiete religiöser Volkskunst in Litauen sind erst in den letzten Jahren stärker gewürdigt worden. Es geschah dies im Zusammenhang mit dem Aufkommen eines neuen Nationalismus, der zielbewusst den seelischen Kräften der eigenen Nation, wie sie sich gerade in Volkskunst und Volksbrauch offenbaren, nachspürt — andrerseits durch die Entwicklung des Expressionismus, dessen Vertreter gerade aus der Kunst der Primitive Stimmung und suggestive Belebung schöpften. Alle äusseren Erscheinungen werden ja durch den Expressionismus bis auf das letzte Mass ihrer Einfachheit zurückgedrängt. An die Stelle der äusseren Erlebnisse treten ganz von selbst die inneren seelischen Erscheinungen. So ist es kein Wunder, dass auch die Erzeugnisse der litauischen Volkskunst, vor allem die bäuerlichen Holzplastiken, auf der internationalen Kunstausstellung zu Monza 1925 einen ausserordentlichen Erfolg hatten. Gerade der Gegensatz zwischen der Naivität der Darstellung und der Kraft ihres Eindrucks fand eingehende Würdigung und Anerkennung.



GLOCKENTURM IM KREISE TELŠIAI

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Nun sind die hier genannten expressionistischen Elemente nicht allein für das bisher behandelte Gebiet der religiösen Volkskunst charakteristisch. In gleicher Stärke offenbaren sie sich auch auf den profanen Gebieten der bäuerlichen Kunst. Wir stehen damit vor dem weitverzweigten Gebiet des Kunstgewerbes, das sich in Litauen in den vielfältigen Formen der Holzschnitzerei, der Weberei und Töpferei, der dekorativen Malerei und noch auf manchen anderen Gebieten selbständig entwickelt hat, und dessen Erzeugnisse gerade von deutschen Künstlern und Gelehrten liebevolle Würdigung und Anerkennung gefunden haben.

4. DIE DÖRFLICHE HEIMKUNST

HOLZKUNST, KERAMIK, SCHMIEDEKUNST, DEKORATIVE MALEREI

Wir werden auch bei der Betrachtung dieser Zweige der Volkskunst zunächst von der Holzschnitzerei ausgehen müssen, gab der Wald doch dem Litauer von jeher alles, was er an Geräten für sein Leben bedurfte — von der weidengeflochtenen Wiege bis zum ragenden Kreuz auf seinem Friedhof. Wenn er dem mühsam geschnitzten Gerät eine besondere Schönheit, einen eigenartigen Schmuck verlieh, so hob er es damit aus der Masse heraus, gab ihm eine eigene Prägung und eine individuelle Bedeutung. Über diese Holzarbeiten schreibt der ostpreussische Dichter Alfred Brust in seinem schon erwähnten Aufsatz [39]): „Der Schwerpunkt der bildenden Kunst hat in Litauen auf dem Kunstgewerbe gelegen. Namentlich an den holzgeschnitzten Gebrauchsgegenständen wird ein expressionistisches Gemüt viel Freude und Befriedigung empfinden. Wenn auch durch den Krieg sehr viel von dieser Hauskunst durch Brand verloren gegangen ist, so gibt es auf den Gehöften abgelegener Ortschaften noch eine Menge schöner Gegenstände, die, in einer Ausstellung gezeigt, bei Kennern einen tiefen Eindruck hinterlassen würden. Truhen, Bottiche und Mörser aller Art und Form zeugen von grossem Kunst-

fleiss, und Kienspanhalter verraten bei verblüffender Primitivität einen vorzüglichen Geschmack für das einheitliche Bild der Hauseinrichtung".

Die starke künstlerische Kraft, die aus diesen bäuerlichen Gebrauchsgegenständen spricht, hat auch die Aufmerksamkeit mancher anderen Künstler auf sich gelenkt, ich nenne unter anderen Professor Buhe und Professor von Osterroth. Vor allem ist es die Art, wie die litauische Ornamentik aus dem Gegenstand selbst mit absoluter künstlerischer Logik hervorwächst. Hierüber spricht Hans Heinrich Schaeder in einem mit grosser Liebe geschriebenen Aufsatz[40]): „Das gesamte Schaffen des Litauers ist ein Einheitliches und in seinem tiefsten Seelengrunde gewurzelt. So wird es möglich, dass jede einzelne seiner Lebensäusserungen mit jeder anderen wurzelhaft verbunden ist und zum Ganzen seines Lebens Beziehung sucht. Er hat nicht die Absicht, die Gegenstände, die er sich nutzbar macht, zu verzieren, sondern lässt aus ihnen das Ornament, die Arabeske, hervorspriessen mit nicht geringerer Notwendigkeit als die Pflanze die Blüte aus sich hervortreibt. Es gibt also kein Kunstgewerbe bei den Litauern; ob er ein Gürtelband webt oder Farben auf die Schale eines Eies trägt — überall ist es der wahrhaft künstlerische Wille, der ihn bewegt. All diese Dinge haben die unmittelbare Wirkung grosser Kunst".

Noch ein vierter sei in diesem Zusammenhange genannt, der Gründer des Kauener Stadtmuseums, der alte Tadas Daugirdas (Thaddäus von Dowgird), der nicht nur ein Sonderling, sondern auch ein Künstler war, und von dem das charakteristische Wort stammt: „Der Litauer macht nicht, er schöpft. Machen ist nichts, schöpfen ist alles".

Damit ist das Wesen der litauischen Heimkunst deutlich genug umschrieben: Aus schöpferischer Phantasie, gebunden durch die ererbten Traditionen, entstanden die Formen und Schmuckmotive der hölzernen Gerätschaften sowohl, wie auch die Muster und Farben jener bunten Bänder und Schürzen, die uns am Ende dieses Kapitels beschäftigen sollen.

Die Ornamente, welche die Gebrauchsgegenstände des bäuerlichen Haushalts zieren, enthalten keine verborgene Symbolik. Teilweise sind es die gleichen geometrischen Formen, die wir schon an anderer Stelle antrafen. Sie ergaben sich aus der Technik des Linien- und Kerbschnitts, der vor allem bei solchen Geräten angewendet wird, die häufig mit Wasser in Berührung kommen wie die Waschschlegel, welche die litauische Bäuerin auch heute noch für ihre Wäsche benutzt. Die schönsten Arbeiten jedoch sind im Tiefschnitt ausgeführt, oder das Ornament wird, wie wir es z. B. bei Handtuchhaltern sehen, ganz herausgeschnitzt und damit zu eigener Bedeutung entwickelt. Wir finden als Ornamente Rosetten, Sterne und Schlangenlinien, gebrochene und Rautenstäbe, daneben stilisierte Pflanzenmuster — diese jedoch seltener — auf Truhen, Tellern, Schüsseln, Stöcken u. s. w. Bei Spindeln und Spinnrocken dagegen ist das beliebteste Ornament der in sechs Segmente geteilte Kreis, das alte Sinnbild der Sonne, dessen Herstellung nur geringe Mühe macht und daher oft wiederholt wird. Nur an Rockenhaltern treten Tiergestalten auf, die der Umwelt entnommen sind, vor allem Vögel. Prunkvoll geschnitzte Handtuch- und Löffelhalter, Löffel, Messer und Gabeln, Webeschiffchen- und Schleifsteinbehälter, Dosen und Kästchen, ja selbst ausgeschnitzte Flaschen, zeigen grosse technische Geschicklichkeit und künstlerische Formgebung. Selten nur, dass ein Gegenstand des häuslichen Bedarfs ohne Schmuck bleibt. Nur in Museen trifft man noch den alten „žibintuvas" an, den Kienspanhalter, ein oft sehr schön geschnitztes Gestell, das die Späne hielt, welche den Arbeitsraum erhellten, oder die Kanklės, das gleichfalls reich geschnitzte zitherähnliche alte Musikinstrument der Litauer, welches heute zu neuem Leben erwacht ist [41]). In allen diesen Mustern schwingt eine innere Rhythmik, die von absolut sicherem Stilgefühl zeugt. Man darf auch nie übersehen, dass diese Gegenstände nur zur eigenen Freude oder zur Freude von Menschen geschaffen wurden, denen man sie schenkte — wie etwa der Bursche dem Mädchen. So behielten sie den Reiz des Persönlichen und Unmittelbaren und den Wert der Einmaligkeit.

Bei dieser Freude am Schmuck der Gebrauchsgegenstände nimmt es denn fast Wunder, dass wir keine mit Schnitzwerk verzierten Möbel im litauischen Dorf finden — keine geschnitzten Bauernbetten oder Tische oder Bänke. Hier waltet vielmehr eine eigenartige Nüchternheit, die nur dadurch zu erklären ist, dass es eine bürgerliche Kultur im westlichen Sinne in diesem Lande als einem Teile des früheren Russlands nicht gegeben hat. Diese aber scheint in jedem Falle Vorbedingung für eine bäuerliche Wohnungskultur zu sein.

Eine Hausindustrie, welche kunstvoll gearbeitete hölzerne Gerätschaften auf den Markt brachte, hat in Litauen früher nicht bestanden. Ganz im Gegensatz etwa zu Deutschland ist auch aus der Volkskunst, obwohl sie eine solche Höhe des Ausdrucks erreichte, kein völkisches Kunstgewerbe hervorgegangen. Weder hat diese Kunst auf dem Lande sich zu einem Gewerbe entwickelt — dem stand die bäuerliche Eigenwirtschaft entgegen — noch hat das städtische Kunstgewerbe — denken wir etwa an die Inneneinrichtung der Stadtkirche — irgendwelche Anregungen von ihr erfahren. Die Gründe hierfür werden im Kapitel über die geistige Kultur der Stadt zur Sprache kommen. Wir sprechen daher in diesem Zusammenhange mit voller Absicht von Heimkultur. Erst in jüngster Zeit ist in Litauen ein Kunstgewerbe auf völkischer Basis entstanden, wie es vor dem Weltkriege schon Daugirdas erstrebte.

Es bedarf keiner Frage, dass der reiche Formenschatz der litauischen Heimkunst für die Entwicklung eines selbständigen Kunstgewerbes einen günstigen Boden darbietet. Allerdings sucht das moderne litauische Kunstgewerbe, wie es etwa durch die Handwerkerschulen, die Waisenhäuser und ähnliche Institute gepflegt wird, heute noch nach eigenen Wegen. Die Entwicklung ist auch nicht ohne Gefahr, denn nicht jeder Weg kann zum Ziele führen. Wir sehen hier teilweise Bestrebungen, unter Aufgabe des einheimischen Formenschatzes die westliche Formenwelt einfach zu übernehmen und damit einen bedauerlichen Bruch mit der eigenen und selbständig gewachsenen

Tradition. Andererseits müssen Versuche, die uralten und gerade durch die Technik des Webens bedingten Webemuster ohne weiteres auf Holzmöbel und Holzgegenstände zu übertragen, den inneren Zusammenhang zwischen Gerät und Ornament zerstören. Eingebrannte oder geschnitzte Juostos auf hölzernen Buchdeckeln sind warnende Beispiele. Immerhin treffen wir schon auf einzelne künstlerische Persönlichkeiten, die auf diesem Gebiete aus eigener Kraft mustergültiges leisten, denken wir etwa an die modernen Webereien der Bagnickaitė.

Neben den Erzeugnissen einer hochentwickelten Holzkunst treten die der litauischen Keramik stark zurück. Es überwiegen hier die uralten primitiven Strich-, Linien-, Zickzack- und Bandmuster, die in den Ton mit einem Stein oder einem Holzsplitter eingedrückt werden, und die sich kaum von den Mustern der Tonscherben aus den altpreussischen Gräbern unterscheiden. Daneben finden wir gemalte Gefässe. In jüngerer Zeit sind verschiedentlich Versuche gemacht worden, die heute fast vergessene Technik der Glasurmalerei auf Schüsseln, Tellern, Krügen und Vasen von neuem zu beleben.

Die Formen der Gefässe sind im allgemeinen wenig eigenartig. Vermutlich hängt dies mit der Tatsache zusammen, dass der Litauer bis in die jüngste Zeit auch seine Gefässe aus Holz oder Baumrinde anfertigte, während die Töpferei schon seit langem zumeist in den Händen jüdischer Meister liegt. Wir finden hier einen Rückschritt gegen früher, denn auf der Kunstausstellung „Wilna-Minsk" 1918 befand sich unter den dort ausgestellten Kacheln ein besonderes Stück aus sehr alter Zeit, das aus Panevėžys stammte und dadurch bemerkenswert war, dass es die Mutter Gottes in der Landestracht darstellte. Immerhin scheint es sich hierbei um eine Ausnahme gehandelt zu haben, denn im allgemeinen hat die Keramik im litauischen Volke keine stärkere künstlerische Ausbildung erfahren — ganz im Gegensatz zur Schmiedekunst, die im Absatz über die Dachkreuze schon gestreift wurde. Fast jedes dieser Hochkreuze endet in einem eisengeschmiedeten kleineren

zweiten Kreuz, welches mit einem Dorn auf das erstere aufgesetzt ist. Diese Eisenarbeiten verraten eine ausserordentliche Zierlichkeit und Leichtigkeit. In rhythmischer Beschwingtheit steigen sie auf und wiederholen das Thema der symbolischen Ornamentik in ihrer eigenen Sprache. Rosetten, Blumen, Sonne, Mond und alle anderen Sinnbilder heidnischer Vorzeit erwachen in ihnen zu neuem Leben, und so gross ist die Vielfältigkeit der Formen, dass auch von diesen Erzeugnissen der Schmiedekunst unter hunderten kaum eines dem anderen gleicht. Diese hohe Formentwicklung erscheint als besonders eigenartig in einem Lande, welches über keine eigenen Eisenvorkommen verfügt. Vielleicht galt das Eisen gerade darum als besonders kostbares Material, denn es wurde fast nur zu solchen Schmuckformen verarbeitet. Im täglichen Leben des Volkes vermochte es das Holz nicht zu verdrängen. Abgesehen von Tür- und Fensterbeschlägen und sehr wenigen schmiedeeisernen Gebrauchsgegenständen hat sich aus älterer Zeit daher fast nichts erhalten. Die Tatsache, dass auch die Schmiedekunst — soweit sie eben Kunst war — nur das religiöse Schmuckbedürfnis befriedigte, hat dazu geführt, dass auch sie heute einen absterbenden Zweig der alten litauischen Dorfkunst darstellt.

Das Gleiche gilt leider auch von der Anwendung des farbigen Ornaments und der dekorativen Bemalung von Gebrauchsgegenständen, wie sie früher im Lande gepflegt wurde. Die „bunten Fensterlein", von denen die alten Dainos singen, sind selten geworden, und schön bemalte Truhen sind fast nur noch in den Museen zu finden. In Schamaiten schmückte man sie mit kräftigen und schweren Farben, im Nordosten des Landes dagegen, vermutlich unter slawischem Einfluss, mit leichten und beschwingten [42]). Bei den erhaltenen Truhen, die in der Hauptsache Brauttruhen sind, ist das beherrschende Ornament die Lilie, daneben finden wir andere Blumen- und Blättermuster, teilweise in phantasievoller Stilisierung — auch gelegentlich Vögel, vor allem solche, die in der Natur reichen Farbenschmuck tragen. Dagegen fehlen alle Darstellungen aus dem menschlichen Leben, wie sie bei

Polen und Russen beliebt sind. Von dem dunkel getönten Grunde heben sich kräftig und ohne Übergänge die Farben ab — grün und gelb, weiss und rot, grün, lila und gelb — und noch in anderen Zusammenstellungen, die stets von sicherem Farbengefühl sprechen. Im Gesamteindruck wirken diese Truhen trotz der Lebendigkeit des Kolorits doch ruhig. Immerhin scheinen mir die wenigen Beispiele dieser Kunst, die ich bisher gesehen habe, noch nicht das auszudrücken, was ich für das eigentlich Wesentliche der Farbgebung in der litauischen Volkskunst halten möchte — die schöpferische Kraft der Farbe. Diese vermag sich erst dort zu reiner Wirkung zu entfalten, wo sie nicht mehr im Dienste der Zeichnung steht, sondern die Fläche selbst sich untertan macht wie im Flusse der bunten Muster der litauischen Zierbänder oder bei den Margučiai, den Ostereiern.

Die litauischen Margučiai (marginti — farbig zieren) weisen die gleiche stilisierte Ornamentik im Beharrungszustande auf, die sich in den Juosten fliessend gestaltet — Blätter, Blumen, geometrische Figuren in unendlich abwechselungsreicher Gestaltung — aber es ist hier die Farbe, die sie hervorruft, die zum Selbstzweck wird und die Fläche beherrscht und gestaltet. Gerade an den Margučiai kann man beobachten, wie das Wesen der Komplementärfarben völlig erfasst ist. Die Fläche des Ovals wird als Einheit gesehen und nur selten in Segmente geteilt. Der liebevolle Erforscher und Sammler dieser kleinen Kunstwerke, Tadas Daugirdas, hat über diesen Zweig der Volkskunst einiges interessante geschrieben[43]). Er stützte sich auf ein grosses Material von 4700 farbigen Ornamenten und Beispielen, die er im ganzen Gebiet des europäischen Russlands und Ostdeutschlands bis zum Riesengebirge hin gesammelt hatte. Als Sinnbild des in der Natur erwachenden Lebens wird das Ei ja bei vielen Völkern gefeiert. Die Sitte des kunstvollen Bemalens der Ostereier kennt man nicht nur in Litauen, sondern auch in anderen Ländern, vor allem in Polen, und vermutlich haben die Litauer sie auch von den Polen übernommen, aber auf eigene Art weiter entwickelt.

Nach den Forschungen Daugirdas' unterscheiden sich die litauischen Ostereier, deren schönste am Mittel- und Unterlauf der Memel bis Schmalleningken zu finden sind, von den polnischen vor allem durch die ruhigere Farbengebung. Auf diesen gedämpften Farben wirkt die zierliche Zeichnung häufig besonders schön. Man kocht die Eier, taucht sie hierauf in Farbe — verwandt werden Pflanzenfarben — und kratzt die Muster ein. Im Gegensatz dazu malen die Polen mit flüssigem Wachs das beabsichtigte Muster auf das rohe Ei und bedienen sich hierbei eines Holzstäbchens, das am Ende gespalten und mit einem engen Blechröhrchen versehen wird. Die Eier werden dann in eine hellere kalte Farblösung getaucht. Sie heissen „Pisanki". Nach dem Trocknen kommt auf die Stellen, die heller bleiben sollen, wieder Wachs, und das Ei wird in eine dunklere Farblösung getaucht. Man wiederholt dies verschiedene Male mit immer dunkleren Farben, sodass das Ei schliesslich die verschiedensten Farbmuster und Ornamente erhält. Zum Schluss wird das Ei gekocht, wodurch sich die Wachsschicht ablöst. Die Litauer wenden dieses Verfahren seltener an, und gewöhnlich nur mit zwei Farben.

„Die Herstellung der Margučiai", sagt Daugirdas, „ist fast ausschliesslich Arbeit und Kunstvermögen des litauischen Mädchens, seltener der verheirateten Frau. Gefärbt werden die Eier am Ostersonnabend, gekratzt aber erst am Sonntag Nachmittag; ein früheres Herstellen gilt als Sünde". Auch die litauischen Ostereier werden kaum auf den Märkten verkauft. Sie sind Geschenke des Taufpaten oder der Mutter für die Kinder und Aufmerksamkeiten für Freunde, auch für den Geistlichen des Ortes. Während das benachbarte Volk der Letten nur einfarbig getönte Eier kennt, sind die litauischen Margučiai schon im 16. Jahrhundert bezeugt. In heutiger Zeit ist die alte Sitte vor allem im Kreise Trakai lebendig geblieben.

WEBEREI UND VERWANDTE TECHNIKEN

Dass die litauische Volkskunst — denken wir an das Volkslied oder an die Grabkreuze, oder an welchen Zweig nur immer — in ihrem innersten Wesen eine Einheit bildet, einen eigenen

künstlerischen Stil geschaffen hat, ist von vielen Beurteilern hervorgehoben worden. Der Kreis dieser Kunst umfasst das gesamte Leben einer bäuerlichen Kultur in seltener Geschlossenheit; eins reiht sich an das andere, und als letztes Gebiet fügt sich die dörfliche Webekuns. harmonisch in diesen Ring ein.

Der Flachs, auf eigenem Felde geerntet, auf eigenem Spinnrad gesponnen, auf bäuerlichem Webstuhl gewebt, ist in Litauen seit sehr alter Zeit ein vertrautes Material. Mit seiner Bearbeitung verband sich das Lied, dessen Rhythmus dem Gange des Webstuhles folgte, und dessen Worte die Weberinnen rühmten, die zierliche Muster zu weben verstehen. So ist in dieser Kunst nichts Fremdes, sie ruht nicht in den Händen von wenigen — jedes Mädchen, jede Frau auf dem Dorfe versteht sie noch heute. Und noch heute wissen alte Frauen jene altertümliche Art des Spinnens, bei der das an einem Rocken befestigte Flachswickel mit Hilfe einer Spindel abgesponnen wird, die die Spinnerin mit der Hand dreht.

Auch an den Farben, mit denen die Fäden gefärbt wurden, war ursprünglich nichts Fremdes. Sie wurden aus Erden, Eisenerz, Pflanzen, Birkenblättern, Eichen- und Erlenrinde hergestellt, und ihre Anweisung wurde als Familiengeheimnis gehütet. Ihre Herstellung war sehr mühsam. Die Pflanzen wurden zerkleinert und mit dem Garn gekocht, die Pflanzenasche diente als Beize. Stets wurde nur das Garn gefärbt, niemals das fertige Gewebe. So erzielte man ruhige Farben von unbegrenzter Haltbarkeit. Von hundertjährigen Schürzen geht eine stille Leuchtkraft aus, die noch heute bezaubert. Obwohl die Naturfarben allmählich durch moderne Anilinfarben verdrängt worden sind, ist die Kenntnis der alten Färbetechnik noch in manchen Bauernfamilien erhalten.

Die Farbengebung wechselt. Braun, blau und rot waren wohl die ältesten Farben. Zu ihnen gesellte sich grün. Auf weissem Grunde erstand das Muster. Am besten vermögen wir die litauische Auffassung von der Farbe bei den Juostos zu erkennen, jenen bunten Schmuckbändern, die

als Gürtel- und Schürzenbänder dienen, zum Verschliessen der Pelze und als Zierrat der Mädchen. Sie sind über das ganze Land verbreitet, unterscheiden sich aber landschaftlich sowohl in den Farben wie auch in den Mustern und in der Technik. Ihre Farbgebung wird in feiner Weise von Karl Brammer analysiert "): „Das Wesen der Ergänzungsfarben ist hier mit erstaunlicher Sicherheit erfasst, eine Verirrung kommt nie vor. Rot und Grünlichblau, Orange und Cyanblau, Grünlichgelb und Violett werden in treffender Weise nebeneinander gesetzt. Sehr fein wirkt ferner die geschickte Verwendung von Weiss bei gegensätzlichen Farben. Aus der Verwendung von Rot und Gelb auf schwarzem Grund *) ist deutlich zu ersehen, dass man auch das Verhältnis zwischen dunklen und leuchtenden Farben sehr gut kennt. Wohl ist bei den Litauern die Freude am Farbenreichtum vorhanden, aber nicht wie bei den Polen die laute Freude an lauten lichten Farben, sondern das Wesen der Farbe ist hier viel tiefer und geklärter erfasst". Hierzu sei noch ergänzend bemerkt, dass die Farbengebung bei den litauischen Webereien im Verlaufe der Zeit eine Entwicklung durchgemacht hat — und zwar vor allem durch die Technik, welche einerseits die Zahl der zur Verfügung stehenden Farben beträchtlich vermehrte, andrerseits aber auch ihre Leuchtkraft steigerte. Wir können dies erkennen, wenn wir etwa die durchaus schlichte Farbgebung der ältesten uns bekannten Bänder und Schürzen mit der aus späterer Zeit vergleichen. Es bedeutet dies jedoch keine Minderung des Wertes der späteren farbigen Webmuster, und vor allem ist Brammer Recht zu geben, wenn er das Hauptgewicht auf die Sensibilität der Farbenkomposition legt. Gerade diese aber konnte sich erst später zu vollem Ausdruck entfalten.

Einen geradezu begeisterten Hymnus auf die farbigen Juostos singt ein anderer deutscher Künstler, den gleichfalls der Weltkrieg nach Litauen führte, Hans Heinrich Schaeder. Er schreibt: „Die Farbe ist hier noch freier, da sie von der Rücksicht auf den Körper, den dreidimensionalen Raum, be-

*) Letzterer kommt ausserordentlich selten vor. V. J.

freit, nur noch der Fläche lebt. Die Fläche ist unendlich zart wie der weiche Stoff der Bänder; die Farbe schmiegt sich ihm ein. Man fasst es nicht, dass hier bunte Fäden verknüpft sein sollen; sind diese Gebilde nicht gewachsen, blumengleich, unter aufsteigender und schwindender Sonne? All die Verschwiegenheiten und Sehnsüchte der litauischen Seele sind in diesen Bändern geborgen. Diese wunderbaren ruhevollen Farben, wurden sie nicht von den Tränen der webenden Frauen gedämpft? Diese Melodik der Linien und der farbigen Flächen, ist sie nicht der unendlichen Süsse der litauischen Lieder verschwistert?" [41])

In früherer Zeit kamen die Juostos nie auf den Markt. Frauen und Mädchen schenkten sie denen, die sie liebten. Auf einer alten Juosta ist der Anfang eines kleinen sehnsüchtigen Liebesliedes eingewebt. Eine von Kurschat (1911) erwähnte eingewebte Widmung lautet:

Ich wob, wie ich konnte, ich schenkte es, wem ich wollte,
Aber ich glaubte immer, mein Liebster sollte es erhalten.

So sprechen diese Bänder tatsächlich oft von seltener Zartheit des Empfindens, und ihre bunten Muster scheinen überglänzt von Sehnsucht und Liebe, von Schicksal und Trauer. In manchen Bändern befanden sich, wie Otto Glagau (1869) mitteilt, auch Devisen in englischer und französischer Sprache, deren Bedeutung die Bauernmädchen natürlich nicht kannten, die aber in bestimmten Familien erhalten blieben und immer von neuem nachgebildet wurden. Hierbei handelt es sich allerdings um Formen einer späteren Entwicklung, genau wie die gelegentliche Verwendung von Metallfäden auf den Einfluss der Lyoner Seidenindustrie im 18. Jahrhundert zurückgeht. Sonst verwandte man in früherer Zeit nur Fäden aus Flachs, Wolle und Hanf, die Verwendung von Seide dagegen ist erst in allerjüngster Zeit aufgekommen. Vielfach werden diese seidenen Juostos heute als Binder verkauft oder zusammengehäkelt als Tischläufer verwendet, auf dem Dorfe sind diese Verwendungsarten jedoch nicht bekannt.

Die Herstellung der Juostos erfolgt auf drei verschiedene Arten. Wir kennen pintinės, austinės und kaišytinės —

d. h. eine Flecht-, eine Webe- und eine Stopftechnik. Von diesen ist die Flechttechnik, die noch im Norden der Landschaft Aukschtaiten in den Kreisen Zarasai, Panevėžys und Ukmergė ausgeübt wird, aber sehr selten geworden ist, die älteste [46]). Die Fäden werden über ein Brett gelegt und dann geflochten, wobei man von der Mitte aus beginnt. So ergeben sich zwei Teile, bei denen das gleiche Muster in der Mitte beginnend nach den Aussenseiten zu verläuft. Die so hergestellten Bänder, die sich gut dehnen lassen, sind besonders breit. Sie enthalten gewöhnlich ein einfaches Muster von verschiedenen sich kreuzenden Streifen. Ihre Herstellung erfordert ebensowenig ein Gerät wie die der gewebten Bänder (juostos austinės), die heute am meisten bekannt und über ganz Litauen verbreitet sind. Die Weberin bindet die bunten Wollfäden, aus denen die Juosta entstehen soll, mit dem einen Ende an einem Wandhaken, mit dem anderen an ihrem Gürtel fest, nachdem sie die Fäden um ein Stäbchen gewickelt und so parallel gelegt hat, dass die eine Hälfte der Fäden nach unten, die andere nach oben kommt. So entsteht die Webkette. Mit einem Webeschiffchen, das die Weberin in der Hand hält, werden die Querfäden — der sogenannte Einschlag — dem Muster entsprechend durch die Längsfäden hindurchgezogen und mit einer Art holzgeschnitzter Falzbeine jeder Querfaden an den anderen herangedrückt. Mit die schwierigste Arbeit ist hierbei das Aufspannen des Musters [46]).

Im Gegensatz zu diesen gewebten Bändern ist die dritte Technik, die Stopftechnik (juostos kaišytinės) heute ähnlich selten geworden wie die Flechttechnik. Ihre Heimat ist das Suwalkische Gebiet. Bei der Stopftechnik werden die farbigen Fäden, die das Muster ergeben, mit der Hand durchgezogen. Das bunte Muster wird hierbei, also während des Webens selbst, eingestickt und mit dem nächsten Schuss festgezogen. Diese Technik, zu der die Weberin ein kleines Handwebestühlchen nötig hat, „stellt eine weitgehende Fortentwicklung der litauischen Bandtechnik dar, die durch die vermehrte Aufnahme von stilisierten Blumen als Webmuster bedingt ist,

deren Nachbildung in den Juostos austinės (gewebten Bändern) unüberwindlichen Schwierigkeiten begegnen würde"[47]).

Bei der Analysierung der Webmuster, die fast ausschliesslich geometrischer Natur sind, wird in den meisten Fällen ausser acht gelassen, dass schon allein die Technik des Webens von selbst zu bestimmten Mustern führen musste. Sicherlich legte man diesen erst weit später ihre vielen heutigen Bezeichnungen bei, für die alle möglichen sinnfälligen Dinge der Umgebung den Namen hergeben mussten — die Ente, der Kuckuck, der Wiedehopf, das Fenster, der Besen, die Rose, die Tanne, ja selbst der Ziegenhuf und noch viele andere. Dass — eben aus der Technik des Webens heraus — manche Ähnlichkeiten mit zeitlich und räumlich verschiedenen Völkern entstehen mussten, ist daher nur natürlich. Aus der Fülle der Zeichnungen geht der ungeheure Reichtum dieser Ornamentik hervor, zumal die Muster in den verschiedensten Kombinationen auftreten. Näher auf sie einzugehen, verbietet der Raum dieser Darstellung, handelt es sich doch um viele hundert Muster.

Während im westlichen Litauen die Schmuckweberei nicht so stark gepflegt wird — abgesehen von Palanga, wo vor allem Juostos mit Stern- und Blumenmustern beliebt sind, häuft sich der ganze Reichtum dieser farbigen Ornamentik im Gebiet von Suvalkija, vor allem in den Kreisen Mariampolė und Vilkaviškis. Dieses Gebiet ist auch die Heimat des berühmten Tulpenmusters und der bunten litauischen Zierschürzen. Einfache Schürzen kennt man auch in der Gegend von Zanavykai und Zarasai sowie in der Landschaft Dzūkija, während sie in Schamaiten wieder vollkommen fehlen. Nirgends aber entfaltet sich die Farbengebung so subtil und die Ornamentik zu solchem Reichtum der Formen wie im Suwalkischen. Auf braunem, blauem, rotem oder grünem Untergrund erwächst das Ornament wie eine kostbare Blüte. Vielleicht geht das schönste dieser Muster, die in den verschiedensten Formen stilisierte Tulpe, auf irgendeine sinnbildliche Darstellung zurück, zumal die Tulpe selbst in Litauen ja eine unbekannte Blume war. Die

Stilisierung ist hier so stark fortgeschritten, dass eigentlich nur die Bezeichnung übrig geblieben ist. Das Tulpenmuster wiederholt sich auf diesen Schürzen in einem fortlaufenden Rankenwerk oder zu vieren im Quadrat oder auch im Verein mit eigenartig stilisierten Ranken und Blättern.

Über diese Schürzen sagt Galaunė: „Sie sind nur in der Landschaft Suvalkija und hie und da in dem an Suvalkija angrenzenden Teile des Gebietes von Vilnius bekannt. Sie bilden hier gleichsam eine Oase, deren Entstehungsgründe wir heute infolge des Fehlens fast aller Unterlagen nicht zu erforschen vermögen. Diese Oase ist so in sich geschlossen, dass sich ihr Einfluss fast nach keiner Richtung hin verbreitet hat. Ähnliche Bänder wie unsere Juostos finden wir bei einer grossen Anzahl unserer näheren und ferneren Nachbarn, die Schürzen mit dem eingewebten Tulpenmuster aber sind anderswo völlig unbekannt" [48]). Hinzugefügt sei, dass die Hochlitauer nur weisse gewebte Schürzen mit roten Querstreifen am unteren Ende anfertigen, während die gleichfalls weissen Schürzen der Niederlitauer (Schamaiten) rote Längsstreifen aufweisen.

Die Webetechnik ist bei den suwalkischen Zierschürzen ähnlich wie bei den juostos kaišytinės; sie werden auf dem Stuhl gewebt, und das Muster wird während des Webens aus bunten Wollfäden eingelegt, sodass es wie gestickt erscheint. Über Alter und Herkunft dieser Schürzen lässt sich nichts Sicheres sagen. Wir wissen nur, dass die ältesten der heute vorhandenen auf die zweite Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts zurückgehen. Vielleicht haben sie, wie Galaunė es annimmt, einmal eine symbolische Bedeutung gehabt und versinnbildlichten Unschuld und Tugend. Und vielleicht wurden sie darum so schön gestaltet, weil sie keinem praktischen Zweck zu dienen hatten [49]). Im preussischen Litauen waren sie jedenfalls nicht bekannt und wurden nach Vydūnas hier erst von späteren Einwanderern übernommen [50]). Manche der schönen litauischen Zierwebereien finden wir heute in den Kirchen als Altardecken, die Bänder als Schmuck des Klingelbeutels.

Wie bei allen sesshaften Völkern hat auch bei den Litauern eine ländliche Teppichweberei — wie sie sich bei Nomaden-

stämmen als Volkskunst zu entwickeln pflegt — in früherer Zeit nicht bestanden. Die heute auf dem Lande gewebten gewöhnlich einfarbigen Teppiche und Bettdecken, wie wir sie vielfach in städtischen Häusern finden, sind jüngerer Herkunft. Sie entlehnen ihre vielfältigen quadratischen Kreis- oder Rautenmuster den schweren Leinenwebereien, welche die Bäuerin für ihren praktischen Bedarf anfertigt. Um das Muster in der Farbe hervorzuheben, wird entweder gebleichtes Linnen mit ungebleichtem zusammen verwebt, oder man gewinnt einen Tönungsunterschied durch das Einweben von Hanf oder Baumwolle. Auch diese Muster sind schön und von grossem ornamentalen Reichtum. Zeitlich gesehen stellen sie die ältesten litauischen Webemuster dar. Wir finden sie ebenso in den groben wollnen Tüchern und den Tischdecken, die bei festlichen Gelegenheiten im Bauernhause aufgedeckt werden. Die Handtücher sind oft mit kunstvollen Kreuzsticharbeiten, meist in rot, verziert, vor allem die Ziertücher, die nicht dem täglichen Gebrauch dienen. Sie hingen früher auf den reich geschnitzten Handtuchhaltern und werden nur Gästen zur Benutzung gegeben. Ihren Abschluss bilden eigenartig geflochtene Spitzen, die mit der Hand aus den Endfäden des Gewebes geknüpft werden. Es handelt sich hier um eine sehr alte Technik, die noch heute von den Hirtenmädchen des Landes ausgeübt wird. Seltener sind im allgemeinen gehäkelte Spitzen, jedoch finden wir an schöner und wertvoller Bettwäsche bei wohlhabenden Bauern oft zierliche Häkel- und Durchbrucharbeiten.

Handschuhe und Strümpfe werden in mehreren Farben fest und dicht gestrickt, wobei die verschiedenen Fäden auf der Rückseite mitgeführt werden. Sie wandern vielfach nach Deutschland, wo sie als „schwedische" Handschuhe auf den kunstgewerblichen Markt kommen. Eingestrickt werden die verschiedensten farbigen Ornamente, Punkte und Sterne, daneben Blumen- und gelegentlich auch Tiermuster. Diese bunten und festen Handschuhe mit ihren fröhlichen Farben dienen oft zu Geschenken, und der Geistliche wird auf seinen winterlichen „Kalendenfahrten" stets mit ihnen bedacht. Im Gegen-

ALTER BÄUERLICHER HOLZSCHNITT

OPP 143

satz zu anderen kunstgewerblichen Arbeiten, bei denen, wie wir sahen, alte Muster häufig in nicht so glücklicher Weise verwandt werden, wirkt ihre Entlehnung aus der Webetechnik bei modernen gestrickten Handarbeiten organisch und überaus reizvoll.

Auch in der litauischen Volkstracht, wie sie vor allem seit dem Weltkriege zu neuem Leben erwacht ist, zeigt sich Kunst und Geschmack: Der lange farbige Faltenrock, das bunte Mieder, das weisse Hemd mit den langen gestickten Ärmeln — alles atmet Frohsinn und Farbenfreude (siehe Titelbild).

Damit schliesst sich der Kreis, der die litauische Volkskunst in all ihren Zweigen umschliesst. Manche konnten nur kurz angedeutet werden, da die verschiedenen älteren und jüngeren Techniken des Knüpfens, Häkelns und Strickens sich in Beschreibungen nur schwer darstellen lassen.

Der gesamte Bezirk der Weberei mit allen verwandten Techniken ist ausschliesslich Domäne der Frau, während der Mann sich jene Gebiete erwählte, die vor allem körperliche Kraft erforderten oder durch die Grösse der Objekte die Frau nicht anzogen. Und vielleicht ist es gerade der künstlerischen Intuition und dem sensibleren Farbensinn der Frau zuzuschreiben, dass ihre Schöpfungen auf den Gebieten der kunstgewerblichen Kleinarbeiten in Farbe und Ornamentik einen ganz besonderen Reichtum entfalten.

VIERTES KAPITEL

DIE GEISTIGE KULTUR DER STADT

A. DIE ARCHITEKTUR

1. GESCHICHTLICHE VORAUSSETZUNGEN

Die Untersuchung der kulturellen Elemente des litauischen Volkstums führte uns zu dem Ergebnis, dass wir es hier mit einer abgerundeten und abgeschlossenen Kultur zu tun haben. Eine solche entsteht niemals durch eine wie immer geartete blosse Menschenanhäufung, sondern stets durch ein Volk. In unserem Falle war diese Kultur eine typisch bäuerliche.

Eine Verknüpfung der verschiedensten historischen Umstände, auf die in diesem Zusammenhange nicht eingegangen werden kann, hat dazu geführt, dass der in Dörfern und Einzelgehöften siedelnde Litauer erst in allerjüngster Zeit den Weg zur Stadt fand und ihr seinen eigenen Stempel aufzudrücken beginnt.

Die kulturelle Oberschicht, welche das Gesicht der litauischen Stadt in den vergangenen Jahrhunderten bestimmte, hat im Verlaufe der Zeit gewechselt. Über ihre früheste Bewohnerschaft ist wenig bekannt[1]). Im 14. Jahrhundert berief Grossfürst Gediminas deutsche Handwerker und Kaufleute ins Land[2]). Es folgte die Hanse, die in Kaunas ein Kontor besass. Ungefähr gleichzeitig dringen die Juden ein, die das Stadtbild völlig wandeln, und in späteren Jahrhunderten durch die russische Judengesetzgebung auf die Randprovinzen beschränkt, bis zum Weltkriege auch den litauischen Land-

städten ihr Gepräge gaben. Schon die litauischen Städte des XVI. Jahrhunderts waren nach Liubawski von Juden überfüllt [3]). Das dritte städtische Element aber, das polnische, assimilierte zunächst — als Oberschicht — die zuziehende litauische Landbevölkerung. Auch im 19. Jahrhundert vermochte sich eine litauische Oberschicht in den Städten des Landes noch nicht zu bilden, da die russische Gesetzgebung es den Litauern verbot, in ihrem eigenen Lande Beamtenstellen zu bekleiden. So entstand — eine Ironie der Geschichte — der erste Kern eines gebildeten litauischen Bürgertums in den Städten Innerrusslands, für die das Verbot nicht galt. Anstelle eines eigenen Beamtentums erhielt das Land russische Beamte und Garnisonen, für deren religiöse Erbauung der Staat in dem römisch-katholischen Lande durch die Errichtung orthodoxer Kirchen sorgte.

Der Weltkrieg endlich beendet diese Entwicklung durch die Gründung des litauischen Staates: Eine im Auslande vorgebildete und jetzt zurückgekehrte städtische Schicht, die zwar nicht zahlreich ist, aber alle Berufe umfasst — auch Künstler und Gelehrte — ist nun auf einmal vorhanden. Dazu setzt ein starker Zuzug vom Lande ein, denn plötzlich bieten sich für den bäuerlichen Nachwuchs zahlreiche Lebensmöglichkeiten in den Städten, im Beamtentum, Militär, in den freien Berufen. Eine zunächst günstige wirtschaftliche Entwicklung fördert diesen Zustrom, der das Gesicht der Stadt von neuem völlig wandelt: Allein die Stadt Kaunas verdoppelt in wenigen Jahren ihre Einwohnerzahl. Auf allen Gebieten wird eine rege Tätigkeit entfaltet, neben die materiellen treten die geistigen Probleme — Literatur, Kunst, Musik, Theater, Wissenschaft werden auf einmal zu Faktoren im Leben des Volkes.

Die Kenntnis der hier skizzierten Entwicklung ist wesentlich für das Verständnis des Nachfolgenden. Es könnte nämlich scheinen, als ob eine Darstellung der Kulturelemente des litauischen Volkes sich, sofern die Stadt in Frage kommt, lediglich auf diesen jüngsten Zeitabschnitt zu beschränken

hätte. Die historische Architektur des Stadtbildes würde damit von der Behandlung ausgeschlossen sein, da sie nicht den Stempel gleicher Stammesart trägt. Es ist dies auch vielleicht der Grund, weshalb es bis heute litauischerseits kaum eine einzige Darstellung der historischen Bauten des Landes gibt.

Immerhin muss die vorliegende Arbeit die Architektur der litauischen Stadt aus verschiedenen Gründen berücksichtigen: Zunächst waren es die litauischen Grossfürsten, der Hochadel und die Geistlichkeit, welche den Anlass zum Bau von Kirchen und Schlössern gaben. Ferner sind — denken wir etwa an den Klassizismus — die grossen Kunstepochen mehr oder weniger international, und drittens hat der für Litauen wichtigste Baustil, der Barock, unzweifelhafte Einflüsse auf die litauische Volkskunst ausgeübt.

Es gibt wohl keinen das Land besuchenden Fremden, dem nicht die grossen kirchlichen Bauten, namentlich in Kaunas, Gegenstand der Aufmerksamkeit und der Frage wären. Das Gesicht dieser Bauten ist deutlich dem Westen zugekehrt und nicht dem russischen Osten. Aus dem Westen stammte der römisch-katholische Glaube, den Benediktiner, Dominikaner, Bernhardiner und andere Orden in den gotischen Kirchen des Landes verkündeten; aus dem Westen wurden die Ideen des Luthertums herübergetragen, denen während der kurzen Spanne eines halben Jahrhunderts der Hochadel des Landes anhing — aus dem Westen endlich drang die mächtige und imposante Bewegung der Gegenreformation, welche die Pracht des Barocks wie kostbare Blüten des Südens über das nordische Land ausstreute und es für immer der römischen Kirche zurückgewann. So ist die Geschichte der religiösen Kultur des Landes in diesen Bauwerken beschlossen.

Gegenüber den mächtigen religiösen Zeugnissen westlichen Geistes tritt das, was wir an Beurkundungen östlicher Kultur in Litauen antreffen, in der Architektur völlig zurück. Die wenigen Denkmäler russischer Kirchenkunst reden die Sprache einer anderen geistigen Welt, die mit der historischen religiösen Entwicklung des Landes ausser Zusammenhang steht.

Die meisten der heute noch vorhandenen russischen Kuppelkirchen entstanden nach den Revolutionen der Jahre 1830 und 1863, als die russische Regierung katholische Klöster und Kirchen enteignete, russische Mönchsorden und Ansiedler ins Land berief. Als Denkmäler russischer Machtpolitik wurden sie häufig an den hervorragendsten Punkten der Städte errichtet, denken wir etwa an die russische Kathedrale in Kaunas, die heute zur römisch-katholischen Garnisonkirche geworden ist. Um 1880 errichtet, in rein akademischem Stil erbaut, ersetzt sie durch die Massigkeit ihrer Formen eine wahrhaft künstlerische Gliederung. Allerdings gewährt sie, vom Berge aus gesehen, durch ihre Lage als Abschluss der Hauptstrasse, namentlich am Abend, wenn ihre gewaltigen Konturen im Nebel verdämmern, ein Bild, das nicht ohne eigenen Reiz ist. Aus diesem Grunde ist sie wohl auch dem Schicksal des Abbruchs entgangen, welches nach Abzug des russischen Militärs und der Beamtenschaft eine Reihe der russischen Kirchen in der Provinz erlitten hat. Die Kathedrale von Kaunas ist auch für die übrigen russischen Kirchenbauten im Lande, für die seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bestimmte Bauvorschriften galten, charakteristisch. Wir treffen hier die Langhalle, die grosse Mittelkuppel und die sie umrahmenden Zwiebeltürmchen (Christus und die vier Evangelisten). Daneben erscheint der gedrängte Zentralbau, wie er zum Beispiel bei der Kirche von Ukmergė ausnahmsweise eine architektonisch gute Lösung gefunden hat. Im allgemeinen sind die heute noch erhaltenen russischen Provinzkirchen, die im Holzbau teilweise den litauischen Blockkirchen ähneln, im Steinbau stillos und ohne künstlerischen Wert. Das Gleiche gilt für die vereinzelten mohammedanischen Moscheen [1]). Dagegen befinden sich unter den hölzernen jüdischen Synagogen einige bemerkenswerte Bauten, die vor allem durch die gebrochenen Formen, in denen ihre Dächer pyramidenartig aufsteigen, einen eigenartigen Eindruck machen. Es sei hier die sehr alte Synagoge von Šaukėnai genannt. Dass die jüdischen Synagogen manchen ornamentalen Schmuck von der litauischen Volkskunst übernommen haben, beweist deut-

lich die Synagoge von Jurbarkas (Georgenburg) an der Memel.

Die kirchlichen Bauten des Judentums können in diesem Zusammenhange nur kurz gestreift werden, da die Juden in Litauen seit Jahrhunderten das Leben einer streng abgeschlossenen Minderheit führen und auf die kulturelle Entwicklung des Landes ohne Einfluss geblieben sind. Letztere stand ausschliesslich unter der Herrschaft jener grossen geistigen Ströme, welche die Kirche des Westens seit dem späteren Mittelalter in ununterbrochener Folge über das Land aussandte.

2. DIE GOTIK

Fast die gesamte künstlerische Energie des Mittelalters erschöpfte sich in gewaltigen kirchlichen Bauten. Die gotischen Kathedralen Frankreichs und Deutschlands sprechen von Freiheit und kühner, lichtvoller Erhabenheit. Sie sind Sinnbilder aufstrebender Gottesverehrung einer Zeit, deren Frömmigkeit und mystische Erregung alle Gesellschaftsschichten durchdrang. Allmählich aber erstarrt dieser Geist, und in seiner eigenen strengen architektonischen Gebundenheit erstarrt auch der Stil, den er schuf. In dieser Periode der späten Gotik entsandte die Kunst des Mittelalters ihre letzten Ausläufer nach Litauen.

Gemessen an den Bauten — auch den Profanbauten — dieser Zeit, über welche das Baltikum verfügt, tritt Litauen erheblich zurück, was wiederum geschichtlich bedingt ist: Erst im Jahre 1387 trat Hochlitauen zum christlichen Glauben über, erst 1415 Niederlitauen (Schamaiten). Vergegenwärtigen wir uns nun, dass die Blütezeit der Gotik in Deutschland in das 14. Jahrhundert fällt und das 15. Jahrhundert schon der sogenannten Spätgotik angehört, so wird es einleuchtend, warum der Einfluss der Gotik in Litauen hinter demjenigen späterer Kunststile zurücktritt. Erwähnt werden muss allerdings, dass sich alle Stilformen in Litauen wie überhaupt im Osten — von der Gotik über den Barock zum Klassizismus —

länger erhalten haben als in den westlichen Ländern, sodass man geradezu von einem Konservativismus der östlichen Architektur sprechen kann. So ist das gotische Annenkirchlein in Vilnius, dessen reizvolle Fassade mit ihren schlank aufsteigenden Pilastern und dem starken durch sie hindurchgeflochtenen Kielbogen oft bewundert worden ist, erst nach 1500 entstanden. Auch die 1520 erbaute Kirche von Simnas im Kreise Alytus, die im 18. Jahrhundert einen stilwidrigen Umbau erfuhr, gehört mit anderen Provinzbauten zu der gotischen Architekturperiode Litauens.

Der gotische Stil hat sich in Litauen nur in seinem schlichtesten Ausdruck erhalten. Wir finden keine prachtvollen Portale, keine himmelstürmenden Türme. Nur das Schwere, Gebundene findet hier seine Formung, es fehlt die befreiende Beweglichkeit und rhythmische Gliederung des westlichen Doms. Zahlreiche verheerende Kriege, Brände und Umbauten späterer Zeit haben ferner dazu geführt, dass die ursprünglichen Formen vielfach überdeckt wurden und ihren eigentlichen Charakter verloren. Während die Holzkirche auf dem Lande ihren Stil Jahrhunderte hindurch fast nicht änderte, hat der Kirchenbau in Stein den Formenwechsel der westlichen Stilarten getreulich mitgemacht, von der späten Gotik bis in die neueste Zeit, soweit es sich um Bauten für den römisch-katholischen Kultus handelte. In der Provinz finden wir gotische Kirchen heute noch in Kedainiai (gegründet 1403), in Šiauliai und bei Jonava an der Vilija. Zu den Bauten der Frühzeit gehört ferner das reizvolle Landkirchlein von Zapyškis, unterhalb von Kaunas an der Memel gelegen. Es wurde kurz nach Einführung des Christentums erbaut.

Immerhin besagen die in diesem Zusammenhange gegebenen überlieferten Gründungsdaten für die einzelnen Kirchen noch nichts über die Frage, ob die Kirchen schon damals in Stein aufgeführt wurden, oder ob es sich nicht vielleicht zunächst nur um einfache Holzbauten gehandelt hat. Bei einzelnen scheint dies tatsächlich der Fall gewesen zu sein. Nach Cornelius Gurlitt ist der Steinbau erst verhältnismässig spät nach

Litauen gelangt. Allerdings wurde er schon im 12. Jahrhundert im nordöstlichen Deutschland, wenngleich fast ausschliesslich im Kirchenbau, angewendet. Prof. Dr. Paul Weber, der während des Weltkrieges die Stellung eines Kunstkonservators für die besetzten Gebiete bekleidete, datiert die Backsteinbauten der gotischen Kirchen in Kaunas zwischen 1400 und 1500. Urkundlich erwähnt wird der Steinbau — und zwar sogar schon bei Bürgerhäusern — im Privilegium der Basilika vom Jahre 1503, ein weit älterer Steinbau wird im Inventar des Kauener Dekanats ausführlich behandelt (Blatt 15). Ebenso können wir wohl die sich überall auf Quellen stützende Darstellung des Bischofs Valančius als zuverlässig ansehen, der in seiner „Geschichte der Kauener Kirchen" u. a. bei der Bernhardinerkirche (Seminarkirche) ausdrücklich betont, dass die älteste Bernhardinerkirche aus Holz erbaut worden sei, während der Steinbau der Kirche sowohl wie des Klosters aus dem Jahre 1468 stamme[5]).

In Kaunas beherrschen die steilen gotischen Dächer, welche die roten Backsteinkirchen überdachen, einen grossen Teil der alten Stadt. Im Innern finden wir die typische sechsteilige Gewölbekonstruktion, welche die Decke in Stern- und Netzgewölbe auflöst und dadurch die aufstrebende Kraft der Pfeiler aufnimmt. Fünf alte Kirchen dieser Art, die sämtlich aus dem 15. Jahrhundert stammen, sind noch heute in Kaunas erhalten. Die älteste ist die 1400 erbaute Vytautas-Kirche (Franziskanerkirche), welche der Grossfürst zur Erinnerung an die Anerkennung der litauischen Unabhängigkeit durch Jogaila errichtete. Ihre Gründungsgeschichte befindet sich auf einer Marmortafel neben dem Haupteingang verzeichnet. Die Innenausstattung ist sehr schlicht. Bemerkenswert ist ein Bild von Kalpokas über dem Hauptaltar, dessen obere Hälfte die Himmelfahrt Mariae darstellt, während die untere Vytautas mit seinen Kriegern an der Vorskla zeigt, wie er sich in feierlichem Schwure zum Bau der Kirche verpflichtet. Der Grossfürst übergab diese Kirche dem Franziskanerorden, dessen Kloster damals auf dem Platz des heutigen Stadtkrankenhauses stand[6]). Obwohl die Kirche im 17. Jahrhundert durch die Schweden,

im Jahre 1812 durch die Franzosen zerstört und um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts zur russischen Kirche umgewandelt wurde, blieb sie die einzige der alten Kirchen, die ihren gotischen Charakter getreulich gewahrt hat. Ihr eigenartiger Turm stammt aus dem Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts, aus der gleichen Zeit der Stirnschmuck der Kreuzflügel.

In sehr frühe Zeit zurück reicht auch der Bau der riesigen erzbischöflichen Kathedrale (Peter und Paulkirche). In der Erneuerung ihrer Privilegien aus dem Jahre 1503 wird erwähnt, dass die Kirche „in sehr alter Zeit, fast zu Beginn des Christentums" erbaut und reich dotiert worden sei [7]). Schon durch ihre Grösse — sie ist 84 m lang und 34 m breit bei einer Höhe von 28 m — macht sie einen gewaltigen Eindruck. Nach dem grossen Brande von 1770, der nur die Grundmauern stehen liess, wurde sie in veränderter Gestalt wieder aufgebaut. Vermutlich war die Kirche ursprünglich zweitürmig erbaut (in ihrer gegenwärtigen Form stört der eine Turm die Symmetrie des Aussenbildes). Im 19. Jahrhundert erfolgte durch den Bischof Paliulionis an der Südfront der Anbau einer Seitenkapelle, welche Bilder Tiroler Künstler und einen schön geschnitzten Altar enthält. Hervorzuheben ist ferner das Gebäude der Dombibliothek, das an das Marienburger Schloss erinnert. Das Innere der Kathedrale ist nach ihrem Umbau vollständig von späteren Kunststilen überdeckt worden: Die Pilaster, die Säulen, vor allem aber die zahlreichen Altäre funkeln in der Pracht des Barocks, dessen Lebendigkeit noch durch zahlreiche Rokokoformen verstärkt wird. Doch wird, wie K. Jasenas in seiner Kunstgeschichte mit Recht hervorhebt, durch die machtvolle Geschlossenheit des Hauptaltars (aus dem Jahre 1775) ein Gegengewicht geschaffen, welches den Gesamteindruck zu ernster und gewaltiger Feierlichkeit dämpft [8]). Gerade dieser Altar, zwischen dessen korinthischen Säulen riesige Apostelfiguren aufragen, wirkt besonders majestätisch. So ist der Eindruck, der von diesem Dom ausgeht, ein ausserordentlich starker, und der Geist mittelalterlicher Frömmigkeit und religiösen Kunstwillens wird unmittelbar lebendig. Die Kirchengemälde sind grösstenteils um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts

von Elviro Andriolli gemalt worden, einem italienischen Künstler, der sich in Litauen niederliess und hier Heimatrecht gewann.

Erheblich jünger als die Kathedrale, aber gleichfalls noch aus dem 15. Jahrhundert stammend, fällt die Seminarkirche zum Heiligen Georg demjenigen, der sich vom Flusse her der Stadt nähert, zu allererst ins Auge. Noch im 17. Jahrhundert trug sie einen Turm, während sie heute nur durch einfache Kreuze geziert wird. Auch diese Kirche wurde verschiedene Male durch Feuer vernichtet, das letzte Mal im Jahre 1812. Sie hat infolgedessen die Stilwandlung von der Gotik zum Barock gleichfalls über sich ergehen lassen müssen, genau wie die kleine St. Gertrudkirche, die heute in einem Hofe der Hauptstrasse (Nr. 61) ein verstecktes Dasein führt und mit zu den ältesten Bauten der Stadt gehört.

Abseits von den hier genannten kirchlichen Bauten liegt die Benediktinerkirche zum Heiligen Michael. Sie wirkt eigenartig durch ihre Symmetrielosigkeit, jedoch ist der rein gotische Stil ihrer Apside hervorzuheben. Von aussen gleicht sie eher einer mittelalterlichen Burg als einer Kirche. In seiner Monographie über die Stadt Kaunas äussert V. Bičiūnas den Gedanken, dass dieser eigenartige Bau, über dessen Entstehung keine Berichte vorliegen, vielleicht mit jenem Gebäude identisch gewesen sei, das Guillebert de Launnoy auf seiner Reise 1413/14 gesehen und mit einer Burg verwechselt habe. Urkundlich wird die Kirche erst in späterer Zeit erwähnt, so hören wir von Privilegien, die ihr 1495 gewährt wurden. Gegenwärtig gehört sie dem Orden der Benediktinerinnen; das neben der Kirche erbaute Kloster stammt aus dem Beginn des vorigen Jahrhunderts [9]).

Damit ist der Kreis der alten gotischen und ehemals gotischen Kirchenbauten in Litauen geschlossen. Die Schlichtheit ihrer äusseren Formen steht häufig in starkem Gegensatz zu der prunkvollen Innenausstattung aus späteren Zeiten. Bei der verhältnismässig geringen Anzahl gotischer Kirchenbauten könnte es fast scheinen, als käme dieser Kunstepoche in Litauen

ein allzu geringes Gewicht zu. Immerhin hat sie auch auf den Profanbau stärker eingewirkt. In Kaunas gibt es noch manche Giebelhäuser im gotischen Stil, hie und da wohl auch einen alten Speicher, im Gewirr winkliger Höfe versteckt. Vielfach verbergen sich diese Bauten heute gleichfalls unter der Verkleidung einer späteren Zeit. Namentlich die Strassen hinter der Dampferanlegestelle sind noch heute von alten gegiebelten Backsteinbauten durchsetzt. Zuweilen haben die Höfe dieser Häuser, ähnlich wie in Vilnius, Umgänge aus Holz, welche einer späteren Zeit entstammen. Wie stark die ganze Kunstepoche, die unter dem Namen der Gotik verstanden wird, in Vergessenheit geraten konnte, beweist die Tatsache, dass ein kleines Haus mit einem frei in die Luft stehenden spätgotischen Giebel heute im Volksmunde „Perkunas-Tempel" genannt wird. Der Giebel befindet sich gegenüber dem Stadtkrankenhaus; er zeigt die typischen überschlanken Pilaster, die in zierliche Fialen ausblühen und durch geschweifte sich durchwachsende Bögen miteinander in Verbindung stehen. Möglicherweise handelt es sich hier gleichfalls um ein Kirchlein, vielleicht auch um einen Profanbau [10]).

3. RENAISSANCE UND BAROCK

Wer von dem der Kauener Altstadt gegenüberliegenden steil ansteigenden Hügel des Gutes Linksmadvaris die Stadt überblickt, hat eine ausserordentlich schöne Sicht auf die Kirchen der alten Stadt. In einem geschlossenen Aufbau liegen zu seinen Füssen der Dom und die Vytautaskirche, die Seminar- und die Dreifaltigkeitskirche. Zwischen ihnen steigen die lichten Türme der Jesuitenkirche und der schlanke Turm des Rathauses empor. Die letzten drei Bauten leiten uns zu einer neuen Stilperiode hinüber, welche die Gotik in Litauen ablöste. Sie beginnt um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts und erfährt eine starke Belebung durch das Eindringen der Gegenreformation. Charakteristisch für diese Periode ist die Spätrenaissance und der Barock.

Über das Eindringen dieser neuen Stilarten schreibt Dr. Kairiūkštytė-Jacynienė in ihrer ausführlichen Monographie über das Kloster Pažaislis: „Seit dem Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts drang auf dem Wege durch Ungarn die echte italienische Renaissance ins Land ein, und zwar durch Vermittlung eingewanderter italienischer Künstler und Werkleute, die vom König Sigismund dem Alten und seiner Gemahlin Bona Sforza, Herzogin von Mailand, schon im Jahre 1502 nach Krakau berufen waren . . . Von Krakau aus fand der Renaissancestil eine rasche Verbreitung im ganzen Lande. Der Zuzug von italienischen Künstlern, hauptsächlich von Architekten, dauerte ununterbrochen seit dem 16. Jahrhundert an; sie behielten die Führung während drei Jahrhunderten, da es an geschulten einheimischen Kräften fehlte . . . Ausser italienischen wirkten seit dem 17. Jahrhundert auch holländische Baukünstler in Polen und Litauen. Zu den italienischen Einflüssen gesellten sich, besonders im 18. Jahrhundert, noch französische und deutsche. Dies alles, zusammen mit gewissen Eigentümlichkeiten der einheimischen bodenwüchsigen Stilauffassung, brachte einen Mischstil hervor; jedoch waren es immerhin die italienischen Künstler, die die Oberhand behielten. Der italienische Barock schuf eine Grundlage nicht nur für den Kirchen-, sondern auch für den Profanbau. Noch heute ist der Barock der am meisten im Lande verbreitete und am eindringlichsten sprechende Stil“ [11]).

Der Übergang von der Renaissance zum Barock wird unter anderem in der 1619 erbauten Kathedrale von Seinai deutlich. Die bedeutendsten Barockkirchen Litauens aber entstammen zum grössten Teile der eigentlichen Barockzeit zwischen 1650 und 1750, als im Gefolge der Jesuiten auch zahlreiche andere katholische Orden im Lande sesshaft wurden und hier eine rege Bautätigkeit entfalteten. Die äussere Bedingung hierfür war dadurch gegeben, dass nach den Verheerungen des russischen Einfalls im Jahre 1655 der Aufbau von zahlreichen Kirchen und Klöstern notwendig wurde.

Die neuen Baumeister bringen aus Italien eine völlig andere Raumauffassung mit. An die Stelle der gotischen Langkirche

tritt nun die griechische Kreuzform des Grundrisses mit einem verlängerten Hauptschiff und tiefen Kapellen zu beiden Seiten. Aber auch für den Barockbau in Litauen gilt das schon von der Gotik Gesagte: Seine Architektur erscheint hier stärker vereinfacht als im Westen, und vor allem fehlt die für die Barockkirche sonst typische mächtige Kuppelwölbung über der Durchschneidung des Hauptschiffes mit dem Querschiff. Es gibt hiervon in Litauen nur eine einzige Ausnahme — die mächtige Klosterkirche von Pažaislis, die später zu behandeln sein wird.

Neben die neue Raumauffassung tritt eine andere Formenwelt. Die linearen gotischen Zierformen verschwinden und machen dem „plastisch vorquellenden, auf breite Flächen berechneten, Ziergedanken der italienischen Spätrenaissance und des Barocks" Platz [12]). Ebenso ändert sich die Farbengebung; anstelle der roten Ziegelfarbe tritt die weisse Putzfläche, welche den Marmor des Südens vortäuschen soll. Charakteristisch für diese Bauweise ist in Kaunas die Jesuitenkirche am Rathausplatz. Die hohe Fassade mit ihren zwei Türmen, zwischen denen oft ein reich geschmückter Ziergiebel aufragt, wird typisch für die neue Frontalauffassung.

Die zeitlichen Beziehungen, die zwischen dem Aufkommen des Barocks in Litauen und dem Eindringen der Jesuiten bestehen, sind keine zufälligen, denn aus diesen Bauten spricht eine ganz bestimmte Geisteshaltung und Absicht, vor allem auch durch die Art, wie diese Kirchen geschmückt sind [13]). Nach der Absicht der Jesuiten sollte ja „die Menschheit auf der ganzen Welt durch prunkvolle Kirchen, lichtüberflutete Altäre, vergoldete Heiligenbilder, Statuen, Beichtstühle und durch zum Himmel emporweisende perspektivische Deckenmalereien stets von neuem aus der Sphäre alltäglicher Interessen gerissen und auf das Göttliche hingelenkt werden" [14]). Wie sehr es der katholischen Kirche gelang, mit Hilfe dieser sinnfälligen Architektur auf die bäuerliche Bevölkerung des Landes einzuwirken, sehen wir sowohl an der litauischen Volkskunst, wie an der Tatsache, dass der Name der Königin

Bona, welche den italienischen Stil nach Litauen verpflanzte, sich durch die Jahrhunderte im Volke erhielt und allmählich einen sagenhaften Klang bekam.

Von allen Barockbauten der Stadt Kaunas ist die 1612 erbaute Dominikanerkirche (die sogenannte Studentenkirche in der Vilniaus gatvė), die älteste. In der Zeit der Russifizierung wurde sie in eine pravoslavische Kirche umgewandelt und erst 1919 der römischen Kirche zurückgegeben. Die Umwandlung ist auf ihr Äusseres nicht ohne Einfluss geblieben.

Von den Kirchen im Zentrum der Altstadt macht die 1634 erbaute Dreifaltigkeitskirche (früher Bernhardinerkirche) von aussen einen schlichten Eindruck. Im Innern ist sie stark mit Schmuckelementen überladen und enthält sogar gold- und silberbeschlagene Heiligenbilder.

Eine völlig andere Auffassung spricht aus der eingangs erwähnten Jesuitenkirche am Rathausplatz, die aus der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts stammt (erbaut 1759) und vor allem durch ihre lichten hoch ansteigenden Türme, die sich ständig verjüngen und in Turmhauben enden, von Interesse ist. Die sehr reizvolle Karmeliterkirche endlich, die 1685 erbaut wurde, zeigt in ihrer Architektur ein stärkeres Nachklingen der Hochrenaissance. Ihre Innenaustattung rühmt Jasenas mit Recht: „Tritt man ins Innere, so steht man gepackt von der Harmonie der Formen und Farben, deren zarte Töne sich in der herrlichen Mittelkuppel konzentrieren, die mit dem Zauber ihrer Fresken die menschliche Seele mächtig ergreift“ [15]). Leider erhebt sich diese Kuppel nicht zum Dach und empfängt ihr Licht von der Seite (Böhmische Kuppel).

Das prunkvollste Beispiel für die Kraft, welche der Barock in Litauen entfaltete, und zugleich ein einzigartiges Denkmal kirchlicher Baukunst überhaupt, ist das gewaltige Kloster Pažaislis, eine Meile von Kaunas entfernt, hoch über der Memel mitten in Wäldern auf dem „Berg des Friedens“ gelegen. Sein Bauherr war Christophor Paz, Grosskanzler des Grossfürstentums Litauen. Wie alle Magnaten jener Zeit liess

er sich italienische Künstler und Maler nach Litauen kommen. Erbaut wurde das Kloster nach den Entwürfen des Architekten Lodovico Fredo, dem später Pietro Putini folgte [16]). So entstand ein Barockbau nach italienischem Muster von imponierender Grosszügigkeit. Er erforderte für die damalige Zeit unerhörte Mittel. Der Haustein, welcher die Kirchenfassade und das Eingangstor verkleidet, kam aus dem Auslande, Danzig und Riga lieferten das Eisen, die Marmorbrüche von Krakau gaben den weissen, roten und schwarzen Marmor, der das gesamte Kircheninnere bis zum Hauptgesims verkleidet. Er wurde auf dem Wasserwege über Warschau und Danzig bis Königsberg gebracht und von dort mit Fuhrwerken weiterbefördert.

Kunsthistorisch von besonderem Interesse ist die völlig symmetrische Komposition des Gesamtklosters sowie der sechsseitige Grundriss der Klosterkirche, „ein höchst seltener, nahezu vereinzelter Sonderfall in der Architektur" [17]). Die gewaltige hochragende Kuppel, durch welche sich eine Fülle von Licht auf den Hochaltar ergiesst, während die Seitenkapellen im Halbdunkel verdämmern, macht auf den Eintretenden einen gewaltigen Eindruck und zieht den Blick nach oben. Sämtliche Decken der Kirche und aller Nebenräume sind mit üppigen Stukkaturen und Freskomalereien geschmückt, in denen die ganze Kunst kühnster italienischer Perspektivmalerei lebendig wird. In ihren prachtvollen Farben leben die Traditionen Tizians, Tintorettos, Veroneses. Diese Fresken gehören zweifellos zu den schönsten und künstlerisch wertvollsten nicht nur Litauens, sondern des nahen Ostens überhaupt. Von den Malern sind drei, Ferdinando delle Croce, Angelo Palloni da Compi und Delbene bekannt, von denen vor allem der letzte genannt werden muss.

Vom Bau des Klosters, der im Jahre 1667 begonnen wurde, war 1681 erst die Fassade vollendet. Es dauerte danach noch über 30 Jahre, bis die Bauarbeiten beendet waren. Auch dieses Kloster hat durch die Zeiten schwer gelitten, vor allem durch seine 1840 erfolgende Übereignung an einen russischen

Mönchsorden (gegründet wurde es als Calmaldulenser-Kloster), der es bis zum Weltkriege innehatte, und dann durch den Weltkrieg selbst. 1920 wurde es den aus Chicago gekommenen Nonnen von der Kongregation des Heiligen Kasimir übergeben und wird seither nach Möglichkeit erneuert.

Es ist im Rahmen dieser Arbeit unmöglich, in die Darstellung der litauischen Barockarchitektur auch den katholischen Kirchenbau der Provinz mit einzubeziehen, zumal jegliche Vorarbeiten fehlen. Auch auf dem flachen Lande hat der Barock — im Gegensatz zur Gotik — entscheidend gewirkt, wie zahlreiche prunkvolle Kirchenbauten beweisen. Erwähnt sei hier nur das schöne Kloster von Tytuvėnai. So gewann der Barockstil ein besonderes Heimatrecht in Litauen und ist hier nicht nur als Ausdruck der Macht des römischen Katholizismus, sondern auch als Äusserung einer besonderen seelischen Haltung seiner Bewohner zu werten. Sogar die uralten Formen der hölzernen Dorfkirche blieben, wie an anderer Stelle ausgeführt wurde, von seinem Einfluss nicht frei.

Der protestantische Kirchenbau hat in Litauen nur wenige Spuren hinterlassen. Wie Dr. Purickis bemerkt, verfügten die Protestanten zur Zeit ihres grössten Einflusses in Litauen zwar über viele Anhänger, aber über sehr wenige offene Bekenner, und besassen im 16. Jahrhundert weder Kultdiener, noch eigene Kultstätten. Später übernahmen sie teilweise katholische Gotteshäuser [18]). Die ersten Kirchen der Protestanten wurden im 17. Jahrhundert erbaut. Bemerkenswert ist hier die 1629 von Christoph Radvila (Radziwill) erbaute Kirche der Kalvinisten in Kedainiai, die sich von den katholischen Barockbauten der Zeit erheblich unterscheidet. Sie zeigt den kühlen Stil der Spätrenaissance und ist mit einer schönen Kanzel mit eingelegter Holzarbeit geschmückt. Die gleichfalls im 17. Jahrhundert (1682) erbaute heutige evangelische Kirche in Kaunas dagegen sieht wie eine behagliche Dorfkirche aus [19]), und den Charakter von Dorf- und Kleinstadtkirchen tragen auch die meisten anderen der wenigen evangelischen Kirchen im Lande, die fast ohne Ausnahme im 19. Jahrhundert erbaut worden sind [20]).

DÖRFLICHE SKULPTUR

Opp 160

Ein kurzer Blick sei zum Schluss noch auf die Profanbauten der Barockzeit geworfen, von denen in Kaunas zwei Aufmerksamkeit verdienen, das sogenannte Maironishaus am Rathausmarkt (genannt nach dem Dichter Maironis) und das Rathaus von Kaunas.

Das Maironishaus entstand als städtisches Palais eines Magnaten. Sein Erbauer ist Christophor Paz, der Bauherr von Pažaislis. Bemerkenswert ist an diesem Gebäude das gebrochene Dach und die hohe Fassade, die nicht dem Rathausmarkt zugewandt ist. Das Rathaus ist in seiner heutigen Form im Jahre 1771 erbaut worden. Es ist ein einstöckiges viereckiges Gebäude mit einer Rustika, auf der sich an der Frontalseite eine Terrasse befindet, die um den Turm herumführt. Der Turm selbst ist von grosser Schönheit und Eleganz. Er steigt in steter Verjüngung empor und gewinnt eine besondere Grazie und Leichtigkeit durch die achteckige Form, welche vom dritten Stock an die viereckige ablöst. Daneben finden wir noch einige andere Barockbauten, so das aus dem 17. Jahrhundert stammende Haus des Evangelischen Konsistoriums.

Von Schlössern im Barockstil hat sich im heutigen Litauen wenig mehr erhalten. Wir wissen, dass der Hochadel dem Beispiel des Hofes folgte und sich im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert auf seinen Landsitzen prächtige Herrenhäuser erbaute. Anhand der vorhandenen zeitgenössischen Abbildungen findet Galaunė hier einen engen Zusammenhang mit den heutigen alten litauischen Synagogen, die den Stil jener Landhäuser mit ihren hohen pyramidenartigen gebrochenen Barockdächern und den kubischen Formen des Vorraums getreulich gewahrt hätten. So erscheinen ihm die alten Synagogen als der „letzte Widerhall einer schon untergegangenen Holzarchitektur, die beim Bau der litauischen Gutshäuser zur Anwendung kam“ [21]).

Bei der Betrachtung der heutigen Schlösser dürfen wir nicht vergessen, dass die meisten Herrensitze schon jenen stillen und friedlichen Zeiten entsprangen, wo das Schloss nicht mehr die Burg darstellte. Eigentliche Burgen, welche der Verteidigung dienten, gab es im heutigen Litauen nicht

allzuviele. Ihre Überreste gehen fast ausschliesslich auf die Ordenskämpfe zurück, wie die Ruinen der Burgen von Kaunas und Gelgaudai, dem alten Christmemel. Auf den Grundmauern anderer erheben sich Schlösser aus jüngster Zeit wie die von Raudonė und Raudondvaris [22]).

Das Schloss im heutigen Sinne, welches dem wirtschaftlich und sozial Hervorragenden zur Repräsentation und zum Lebensgenuss dient, entsteht im offenen Lande in Litauen wie im Baltikum erst im 18. Jahrhundert [22]). Als Überreste aus dieser Zeit ragen noch die mächtigen Ruinen des Schlosses von Biržai empor, das Fürst Radvila im Jahre 1701 erbaute. Nun haben Kriege, Revolutionen und verheerende Brände wohl in keinem Lande zerstörender gewirkt als gerade in Litauen. Dies ist auch der Grund, weshalb die meisten der heutigen Herrenhäuser auf eine weit jüngere Zeit, das 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, zurückgehen. So finden wir unter den Schlössern des Landes kein einziges mehr, welches für den Barock des 18. Jahrhunderts charakteristisch wäre. Auch die Formenwelt des Rokoko hat, wenn wir die Inneneinrichtung weniger Schlösser ausnehmen, in Litauen einen recht geringen Einfluss ausgeübt. Nur einzelne Rokokoelemente durchsetzen und beleben hier den späten Barock. Aber das meiste, was davon einmal vorhanden gewesen sein mag, haben die Stürme des Weltkrieges und der Nachkriegszeit vernichtet.

4. VOM KLASSIZISMUS ZUR MODERNE

Ungefähr um 1800 setzt in Litauen mit einer gewissen Plötzlichkeit ein Stil ein, der sich in Westeuropa schon in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts allmählich anbahnt — der Klassizismus. Er dringt einerseits von Vilnius aus vor und verdankt hier seine Einführung hauptsächlich der Tätigkeit des Baumeisters und Universitätsprofessors Lauras Gucevičius, der sich bei seinen Studien in Frankreich für die neue Kunstrichtung begeisterte. Dieser erste litauische Architekt gehört zu den interessantesten Köpfen der litaui-

schen Kunstgeschichte. Geboren 1753 als Sohn eines Leibeigenen im Kreise Ukmergė, wird er schon frühzeitig zum Priesterberuf bestimmt und besucht 5 Jahre die Schule von Panevėžys. Später gelingt es ihm nach Vilnius zu kommen. Durch seine ausserordentliche Begabung zieht er hier die Aufmerksamkeit des Bischofs Massalskis auf sich, der ihn 1778 auf seinen Reisen ins Ausland mitnimmt. Er lernt Königsberg, Danzig, Berlin, Hamburg kennen (hier hat er abenteuerliche Erlebnisse und wird in die Mysterien der jüdischen Kabbala eingeweiht), kommt nach Kopenhagen und Stockholm und hält sich später in Paris und Rom auf. Entscheidend werden die Studienjahre in Paris. Nach Vilnius zurückgekehrt erhält er das Katheder für Architektur an der dortigen Universität. Von seinen Arbeiten zeugen das Schloss von Verkiai sowie die Kathedrale und das Rathaus von Vilnius. Gucevičius kann als Begründer des Klassizismus in Litauen gelten, jedoch sei der Vollständigkeit halber hinzugefügt, dass schon vor Beginn seiner Tätigkeit Paul Brzostowski, der die neue Kunstrichtung gleichfalls in Westeuropa kennen lernte, auf seinem Gute bei Vilnius klassizistische Bauten aufführen liess [24]).

Ein zweiter Ausgangspunkt für die neue Kunstrichtung scheint Kurland gewesen zu sein, vor allem die Stadt Mitau. Wir dürfen nicht vergessen, dass in jener Zeit deutsche Baumeister wie Leo Klenze nach Petersburg kamen, wo sich ein Teil des baltischen Adels versammelte. So kamen über Petersburg wahrscheinlich die Anregungen, die in Mitau den sogenannten Alexanderstil schufen und in Bauten wie dem Palais Medem und dem Schlosse Mesothen ihren prächtigen Ausdruck fanden. Bei den engen Beziehungen zwischen dem baltischen Adel und dem Adel Litauens ist ein Einfluss auch auf diesem Wege anzunehmen. Seit Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts entstehen jedenfalls überall in Litauen Herrenhäuser und Schlösser im Empirestil, deren symmetrische Aufteilung für das Stilempfinden der Zeit charakteristisch ist. Sie geben dem Lande noch heute eine bestimmte Note. Die Mitte dieser Herrenhäuser bildet ein Säulenvorbau, der im ästhetischen Gesamtbild eine wichtige Rolle spielt und die lange Bauflucht

organisch gliedert. Hierdurch entsteht einerseits eine Unterfahrt, andrerseits ist die Möglichkeit eines Schlossbalkons oder auch einer Terrasse gegeben. Zuweilen beherrscht, wie beim Schlosse Baisogala, eine aus der Gesamtflucht in der Mitte herausgebaute Kuppel das Bild und gibt die Möglichkeit zu einer repräsentativen Eingangshalle oder einem Gartensaal. Im allgemeinen überwiegen in Litauen die Gutshäuser mittleren Besitzes. Wir finden bei ihnen den klassischen Grundstil mit manchen Biedermeierelementen durchsetzt, sodass häufig ein recht behaglicher Eindruck entsteht, gerade dort, wo die Bauten aus Holz aufgeführt sind.

Für den sogenannten Stil des Neuhellenismus charakteristisch ist das prächtige Schloss Pakrojus, über dem man sich geradezu einen griechisch blauen Himmel wünschen möchte. In seinen klassischen Formen wirkt es von ferne wie ein griechischer Tempel — einzigartig auch dadurch, dass sich der gleiche Stil in sämtlichen Hof- und Wirtschaftsgebäuden wiederholt, sodass eine seltene bildhafte Geschlossenheit erzielt wird. Das Innere entspricht der Aussenseite, und der grosse Saal scheint in seiner edlen lichten Einfachheit eines Schinkel würdig. Allerdings gehört ein Schloss wie Pakrojus zu den seltenen Ausnahmen im Lande, zumal die kurländischen Vorbilder hier ausser Frage stehen [25]).

Wenngleich der Neuklassizismus als ein die ganze monumentale Architektur seines Jahrhunderts beherrschender Weltstil angesehen werden muss, behält er seine Bedeutung im Osten doch erheblich länger als in den westlichen Ländern — weit über die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts hinaus. Bei den seit der zweiten Hälfte des Jahrhunderts aufgeführten Schlossbauten finden wir ungefähr alle Stilarten; so könnte man sich das Schloss Apytalauké ebenso im Grunewald vorstellen. Da es bisher weder eine zusammenfassende Darstellung, noch eine genügende Anzahl von Abbildungen litauischer Schlösser gibt, muss eine ausführlichere Behandlung dieses Gebietes der Zukunft überlassen werden. Hinzugefügt sei, dass der Standort aller dieser Herrenhäuser mit grossem Geschmack gewählt

ist. In weiten Parks, zuweilen auf kleinen Anhöhen gelegen, spiegeln sie sich häufig in künstlichen Seen und Teichen oder gewinnen durch weite Rasenflächen den entsprechenden Rahmen zur Entfaltung ihrer künstlerischen Wirkung. Allerdings ist eine Reihe dieser Bauten dem Untergange geweiht, da ihre Besitzer infolge der Agrarreform nicht mehr über die Mittel zu ihrer Instandhaltung verfügen.

Im allgemeinen ist vom 19. Jahrhundert an die Errichtung bedeutender kirchlicher Bauten in den grösseren Städten Litauens zum Abschluss gekommen. Dagegen nimmt der Kirchenbau in der Provinz einen grossen Aufschwung. Hier übt jedoch das Vorbild der Antike einen weit geringeren Einfluss aus als die neue Romantik, welche die Formen des Mittelalters wieder aufleben lässt. Über diese Periode sagt Prof. Weber in seinem schon erwähnten Aufsatz: „Die Schönheit hochstrebender spitzer Türme und schmaler hoher Spitzbogenfenster, der Reiz der natürlichen Backsteinfarbe, wurden wieder entdeckt. Eine zweite grosse Schicht gotischer roter Backsteinkirchen legt sich nun über Litauens Städte und Dörfer, dieses Mal allerdings nur Nachahmungen wirklicher Gotik" [illegible]). Beispiele sind hierfür die Kirchen von Jonava und Vilkija an der Memel sowie die von Tiesenhausen erbaute Kirche von Rokiškis. Im übrigen ist die zweite Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts eine Zeit der Nachahmungen aller möglichen Stile, und auch in Litauen völlig abhängig von jenem Eklektizismus und der daraus resultierenden Stilverwirrung, die für den Westen charakteristisch ist. So finden wir auch im späteren Kirchenbau häufig eine nicht mehr organisch zu nennende Aneinanderreihung der verschiedensten Stilformen. Dass im Verlaufe dieser Neurenaissance auch der Barockstil seine Auferstehung feierte, sehen wir unter anderem an dem früheren Gouvernementspalais, dem heutigen Palais des Staatspräsidenten. Die Barockfassade ist hier durch zwei seitliche Risalite mit einer Rustika gut gegliedert. Der Dachabschluss, ein auf Konsolen ruhendes Gesimse, führt in leichter Schwingung über das Portal und die seitlichen Risalite. Die Schwingung findet ihre Entsprechung in eigenartig gestalteten

Schornsteinen. Aus allerjüngster Zeit endlich stammt das in diesem Zusammenhange gleichfalls zu nennende Gebäude des Staatstheaters, dessen Front durch drei hohe Fenster eine besondere Leichtigkeit der Gliederung erfährt. Die gebrochene Linienführung des Dachs, die sich in grossen Voluten fortsetzt, unterstreicht den Eindruck des Lebendigen, Bewegten und Graziösen.

Wir stehen damit schon mitten in der Moderne, welche durch das gewaltige Ereignis des Weltkrieges und die Wiederaufrichtung des litauischen Staates einen völligen Umschwung aller Lebensverhältnisse mit sich bringt. Diese Umschichtung erfolgt auch auf dem Gebiete der sozialen Gliederung: Waren ursprünglich nur zwei grosse Klassen — Adel und Bauerntum — vorhanden gewesen, neben denen die Arbeiterschaft nur auf dem Lande eine gewisse Bedeutung erlangte, so beginnt sich jetzt, wie wir zu Beginn dieses Kapitels sahen, ein neuer Stand, eine städtische Mittelschicht, herauszukristallisieren. Eine wie grosse Bedeutung dem städtischen Mittelstande für die Entfaltung der kulturellen Kräfte eines Volkes zukommt, dafür ist die Architektur des Ostens ganz allgemein das lebendigste Beispiel. Im Gegensatz zu westlichen Ländern, die neben den öffentlichen und kirchlichen Bauten einen geschlossenen Kreis künstlerisch wertvoller Bürgerhäuser aufweisen, fehlt diese Architektur in Litauen völlig. Der einfache halb ländliche Stadtbewohner baute die Jahrhunderte hindurch sein Haus entweder in einem ganz kunstlosen Backsteinstil — die unverputzten einstöckigen Backsteinhäuser waren geradezu typisch für den hauptsächlich von Juden bewohnten Kern der kleinen litauischen Landstädte — oder aber er blieb beim altgewohnten Holzbau stehen. Letzterer wurde fast ohne Änderungen in die Stadt übertragen und ist vor allem für die Aussenbezirke nicht nur der kleinen Flecken, sondern auch der grösseren Städte charakteristisch. „Die Stetigkeit der Überlieferung ist ganz überraschend. Das eigentliche Volk ist von allen Wandlungen der „grossen Baukunst" unberührt geblieben, mochten die fremden Einwanderer, mochten Kirche und Adel bauen, wie sie wollten" [27]).

Der neue städtische Mittelstand, der nach dem Weltkriege zum Träger der Staatsidee und des kulturellen Fortschritts wird, hat das äussere Bild der Städte des Landes in wenigen Jahren stark verändert, zumal Staat und Kommunen durch Asphaltierungen grossen Masstabes und Schaffung von Grünanlagen den äusseren Rahmen für die neuen Bürgerhäuser gaben. Man sieht dies am deutlichsten in Kaunas. Abgesehen vom eigentlichen Zentrum, überwiegt das Einzelwohnhaus, obwohl bei dem verhältnismässig geringen zur Verfügung stehenden Raum in den Innenbezirken häufig das Reihenhaus das Gegebene wäre. Das Wachstum der Stadt, das in einem geradezu amerikanischen Tempo erfolgte, die ausserordentliche Wohnungsnot und die Selbständigkeit der Bauherren führten in den ersten Jahren zu einer nicht organischen Entwicklung. In dieser fand die künstlerische Architektur zunächst keinen Boden, sollte doch das erste und notwendigste Ziel lediglich das sein, für die schnell wachsende Bevölkerung der Stadt vier Wände und ein Dach über dem Kopf zu schaffen. Auch die Holzarchitektur wurde von diesen Lebensnotwendigkeiten hart getroffen, denn es wurden in den meisten Fällen jetzt nicht mehr wie vordem die behaglichen Formen des geräumigen Bauernhauses in die Stadt übertragen, sondern es entstanden nüchterne, viereckige blechgedeckte Holzbauten, aus Parterre und Obergeschoss bestehend, lieblos in kahle Höfe gesetzt — Konjunkturbauten, bei denen schon das Vorhandensein eines Gärtchens oder einiger blühender Sträucher zu den Ausnahmen gehört. Neben jene stillosen kastenartigen Bauten aus Holz oder Stein treten aber gerade in letzter Zeit nach Befriedigung der dringendsten Wohnbedürfnisse verschiedene Versuche, das Wohnproblem auch nach dem künstlerischen Vorbild des Westens zu lösen, vor allem bei kleineren Eigenhäusern und Villen im Landhausstil. Die Entwicklung ist hier noch im vollen Fluss, sodass ein abschliessendes Urteil verfrüht wäre, ist die Bautätigkeit doch trotz der schwierigen Wirtschaftslage und der grossen Krise, die im Jahre 1931 begann, nicht zum Stillstand gekommen.

Auch in der öffentlichen Bautätigkeit hat das bauliche Denken des Westens seinen Niederschlag gefunden. Allerdings vermochte man sich hier zunächst noch nicht von der Vorliebe für den repräsentativen Baustil der Vorkriegszeit zu lösen, für den etwa die pompöse Säulengliederung der Bank von Litauen oder die Fassade des Justizpalastes charakteristisch sind. Freie Behandlung antiker Formelemente spricht aus dem kleinen Bau der Kunstschule.

Neben vorwiegend auf Repräsentation bedachten Bauten, wie sie gerade für die ersten Jahre neuer Staatlichkeit verständlich erscheinen, treten andere, in denen die Auffassung einer neuen Öffentlichkeit schon von aussen sichtbar wird, denken wir etwa an die neue Hauptpost mit ihren breiten geschwungenen Glasfenstern, hinter denen in Einheitsräumen der ganze öffentliche Betrieb — dies gilt übrigens auch für die Inneneinrichtung der Litauischen Bank — sich vor den Augen des Publikums abspielt. Immerhin werden auch hier Fassade und Gliederung stark betont, und an dem Eindruck des Repräsentativen, des Rhythmus und der Proportionen, wird mit Bewusstsein festgehalten. Überhaupt finden wir nur bei ganz wenigen dieser öffentlichen Bauten das Bestreben, sich ganz auf das Zweckmässige zu beschränken und den Bau von dem Ausdruck des Menschlichen zu befreien. Selbst ein moderner Betonbau wie das Gebäude der Kauener Kreisverwaltung in der Hauptstrasse verzichtet nicht auf eine wohl durchgeführte Gliederung — pilasterartig durchgebildete Vertikalen, gegen welche die kräftigen Horizontalen der seitlichen Risalite abgewogen sind — das Ganze klar, kühl, durch die Schmalheit der zahlreichen Fenster abweisend und unpersönlich zwar, aber doch bei allem Zweckausdruck von bewusster Vornehmheit. Bei anderen Gebäuden wieder treffen wir auf Versuche, die Zweckformen moderner Architektur durch dekorative Ornamentik und Schmuckmotive zu beleben, so etwa bei der Staatlichen Versicherungsanstalt, wo allerdings der Eindruck des organischen Zusammenhanges nicht erreicht ist. Dagegen stellt der Deckenschmuck im Innern der Hauptpost eine durchaus glückliche Lösung dar.

Mit zu den interessantesten Bauten der jüngsten Zeit gehört das Museum Vytautas des Grossen aus dem Jahre 1935. Bei diesem Gebäude, das den alten Erinnerungen einer ruhmvollen Vorzeit gewidmet ist, erscheint der Festungscharakter der ganzen Anlage als beabsichtigt, wenngleich die Frontalseite des Baus in einem etwas zu starken Gegensatz zur Rückseite steht. Auf einem unteren Stockwerk mit zwei seitlichen Flügeln, dessen Fassade durch eine ausserordentlich grosse Anzahl breiter, symmetrisch angelegter Fenster gegliedert ist, baut sich das geschlossene fensterlose Mauerwerk des Obergeschosses auf. Namentlich die mächtigen Seitenflügel wirken durch einheitliche weisse Mauerflächen, während das Risalit der Mittelfassade durch schlank aufstrebende Pilaster gegliedert wird, welche fast zu mächtig für das Gebälk erscheinen, das auf ihnen ruht. Auf die klare Trennung von tragenden und getragenen Teilen, die Harmonisierung von Stütze und Last im Sinne des konservativen ästhetischen Empfindens ist hier absolut Verzicht geleistet. Ein einziges Beispiel aus der Vergangenheit, der Dogenpalast zu Venedig, lässt eine ähnliche Massenverteilung erkennen. Vielleicht ist dieses Beispiel jedoch zu weit hergeholt, denn tatsächlich hat sich das Strukturgefühl des modernen Architekten durch die Verwendung von Stahlgerippe und Beton gegenüber einer noch jungen Vergangenheit ja grundlegend gewandelt. Dafür erscheint auch dieses Gebäude, das selbstverständlich auch auf Widersprüche gestossen ist[25]), charakteristisch. Der hohe neben dem Museum errichtete Turm ist mit diesem durch eine Art Wehrgang verbunden, dessen Arkaden in der Gesamtanlage allerdings keine Entsprechung finden. Die Innenarchitektur des Gebäudes erfüllt mit ihren grossen lichten Ausstellungssälen und Büroräumen in guter Weise den Zweck, für den das Museum bestimmt ist.

Aus der grossen Anzahl der öffentlichen Gebäude, die seit Wiederaufrichtung des Staates entstanden sind, können in diesem Zusammenhange nur die wenigen besprochen werden, die für die Strömungen in der neueren Architektur des Landes charakteristisch erscheinen. Einheitliche Linien sind dabei

noch nicht zu erkennen, es sei denn in jüngster Zeit der Übergang vom Stein-, zum Beton- und Stahlrippenbau. Neben dem schon besprochenen Gebäude der Kauener Kreisverwaltung ist für diesen Stil das Gebäude der Landbank kennzeichnend. Hier ist man auf dem Wege zur Versachlichung schon erheblich weiter fortgeschritten. Es ist ein Gebäude von völliger Anonymität und Unpersönlichkeit. Grosse durchgehende Vertikalen teilen den Baublock in schmale Fensterstreifen. Er wird aus Fläche und Linie heraus symmetrisch gestaltet, ohne dekorative Elemente, ohne Beziehungen zum Menschlichen — ein vielstöckiges Bürohaus mit einem regelmässigen Nebeneinander von Fenstern und von zweckbedingter Logik des Aufbaus. Der Bau der Landbank, in dem auch das Ministerium des Auswärtigen untergebracht ist, wurde 1935 vollendet.

Nicht ohne Interesse ist es, dass der neueste Warenhausstil — Stahlhäuser mit breiten plakatartigen Horizontalflächen — wie er etwa für die jüngste Entwicklung in Holland (aber auch in Deutschland) charakteristisch ist, in Litauen bisher keinen Anklang gefunden hat. Vielleicht hängt dies auch mit klimatischen Gründen zusammen, da in einem nördlichen Lande dem Ausbau breiter Fensterflächen naturgemäss Hindernisse entgegenstehen. Einen leichten Anklang finden wir vielleicht im Hause des Verbandes der Molkereigenossenschaften (Pienocentras).

Auch in der Provinz ist die staatliche und kommunale Bautätigkeit in den letzten Jahrzehnten eine sehr rege gewesen. Schon dem flüchtigen Betrachter, der Litauen etwa aus der Vorkriegszeit kennt, dürfte es auffallen, dass auf allen Eisenbahnstrecken an die Stelle der früheren russischen Holzbaracken steinerne Bahnhofsgebäude getreten sind. Der Eindruck verstärkt sich bei einem Besuch vor allem der Kreisstädte, denn in wenigen Jahren ist hier eine ganze Reihe grosser Bauten nach westlichen Vorbildern entstanden, so vor allem Schulen und Krankenhäuser von oft überraschenden und doch notwendigen Ausmassen (z. B. in Kėdainiai), daneben viele andere öffentliche und private Gebäude. Für alle

diese Bauten erscheint das Bestreben massgebend, unter Anlehnung an bewährte westliche Formen den im Vordergrunde stehenden jeweiligen Zweck des Gebäudes mit einer harmonischen Gestaltung und einem ästnetischen Gesamteindruck zu verbinden.

Völlig gewandelt hat sich das Gesicht namentlich solcher Städte, die wie Šiauliai durch den Weltkrieg ganz oder teilweise zerstört waren und neu in Stein aufgebaut wurden. So vollzieht sich der Übergang zum Steinbau in der Provinz mit immer grösserer Schnelligkeit und greift auch, vor allem durch das Vorbild der amerikanischen Rückwanderer, auf das Dorf über. Beschleunigt wird diese Entwicklung durch das Bestreben, den an sich nicht grossen Waldbestand des Landes nach Möglichkeit zu schützen und zu erhalten. Vielleicht werden nur noch wenige Jahrzehnte vergehen, und das „steinerne Litauen", welches heute schon in den baulichen Diskussionen eine grosse Rolle spielt, wird teilweise Wirklichkeit geworden sein. Damit würde auch der Charakter der litauischen Landschaft eine grundlegende vorläufig noch unvorstellbare Wandlung erfahren.

B. MALEREI UND PLASTIK

1. DIE ENTWICKLUNG BIS ZUM WELTKRIEGE

Die Paläste der Radvilas, der Paz, der Sapiehas und vieler anderer liegen heute in Trümmern. Nur noch die eine oder andere Ruine erinnert in ihren riesigen Ausmassen an die Macht der früheren Herren des Landes. Mit den Schlössern Litauens wurden zugleich auch die kostbaren Bilderschätze vernichtet, die sie enthielten. So ging im Jahre 1830 die Gemäldegalerie der Fürstin Sapieha in Flammen auf. Auch die Kunstsammlung der Radvilas wurde halb zerstört. Der Aufstand

des Jahres 1863 vernichtete den wertvollsten Teil der archäologischen Sammlung des Museums von Vilnius. Wertvolle Kunstgegenstände wurden von den Russen nach Petersburg, Moskau und Kiew verschleppt, wo sie in den dortigen Galerien Aufstellung fanden, wenn sie nicht gleichfalls verbrannt wurden; das letztere geschah zum Beispiel mit dem Rest der Sapieha-Galerie auf Befehl des Zaren Nikolaus I. Die grösste Zerstörung aber brachte der Weltkrieg mit sich. Mit ihm wurde eine jahrhundertealte Tradition zu Grabe getragen, die niemand mehr zum Leben erweckt.

Die neue litauische Malerei erwuchs aus diesen Gründen auf einem ganz selbständigen Boden, ohne Tradition, ohne Verbindung mit der künstlerischen Vergangenheit des Landes. Die jungen litauischen Maler suchten und fanden die Seele ihres Volkes in der heimatlichen Natur und in der heldischen Vorzeit ihres Volkes. Teilweise bauten sie auch auf der alten bäuerlichen Volkskunst, die in unsere Zeit herüber ragt, weiter. Um die Wende des 19. Jahrhunderts erreicht das Kunstleben in Litauen seine erste Blüte. Im Jahre 1907 wird die erste litauische Kunstgesellschaft in Vilnius gegründet.

Um den Beginn des litauischen Kunstlebens, das sich in der alten Hauptstadt des Landes konzentrierte, zu verstehen, muss man berücksichtigen, in wie starkem Masse dieses geistige Leben — gleich, ob es sich um Malerei, Dichtung oder Wissenschaft handelte — in einem einzigen Brennpunkt zusammengefasst wurde — der nationalen Idee. Der Gedanke der Befreiung des Volkes vom russischen Joch, zunächst noch nicht als absolute staatliche Selbständigkeit gedacht, gewann ja erst wirkliche Gestalt in dem Augenblick, in dem die verschütteten Quellen des Volksbewusstseins wieder zu rauschen begannen. Im Dienste dieser Idee standen teilweise auch die Anfänge der bildenden Kunst. In Sagen und Märchen, in den Volksliedern, in den Schnitzereien und Webearbeiten des Dorfes lagen die Elemente verborgen, denen jene erste Künstlergeneration nun erst den Begriff der volkseigenen Schöpfung gab, indem sie sie ins Bewusstsein erhob. Die Volkskunst

wurde damit zum Symbol des eigenen Wertes, zum Sinnbild aber auch all' dessen, was das eigene Volk von den Nachbarvölkern trennte und unterschied. Aus solchen Ideen heraus entstand das grosse Bilderwerk der „Litauischen Kreuze", welches die Kunstgesellschaft 1912 in Vilnius herausgab. Neben eindrucksvollen Zeichnungen von Antanas Jaroševiičius steht ein einführender Aufsatz von Dr. Basanavičius, der mit den Mitteln der historischen Forschung den gleichen Zweck verfolgte — das Bewusstsein für die Werte der eigenen Volkskunst zu wecken, indem man sie aus archaischer Vorzeit herleitet und dadurch in eine besondere Beleuchtung rückt. Die Bedeutung der Geschichte wurde somit zur zweiten Wurzel dieser Bestrebungen. Aus den Taten einer ruhmreichen Vergangenheit ergaben sich von selbst die Ideale der Gegenwart, ergab sich vor allem das Leitmotiv, dass Litauen einmal ein mächtiger Staat gewesen sei und darum nicht untergehen dürfe.

Allerdings wirkten solche Gedanken nicht auf alle Künstler in gleicher Stärke und äusserten sich zeitlich verschieden. Weit von der Heimat verblasste bei manchen die Glut dieser Ideen. Fremde Vorwürfe gewinnen Einfluss, die Macht der westlichen Kunstströmungen — Realismus und Impressionismus — lässt jene Quelle vergessen, aus der eine selbständige litauische Kunst hätte schöpfen können — die Volkskunst. Erst weit später, unter dem Eindruck des Expressionismus, ist hier eine Wandlung eingetreten, wie später gezeigt werden soll.

Ein drittes aber behält für alle diese Künstler seinen besonderen Klang, gleich, ob sie lange Jahre im Ausland geweilt, oder in der Heimat gearbeitet haben. Dieses dritte ist die Erde — die litauische Landschaft, der sie alle entstammten, und die in ihren tausendfältigen Stimmungen immer von neuem in ihrer Seele aufklingt — das kleine verträumte Dorf, der rauschende Bach, die weite Schneelandschaft des Winters. So wird die heimatliche Landschaft zum Symbol aller dessen, für das man kämpfte.

Damit sind die Themen für jene erste Künstlergeneration teilweise gegeben. Wir sehen dies zum Beispiel an dem Bilde „Vision" von Antanas Zmuidzinavičius (geb. 1876). Ein mystischer Reiter jagt am Horizont einer nächtlichen Friedhofslandschaft entlang. In der Rechten schwingt er das Schwert. Aber der Reiter ist eine Symbolisierung des Vytis, des alten litauischen Wappenritters, und das Bild atmet nicht sowohl eine romantische Stimmung der Vergangenheit, als die Prophezeiung einer Zukunft. So wird auch der Erfolg, den Zmuidzinavičius gerade in jener Zeit mit seinem romantischen Realismus erntete, mit dem er die Vergangenheit des Volkes belebt, durchaus verständlich. Daneben wird er der Repräsentant einer realistischen, mehr akademischen Landschaftsmalerei, welche nicht nur die ersten Anfänge der litauischen Kunst beherrscht. Seine Ausbildung gewann er auf weiten Reisen in Deutschland, Paris und Italien. Im Jahre 1906 kehrte er nach Vilnius zurück. Wir besitzen von dem Künstler ausgezeichnete Landschaften — in einigen erwächst die befriedete Traumschönheit der litauischen Wälder und Seen zu wahrem Ausdruck. Viele sind nicht „realistisch" im üblichen Sinne des Wortes, und aus den besten spricht jene „nuoširdumas", mit welcher die litauische Sprache die Echtheit eines tiefinneren Gefühls und eines lyrischen Stimmungsgehaltes bezeichnet.

Immerhin besteht bei einer Kunst, die sich hauptsächlich in Wiedererzählung ergeht, die Gefahr, dem Publikumsgeschmack Konzessionen zu machen. Es sei hier nicht nur an einige Gemälde im Kriegsmuseum gedacht, in denen einzelne Ereignisse aus der Geschichte des Landes gleichsam illustriert werden, und in denen sichtlich ein anderer als ein rein künstlerischer Zweck angestrebt wird. Im allgemeinen bewegt sich die litauische Malerei von jener Zeit an bis in die jüngste Vergangenheit auf der Linie Realismus—Impressionismus. Auch für die Malerei gilt somit mutatis mutandis jenes konservative Element, das wir schon bei der Entwicklung der Architektur feststellten. Zweifellos barg diese heute allerdings überwundene Entwicklung eine zweite Gefahr, die der Beurteilung von Kunstwerken durch ein noch ungeschultes Publikum drohte,

indem die Aufmerksamkeit des Betrachters vorwiegend auf die Novelle des Bildes gerichtet blieb.

Neben Zmuidzinavičius treten aus jener ersten Künstlergeneration selbständige Persönlichkeiten hervor, die eigene Wege beschreiten. In den Aquarellen von Kajetonas Šklėrius-Šklėrys (gest. 1932) spiegelt sich der ganze malerische Zauber der Atmosphäre, deren Reiz der Künstler mit sinnlicher Verfeinerung nachgeht. Leuchtkraft der Farben zeigen namentlich seine italienischen Landschaften, Früchte langer Reisen nach dem Süden. Gerade die Landschaft des Südens, in welcher die Sonne bis in die tiefsten Fernen hinein die Gegenstände entschleiert, gab dem Impressionisten den Vorwurf für eine Reihe schöner Aquarelle. Neben dieser problemlosen Harmonie steht der Stimmungsgehalt der litauischen Landschaft — verschneite Gärten draussen vor der Stadt, Birken am Wege, in denen ein zarter träumerischer Grundakkord mitschwingt, Ausschnitte aus Herbstlandschaften, fein abgetönt in den Farben, alles mit einer grossen Sensibilität und der Unmittelbarkeit des Naturerlebnisses gesehen. Auch aus den Stilleben dieses Künstlers spricht eine hohe farbige Kultur, teilweise durchtränkt von visionärem Stimmungsgehalt. Weniger charakteristisch erscheinen seine Porträts.

Eine starke Persönlichkeit spricht aus Adomas Varnas (geb. 1879), dessen Schaffen verschiedene Stufen der Entwicklung durchgemacht hat. Auch er begann wie Zmuidzinavičius mit symbolischen Darstellungen, auch er blieb dem Realismus sein Leben lang treu, aber er gelangte darin zu einem eigenen Formgefühl, zu einer neuen gesteigerten Auffassung der Wirklichkeit, die ihn bei der Gestaltung des Gegenständlichen zu immer stärkerer Vereinfachung trieb. Auch in seiner Farbgebung wirkt sich dies aus. In seinen späteren Bildern wird seine Distance zur Natur grösser, die lyrische Kontemplation weicht einer mehr verstandesmässigen Auffassung, die vielleicht kühler lässt, seinen Interpretationen der litauischen Landschaft aber eine eigene persönliche Note gibt. Nach langen Jahren des Schweigens, während derer der Künstler seine ganze Kraft der Erforschung der litauischen Holzkunst, vor

allem der Dachkreuze, widmete, trat er mit Schöpfungen vor die Öffentlichkeit, bei denen eine stärkere Lapidarität der Pinselführung hervortritt. Am stärksten zeigt sich die darstellerische Kraft von Varnas in seinen Porträts, die, was Charakteristik und Wiedergabe des Persönlichen anbelangt, zu den besten gehören, welche von litauischen Malern bisher geschaffen worden sind. Seine Köpfe wirken durch ihren überlebensgrossen Masstab, durch starke Vereinfachung der Einzelheiten und die Kunst der Steigerung. Sehr fein ist der Kopf des Gymnasialdirektors Žilinskis mit dem nach innen gekehrten Blick und der tiefen Nachdenklichkeit herausgearbeitet, und von starker Einprägsamkeit das schon 1912 geschaffene Selbstporträt des Künstlers mit seiner Frau — zwei Köpfe, lebendig vorwärts drängend, mit weit geöffneten Augen und fliegenden Haaren dem Sturme entgegen. Prachtvoll ist hier das Element der Bewegung gestaltet, die Köpfe so nahe, dass wir ihren Atem zu spüren glauben, während alles Ferne sich in unbestimmten Tönen auflöst, in denen man die Wellen des Meeres heranrauschen fühlt [29]).

Mit zu den begabtesten Impressionisten der älteren Generation gehört Petras Kalpokas (geb. 1880). Auch er hat sich wie viele andere der litauischen Künstler lange Jahre in der Schweiz und Italien aufgehalten, was auf seine Entwicklung nicht ohne Einfluss geblieben ist. Über ihn schreibt Galaunė: „Er ist ein Impressionist grossen Stils, in seiner Technik frei bis zur Kühnheit. Seine Porträts verraten den Einfluss der italienischen Malerei. In seinen litauischen Landschaften hat er es verstanden, die wesentlichsten Züge dieser so eigenartigen Natur hervortreten zu lassen. In seiner „Versuchung Christi" und in seiner „Pietà" bemüht er sich, die Psyche des litauischen Volkes wiederzugeben" [30]). Kalpokas hatte sich schon vor dem Weltkriege in Russland einen Namen gemacht. Eine grössere Anzahl seiner Bilder befand sich bei Ausbruch des Weltkrieges auf dem Wege zu einer Ausstellung in München und ist leider den kriegerischen Ereignissen zum Opfer gefallen .Zu seinen besten Werken gehören eine Reihe von Landschaften und sein Selbstporträt.

PIETÀ

opp. 176

Zur älteren Generation zu rechnen ist endlich Jonas Šileika, der seine Ausbildung in München genossen hat, ein starkes künstlerisches Temperament, ganz beherrscht von der Freude an farbigen Kompositionen und dekorativen Wirkungen, in seinen Porträts ein Realist mit dem Bestreben zu verinnerlichen und zu beseelen (Porträt einer Dame 1926, Čiurlionis-Galerie). Sein Porträt der Schriftstellerin Žemaitė wurde 1920 in Chikago mit einem Preise ausgezeichnet.

Unter den Künstlern, die sich ausschliesslich zur Skulptur hingezogen fühlten, fand frühzeitig Petras Rimša (geb. 1881), der dem akademischen Naturalismus nahesteht, Anerkennung. Rimša ist einer der Künstler, in dessen Schaffen die soziale und politische Not seines Volkes vor dem Weltkriege einen besonderen Klang gewinnt, und dessen Anteilnahme auch an den aktuellen Problemen seiner Zeit eine weit lebendigere ist als die mancher anderer. Weiten Kreisen bekannt wurde er durch eine Skulptur „Der Kampf", in welcher der litauische Wappenreiter im Kampf mit dem polnischen Adler gezeigt wird, den er niederzwingt — eine Skulptur, die in polnischen Kreisen so starke Entrüstung erregte, dass sie der Künstler selbst in einer Aufwallung von Zorn zertrümmerte. Eine zweite berühmte Skulptur, „Die litauische Schule", ruft jene Zeit der russischen Unterdrückung ins Gedächtnis zurück, in der (1864—1904) das litauische Buch und die litauische Schule verboten waren. Sie zeigt eine Mutter am Spinnrad, die ihren kleinen Sohn lesen lehrt. Ganz abgesehen von dem höchst einprägsamen Vorwurf ist die Charakteristik der beiden Figuren auch künstlerisch gut durchgeführt. Später ging der Künstler dazu über, seine Skulpturen durch die Graphik der volkstümlichen Zierornamentik zu beleben. So entstanden teilweise sehr originelle Schöpfungen. Aus den letzten Jahren endlich stammen einige Medaillen und Bronceplaketten, die eine klare Komposition mit gediegener Stilisierung vereinigen.

Neben Rimša wurde Juozas Zikaras bekannt. Letzterer steht unter dem Einfluss der Entwicklung des 19. Jahrhunderts, in welchem die Skulptur sich völlig von der Architektur

trennte, das Gebiet der monumentalen Gestaltung verliess und sich in ihrem Ausdruck der Malerei näherte. So ist seine Kunst Kleinkunst im Sinne des Impressionismus geblieben. Auf diesem Gebiete hat Zikaras verschiedene glücklich durchgeführte Skulpturen, Medaillen und Basreliefs geschaffen. Ein kühner Versuch war seine satirische Stilisierung einer „modernen Madonna", ein Basrelief, das eine moderne Frau im kurzen Rock, der damaligen Mode, und übereinandergeschlagenen Beinen zeigt, welche ihr Kind mit einem Ausdruck betrachtet „wie eine Mutter, die ihr Kind nicht liebt, sondern es nur wie einen ungebetenen Gast duldet" [31]).

Damit ist die erste Generation der Künstler, deren Werke im Jahre 1907 auf der ersten litauischen Kunstausstellung vertreten waren, in ihren wesentlichen Persönlichkeiten kurz charakterisiert. Nicht weniger als 23 Künstler waren mit 242 Bildern vertreten. Von weither wurden die Gemälde gesandt — sie kamen aus Russland, aus Polen, aus der Schweiz, aus Italien, Tirol und Frankreich — denn sehr viele dieser Künstler lebten in jener Zeit ausser Landes. An der Spitze des Kunstvereins, der in den folgenden Jahren noch eine Reihe weiterer Ausstellungen veranstaltete, stand neben Rimša Antanas Zmuidzinavičius, einer der lebendigsten Vorkämpfer jener Künstlergeneration, der seine organisatorische Begabung ganz in den Dienst dieser Idee stellte [32]). An ihre Seite trat ein dritter, der Komponist und Maler Mykolas Čiurlionis, ein Künstler, der in jener Zeit durch seine Schöpfungen die Aufmerksamkeit der massgebenden russischen Kunstkreise auf sich lenkte.

Geboren 1875 als Sohn eines Organisten in Druskininkai, wurde Čiurlionis als Knabe in die Privatkapelle des Fürsten Oginski in Plungė aufgenommen. Seine ungewöhnliche musikalische Begabung und sein liebenswerter Charakter veranlassten den Fürsten, ihn auf die Konservatorien von Warschau und Leipzig zu schicken. Im Jahre 1901 finden wir ihn aus Deutschland zurückgekehrt in Warschau, wo er sich nach dem Tode seines Mäzens von Musikstunden unterhält. Um diese

Zeit beginnt sein meteorgleicher Aufstieg als Maler und Zeichner. 1907 siedelt er nach Vilnius über, zwei Jahre später nach Petersburg. Hier im Zentrum des russischen Kunstlebens erreicht sein Schaffen seinen Höhepunkt. Ganz plötzlich jedoch erfolgt ein jäher Absturz. Eine schwere Erkrankung überfällt ihn, und es beginnt eine Auflösung seiner Geisteskräfte. 36 Jahre alt stirbt er 1910 im Sanatorium.

In der eigenwilligen Persönlichkeit von Čiurlionis erstrahlt wie in einem Prisma die Eigenart seines mystisch veranlagten Volkes. Aus seinen Schöpfungen spricht der elementare Mensch, wie er aus der litauischen Landschaft erwächst, ohne sich innerlich von ihr zu trennen, der Mensch, in dessen Wesen die weit Ebene des Ostens aufleuchtet und mit ihm verschmilzt wie die ganze ihn umgebende Natur mit Blume, Berg und Fels. Hieraus erwächst seine künstlerische Besonderheit. Das tief musikalische und rhythmische Element, das ihn vorwärts treibt, lässt ihn nach dem direkten Ausdruck für seine künstlerischen Offenbarungen streben. So verzichtet er bewusst auf alles Konventionelle, verzichtet sogar darauf, sein inneres Schauen durch das Medium des Stofflichen hindurchzupressen und so zu verdunkeln. Erfüllt von einer kosmischen Religiosität überträgt er die Mittel der Musik auf die Farbe und gestaltet Präludien, Hymnen, Sonaten und Symphonien. Sein letztes Werk ist ein Tempera-Gemälde — Hymnus an die untergehende Sonne.

Von der lyrischen Stimmung aber gelangt er zur Anschauung der reinen Form. So sieht er die Wirklichkeit, die hinter den Dingen liegt, und die sich ihm in geometrischen Gesetzmässigkeiten offenbart. Er gestaltet mit unendlich zarten Farben seine imaginäre Landschaft in edlem Aufbau unwirklicher Gebirge und weiter Ebenen, erfüllt den Raum mit durchsichtigen Formen, aus denen nur noch das rhythmische und geometrische Prinzip der Materie hervorleuchtet. Die menschliche Gestalt ist hier mit Notwendigkeit ausgeschaltet. Heinrich Schaeder, dem wir einige sehr feine Bemerkungen über Čiurlionis verdanken, betont vor allem das kosmische Element,

das sich in seinen Bildern offenbart, so in den „Pyramiden": „Reine Kristallgebilde, Pyramiden und Obelisken, gewinnen Fläche, werden Schöpfer ihres eigenen Raumes. Frühlingswind wirft sich zwischen die vielen Arme zweier Kandelaber und reisst lange Lichtbahnen schräg gen Himmel. — Ein gewaltiges Gesicht: Auf der Erdkugel ruht „Rex", der Lenker, eine durchsichtige gradlinig umsäumte Fläche, die durch zwei Himmelssphären emporragt. Wolken schwingen in der unteren, in der oberen brausen Kometenheere auf die Ruhe des Mittelpunktes zu. Hier ist die brausende Bewegung der Sphären wahrhaft gestaltet". Oder der Künstler durchwandert die Tierkreise des Himmelsgewölbes (Zodiakas). „In endlosen Fernen, in erdenfremden Welten erheben sich die hieratisch strengen Gestalten der Jungfrau, des Wassermanns. Und über ihnen steht ihr Sternbild" [illegible]).

Neben solchen Visionen stehen schlichtere menschlich tiefe Sinngebungen und Symbole. Das Sinnbild der Freundschaft — ein kostbares Kristall, dargereicht mit geschlossenen Augen und der rührenden Bewegung der Hingebung, das Schicksal — ein Kind auf einer blühenden Wiese, unwirklich jenseitig Gestalt und Landschaft — darüber ein schwarzer Vogel mit riesigen ausgebreiteten Schwingen. Die Zahl solcher Erklärungen liesse sich vermehren, und doch wäre damit für das Verständnis dieses Malers wenig gewonnen; denn genau so wenig wie in allen anderen Bildern ist die Materie hier als Materie gesehen, sondern ragt hinüber in eine zweite Ebene der Wirklichkeit, die von der unseren nur die äusseren Formen entlehnt. Zuweilen äussert sich die Kraft dieses Meisters auch in Schöpfungen, die ganz in der Landschaft seiner Heimat wurzeln, ganz von ihrer Stimmung durchtränkt sind wie sein „Friedhof in Schamaiten". Aber auch hier erwächst aus der Landschaft, die er gestaltet, das tiefere Sinnbild der Vergänglichkeit alles Irdischen.

Was bei all' diesen Bildern den Empfängnisfähigen erschüttert, ist die tief innere Notwendigkeit, der sie ihr Dasein verdanken, dieses Ringen der Seele um eine erhabene Anschauung

des Kosmos. Čiurlionis gehört zu jenen Menschen, die ihr Licht von innen bekommen wie etwa Beethoven und Rilke. Was sie schaffen, geschieht nicht aus irgendwelchen Eindrücken der Aussenwelt heraus, die dann künstlerisch verarbeitet werden, sondern alles ist innere Schau. Ein unhemmbarer Zwang treibt sie zur Darstellung ihrer Visionen. Wie stark dieser innere Zwang bei Čiurlionis war, beweist die von seinem Bruder mitgeteilte Tatsache, dass der kranke Künstler noch in seinen letzten Monaten in der Nacht, wenn alles im Sanatorium zur Ruhe gegangen war, bei Kerzenlicht bis zum dämmernden Morgen ununterbrochen malte [34]).

So ist Čiurlionis' Kunst eine einmalige. Er ist einer jener seltenen Meister, die auch in grossen Völkern nur im Verlaufe langer Intervalle einmal geboren werden. Der grösste Teil seiner Gemälde — 148 Schöpfungen in Öl, Tempera und Pastell und 35 graphische Arbeiten — befindet sich heute in der staatlichen Gemäldegalerie zu Kaunas, die im Vytautas-Museum untergebracht worden ist. Seinen Stil, d. h. die äussere Form der Darstellung, übernahm Šimonis, der die Wirklichkeit in vielen seiner Bilder gleichfalls in geometrische Figuren auflöst. Von seinen farbigen Kompositionen geht eine grosse Leuchtkraft aus. Šimonis hat sich besonders als Illustrator einen Namen gemacht [35]).

2. NEUERE STRÖMUNGEN

Der erste Frühling der litauischen Kunst ging durch den Weltkrieg zuende, der sich lähmend auf alles geistige Schaffen legen musste und die litauischen Künstler in alle Welt zerstreute. Immerhin wurden gerade durch den Krieg einige dieser Maler auch in Deutschland bekannt, so Varnas und Zmuidzinavičius, deren Bilder auf der grossen litauischen Ausstellung in Königsberg im Jahre 1918 verschiedene anerkennende Besprechungen in der deutschen Presse erfuhren [36]). Erst nach Beendigung des Krieges kehren die übrigen Künstler

zurück. Der Beginn einer neuen Staatlichkeit gibt ihrem Schaffen jetzt einen weiteren Rahmen. Damals (1919) entsteht ein „Litauischer Kunstverein", der das Erbe des ersten Kunstvereins antritt, zugleich aber auch seinen Aufgabenkreis bedeutend erweitert: Er ruft ein Theater, eine Oper und eine Musikschule — Institute, welche der Staat übernimmt — ins Leben und vereinigt in sich alle schöpferischen Kräfte jener Zeit, die mit grosser Energie und viel Idealismus daran gehen, im Rahmen des neuen Staatslebens die Basis für eine neue künstlerische Kultur zu schaffen.

Im Jahre 1924 erfolgt die Gründung einer Kunstschule. An ihre Spitze tritt der Maler Justinas Vienožinskis, der, obwohl er zur älteren Generation gehört, mit grosser Frische den neuen malerischen Strömungen Westeuropas nachgeht, zugleich aber auch schon auf die Werte, die in der litauischen Volkskunst schlummern, hinweist. Ein Maler von farbiger Kultur, selbst noch hervorgegangen aus dem Impressionismus des vorigen Jahrhunderts, hat er einen eigenen Stil gefunden. Neben ihn traten als Lehrer eine Reihe der älteren Künstler. Trotz ungünstiger materieller Verhältnisse weist die Kunstschule heute weit über 100 Schüler auf und ist zu einem selbständigen Faktor im litauischen Kulturleben geworden. Ihr Leiter ist der bekannte Kunsthistoriker und Kritiker Ignas Šlapelis.

Gleichfalls als Professor an der Kunstschule wirkt Adomas Galdikas (geb. 1893), der vom Zeichnerischen ausging, sein eigentliches Gebiet aber als Maler gefunden hat. Ein durchaus eigenwilliger Künstler ist er von den verschiedenen neuen Strömungen der europäischen Malerei zwar nicht unberührt geblieben, von jeher aber selbständige Wege gegangen. Seine Eigenart erwächst aus seiner inneren Verbundenheit mit der litauischen Volkskunst. Ausserordentlich vielseitig — neben seinen Landschaften und Porträts müssen auch seine Operndekorationen genannt werden — hat Galdikas eine bewegte künstlerische Entwicklung durchgemacht. Sie wird von dem Franzosen Waldemar George charakterisiert, der in einer

dem Künstler gewidmeten Monographie schreibt: „Indem sich Galdikas dem archaischen Ausdruck der religiösen Volkskunst nähert, sucht er etwas Anderes als nur ein Sortiment von farbigen Tönen und Linien. — Diese Gegenüberstellung mit der Volkskunst erlaubt ihm, das Bewusstsein seiner irdischen Kunst zu haben. Galdikas . . . hat erkannt, dass alles objektive Suchen in der Kunst sinnlos ist . . . Dieser lebendige Glaube, diese Macht, die göttlichen Prinzipien der Natur zu sehen und zu begreifen, führten ihn zu einer von Geheimnis durchtränkten litauischen Atmosphäre" [37]).

Abgesehen von dem französischen Museum Jeu de Paume befinden sich Werke von Galdikas in den Museen von Kaunas und Riga.

Vienožinskis und Galdikas gehören ihrem Wesen nach somit schon zu einer neuen Generation, deren Erzieher sie wurden. In ihren Ateliers erhielt eine Reihe von begabten jungen Künstlern ihre Ausbildung. Letztere schlossen sich später zu einer besonderen Gruppe der „Unabhängigen" zusammen und schieden sich dadurch von dem „Litauischen Künstlerverband", welcher nach wie vor die Künstler der älteren Generation umfasste. Immerhin erscheint der Unterschied in den Bestrebungen beider Gruppen als nicht so stark, wie aus den Bezeichnungen geschlossen werden könnte. Auch bei den „Unabhängigen" treffen wir auf keine radikalen und extremen Richtungen. Deutlich wirkt auch bei ihnen noch der Impressionismus nach.

Im Jahre 1932 spaltet sich von der Gruppe der „Unabhängigen" eine neue Gruppe „Ars" unter der Führung von Galdikas ab, deren Bestrebungen von durchaus neuen Gedanken getragen werden, wie aus einem Aufruf hervorgeht, der bei der ersten Ausstellung dieser Gruppe im gleichen Jahre veröffentlicht wurde [38]).

Da dieser Aufruf für die jüngste Entwicklung der litauischen Malerei von besonderem Interesse ist, sei er im folgenden teilweise wiedergegeben: „Die Welt, vor allem unser

Volk, ist in eine neue Epoche eingetreten. Nach ganzen fünfhundert Jahren sind wir wieder zum Wettbewerb mit den grossen Völkern Europas gelangt. Wir haben uns rings umgeschaut und haben die Überzeugung gewonnen, dass das Fehlen tieferer künstlerischer Bestrebungen sowie die Nachahmung längst überlebter Kunstformen unsere Kunst zugrunde richtet."

Wir sehen in diesen temperamentvollen Auslassungen eine scharfe Absage an alle, die noch irgendwie mit dem Naturalismus und Impressionismus des 19. Jahrhunderts zusammenhängen. In ähnlich scharfer Weise äussert sich in dem gleichen Almanach der Direktor der Staatlichen Gemäldegalerie Paulius Galaunė, der zunächst die Gründe erörtert, aus denen die sogenannte „hohe Kunst" in Litauen auf keine Vergangenheit zurückblicken könne, während die eigentlichen Werte der künstlerischen Kultur des Volkes in der Volkskunst beschlossen lägen, und der dann fortfährt: „Es ist eine eigenartige Tatsache, dass von der ersten litauischen Kunstausstellung angefangen unsere Künstler nicht als Kinder ihres Volksstammes, sondern als „europäisierte" Kopisten der litauischen Natur in Erscheinung getreten sind. Das Schönheitsideal unserer damals in der Kristallisation begriffenen gebildeten Schicht war „wie auf der Photographie". Und dieses Ideal befriedigten die Künstler der ersten litauischen Kunstausstellungen sattsam. Wenn man die heute in Bildung begriffenen Gruppen unserer jungen Künstler betrachtet, so sieht man deutlich, dass diese Bildung schon von innen heraus erfolgt, dass man danach strebt, sich das bewusst zu machen, was im Charakter der litauischen Landschaft schlummert."

Mögen auch diese Urteile einem historischen Betrachter der Entwicklung der jungen litauischen Malerei als zu scharf erscheinen, so charakterisieren sie doch deutlich die negative Abgrenzung der Jüngsten gegenüber allen früheren Bestrebungen. Das positive Programm dieser Gruppe aber wird aus der Einleitung des Aufrufs deutlich: „Auf einen kahlen und schmerzlich verlassenen Acker traten wir. Durch die

Brille der Jahrhunderte sehen wir in der Ferne eine hohe künstlerische Kultur — den trauernden Christus (Skulptur der Volkskunst. V. J.), das Märchen, das Volkslied. Hohes künstlerisches Erbe, schon versteckt in den Mauern der Museen oder fast zerstört vom Wind unserer Finsternis, bergen sie in ihrer Primitivität gewaltige künstlerische Vorbilder für uns."

Die Anknüpfung an die alte litauische Volkskunst wird in diesen Worten somit zum Programmpunkt der Jüngsten. Der nationale Gedanke wird noch deutlicher im folgenden: „Wir sind entschlossen, dieser Epoche des wiedergeborenen Vaterlandes zu dienen und den Stil dieser Epoche zu schaffen. Ein Kunstwerk bedeutet eine neue Wirklichkeit des Lebens. Unser heisses Streben geht dahin, unser Leben durch neue Werte zu bereichern. Wir streben nach Zusammenarbeit mit den übrigen Völkern, indem wir der gemeinsamen Schatzkammer der Kunst unsere Arbeiten beisteuern, die der Seele unseres Volkes entsprechen. Wir erkennen die formalen Siege der gegenwärtigen Kunst an, denn sie gewähren uns grössere Schaffensfreiheit. Aber wir bürden unseren Mitgliedern keine von vornherein festgesetzten künstlerischen Dogmen auf. Wir sind von dem heissen Wunsche erfüllt, dass ein jeder von uns, seiner Eigenart und seiner Einstellung entsprechend, der künstlerischen Kultur unseres Landes dienen möge."

Eine ganze Reihe der jungen Künstler, welche der Gruppe „Ars" beitraten, hat die Möglichkeit gehabt, sich nach Beendigung ihrer Ausbildung auf der Kunstschule von Kaunas im Auslande selbständig weiterzubilden. So kommen in ihrem Schaffen die verschiedensten Einflüsse moderner Kunstrichtungen zum Ausdruck.

Noch wäre es verfrüht, über diese jüngste Entwicklung des litauischen Kunstlebens ein Urteil abgeben zu wollen. Vieles ist hier noch im Werden. Festzustellen ist jedenfalls ein ernsthafter und lauterer künstlerischer Wille, der die Entwicklung vorwärts treibt. Über ihre Früchte wird erst eine spätere Zeit rückschauend zu urteilen vermögen.

C. MUSIK UND THEATER

1. OPER, DRAMA, BALLETT

Wir können das Kapitel über die geistige Kultur der Stadt nicht schliessen, ohne nicht einen kurzen Blick auf das litauische Theater geworfen zu haben, dem neben seiner rein künstlerischen auch eine grosse erzieherische Bedeutung für weite Volkskreise zukommt — betrug doch die Zahl der Opernbesucher in der Spielzeit 1936/37 ungefähr 68 000, während das Drama 80 000 Besucher aufwies.

Historisch gesehen ist der Vorläufer des litauischen Theaters das Jesuitentheater des 16. Jahrhunderts, wie wir es schon in Kražiai erwähnten. Wenngleich die Sprache dieses Theaters die lateinische war, so wurden doch in den Pausen von den Schülern auch Monologe und Dialoge in schamaitischer Mundart vorgetragen [39]). Den eigentlichen Anstoss zur Entwicklung eines Volkstheaters gab jedoch die Aufhebung der Leibeigenschaft um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Damals, noch in der Zeit des Druckverbotes, als die litauische Bewegung sich allenthalben zu rühren anfing, begann man in allen Städten, wo nur Litauer in grösserer Anzahl vorhanden waren, mit der Veranstaltung von „litauischen Abenden", so in Palanga, in Vilnius, in Kaunas, ja sogar in Petersburg, Warschau und vielen anderen Städten. Diese Abende enthielten in ihrem Programm Spiele, Tänze und Lieder, auch Theaterstücke, und zu ihren Darstellern und Regisseuren gehörte manch einer, der für die spätere Geschichte und politische Entwicklung des Landes von Wichtigkeit geworden ist. Die Bedeutung dieser „litauischen Abende" ging somit weit über den Zweck einer einfachen Unterhaltung hinaus.

Immerhin handelte es sich hierbei nur um die Arbeit von Liebhabern. Die Schaffung eines zentralen litauischen Theaters, das alle künstlerischen Kräfte des Landes zusammenfassen sollte, war ein Gedanke der Zukunft und konnte erst nach der Gründung des Staates Wirklichkeit werden. Wir können hier zwei wichtige Daten nennen, das Jahr 1920 als Gründungs-

jahr des Dramatischen Theaters und der Oper, und das Jahr 1925, in welchem das erste abendfüllende Ballett „Coppelia" zur Aufführung gelangte.

Die litauische Oper wurde fast aus dem Nichts geschaffen. Sänger, Chöre, Orchester, Dirigenten, Regisseure sowie das gesamte übrige Personal waren ja nicht auf einmal vorhanden, sondern bedurften einer längeren Zeit zur Ausbildung. Den Kern der neuen Truppe bildeten der berühmte Tenor des Petersburger Marientheaters Kipras Petrauskas, sowie die aus Amerika zurückgekehrten M. Rakauskaitė und Ant. Sodeika. Weitere Künstler schlossen sich an, und so konnte am 31. Dezember 1920 nach Überwindung vieler Schwierigkeiten Verdis „Traviata" als erste Oper in Szene gehen.

Die litauische Oper und das im gleichen Jahre entstandene Dramatische Theater waren Gründungen der Litauischen Kunstgesellschaft (Lietuvių Meno Kūrėjų Draugija) und gingen im Frühjahr 1922 in den Besitz des Staates über. In künstlerischer Hinsicht ist seitdem eine ausserordentliche Entwicklung festzustellen. Gegen 50 Opern gelangten zur Aufführung, darunter drei litauische, „Gražina" und „Radvila Perkūnas" von Karnavičius sowie „Die drei Talismane" von A. Račiūnas. Eine weitere Oper „Eglė, die Schlangenkönigin" von M. Petrauskas, ist in Vorbereitung. Aus der Fülle der übrigen seien nur einige wenige genannt: Verdis „Traviata", „Rigoletto", „Troubadour", „Maskenball", „Aida"; Puccinis „Madame Butterfly", „Toska", „Bohême", Gounods „Faust", Bizets „Carmen", „Eugen Onegin" und „Pique Dame" von Tschaikowski, Wagners „Lohengrin" und „Tannhäuser", d'Alberts „Tiefland", Mozarts „Don Juan", Smetanas „Verkaufte Braut", Délibes „Lakmé", Dvoržaks „Undine" und viele andere. Insgesamt entfallen auf eine Spielzeit ungefähr 115—130 Vorstellungen.

Auch ausserhalb Litauens hat die litauische Oper Beachtung gefunden, eine Reihe ihrer besten Vertreter hat auf Gastrollen in Mailand (Scala), Paris, Prag, Wien, Buenos Aires und in den baltischen Hauptstädten mit Erfolg debütiert.

Noch etwas früher als die litauische Oper trat das Dramatische Theater vor die Öffentlichkeit, und zwar mit der Darstellung von Sudermanns „Johannisfeuer" am 19. Dezember 1920. Nicht weniger als 148 verschiedene Dramen sind seitdem (bis Mitte Februar 1938) über die Bretter gegangen, und nichts beleuchtet die künstlerische und erzieherische Bedeutung des Staatstheaters stärker als die Fülle der klassischen Werke, die zur Aufführung gelangten.

Von fremden Autoren ist Shakespeare zu nennen mit „Othello", „Wintermärchen", „Hamlet", „König Lear" und der „Zwölften Nacht". Daneben vor allem Schiller mit den „Räubern", „Kabale und Liebe", „Don Carlos", „Wilhelm Tell" und „Maria Stuart". Von sämtlichen übersetzten Dramen hat „Kabale und Liebe" die stärksten Aufführungsziffern zu verzeichnen. Frankreich ist mit Molière — „Tartuffe", „Der eingebildete Kranke", „George Dandin" — vertreten. Von den nordischen Autoren regierte Ibsen als Alleinherrscher („Nordische Heerfahrt", „Gespenster", „Hedda Gabler", „Stützen der Gesellschaft"). Von Maeterlinck gingen „Der fremde Gast" und „Im Innern" über die Bühne, von Gerhart Hauptmann „Die versunkene Glocke", „Hanneles Himmelfahrt" und „Fuhrmann Henschel". Daneben steht eine Fülle weiterer klassischer und moderner Autoren, von denen nur einige hervorgehoben seien: Sudermann, Fulda, Hugo, Beaumarchais, Rolland, Scribe, Goldoni, Goci, Pirandello, Dickens, Jerome, Slowacki, Gogol, Tschapek und Ostrowski.

Einen immer breiteren Raum nimmt daneben, vor allem in den letzten Jahren, die aufblühende litauische Dramatik ein. Eine Reihe der wichtigeren Autoren und ihrer Werke — Gužutis, Keturakis, Šiaulėniškis, Maironis, Čiurlionienė, Putinas, Krėvė, Vydūnas, Sruoga und Vaičiūnas — werden bei der Analyse des Schrifttums der Gegenwart eine ausführlichere Behandlung erfahren. Von weiteren litauischen Dramatikern sind Pivoša, Alantas, Santvaras, Cicėnas, Sakalauskas, Inčiuras, Kapnys und Petrulis zu nennen. Wenngleich ihre Namen in diesem Zusammenhang kaum mehr als eine Statistik sein

können, zeigen sie doch das rege Interesse, das innerhalb der neueren litauischen Literatur auch für das Drama besteht, seitdem Aufführungsmöglichkeiten, die früher nur im Rahmen des Liebhabertheaters bestanden, für jedes wertvollere Werk gegeben sind.

Aus dem Kauener Staatstheater hervorgegangen sind die litauischen staatlichen Wander-Theater in Šiauliai und Memel. Aber auch das Kauener Staatstheater gibt jährlich in den grösseren Orten des Landes, wo Spielmöglichkeiten bestehen, eine Reihe von Gastvorstellungen, die starken Besuch aufweisen.

Seit dem Jahre 1925 ist auch das Ballett mit geschlossenen Aufführungen vor die Öffentlichkeit getreten und hat sich seitdem gleichfalls zu einem Faktor im Kunstleben des Landes entwickelt. Sein Aufbau erfolgte unter der Führung bekannter russischer Ballettmeister, seit 1937 steht es unter litauischer Leitung. Im Gegensatz etwa zu Deutschland, wo im allgemeinen nur Balletteinlagen in Opern bekannt sind, lebt im litauischen Ballett die Tradition des russischen fort. Aus der Reihe der abendfüllenden Balletts, die zur Aufführung gelangten, seien „Schwanensee" und „Der Nussknacker" von Tschaikowski genannt, ferner Délibes schon erwähntes Ballett „Coppelia" und „Sylvia", „Don Quichote" von Minkus, „Das bucklige Rösslein" von Punis, „Vergebliche Vorsicht" von Hertel, und „Die Fontäne von Bachtschisarai" von Asawjew. Litauische Balletts schufen Dvarionas, Gruodis und J. Karnavičius. Über sie wird an anderer Stelle zu sprechen sein.

Daneben gelangte eine grosse Reihe kleinerer sorgfältig einstudierter Balletts berühmter Meister zur Aufführung, so von Rimski Korsakow, Strauss, Adam, Schumann, Debussy, Mussorgski, Weber, Glasunow und anderen. Auch das litauische Ballett hat sich im Auslande Anerkennung erworben. Dies beweisen seine Gastspiele sowohl in Monte Carlo, wo in der Kasino-Oper 1935 10 Vorführungen stattfanden, wie auch in London, wo das litauische Ballett im Alhambra-Theater nicht weniger als 32 Vorstellungen gab.

Nicht wenig zum Erfolg des litauischen Balletts trug die schöne Ausstattung bei, an der eine Reihe der besten Künstler des Landes mitarbeiten. So ist das litauische Theater in seiner Dreiheit — Oper, Drama und Ballett — zu einem nicht zu unterschätzenden Kulturfaktor nicht nur im Leben der Stadt Kaunas, sondern des gesamten Landes geworden.

2. DIE ENTWICKLUNG DES MUSIKLEBENS

Der ausserordentliche Aufschwung der litauischen Staatsoper und das grosse Interesse weiter Kreise, von denen sie getragen wurde, hat in den ersten Jahren des Staatslebens auf dem Gebiete der reinen Musik insofern hemmend gewirkt, als das Interesse an der Chormusik, wie überhaupt an Konzerten, Kammermusikabenden usw. merklich zurückging. Es handelte sich jedoch hierbei nur um eine Übergangserscheinung, und das Staatstheater selbst hat durch Einführung regelmässiger Symphoniekonzerte das gesunkene Interesse von neuem zu wecken und zu beleben verstanden, sodass heute von einem neuen Aufschwung gesprochen werden kann. Veranstaltungen von Symphoniekonzerten erfolgten zunächst durch die heute nicht mehr bestehende Kauener „Philharmonische Gesellschaft", in der sich die künstlerischen Kräfte des Landes vereinigten. Später setzte der als Komponist und Dirigent bekannte Stasys Šimkus seine ganze Kraft für sie ein. Sie erweckten das Interesse weiter musikliebender Kreise vor allem auch durch die Berufung berühmter ausländischer Dirigenten (Couts, Cooper, Dobroven, Malko, Scherchen, Hoesslin, Poulet u. a.) und Solisten — es seien hier nur die Pianisten Hofmann, Rubinstein, E. Petri, Ellegard, Orlov, Ginsburg und die Geiger Hubermann, Thibaut, Oistrach, Elmann und Cimbalist neben manchen anderen erwähnt. Die Anzahl der veranstalteten Konzerte belief sich in der Spielzeit 1935/36 auf 26, in der folgenden auf 22.

Neben diesen Symphoniekonzerten sind für die Entwicklung des musikalischen Lebens vor allem die Chöre von

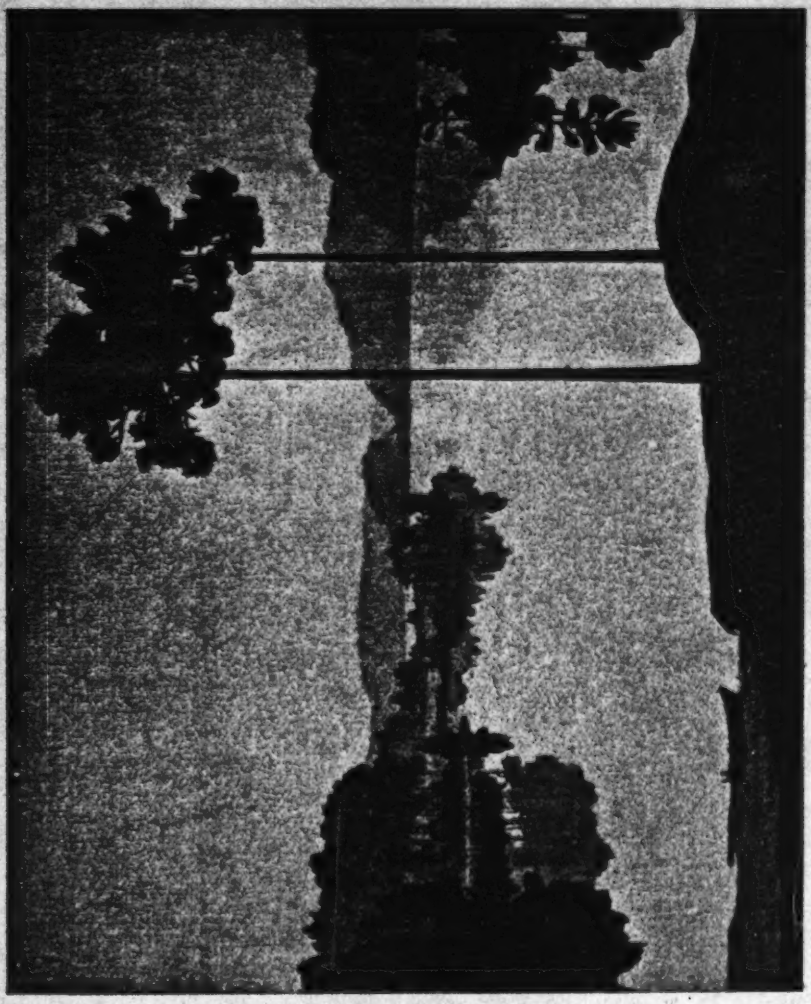
Wichtigkeit geworden. Den ersten geglückten Versuch auf diesem Gebiete bedeutete die Aufführung des Reqiems von Mozart durch den Chor der „Šiauliu Sąjunga" (Schützenverband). Hierauf begann ein reger künstlerischer Wettbewerb. Der Studentenchor der „Ateitininkai" (kath. Studentenverbindung) brachte die „Sieben Worte Christi" von Dubois und Verdis Requiem zu Gehör, der Chor der Šiauliu Sąjunga bald darauf Händels Messias. Geistliche Oratorien brachte der Chor der Garnisonkirche zur Aufführung, und auch die übrigen Chöre, so der Chor der Universität, blieben dahinter nicht zurück. Letzterer hatte auf seinen Tourneen durch die baltischen Länder grossen Erfolg. Von stärkstem Einfluss auf die Entwicklung des gesamten Musiklebens wurde das staatliche Konservatorium, dessen Schülerzahl sich heute auf 220—250 beläuft, und welches über Abteilungen für Komposition, Gesang, Klavier und alle übrigen Instrumente verfügt. Die Lehrkräfte — ungefähr 30—35 — sind zum Teil auch an der Oper und im Rundfunk beschäftigt. Von Zeit zu Zeit veranstaltet das Rundfunkorchester unter der Leitung einheimischer und ausländischer Dirigenten grössere Symphoniekonzerte.

Fragen wir nach dem bisher auf rein schöpferischem Gebiete Geleisteten, so muss zunächst daran erinnert werden, dass die Voraussetzungen für eine moderne litauische Kunstmusik genau wie die für eine litauische Kunstliteratur erst gegen Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts gegeben waren. Die frühesten litauischen Komponisten verfügten, wie etwa Kudirka, der Schöpfer der litauischen Hymne, noch über keine berufsmässige musikalische Ausbildung. Der erste musiktheoretisch gebildete Komponist war Juozas Naujalis (1869—1934), Organist an der Kathedrale zu Kaunas, der vor allem auf dem Gebiete der Kirchenmusik schöpferisch tätig war, und sich als Komponist vieler katholischer Messen und symphonischer Werke einen Namen machte. Er trat auch als Lehrer hervor und begründete das Konservatorium in Kaunas, an dem er bis 1928 als Leiter und Professor für Orgelspiel tätig war. Von seinen Liedern gingen viele ins Volk und werden heute als echte Volkslieder gesungen. Ungefähr gleich-

zeitig lebte Česlovas Sasnauskas (1867—1916), Professor für Musik am Priesterseminar in Petersburg, von dem ein grosses Requiem und eine Reihe kleinerer Schöpfungen bekannt wurden. Von seinen Chorgesängen wurden viele recht populär.

Immerhin tragen diese Anfänge der litauischen Kunstmusik noch mehr oder weniger provinzielle Züge und stehen teilweise auch stark unter polnischem Einfluss. Der erste, der der litauischen Musik neue Wege wies, war Mykolas Konstantinas Čiurlionis (1875—1911), dessen eigenartige künstlerische Persönlichkeit eine Synthese des Malerischen und des Musikalischen aufweist. Langjährige Studien an den Konservatorien zu Warschau und Leipzig gaben ihm eine weitere künstlerische Schau als den bisher Genannten. So eilte er seiner Zeit weit voraus, und seine Kompositionen sind auch heute noch frisch und lebendig. Mit Čiurlionis tritt die litauische Musik aus ihrer bisherigen Abgeschlossenheit heraus, und neben die bisher vorherrschenden östlichen Elemente treten zum ersten Male starke westliche Einflüsse. Von den bedeutenderen Werken dieses Komponisten sind die beiden grossen symphonischen Schöpfungen — die noch aus der Warschauer Zeit stammende Symphonie „Miškas" (Der Wald) und die spätere „Jūra" (Das Meer) — musikalische Gemälde von grosser Schönheit und trotz verschiedentlicher fremder Beeinflussung (R. Strauss, Reger) doch selbständig in ihrem Reichtum an musikalischen Ideen und ihrer farbenreichen Instrumentation. Obwohl Čiurlionis keine der Volksmusik nahestehenden Motive verwendet, ist in seiner träumerisch-mystischen und melancholischen Musik doch manches von der Seele seines Landes enthalten. Es gilt dies auch von seinen Klavierstücken.

Für die weitere musikalische Entwicklung von Bedeutung wurde der 1887 geborene schon als Chordirigent und Organisator gewürdigte temperamentvolle Stasys Šimkus. Er schrieb eine grosse Reihe von interessanten Vokalschöpfungen und machte sich vor allem durch seine Harmonisierungen litauischer Volkslieder einen Namen. Die von ihm geleiteten



ZMUIDZINAVIČIUS / LITAUISCHE LANDSCHAFT

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Chöre wurden überall im Lande mit grossem Beifall aufgenommen. Seine erste Ausbildung erfuhr Šimkus auf den Konservatorien in Warschau und Petersburg. Nach dem Kriege studierte er in Leipzig. In seiner jüngsten Entwicklung ist der Übergang zur Moderne deutlich spürbar, und seine späteren Chorschöpfungen sind durch komplizierte Stimmführung und kühne Harmonisierungen gekennzeichnet. Doch sind wir damit der Entwicklung schon vorausgeeilt, denn zwischen diesen zwei Perioden liegt ein wichtiger auch für das litauische Musikleben entscheidender Einschnitt — der Weltkrieg.

Der Weltkrieg leitete eine neue Periode der musikalischen Entwicklung ein. Nur wenige Komponisten waren im Lande verblieben, die meisten hatten die Kriegsjahre in den Grossstädten Russlands verlebt. Es ist nur natürlich, dass sie die dort gewonnenen Eindrücke nach der Staatsgründung in ihre Heimat mitbrachten. So geriet die litauische Kunstmusik in den ersten Jahren des jungen Staates wieder stark unter den Einfluss des Ostens. Aber schon bereitet sich eine Wandlung vor, die durch den immer hermetischer werdenden Abschluss Russlands von der westlichen Welt bedingt wird und die aus dem Osten kommenden Anregungen mehr und mehr zurücktreten lässt. Umgekehrt bahnen sich allmählich reger werdende geistige Beziehungen zwischen Litauen und dem Westen an. Damit wird der Einfluss des Westens, und namentlich Deutschlands, auf musikalischem Gebiete immer stärker. Was vor dem Kriege allein für Čiurlionis gegolten hatte — das Eindringen westlicher Elemente in die litauische Musik — wird jetzt für die gesamte weitere Entwicklung charakteristisch. Von Bedeutung werden in erster Linie die Einflüsse, die von dem Konservatorium in Leipzig ausgehen, auf dem eine Reihe der nun zu nennenden Komponisten ihre Ausbildung erhält.

An erster Stelle ist hier der 1884 geborene Juozas Gruodis zu nennen, eine musikalische Persönlichkeit von ausgeprägter Eigenart. Er überträgt die Ausdrucksmittel der westlichen Musik auf die litauische und verbindet die nachromantische Sonatenform mit folkloristischen Elementen, die er der litauischen Volksmusik entnimmt. Er liebt kühne Harmoni-

sierungen und dramatische Spannungen, wenngleich in den Kompositionen der letzten Jahre eine Rückkehr zu grösserer Einfachheit festzustellen ist. Seine besten Werke sind eine Violinsonate, das zweiaktige Ballett „Juratė und Kastytis" sowie das Orchesterstück „Der Herbst". Neben weiteren grossen Orchesterschöpfungen sind Klaviersonaten und andere Klavierstücke sowie Bearbeitungen von Volksliedern zu nennen. Gruodis ist heute Professor für Musik am Konservatorium, das von 1928—1937 seiner Leitung unterstand.

Neben ihm steht eine Reihe anderer Komponisten, die gleichfalls ihre Ausbildung in Leipzig erfuhren. Dem Impressionismus nahe steht K. Banaitis, ein Komponist von ausgesprochen litauischem Charakter, dessen lyrische Kompositionen viele volkstümliche Elemente aufweisen. Seine Schöpfungen sind reich an Melodien und trotz freier Formgebung von starker künstlerischer Geschlossenheit. Banaitis veröffentlichte eine Anzahl von Klaviervariationen, eine Cellosonate, sowie Lieder und Bearbeitungen von Volksliedern. Er leitet heute das Konservatorium und ist auch als Musikkritiker weiteren künstlerischen Kreisen bekannt geworden.

Abseits von den hier Genannten steht V. Bacevičius, der den atonalen Expressionismus vertritt und als Pianist der modernen Kunst besonders nahe steht. Er schuf eine Reihe von grösseren Werken für Klavier, ein einaktiges Ballett, sowie eine Oper „Vaidilutė" (Die Priesterin), und hat sich durch seine Klavierkonzerte auch im Auslande einen Namen gemacht. Mit ihm zusammen ist J. Kačinskas zu nennen, der das athematische Zwölfton- und Vierteltonsystem vertritt und auch als erfolgreicher Dirigent bekannt geworden ist. Der russischen Schule gehört der in Litauen geborene Russe Karnowitsch (Karnavičius) an, Professor am Konservatorium, gleichfalls ein sehr begabter und produktiver Komponist. Zu seinen bedeutendsten Schöpfungen gehören zwei oft aufgeführte Balletts, „Gražina", das sich im Thema an das gleichnamige Werk von Mickiewicz anschliesst, und „Radvila Perkūnas", das in die Zeit der schwedischen Kriege führt.

Von der jüngeren Generation seien zum Schluss noch zwei begabte Künstler genannt, Vl. Jakubėnas und der aus der Kompositionsklasse von Gruodis hervorgegangene A. Račiūnas. Für Jakubėnas charakteristisch ist ein Suchen nach neuen Formen und arteigenem Ausdruck, das ihn aus dem Impressionismus seiner frühesten Schöpfungen zu einem farbigen modernen Naturalismus führte. Starke Begabung für Vokalmusik und Ideenreichtum zeigen namentlich seine Lieder und Volksliedbearbeitungen. In ihren Grundzügen lyrisch wird seine Musik durch Einführung dramatischer Elemente belebt. In den Kompositionen von Račiūnas herrscht das elegisch-lyrische Element vor, was namentlich in seiner I. Symphonie zum Ausdruck kommt. Seine Lieder sind stimmungsvolle Melodien, voll von Melancholie und Sehnsucht. Weiten Kreisen bekannt wurde er durch seine erfolgreiche Oper „Die drei Talismane", von der eine starke Suggestivkraft ausgeht, und deren farbige Harmonien die dramatischen Partien ausgezeichnet untermalen. Die Oper enthält, obwohl der Komponist die Melodien des Volksliedes nicht verwertet, viele litauische Elemente, namentlich aus den alten Raudos. Eine Fülle volkstümlicher Melodien findet sich auch in dem Ballett „Die Freiwerbung", einer Schöpfung des begabten Pianisten und Dirigenten B. Dvarionas.

Damit sei unser kurzer Überblick über die litauische Kunstmusik abgeschlossen. Er kann im Rahmen dieses Buches selbstverständlich keinen Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit erheben. Nur die Entwicklung sollte gezeigt werden. Und diese Entwicklung ist zweifellos interessant, denn sie führt deutlich vom Osten nach dem Westen. War es vor einigen Jahren fast ausschliesslich Deutschland, von dem die neuen Anregungen ausgingen, so sind es heute ebenso die Städte Paris und Prag.

Daneben ist noch ein zweites Ergebnis der bisherigen Entwicklung von Interesse: Genau wie in der modernen Literatur und Malerei prägt sich auch in der litauischen Musik immer stärker das Hervortreten rein litauischer Elemente und das Ringen um eine arteigene Kunst aus.

FÜNFTES KAPITEL

DIE KUNSTLITERATUR

A. DAS SCHRIFTTUM DES 16. UND 17. JAHRHUNDERTS

Was den Litauern von alters her an geistigem Besitz eignete, beschränkte sich, wie in Kapitel 2 gezeigt wurde, auf ihre mündliche Volksüberlieferung, auf ihre Dainos, Märchen und Sagen, Fabeln, Rätsel und Sprichwörter. Weit später erst treffen wir auf Denkmäler litauischen Schrifttums, und zwar steht die älteste Literatur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts ausschliesslich unter der Herrschaft religiöser Ideen. Sie entsteht im Kampfe zwischen zwei Glaubensrichtungen, dem nach Osten vordringenden Protestantismus und dem Katholizismus, der von den Jesuiten getragen wird.

Im Jahre 1544 hatte Fürst Albrecht von Brandenburg die Königsberger Universität gegründet. Zur Einführung der Reformation in Ostpreussen zog dieser Fürst unter anderen auch junge Bojarensöhne aus Grosslitauen an die Universität und gewährte ihnen Stipendien für ihre geistliche Ausbildung. Einige von ihnen, wie Stanislaus Rapagelanus Lituanus († 1545) und Abraham Culvensis († 1545), die ihre weitere Bildung unter Luther und Melanchthon in Wittenberg erhielten, wurden später sogar Professoren an dieser Universität. Von beiden sind einige Übersetzungen von Kirchenliedern in die litauische Sprache erhalten.

Das erste litauisch geschriebene Buch war eine Übersetzung des kleinen lutherischen Katechismus von Martin Vaitkūnas Mosvidius (lit. Mažvydas), der gleichfalls aus Grosslitauen stammte. Es erschien 1547 und enthält neben dem Katechismus und der Fibel 11 Gesangbuchlieder. 1591 gibt Bretkūnas seine Postille heraus, ein umfangreiches Werk von gegen 1000 Seiten. Eine Bibelübersetzung des gleichen Verfassers blieb ungedruckt.

Diese von Herzog Albrecht geförderten Übersetzungen sind weniger literarisch als sprachwissenschaftlich und auch ethnographisch von Interesse, da die Verfasser in ihren Vorreden ausführlich auf das Heidentum der Litauer eingehen. Während nun die Reformation in Ostpreussen einen festen Halt fand und darum auch hier das religiöse Schrifttum in litauischer Sprache bis ins 18. Jahrhundert hinein die einmal eingeschlagene Linie beibehielt, entwickelten sich die Verhältnisse in Grosslitauen anders. Auch hier hatte die Reformation vor allem unter dem hohen und niederen Adel viele Anhänger gewonnen. In der Druckerei der Reformierten zu Kedainiai wurde eine ganze Reihe von Schriften erbaulichen Inhalts herausgegeben. Die Reformierten, die vor allem unter dem Schutze des Fürsten Radvila (Radziwill) standen, planten sogar den Druck einer litauischen Bibel, die in Edinburgh gedruckt werden sollte. Das Unternehmen musste jedoch aus Geldmangel eingestellt werden.

Die Gegenbewegung, welche durch den Fürsten Giedraitis (Giedroc) gestützt wurde, ging von Schamaiten aus. Sie ist auch für die nationale Strömung jener Zeit in Litauen, die einer eigenen Literatur erst die Wege bahnte, von Wichtigkeit. Die Union von Ljublin 1569 bedeutete zwar die politische Vereinigung Litauens mit Polen, jedoch behielt Litauen im Rahmen des Gesamtstaats seine Autonomie auf den Gebieten der inneren Verwaltung, des Heeres, des Gerichtswesens und seiner Finanzen. Als Fürst Giedraitis 1576 Bischof von Schamaiten wurde, nahm er mit aller Kraft den Angriff gegen die reformierte Kirche auf, zog die Jesuiten aus Riga ins Land und suchte

durch litauische Predigten das Christentum zu verbreiten. Grosse Gebiete Litauens waren damals zum Heidentum zurückgefallen, und auf dem heiligen Berge Šatrija wurde sogar das heilige Feuer von neuem entflammt. Zur Ausbildung von katholischen Geistlichen gründete Fürst Giedraitis 1579 die Akademie von Vilnius. Auch das katholische Schrifttum, das jetzt entstand, wurde durch den Bischof gefördert. Waren die Protestanten die ersten gewesen, die ihre Streitschriften nicht mehr in lateinischer, sondern neben der polnischen auch in litauischer Sprache herausgaben, so folgte jetzt die katholische Partei ihrem Beispiele. 1595 erscheint in Vilnius der Katechismus des schamaitischen Kanonikus Daukša, der aus adligem Geschlecht stammte, vier Jahre später seine Postille. Kann Fürst Giedraitis als tatkräftigster Vertreter derjenigen Richtung im litauischen Hochadel gelten, welcher auch nach der Union von Ljublin der Assimilierung Litauens an Polen energisch widerstrebte, so finden wir bei seinem Mitarbeiter Daukša ein nicht weniger energisches Eintreten für die Rechte der litauischen Sprache. Es soll hier nicht weiter untersucht werden, inwieweit westliche Strömungen — das Zurücktreten des Lateinischen in der Sprache der Gebildeten und die Pflege der Landessprachen in den neuen Territorialstaaten — hier von Einfluss gewesen sind. Jedenfalls verlangt Daukša in der Einleitung zu seiner Postille für das Litauische die gleichen Rechte wie für das Polnische und Lateinische. Er erklärt, er veröffentliche seine Schriften in litauischer Sprache, um bei seinen Brüdern, den Bojaren, die Liebe zur vernachlässigten Muttersprache zu erwecken: „Ich tadle durchaus nicht die Kenntnis fremder Idiome, besonders des Polnischen, welches uns lieb geworden ist, zumal seit der litauisch-polnischen Union, und nahezu angeboren wird, aber ich habe Anstoss zu nehmen an der Verachtung, welche man gegen das eigentliche Litauische hegt" [1]). Die Pflege einer fremden Sprache unter Vernachlässigung der eignen erscheint Daukša naturwidrig und kommt ihm so vor, „als ob der Ziegenbock wie ein Löwe brüllen möchte, der Rabe wie eine Nachtigall singen und die Nachtigall krächzen wie ein Rabe." Und zuvor heisst es: „Wo in der Welt

gibt es ein Volk, so roh und verächtlich, dass es nicht drei Dinge als ererbte und angeborne sein eigen nennte, vaterländischen Grund und Boden, heimische Sitte und Sprache. In allen Jahrhunderten sprachen die Menschen ihre eigene Sprache und bemühten sich um ihre Bewahrung, Bereicherung, Ausbildung und Verschönerung. Auch gibt es keine noch so nichtswürdige Nation, keinen noch so verachteten Erdenwinkel, in welchem man die Sprache nicht zu bewahren wüsste . . . In Haus und Familie werden in eigener Sprache liebe und ehrwürdige Gebräuche gefeiert, das lehrt uns die Natur selbst, denn jeder bekommt schon von der Mutterbrust her den Hang zu seiner eigenen Sprache, ihrer Pflege und Ausbildung . . . Nicht durch die Fruchtbarkeit der Erde, nicht durch die Vielfältigkeit seiner Güter, nicht durch die Annehmlichkeiten seines Landes, nicht durch die Festigkeit seiner Städte und Burgen bleibt ein Volk am Leben, sondern vor allem durch den Schutz seiner Sprache . . ."

Wir haben hier den Beginn des roten Fadens, der durch die ganze litauische Literatur geht — den Beginn des Kampfes um die Rechte der Muttersprache, aus dem später die Wiederbelebung des Staatsgedankens im Bewusstsein des Volkes erwächst. Noch aber ist es bis dahin ein weiter Weg, noch ist die hier gehörte Stimme eine vereinzelte, und der Weg der Polonisierung geht weiter. Das Echo, das Daukša im Lande findet, ist kein allzu grosses, obwohl der Hochadel dem Litauischen damals ein gewisses Interesse zuwendet — einerseits, wie oben erwähnt, aus Abneigung gegen die politischen Aspirationen Polens, andrerseits wegen der scheinbaren Ähnlichkeit dieser Sprache mit dem Lateinischen. 1629 gibt der Jesuit Konstantin Širvyd (Szirvyd) die erste litauische Grammatik heraus, zwei Jahre später ein litauisch-polnisch-lateinisches Wörterbuch, das fünf Nachdrucke erlebt. Am wichtigsten ist die ungefähr zu gleicher Zeit erscheinende Predigtsammlung dieses Autors. Für die Beurteilung der damaligen sprachlichen Verhältnisse ist es charakteristisch, dass Širvyd den Bauern und Bürgern litauisch, den Adligen dagegen polnisch predigte. In zwei Zwischenspielen aus der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts —

Einlagen in Schuldramen, die im Jesuitenkolleg in Kražiai in Schamaiten aufgeführt wurden — erscheint das Litauische ebenfalls als rustikale Sprache [2]).

Auch einige andere Geistliche geben im Verlaufe des 17. Jahrhunderts kleinere Schriften und geistliche Lieder heraus, jedoch bleibt das gesamte Schrifttum gering. Auch das religiöse Schrifttum des 18. Jahrhunderts ist literarisch ohne Bedeutung. Es besteht lediglich aus Bibelübersetzungen, Handpostillen, Gebetbüchern und Sammlungen von Kirchenliedern und kann daher übergangen werden. Insgesamt sind aus dem 16. Jahrhundert ungefähr 30, aus dem 17. etwa 60 und aus dem 18. Jahrhundert rund 160 Druckschriften in litauischer Sprache bekannt geworden [3]).

Als Beginn der Kunstdichtung in litauischer Sprache ist das 18. Jahrhundert anzusehen, und zwar erscheint jetzt, fast unvermittelt, die überragende Gestalt eines wirklichen Dichters, des protestantischen Pfarrers Duonelaitis (Donalitius). Von ihm sagt Alexander Alexandrow: „Hätte Donalitius seine Dichtungen in einer der grossen Kultursprachen geschrieben, so würde er in der Reihe der grossen Dichter als einer der ersten allgemein anerkannt sein" [4]).

B. DER BEGINN DER KUNSTDICHTUNG IM 18. JAHRHUNDERT — DUONELAITIS

Christian Duonelaitis wurde am 1. I. 1714 als Sohn eines Freibauern in Lasdinehlen bei Gumbinnen geboren. Er selbst schrieb sich latinisiert „Donalitius" [*]). Nach dem Besuch der Kathedralschule zu Königsberg finden wir ihn 1732—37 als

*) Schleicher und Rhesa schreiben den Namen „Donelaitis", philologisch richtiger erscheint jedoch „Duonelaitis".

Theologiestudenten in Königsberg, wo er sich zugleich mit dem Studium der Antike beschäftigt, 1742 als Rektor in Stallupönen, und seit 1743 als Pfarrer in Tolminkemen. Er war sehr musikalisch und komponierte auch selbst. Duonelaitis starb 1780. Ein Bild von ihm ist nicht erhalten.

Erst nach dem Tode des Dichters gerieten seine Manuskripte in die Hand von Rhesa, der sie zusammen mit einer Übersetzung ins Deutsche abdruckte unter dem Titel: „Das Jahr in vier Gesängen. Ein ländliches Epos aus dem Litthauischen des Christian Donalaitis, genannt Donalitius. Königsberg 1818". 6 Jahre später gab dann Rhesa noch 6 Fabeln des Dichters zusammen mit seinen Übertragungen des Äsop heraus [5]).

Über Duonelaitis' Dichtungen bemerkt sein Biograph Prof. F. Tetzner, Leipzig, richtig: „Es ist unschwer zu ersehen, dass Donalitius den litauischen Kunststil erst schaffen musste, wenn er nicht bloss lyrische Augenblicksbilder festhalten wollte. Freilich, wo wäre ein Publikum gewesen, das litauische Kunstdichtung auch nur gelesen, viel weniger begehrt oder gar gedruckt verlangt hätte. Donalitius hat es fertig gebracht, dass eine Anzahl seiner Amtsgenossen und Freunde mit Wohlgefallen diese Verse vernahmen und abschrieben, bis schliesslich Ludwig Rhesa unter der Ägide Wilhelms von Humboldt 1818 die schönsten Gedichte der literarischen Welt in litauischer und deutscher Sprache vorführen durfte" [6]).

Es ist nur natürlich, dass Duonelaitis von den damals herrschenden Literaturströmungen nicht unabhängig blieb. Kein Dichter vermag sich seiner zeitlichen Atmosphäre zu entziehen, und so scheinen Einflüsse von Haller, Hagedorn und Ewald von Kleist auch auf Duonelaitis gewirkt zu haben. Stärker jedoch war der direkte Einfluss der antiken Dichter. Einzelne seiner Idyllen lassen sich mit denen Theokrits vergleichen. Besonders bemerkenswert ist es, dass der Dichter den Hexameter anwandte, noch bevor er durch Klopstock im Deutschen zum dichterischen Kunstmittel wurde, veröffentlichte doch Klopstock seinen Messias erst 1748, während Duonelaitis seine

ersten Idyllen um 1740 geschrieben hat. Nur der letzte Teil (der Winter), ist erst weit später, im Jahre 1773, entstanden.

Der Dichter schildert in seinem Epos „Die Jahreszeiten" das Leben des Dorfes — die ländlichen Freuden des Frühlings, die Mühen der Sommerarbeit, den gesegneten Herbst und den rauhen Winter. Im Spiegelbild der erwachenden, blühenden und vergehenden Natur sieht er seine Menschen. Sie sind klar herausgestellt und mit grossem Realismus gesehen. Aus jeder Zeile des Werkes spricht eine tiefe Kenntnis ihres Lebens, ihres Charakters und ihrer Sitten. Überall spürt man die Liebe des Dichters zu seinen Bauern, vor allem dort, wo die sozialen Unterschiede der Zeit deutlich werden. Besonders lebendig wirken die Naturschilderungen. Die Sprache ist reich, bildhaft und klangvoll, wozu zahlreiche Allitterationen beitragen. Die meisterhafte Beherrschung der Form wirkt vor allem darum erstaunlich, weil der Dichter sich ja auf keinerlei Vorbilder in der litauischen Sprache zu stützen vermochte und alles aus eigenem geben musste. Die folgenden Proben in deutscher Übertragung mögen einen Eindruck vermitteln.

Der Frühling.

Wald und Gebüsch erschallten, von lauten Liedern ertönten
Rings die Gefilde umher, die Äcker, die grünenden Wiesen.
Drossel und Kuckuck trieben ihr Spiel, wetteifernd und singend:
Aber es war ein froher Gesang zu Ehren des Schöpfers.
Schwalben erhoben sich hoch in der Luft mit leichtem Gefieder,
Schossen wie Kugeln in scherzendem Spiel weithin durch den Äther,
Hielten darauf ihr schlichtes Mahl ohne leckere Zutat.
Und nachdem sie gespeist, erzählten geschwätzig sie Märchen.
Hoch bis zum dunklen Gewölb stieg auf der Kranich und laut scholl
Bang wie ein Wehruf zum Himmel die klagende Stimme.

Aber die Nachtigall, welche bisher sich heimlich verborgen,
Wartete schlau, bis ein jeder mit seinem Liede zu Ende.
Darum stimmt sie auch immer, von allen die letzte, ihr Lied an,
Spät in der Mitternacht, wenn versunken im Schlummer die Welt liegt,
Wacht sie im Dunkel allein und preist den erhabnen Beschirmer.

(Passarge 65—74, 80—84.)

Jeder Mensch, o Nachtigall, preist deine süssen Gesänge.
Wenn du die lieblichsten Weisen der Nachtigallieder uns vorschlägst,
Da verstummen der Orgel Getön und die Klänge der Zimbel,
Geige und Kanklys neigen sich dir in stummer Beschämung,
Wenn du mit hellem Schlag erhebst die herrliche Stimme:
„Jürgen, wach auf, spann an, fahr zu, und knall mit der Peitsche".

(Tetzner. „Dainos". 25/26.)

Aus der Fülle der Bilder und inneren Erlebnisse erwächst die Beschreibung des Herbstes:

Ach, wo seid ihr geblieben, ihr heitern Tage des Lenzes,
Als wir, zum ersten Mal die Fenster der Stube aufmachend
Wieder der wärmenden Sonne erquickende Strahlen empfanden,
Schön wie ein liebliches Traumbild, das im Schlaf wir erblickten,
Dessen, sobald wir erwacht, hernach nur flüchtig gedenken;
So entschwand der Sommer, entschwand mit dem Sommer die Freude.
Jetzo spritzt der Morast, sobald ihn berühren die Bastschuh,
Sprudelt empor wie der Haferbrei am lodernden Feuer.

Alles, was rundum flatternd den Sommer fröhlich gefeiert,
Was bei uns die Flügel freudig erhob auf den Feldern,
Schwebenden Fluges schlug und hoch zur Wolke sich aufhob,
Was nach solchem Ergötzen Körner und Käfer verzehrte,
Alles das flog nun von dannen und suchte sich zu verbergen.
Stehn doch die Felder, wohin wir nur schauen, in einsamer Trauer,
Einem alternd einsinkenden Grab nur gleicht ihre Schönheit.
Längst schon streicht durch das Feld die Todesgöttin Giltine.
Sturmwind zerzauste Wälder und Sträucher und nahm alle Anmut.
Brach die Zweige, wo unter dem Laub die Brut aus dem Ei kroch,
Wo sie im Nest, ihrer Wiege, den ersten zwitschernden Laut gab,
Oder darnach befiedert auf Ästen hüpfte und spielte,
Auch schon ohne die Mutter sich tummelnd die Nahrung erjagte.

Nach seiner Darstellung des Herbstes in der Natur führt uns der Dichter in die Häuser der Bauern, deren tägliches Werk er mit Liebe betrachtet:

Eigen sieht es sich an, wie die Frauen die Messer abbrauchen,
Unschön klingts, wenn mit Töpfen sie klappern und rasseln.
Grete und Pimme suchen den Feuerstein, den gezackten,
Selmyke schwelt indessen aus leinenem Lappen sich Zunder,
Aber Kathrine und Berge scheuern geschäftig die Pfanne:
Und dass hell und schnell unterm Kessel erglühe das Feuer,
Blasen sie rastlos hinein mit aufgeblasenen Backen.

Aber Magusche und Jeke zerspalten den knorrigen Baumklotz,
Während Enskys bringt eine Arfel trockenen Holzes.
Dotschys aber, der Nichtsnutz, faulenzt hinter dem Ofen.
Wässrig schon wird ihm der Mund, gedenkt er der leckeren Mahlzeit.
Denn schon brüht einen feisten Hahn für's Mittagsmahl Aste.
Drinnen im Ofen röstet und bratet sie weizene Plinzen,
Während Dotschys, den Mund sich leckend, aufs Mittagsbrot wartet.
Sieh, da reitet geschmückt der Hochzeitsbitter zur Tür ein,
Ladet sie sämtlich mit freudigem Spruche zu Christians Hochzeit.
Jeder Geladene nimmt sofort gebührend den Hut ab,
Ruft: „Wir danken der Ehre und werden zur Hochzeit erscheinen".

(Tetzner.)

Wie sehr diese erste Dichtung in litauischer Sprache auch deutscherseits anerkannt worden ist, beweist neben Übersetzungen durch verschiedene deutsche Gelehrte die Errichtung eines Denksteins im Parke von Lasdinehlen am 8. April 1896, bei welchem Prof. Tetzner des toten Dichters in poetisch schöner Form gedachte. Auch ein anderer massgebender Kenner des Litauischen, Prof. Bezzenberger, hat die grosse künstlerische Bedeutung des Dichters anerkannt: „Noch bemerkenswerter aber als seine Verse, ja bewunderungswürdig, sind mehrere seiner Dichtungen nach Sprache und Schönheit der Schilderungen" [7]).

Duonelaitis stellt mit seiner Schöpfung einen Beginn und zugleich einen Höhepunkt dar. Er hat keinen Nachfolger gefunden. In Grosslitauen sind die Jahreszeiten bis ins 20. Jahrhundert fast unbemerkt geblieben [8]). Es mag dies mit dialektischen Verschiedenheiten zusammenhängen, die sich stärker auswirken mussten, da das Werk erst 1818 zum ersten Male

im Drucke erschien; wesentlicher aber ist wohl die Tatsache, dass in jener Zeit das künstlerische Schaffen im Osten unter der Herrschaft der Romantik stand, sodass für ein realistisches Kunstwerk von vornherein kein Interesse vorlag. Hinzu kam, dass die Jahreszeiten ohne die geringste politische Nebenabsicht geschrieben wurden, während sich die gesamte literarische Entwicklung des litauischen Volkes in Russland im politischen Kampf gegen den polnischen Einfluss und die russische Unterdrückung vollzog [9]).

Um diese Entwicklung zu verstehen, müssen wir uns zunächst kurz die Zeit und den Geist der Romantik vor Augen führen. Wir finden hier einen engen Zusammenhang mit all den Bestrebungen, die von der neu gegründeten Universität Vilnius ihren Ausgang nahmen. Ein kurzer Überblick über die gesellschaftliche Struktur des Landes und den Grad, den die unaufhaltsam fortschreitende Polonisierung der Oberschicht zu jener Zeit erreicht hatte, sei vorausgeschickt.

C. DIE LITERATUR DES 19. JAHRHUNDERTS BIS ZUM ERLASS DES DRUCKVERBOTS

1. DIE UNIVERSITÄT VILNIUS UND DIE ZEIT DER ROMANTIK

Die ständische Gliederung Litauens um die Wende des 18./19. Jahrhunderts lässt sich mit wenigen Worten umreissen. Wir finden zwei grosse Gesellschaftsklassen: einem grundbesitzenden Adel steht ein leibeigenes Bauerntum gegenüber — zwischen beiden befindet sich eine sehr dünne Schicht städtischer freier Bürger, die aber lediglich in der Hauptstadt eine Rolle spielen. Die zahlenmässig geringe Bürgerschaft der übrigen kleinen Städte — sogar Kaunas hatte um 1800 erst ca. 3000 Einwohner — bietet in völkischer Beziehung ein buntes Bild und lässt sich als Kulturfaktor mit dem ge-

schlossenen deutschen oder französischen Bürgertum jener Zeit in keiner Weise vergleichen.

Der litauische Adel war — abgesehen von Schamaiten, wo sich freier litauischer Grundbesitz erhalten hatte — fast durchweg polonisiert, in gleicher Weise auch die Oberschicht in den Städten. Wer aus dem Bauernstande aufstieg, trat damit fast automatisch aus seinem Volkstum aus und assimilierte sich der polnischen Kultur.

Durch die dritte polnische Teilung 1795 war zusammen mit dem grössten Teile Kongresspolens auch das heute litauische Staatsgebiet mit Ausnahme eines Teiles von Suvalkija an Russland gefallen. Der gemeinsame Druck, dem Litauer und Polen unter der gleichen Fremdherrschaft ausgesetzt waren, wirkte eher verbindend als trennend, zumal auch beide Völker dem gleichen römisch-katholischen Glauben angehörten. So wurde in dem Verhältnisse zwischen Litauen und Polen der nationale Gegensatz noch nicht als solcher empfunden, während der soziale ausserordentlich stark in Erscheinung trat. In seinem aufschlussreichen Buche über die Vorgeschichte Litauens schildert Dr. Puzinas den polnischen Einfluss in Litauen zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts mit folgenden Worten: „Polnischer Einfluss ist überall weit verbreitet. Die Bildungsschicht, aus Gelehrten, Pfarrern, höheren und niederen Beamten sowie Gutsbesitzern bestehend, ist, obgleich zum Teil litauischer Abstammung, weitgehend polonisiert. In den Städten, auf den Gutshöfen und in den Pfarrhäusern wird polnischer Geist gepflegt und herrscht polnische Sprache. Der polnische Einfluss beginnt sogar schon in das Volk einzudringen. Doch kann er hier nicht Wurzel schlagen; das angestammte Volkstum erweist sich als stärker. Am widerstandsfähigsten ist man in Žemaiten, d. h. im Norden des Volksgebietes, wo, den Einflüssen Polens abgekehrt, sogar der Adel noch litauisch spricht. Hier kommt es zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts zu einer lebhaften Reaktion gegen den polnischen Geist“ [10]).

Wir müssen uns zur Gewinnung der historischen Perspektive für die nun folgende Zeit vor allem der weittragenden Anregungen erinnern, die von Bodmer, Herder, den Grimms ausgegangen sind, und die überall den Sinn auf die Muttersprache, das Bodenständige, die Vorzeit und die Kinderjahre der Völker lenkten. Auch das geistige Leben Litauens und der Universität Vilnius gelangt in dieser Zeit vollständig unter die Herrschaft jener romantischen Ideen, welche der Erwachung des Volkstumsgedankens in Litauen den Boden bereiteten. Im Jahre 1803 bittet die Gelehrte Gesellschaft zu Warschau die Universität Vilnius, ihr Berichte über das litauische Volk und seine Sprache zur Verfügung zu stellen. Die Universität ersucht hierauf die ihr unterstellten Schulen in Schamaiten, ihr Berichte über die Vergangenheit und die Sprache der Provinz zuzusenden. Zugleich beginnt eine lebhafte Forschungstätigkeit auf dem Gebiete der litauischen Geschichte, an der sich eine grosse Reihe polnischer Gelehrter beteiligt. Es seien hier nur die Namen Jaroszewicz, Lelewel, Bałinski und vor allem Kraszewski erwähnt. Letzterer gab von 1840—1851 in Vilnius 66 Bände des „Athenaeums" heraus, die noch heute eine reiche Quelle für die litauische Geschichtsforschung darstellen. Bestimmend auf die weitere Entwicklung wirkte Xaver Baužas (1746—1820) ein, sowohl durch seine zahlreichen Übersetzungen, wie vor allem durch sein Werk „Über die Anfänge des litauischen Volkes und der litauischen Sprache" (1806) [11]). Dieses Werk, welches die Entstehung des litauischen Volkes in echt romantischer Weise behandelt, hinterliess in Litauen tiefe Wirkungen. Eine ganze Reihe von Autoren beginnt nun, sich mit den Fragen des litauischen Volkstums zu beschäftigen. Man sammelt Volkslieder, schreibt Wörterbücher, Grammatiken der litauischen Sprache, und erforscht die Vorzeit des Landes. Auch Anregungen aus Deutschland werden aufgenommen, so finden Rhesas kunstvolle Übertragungen litauischer Dainos ein begeistertes Echo. Polnische Dichter, Stephan Garczynski, Konstantin Gaszynski und vor allem Kraszewski erlernen die litauische Sprache, studieren die Geschichte des Landes und

VARNAS / IN DEN WOGEN

opp. 208

veröffentlichen umfangreiche Werke [12]). Ludwig Kondratowicz (Pseud. Wladyslaw Syrokomla) besingt den Heldentod des Fürsten Margis.

Zu den Dichtern jener Zeit gehört Adam Mickiewicz 1799—1855 (lit. Mickevičius), dessen Werke der Sprache nach selbstverständlich wie alle in diesem Zusammenhange genannten der polnischen Literatur angehören, der aber in seinen Dichtungen die Vergangenheit Litauens mit solcher Inbrunst besingt und auch sonst in seinen Motiven so stark in Litauen verwurzelt erscheint, dass er in diesem Lande gleichfalls Heimatrecht gefunden hat. Mickiewicz selbst leitete seine Abstammung aus einem litauischen Fürstengeschlecht her. Auch er empfing seine Ausbildung in Vilnius, auch auf ihn wirkte der Glanz der Romantik, der von dieser Universität weithin ins Land strahlte und von da an sein gesamtes künstlerisches Schaffen bestimmte. Einige Beispiele aus den Dichtungen von Mickiewicz erklären die eigenartige Stellung dieses Dichters in der Literaturgeschichte des Ostens [13]).

Aus „Pan Tadéusz".

O Litauen, Vaterland, das dann, wenn wir es missen,
Wir der Gesundheit gleich, erst recht zu schätzen wissen,
Dein schönes Bild erscheint dem inneren Auge mir,
Drum zeichnen will ich es — ich sehne mich nach dir!

Aus dem Epos „Gražina".

Bei Kowno hab ich jenes Tal erblickt,
Wo die Russalka, wenn der Lenz erstanden,
Den Rasen breitet und mit Blumen stickt;
Kein Tal ist schöner, selbst in fremden Landen.
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
Ganz anders traten nach der alten Sitte
Litauens Fürsten auf. Denn immer stand
Die Residenz in ihres Landes Mitte.
Die Fürsten alle waren mir bekannt;
Und willst du nach der alten Weise gehen,
Vertraue mir, ich werde nichts versehen.

Aus „Sonette".

Njemen, mein Heimatstrom! Wo sind die Wellen,
Die einst das Kind benetzt, wenns Blumen pflückte,
In die der Jüngling dann, der Glutberückte,
Getaucht an wild einsamen Waldesstellen?

— — — — — — — — — — — — —

Njemen, mein Heimatstrom! Wo sind die Wogen?
Mit ihnen so viel Glück und sel'ges Wähnen?
Wohin ist meiner Kindheit Lust entflogen?

Auch die Gedanken, die der Dichter fern von der Heimat empfindet, sind von der gleichen Stimmung durchtränkt:

Aus „Sonette aus der Krim".

Das Land zu meinen Füssen grünt und blüht,
Manch schönes Auge lacht, die Lüfte blauen:
Was ist es, das mein Herz von diesen Auen
In ferne Lande, ferne Zeiten zieht?
Dein Wald, o Litauen, singt ein schöner Lied
Als Baidars Nachtigall und Salgyrs Frauen,
Und deine Moore mag ich lieber schauen
Als hier den Maulbeer, der rubinen glüht.

Die literarische Bedeutung des Dichters liegt bekanntlich in seinem konsequent durchgeführten Kampf mit der westlichen klassizistischen Richtung, die damals auch die polnische Literatur beherrschte. Echt romantisch sind Stoff und Gestaltung seiner Dichtungen. Die Zeit in Kaunas 1799—1823, die er hier als Lehrer der lateinischen und polnischen Sprache am Gymnasium verbrachte, war für sein künstlerisches Schaffen besonders bedeutsam, denn hier gewann das Mittelalter mit seinen heldischen Kämpfen bezwingende Macht über ihn, und hier nahm auch die Vorzeit Litauens, in die er sich in eifriger geschichtlicher Arbeit vertiefte, vor seinem inneren Auge Gestalt an. Sein Epos „Gražina" und noch mehr das Epos „Konrad Wallenrod" sind in ihrer Fabel geschichtliche Stoffe

aus dem Mittelalter, in ihrer Gestaltung romantisch und lyrisch, dabei von einem flammenden Nationalismus getragen. Vielleicht sein bedeutendstes Werk ist „Pan Tadéusz". Über dieses Epos schreibt Biržiška: „Wenn auch ein leidenschaftlicher polnischer Patriot, so besingt er (Mickiewicz) doch in seinem grössten und berühmtesten Werke „Pan Tadéusz" nicht die Polen, sondern nur Litauen" [14]). In dieser Dichtung, die Otto von Leixner als eine „kulturgeschichtliche Novelle in Versen" bezeichnet, bildet den Knotenpunkt der Handlung ein „Sajasd", d. h. ein Akt der Selbsthilfe, durch den der einzelne irgendeinen Rechtsstreit mit Waffengewalt zu entscheiden versucht. Der Hauptwert der Dichtung liegt jedoch nicht in dieser Handlung, sondern in den meisterhaften Episoden und Sittenschilderungen, den Szenen, in denen stolze historische Erinnerungen lebensvolle Wiedergabe finden, in den Naturbeschreibungen und in der vorzüglichen Charakteristik der dargestellten Personen. „Mickiewicz entfaltet bewunderungswerten Reichtum an Stimmungen: er trifft den Ton patriotischer Erhebung, lieblicher Idyllik und sprudelnden Humors mit gleicher Sicherheit — aber über dem ganzen Werk liegt ein ergreifender Hauch von Schwermut, welcher, in der wunderschönen „Einleitung" angeschlagen, immer wieder von neuem aufzittert" [15]).

Auch in die deutsche Sprache sind die Werke des Dichters vielfach übersetzt worden. Seine Bedeutung für die litauische Literatur würdigt Biržiška mit folgenden Worten: „Geboren in Weissrussland, aber aus litauischem Stamme, herangereift in der litauischen Hauptstadt, hat er Litauen mit ganzem Herzen geliebt und sich gerühmt, ein Litauer zu sein, zugleich aber auch ein grosser polnischer Patriot; so ist er den Litauern und den Polen gleich teuer" [16]).

Aus der Einstellung dieses Dichters erkennen wir deutlich, dass bis in die Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts hinein von einem politischen Gegensatz zwischen Litauern und Polen noch keine Rede sein konnte. Noch betrachtete Polen dieses Land als sein ursprüngliches Eigentum, seine Geschichte als die seine, und bis zum heutigen Tage ist in manchen Polen etwas

von der romantischen Betrachtungsweise jener Zeit zurückgeblieben.

Sicher bedeutet, wie wir später zeigen werden, erst die Aufhebung der Leibeigenschaft den innerlichen Bruch mit der polnischen Kultur. Dieser musste in dem Augenblick erfolgen, wo dem litauischen Bauern die Möglichkeit gegeben wurde, in jene Bildungsschicht aufzusteigen, die die kulturelle Entwicklung eines Volkes bestimmt. Immerhin — und das ist die weitere Bedeutung der Romantik für Litauen, — erstehen in jener Zeit dem Volke neben Dichtern polnischer Zunge schon solche, die, obwohl aus Bojarenstamme, zu ihm in seiner eigenen Sprache sprechen. Dass die ersten Schriftsteller dieser Richtung aus dem schamaitischen Kleinadel hervorgingen, wird nach dem eingangs Gesagten verständlich sein. Im Gegensatz zu Ostlitauen, wo vor allem der Hochadel grosse Latifundien besass, hatte sich in Schamaiten litauischer Kleinadel erhalten können. Hier waren infolgedessen auch die Beziehungen zwischen Adel und Bauern noch enger, was wiederum auf die Sprache zurückwirkte. So schreibt Dionysius Poška (1757—1832), ein litauischer Bojar, als erster Gedichte in schamaitischer Mundart, denen er historische Ereignisse aus der Geschichte seines Volkes zugrunde legt. Für das romantische Gefühl jener Zeit ist Poškas Leben selbst höchst charakteristisch. Er war ein eifriger Sammler von Altertümern, die die litauische Vorzeit betrafen. Auf seinen Befehl wurde eine riesige Eiche in seinem Parke gefällt, zersägt, ausgehöhlt und jeder Teil für sich aufgestellt. In diesen Gehäusen, die er mit Fenstern und Türen versehen liess, brachte er seine Sammlungen und auch sein Arbeitszimmer unter. Die Eiche hatte am Fusse einen Umfang von 9 m, sodass 15 Männer in ihr Platz fanden. Die Eichenhäuschen sind noch heute erhalten.

Seine literarischen Stoffe entnahm Poška auch der ihn umgebenden Natur. So schildert er in seinem Gedichte „Mein Gärtlein" (1801) mit grosser Liebe und Beschaulichkeit die Natur seines Gartens und seine alten Bäume, die ihn zu mancherlei Betrachtungen anregen. Bedeutender ist seine Vers-

dichtung „Der schamaitische und litauische Bauer" (entstanden zwischen 1816 und 1823). Sie enthält eine Schilderung des schweren und rechtlosen Lebens des leibeigenen Bauern, dem das reiche Leben des Bojaren gegenübergestellt wird. Nach neueren Forschungen handelt es sich hierbei allerdings um eine Übersetzung aus dem Polnischen. Auch in einem später entstandenen Gedicht, das sehr volkstümlich wurde, finden wir die gleichen sozialen Gedanken. Hier lässt er den Bauern sprechen:

Ich schlucke mit Tränen mein trocknes Brot,
Man sieht auf mich nicht anders wie Vieh,
Ich lebe und sterbe ohn' einen Groschen.
Der Herr trägt Gold an Füssen und Händen.
Es lügt, wer sagt, dass die Menschen gleich:
Der Bojar hat keinen Preis, und der Bauer ist billig[17]).

Mit Poška zusammen zu nennen ist Silvester Valiūnas, der sowohl litauisch wie polnisch schrieb (1790—1831). Valiūnas war nicht adlig, sondern stammte aus einer armen Bürgerfamilie. Er ist der Urheber des berühmten Birute-Liedes (gedichtet vor 1828), in dem die Begegnung des Fürsten Kęstutis, der „die Schamaiten beherrschte und Litauen", mit der schönen Biruta geschildert wird, die er zu seiner Gemahlin erhebt. Dieses Lied, welches er Poška gab, wurde in der Überarbeitung des letzteren zu einem Volksliede, das noch heute überall in Litauen gesungen wird.

Die Schriftsteller des schamaitischen Adels — eine ganze Reihe von Namen könnte hier genannt werden — standen in engem schriftlichen Ideenaustausch miteinander und sandten sich gegenseitig nach der Sitte der Zeit umfangreiche Literaturbriefe. Eine grosse Stütze fand diese literarische Bewegung in dem damaligen Bischof von Schamaiten Arnulf Giedraitis (Giedroc), der sich gleichfalls literarisch betätigte und sogar Torquato Tasso ins Polnische und Litauische übersetzte. Immerhin blieb sie mehr oder weniger auf den engeren Kreis des schamaitischen Kleinadels beschränkt. Ihre Vorbilder

nahmen diese Schriftsteller aus der zeitgenössischen polnischen Literatur, und ihre Schöpfungen wurden nur selten in den Hütten der Bauern bekannt. Dies gilt sogar für Poška. In vielen Fällen wurde auch auf die Drucklegung verzichtet. Literarisch von Interesse ist die Tatsache, dass einige dieser Schriftsteller, wie etwa Valiūnas, gleichzeitig in polnischer und litauischer Sprache dichteten. Andere gingen erst im Alter zur litauischen Sprache über wie A. Klementas (1756—1823), der 15 000 Verse in schamaitischer Mundart hinterliess. Klementas übersetzte in seinem Alter seine Idyllen und Epigramme aus dem Polnischen ins Litauische und betont diesen Umschwung selbst in einem Literaturbrief an Bischof Giedraitis, in dem er schreibt: „Der Jüngling hat einiges in polnischer Sprache geschaffen, der Greis besinnt sich auf das Schamaitische" [18]).

Literarisch bedeutsamer als Klementas erscheint Stanevičia, der schon als junger Bojarensohn an der Universität (1823—1824) im Verein der schamaitischen Jugend mitarbeitete. Seine philologischen Schriften — ein Wörterbuch und eine Grammatik — sind verloren gegangen, dagegen ist eine Reihe seiner Fabeln erhalten geblieben sowie eine schöne Sammlung von Volksliedern, die mit wirklich künstlerischem Verständnis zusammengestellt ist [19]). Am bekanntesten wurde sein „Hohes Lied der Schamaiten" (žemaičių šlovė — Preis der Schamaiten), in dem er seiner Freude Ausdruck gibt, dass unter der schamaitischen Jugend an der Universität „der Väter Ehre und Zunge" von neuem aufgelebt sei. „Leuchtend ist die Sonne aufgegangen, und durch die Welt fliegt „ein hundertstimmiger Ruf, mit langen Flügeln schlagend" und verkündet, „dass Litauens alte Geschlechter beim Untergange unversehrt geblieben sind". Dieses Lied erregte unter dem romantisch eingestellten schamaitischen Jungadel grosse Begeisterung. Immerhin darf bei der Beurteilung jener Zeit nicht vergessen werden, dass die „schamaitische Bewegung", wie man sie wohl genannt hat, keine politischen, sondern lediglich kulturelle Ziele, vor allem die Pflege der schamaitischen Sprache, aufs Panier geschrieben hatte, und teilweise sogar ein lokales Kolorit auf-

wies [20]). Andrerseits aber hätte eine solche Bewegung nicht entstehen können, wenn nicht tatsächlich, wie Stanevičia schreibt, „in jener Zeit die Mehrheit der Schamaiten (scil. der Bojaren), die einen aus Liebe zur Vatersprache, die andern aus dem Wunsche, alles zu wissen und zu lernen", litauisch „gelesen und geschrieben" hätten [21]).

So hat die Universität Vilnius, obwohl ihre Bildungssprache die polnische war, tiefgehende Einflüsse auf das erwachende litauische Geistesleben ausgeübt. Aus ihr sind auch die Männer hervorgegangen, die in späterer Zeit für das litauische Schrifttum bedeutungsvoll werden sollten — Daukantas, Valančius und andere. Die Schliessung der Universität im Jahre 1832 bedeutete daher für das eben aufblühende litauische Schrifttum einen schweren Schlag.

Etwa zu gleicher Zeit, in der die schamaitischen Bojaren eine schöngeistige Literatur schufen, lebte ein Dichter, der in den Erinnerungen des Volkes einen stärkeren Eindruck hinterlassen hat als alle vorher genannten — Antanas Strazdas (1763—1833). Er wurde geradezu zu einer mythischen Figur, zum Repräsentanten einer Zeit, in der die Leibeigenschaft schwer auf dem Volke lastete. Seine Gestalt ist sogar in die moderne litauische Dramatik eingegangen.

Strazdas stammt aus Hochlitauen (Aukschtaiten). Sohn eines leibeigenen Bauern, empfing er durch das Wohlwollen seines Herrn die Ausbildung als Geistlicher im Priesterseminar zu Varniai. Sein ganzes Leben verbrachte er als Pfarrvikar in den verschiedensten Orten Litauens. Ein Bild seiner eigenartigen Persönlichkeit gibt uns Biržiška in seiner Literaturgeschichte: „Das lebendige unbeherrschte Pfarrerlein wurde weit berühmt durch seine energische Sprache, seine geistvollen Predigten, die den Leuten gefielen, und die Menge der Spässe, die er vor allem mit den Gutsbesitzern, den adligen Pfarrern und selbst den Bischöfen anstellte. Die hohen Herren mochten ihn nicht, denn er pflegte ihnen die Wahrheit gerade ins Gesicht zu sagen, hielt ihnen ihr ungerechtes Handeln mit ihren Bauern vor und sprach mit den letzteren nur litauisch. Die

Pfarrer waren erbost auf ihn wegen seiner eigenartigen Auffassung der geistlichen Freiheit: Er gründete eine Familie und machte keinen Hehl daraus. Manche begannen schon zu zweifeln, ob er noch das Recht hätte, Pfarrer zu sein, und suchten ihn sogar schriftlich zu einer Erklärung zu zwingen. Das Volk aber, die Leibeigenen, empfanden ihn als einen der ihren, aus ihrem Stande hervorgegangen, ihren Fürsprecher. Sie verziehen ihm seine Schwächen, und bis zum heutigen Tage ist er unvergessen geblieben, obwohl schon hundert Jahre seit seinem Tode ins Land gegangen sind. Diese Liebe des Volkes erhielten ihm nicht nur die Berichte der Alten über seine Person, sondern auch seine Lieder, welche das Volk liebgewann"[22]). In diesen Liedern, die noch heute gesungen werden, lebt eine ganze Welt, — der Bauer, sein Feld, seine häuslichen Arbeiten, der Knecht und die Magd, der Herr und der Pfarrer (nie fällt ein böses Wort über sie), der herumziehende jüdische Händler und der Bettler. Oft schilt der Dichter seine Bauern wegen ihrer Untugenden, ihrer Trunkenheit, Scheinheiligkeit und Trägheit. So steht im Mittelpunkte dieser Lieder, die alle Kennzeichen der echten Volkslieder aufweisen, der Mensch selbst mit seinen Freuden und Sorgen, mit seinen Tugenden und Lastern. Und wie in den Volksliedern sind auch hier alle Bilder und Gestalten eng mit der Natur verwoben.

Zugleich mit seinen Liedern lehrte Strazdas auch die Melodien. Sie gingen von Mund zu Mund und verbreiteten sich zunächst in Ostlitauen, später auch in Schamaiten und im Suwalkischen. Strazdas dichtete und komponierte neben weltlichen auch eine Reihe von geistlichen Liedern. Welch starken Anklang diese fanden, beweist die Tatsache, dass sie verschiedentlich ins Polnische übersetzt und in polnische Gesangbücher aufgenommen wurden. Ihre Melodien sind rein litauisch, volksliedhaft und einfach, voll von Schwermut und Trauer. Vielleicht besteht die Ansicht zurecht, dass erst durch Strazdas rein litauische Melodien in den litauisch-katholischen Kirchengesang Eingang fanden. Ihre Texte wurden 1790 und 1814 veröffentlicht. Berühmtheit erlangte vor allem das geistliche Lied: Fallen wir auf die Knie!

2 VON DER SCHLIESSUNG DER UNIVERSITÄT BIS ZUR AUFHEBUNG DER LEIBEIGENSCHAFT

Mit der Schliessung der litauischen Universität durch die russische Regierung 1832 beginnt eine zweite Periode litauischen Schrifttums. Noch waren Polen und Litauen eine Einheit. Am polnischen Aufstand gegen Russland 1830/31 hatte der litauische Adel in gleicher Weise teilgenommen wie der polnische. So waren auch die Folgen dieser missglückten Erhebung für Litauen gleich verhängnisvoll. Die Schliessung der Universität, die Repressalien gegen den Kleinadel, die Ausweisung zahlreicher Professoren und Studenten, die Hemmung jeder kulturellen Arbeit — all diese Massnahmen trafen Litauen genau so wie Polen. Aber die in der Zeit der Romantik gebornen Ideen blieben trotz allem lebendig. Wir erkennen dies am besten an der grossen polnisch geschriebenen 9-bändigen Geschichte Litauens, die Theodor Norbutt in jener Zeit herausgibt (1835—1841). Aus altem litauischen Bojarenstamme hervorgegangen — Norbutt selbst nennt sich Litauer — als Sohn eines Gutsbesitzers im Kreise Lyda geboren, hatte Norbutt seine Ausbildung noch auf der Universität Vilnius erfahren und damit den ganzen romantischen Ideengehalt jener Zeit in sich aufgenommen. Nichts ist wohl für die Beurteilung jener Epoche charakteristischer als die Tatsache, dass gerade die ersten drei Bände seines Werkes, in denen er sich am stärksten als Romantiker und Dichter erweist — im ersten behandelt er die Mythologie, im zweiten die älteste Vorzeit, im dritten das VI. bis XIII. Jahrhundert — auf seine Zeitgenossen den stärksten Eindruck machten. Man hat Norbutt mit Recht fehlende Kritik, ja sogar Fälschungen vorgeworfen [23]), denn es kam ihm im wesentlichen darauf an, die Vergangenheit seines Volkes in möglichst hellem Licht erstrahlen zu lassen. Am besten charakterisiert er seine Einstellung selbst mit den Worten, mit denen er den letzten Band seiner Geschichte schliesst: „Ich habe meine Schrift bis zu jenem Zeitpunkte geführt, an dem der selbständige Geist des Volkes ermüdet ist. Den weiteren Verlauf der Geschichte muss ich polnischen Historikern überlassen. Der letzte litauische König, der letzte, der das Szepter

der Jagiellonen führte, Sigismundus Augustus, ist gestorben ... und ich zerbreche meine Feder über seinem Grabe" [24]).

In diesem Zusammenhange sind einige Dichter polnischer Zunge, die zur litauischen Literatur — auch infolge ihres Einflusses auf die spätere Zeit — in engster Verbindung stehen, wenigstens kurz zu erwähnen. Ganz im Geiste der Zeit schrieb Josef Ignaz Kraszewski, einer der fruchtbarsten Vertreter des polnischen Schrifttums, ein zweibändiges Werk über die Kultur und Geschichte Litauens sowie seine berühmten Dichtungen „Vitolorauda", „Mindowe" und „Witoldowe boje" (die Kämpfe Vytautas'), von denen die zweite auch ins Deutsche übersetzt wurde. Er schildert den Tod des litauischen Fürsten Algirdas (Olgerd) ganz im romantischen Sinne:

So endet Olgerd. Hundert Klageweiber
Bannen jetzt ihr Ächzen, ihr Geschrei.
Sie wuschen, hüllten dann den Leib des Greises
In Weiss. Der goldne Wizos fehlte nicht.
Sie gürteten ihn mit dem weissen Schwerte,
Den Hals umgaben sie mit weissem Flor,
Darinnen Gold zum Pfad zur Ewigkeit.
Am Gürtel hing die Schleuder, auf dem Haupt
Der spitze Pelzhut, seitwärts lag der Bogen.
Der Alte sass, als sei er noch am Leben,
Nur schaute nicht mehr das geschlossne Auge,
Nur atmete die dürre Brust nicht mehr.
Er schien vom Kampf und Leben auszuruhen,
Genüber standen Brüder und Gefährten,
Die Söhne, Priester und die Diener alle;
Sie tranken ihm ein Horn voll Alus zu,
Von Olgerd Abschied nehmend unter Tränen
Und ihm zur guten Nacht Gesänge weihend.
Die Klageweiber sassen rings umher
Und sammelten die Tränen in Gefässe.

Die Vergangenheit Litauens behandelt gleichfalls in seinen Dichtungen Chodzko (1795—1865) [25]), vor allem aber der

von adligen Eltern geborne Ludwig Kondratowicz (1823—1862), der in Litauen Heimatrecht gewann. Auch er steht künstlerisch unter dem Einfluss von Mickiewicz. Weiteren Kreisen bekannt wurde seine historische Dichtung vom Untergange des litauischen Heerführers Margis, der sich mit seiner heldenhaften Schar selbst den Tod gab, um nicht in die Hände der Feinde zu fallen. Während noch der Kampf um die Feste wütet, flammen schon die Opferfeuer:

Und unterm Opfermesser sinkt Mann für Mann dahin,
Die Opfer trägt zum Holzstoss der Heiden Priesterin.
Litauens Söhne alle, berauscht von Wahn und Wut,
Ermorden jetzt einander und sinken in die Glut.
Der Vater eilt zur Wiege und wirft den eignen Sohn
Dahin, wo schnell verzehrend die Flammen ihn umlohn:
Die Mutter drückt des Kindleins verbrannten Leib ans Herz,
Bevor man sie getötet, verendet sie vor Schmerz [20]).

Die wichtigsten dieser Dichtungen mussten im vorliegenden Zusammenhange wenigstens erwähnt werden, denn sie wurden früher oder später in die litauische Sprache übersetzt und zu ihrer Zeit vor allem in den Kreisen der litauischen Bojaren und des Hochadels gelesen. In ihnen spiegelt sich die ganze Lebendigkeit wider, mit der seit Mickiewicz die historischen Erinnerungen des Volkes von neuem erwacht waren. Und wenn der Dichter der litauischen Nationalhymne diese mit den Worten begann: Litauen, Vaterland, du unserer Helden Land, lass aus Vergangenheit uns Stärke schöpfen — so sehen wir hier deutlich, wie stark diese historischen Erinnerungen, welche die Dichtung der Zeit von dem Staube der Archive befreite, auf die spätere Freiheitsbewegung von Einfluss war. Um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts taucht zum ersten Male unter den polnischen Literaten die Befürchtung einer litauischen separatistischen Bewegung auf. In jener Zeit, als Kossarczewski im Anschluss an die deutschen Forschungen (Schleicher) die Frage der wissenschaftlichen Bedeutung der litauischen

Sprache untersucht und damit das Interesse weiterer Kreise auf die Gegenwart lenkt, schreibt der Warschauer Literat Kaszewski: „Ich verstehe die wissenschaftliche Erforschung der litauischen Sprache, ich erkenne auch an, dass diese Sprache für das einfache Volk nützlich ist, auch um es schriftlich zu bilden, aber es wäre eine Utopie, sie in eine Sprache der Gebildeten und Literaten verwandeln zu wollen, zumal Litauen schon den ganzen Adel seines Geistes und seiner Seele in der Sprache des Mickiewicz (scil. der polnischen, V. J.) zum Ausdruck gebracht hat"[27]).

Noch allerdings waren Befürchtungen dieser Art verfrüht, denn so lange das Interesse für Litauens Volk und Geschichte sich im wesentlichen auf die Klasse des Adels beschränkte, welcher die Sprache aus Liebhaberei oder einer romantischen Einstellung heraus pflegte, blieb die litauisch-polnische Zusammengehörigkeit ein untrennbarer Glaubenssatz — konnte doch noch Valančius in seinem Liede zum Aufstande 1830 Schamaiten und Polen in einem Atemzuge nennen („Denn schon kommen richtige Polen Schamaiten unter dem Herren von Gelgadas". Palangos Juzė S. 43). Noch galt die Kompromissformel, die zum Schlagwort des litauischen Adels geworden war und die eigenartigen Beziehungen beider Völker umreisst: Sum gente lituanus, natione polonus. Noch auch glich die litauische Sprache trotz aller geleisteten Vorarbeiten jenem wilden Hütekinde, von dem Bezzenberger spricht, und hatte noch keinen Einlass in die Paläste der hohen Literatur gefunden[28]).

Aber schon bereitet sich die endgültige Trennung der litauischen Literatur von der polnischen vor, und, wenngleich zunächst noch im starren und ungewohnten Kleide schwerfälliger Ausdrücke und Formulierungen, betritt die litauische Sprache ein ihr bisher verschlossenes Land: Im Jahre 1845 veröffentlicht Simon Daukantas (1793—1864) sein umfangreiches Werk über das Leben der alten Litauer und Schamaiten. Sohn eines schamaitischen Waldhüters, empfing Daukantas seine Ausbildung auf den Schulen von Kretinga und Kalvarija, auf dem Gymnasium zu Vilnius und endlich auf der dortigen Uni-

versität (1811—1821), die auch sein Leben entscheidend beeinflusste. Langjährige Archivstudien in Königsberg und Riga sowie ein 15-jähriger Aufenthalt in Petersburg, wo er sich eingehend mit dem Studium der sogenannten „Litauischen Metrik" befasste, gaben ihm den Stoff zu seinem Werk, das wir am besten als eine „Kulturgeschichte Altlitauens" bezeichnen können. Daukantas gibt in diesem Werk ein plastisches Bild altlitauischen Volkslebens. Das Leben der Bauern, ihre Sitten und Gebräuche, ihre religiösen Feste und Feiern erfahren eine ebenso ausführliche Darstellung wie die staatliche Ordnung, Heer- und Gerichtswesen, Kriegsführung, Münzwesen und Handel der alten Zeit. Das Werk schliesst mit dem Jahre 1569. Auch Daukantas steht noch so stark unter dem Einfluss der romantischen Strömung der Zeit, und ist nicht unähnlich Norbutt so sehr von dem Wunsche beseelt, die Besonderheit, das Einmalige und Einzigartige seines Volkes hervorzuheben, dass sein Werk — obwohl der Autor alle Vorbedingungen wissenschaftlicher Bildung erfüllt — doch nicht als rein wissenschaftliche Leistung anzusehen ist. Es hat daher auch noch zu Lebzeiten des Verfassers oft scharfe Kritik erfahren müssen. Zuweilen erhebt sich Daukantas zu dichterischer Höhe, so etwa, wenn er die geheimnisvollen Wälder des heidnischen Litauen beschreibt. In den 70-er und 80-er Jahren, als die litauische Bewegung erstarkte, war sein Werk von tiefem Einfluss auf die Jugend. Er legte den Grund zu jener romantischen Verherrlichung der Vorzeit, die für die „Aušra-Periode" charakteristisch ist. Daukantas war nicht nur Historiker. Er erkannte auch die dringende Notwendigkeit einer Hebung der Volksbildung. So hat er die verschiedensten Werke und Schriften belehrenden und erzieherischen Inhalts hinterlassen, von Sprachlehren und Rechenbüchern angefangen bis zu Schriften über Bienenzucht und Gartenpflege. Er war ein unermüdlicher für seine Ideen begeisterter Arbeiter und verwandte seine gesamten Mittel auf den Druck seiner Bücher. In grosser Armut ist er gestorben*).

*) Einen Auszug aus seinem Hauptwerke habe ich in meinem Buche „Alt-Litauen" (Berlin 1926) gegeben. V. J.

Daukantas ist der letzte Vertreter des romantischen Schrifttums, denn schon zu seiner Zeit setzt sich eine neue Strömung durch, die von einem starken Realismus getragen ist. Ihr wichtigster Vertreter ist der Bischof von Schamaiten Valančius (1801—1875), Sohn eines schamaitischen Freibauern. Nach Besuch der Priesterseminare von Varniai und Vilnius — das letztere Seminar entsprach der späteren Geistlichen Akademie — empfing er die Weihen und wurde bald darauf Religionslehrer in seiner Heimatprovinz am Gymnasium zu Kražiai. Die reichhaltige Bibliothek, die dieses Gymnasium noch aus der Jesuitenzeit bewahrte, gab ihm die Anregung und auch die Möglichkeit zu seinem bedeutendsten wissenschaftlichen Werk, einer Geschichte des Bistums Schamaiten. 1840 finden wir ihn als Professor der Geistlichen Akademie zu Vilnius. 1842 wird die Akademie nach Petersburg verlegt. Hier tritt Valančius in enge freundschaftliche Beziehungen zu dem um 8 Jahre älteren Daukantas. 1845—49 ist er Rektor des Priesterseminars zu Varniai, und 1850 wird ihm das Bistum Schamaiten übertragen. Aus Varniai wird der Bischofssitz 1864 nach Kaunas verlegt.

Valančius' „Geschichte des Bistums Schamaiten" erscheint 1848 und wird zwölf Jahre später auch ins Polnische übersetzt. Mit grosser Objektivität, Klarheit und wissenschaftlichem Ernst geschrieben ist dieses Werk unstreitig die wichtigste wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung, die das litauische Schrifttum im 19. Jahrhundert aufzuweisen hat. Sogar vor der Statistik schreckt dieser Bischof nicht zurück und gibt uns eine genaue Darstellung der Kirchen des Bistums, des Schul- und Klosterwesens und der kulturellen Besonderheiten seiner Bewohner. Da viele der von dem Autor benutzten Schriften und Akten heute verloren sind, stellt dieses Werk heute noch eine nicht zu ersetzende Geschichtsquelle dar. Ganz im Gegensatz zu Daukantas' Schreibweise ist Valančius' Sprache leicht, flüssig, lebendig und plastisch im Ausdruck.

Auch auf religiösem Gebiete entfaltete der Bischof eine fruchtbare literarische Tätigkeit. Erwähnt sei hier sein „Leben der Heiligen", ein Werk, das durch seine Sprache, seinen Stil

und die Bildhaftigkeit seines Ausdrucks ein wirkliches Kunstwerk darstellt. Den grossen Einfluss und die Verehrung aber, die der Bischof allmählich in weiten Kreisen seines Volkes erlangte, verdankte er seinen Volksschriften. Schon durch seine Herkunft war Valančius, der erste „bäuerliche" Bischof Litauens, zum Volksmann und Volksschriftsteller geschaffen. Ganz von selbst fand er den Ton, in dem man zu Bauern spricht. Und wenn dieser Ton manchmal recht derb und auch satirisch war, so tat dies dem Ernst seiner Schriften doch keinen Abbruch, und er konnte es sich erlauben, etwa zu schreiben: „Als die Kranke das Abendmahl wie ein Mittagessen zu sich genommen hatte, war sie vergnügt", oder „als der Sohn gestorben war, mauzte die ganze Verwandtschaft wie eine Katze, die einen Fisch sieht und nicht kriegt". Die Freude an solchen drastischen Vergleichen lag ihm im Blut, wie aus seiner 1867 herausgegebenen Sammlung „Schamaitische Sprichwörter" zu ersehen ist, der grössten litauischen Sprichwörtersammlung, die lange Zeit existierte. Fast noch berühmter wurden des Bischofs eigene Aussprüche: Wenn du im Sumpf umkommen willst, fahr' nach Babtai, und andere.

In den volkstümlichen Schriften des Bischofs tritt der lehrhafte Zweck so unauffällig in Erscheinung, dass sie noch heute, und nicht nur auf dem Lande, gern gelesen werden. Günstig für ihre weite Verbreitung war die Tatsache, dass Valančius sich wohl an den schamaitischen Dialekt seiner Heimat hielt, dessen Besonderheiten aber nie in den Vordergrund stellte, sodass seine Schriften im ganzen Sprachgebiete leicht zu verstehen waren. Von den ungefähr 30 Schriften dieser Art erlangten besondere Verbreitung das „Büchlein für Kinder", das „Büchlein für Erwachsene", und vor allem sein „Josef aus Palanga" (1869). Dieser Josef ist ein Schneider, der vier Jahre hindurch das ganze Land durchwandert, bei Bauern und Bojaren arbeitet und, in seine Heimat zurückgekehrt, seinen Eltern über seine Erlebnisse berichtet. Das Buch ist volkskundlich von grossem Interesse. Es gibt uns in kleinen plastischen Bildern einen guten Einblick in das materielle und geistige Leben der Bauern in Hoch- und Niederlitauen. Alltag und Festtag,

Sitten und Gebräuche, werden hier mit scharfem Blick gesehen. Geradezu klassisch ist die ausführliche Darstellung der Hochzeitsgebräuche. Einen Einblick in die Art der Schilderung und der Lebendigkeit, die der Autor bei aller Einfachheit des Stils erzielt, gibt uns der nachfolgende kleine Abschnitt[29]).

Nach Beendigung meiner Arbeit wanderte ich in Richtung Zarėnai und richtete es so ein, dass ich noch am Abend in diesem Städtchen ankommen konnte. Nachdem ich durch die Minija gegangen war, kletterte ich auf einen hohen Berg. Ich sah mich um und erblickte Hügel ohne Ende.

Während ich so durch die hüglige Landschaft ging, traf ich einen Pausback, der mit Bauernpferden schnell dahin fuhr. Als er mich erblickte, rief er mir zu: „Stoi!" Obwohl ich nun absolut kein polnisch und russisch verstehe, begriff ich doch so viel, dass ich still zu stehen hätte, und so hielt ich an. Der Mann fragte mich wieder auf russisch: „Koho tibi toks?" (poln. wer bist du? V. J.). Ich antwortete: „Ich habe keinen Zopf, und ich bin auch nicht aus Stopf". Der Pausback: „Mauš ti biloti?" (Hast du ein Billett? d. h. einen Pass.) Ich antwortete: „Ich kann nicht russisch". — Da er sich nun mit mir nicht verständigen konnte, fuhr er seines Weges, winkte noch mit der Hand und sagte: „Schau, schau, ich werde dich noch im Wirtshaus treffen" (smutri, smutri, jau tavi i karčiama najadu). Ich verstand diese Worte nicht und steuerte nach Zarėnai. Dort drückte ich mich ins Wirtshaus hinein und fragte auf deutsch einen Juden, wer denn vorbeigefahren wäre. Der sagte, ein russischer Assessor.

Ich ging in die Kirche und fand hier viele Menschen, die schamaitisch sangen. In ihrer Kleidung bemerkte ich eine grosse Abwechselung. Die Männer trugen Joppen aus Tuch oder selbstgewebte, die schwarz gefärbt waren. Andere trugen graue, auf die weisse geflochtene Schnüre aufgesetzt waren. Die Frauen hatten fast alle langgeschnittene Röcke an und ihre Köpfe mit gekauften Tüchern bedeckt, einige hatten auch Hüte auf.

ČIURLIONIS / TEMPERA-GEMÄLDE

opp. 224

Nachdem ich die Kirche verlassen hatte, machte ich mich an einen Mann heran (es war der Bojar Neverdauskis), und fragte: „Weshalb herrscht hier eine solche Vielfältigkeit in der Kleidung? Ich bin ein Fremder und würde das gern wissen". Der antwortete: „Weisst du nicht, in unserer Parochie — wo nur ein Hügelchen ist, da ist ein Gütchen. Fast alle Menschen, die du hier in der Kirche siehst, das sind Bojaren oder Halbbojaren. Einen reichen Herrn haben wir hier garnicht. Und von denen haben es die Bauern abgesehen und tragen sich wie die Bojaren".

Man beachte bei dieser Beschreibung die Tatsache, dass der Litauer zwar deutsch, aber so wenig russisch und polnisch versteht, dass er die beiden Sprachen sogar miteinander verwechselt, während der Assessor in dem Bestreben, sich volkstümlich auszudrücken, sich eines komisch wirkenden Sprachmischmasches bedient.

Valančius hat zu seinem „Josef" noch eine, allerdings schwächere, Fortsetzung geschrieben, die „Erzählungen des Anton Tretininkas", in denen eine ganze Reihe von Anekdoten, Legenden und historischen Begebenheiten erzählt wird.

Ungefähr zu gleicher Zeit dichtet Anton Vienažindis (1841—1892) seine Lieder. In ihm tritt uns zum ersten Male ein wirklicher volksliedhafter Dichter entgegen, der ganz aus dem Gefühl heraus lebt, dessen Verse aus innerer künstlerischer Notwendigkeit erwachsen, und der über eine nicht nur für jene, sondern auch für eine spätere Zeit seltene Bildhaftigkeit des Ausdrucks verfügt:

Lieder, ihr — ihr meine Seele!
Flechtet, webet die Worte!
Von der Fliegerin der Schwalbe
Nehmt euch eure Flügel!
Flieget, schwebt, lauft mit dem Winde!

Die schönsten seiner Lieder sind aus einer Jugendliebe heraus entstanden. Wie vor einem unsagbaren Wunder steht der junge Dichter vor seinem ersten grossen inneren Erlebnis:

Sag' mir, warum die Nachtigall schlägt
In grünen Büschen, am murmelnden Flusse,
Warum das graue Bienchen sich regt
In blühenden Bäumen, duftenden Blumen.
Sag' mir, wie es dein Auge sieht,
Warum einen jeden die Schönheit zieht.

— — — — — — — — — — — — —

Sag' mir, warum von dem Tage an,
An dem dein Auge in Schönheit strahlte,
Von dem Tag an so tief in mein Herz hinein
Dein Bild allein seine Spuren malte.
Sag' mir, wie's deine Augen sehn,
Kannst du's begreifen, kannst du's verstehn?

— — — — — — — — — — — — —

O wie so selig ist Schönheit auf Erden:
Für dich alle Lieder und all' meine Gaben!
Und sollte mir heute Erfüllung werden,
Will ich als Knecht dich zur Königin haben!
Rede nicht, schweige, sprich nicht zu mir —
Bin ich der Liebe nicht wert, hab Mitleid mit mir!

Die Liebe des jungen Dichters zu der Nachbarstochter Rosa Stauskaite sollte jedoch zugleich zur schwersten Enttäuschung werden. Nach dem zweiten Aufstande wurde ihre Familie nach Samara ausgewiesen. Diese Tatsache erschütterte Vienažindis so stark, dass sich eine völlige Wandlung in ihm vollzog. Der Born, aus dem er schöpfte, schien auf einmal versiegt. Im geistlichen Beruf, zugleich auch in nüchterner prosaischer Arbeit, verfliesst von nun an sein weiteres Leben, bis er am 17.August 1892, von allen, die ihn kannten, hochgeehrt, seine Augen schliesst. Die dichterische Periode seines Lebens umfasst daher nur seine wenigen Jugendjahre. Seine Lieder aber, welche die ganze Gefühlsskala von jubelnder Freude bis zum tiefsten Schmerz aufklingen lassen, setzten ihm einen Denkstein im Herzen seines Volkes, und vielleicht nicht ganz mit Unrecht hat man den Dichter mit Béranger verglichen. Für seine Stellung innerhalb der litauischen Literatur gilt das, was

Tumas in seiner Literaturgeschichte schreibt: „Er gehört zu den Dichtern, die Schiller „naive" nennt; die Reflexion war ihm fremd, die Weltliteratur kannte er nicht" . . . Dafür lauschte er sein ganzes Leben dem Herzschlag des Volkes" . . . Vienažindis vertritt das ideale religiöse Litauen. Er erschöpfte nicht die ganze Seele seines Volkes, aber er schöpfte aus ihren Tiefen und zeigte sie so, wie sie in Wirklichkeit ist . . . Wie verwandt den litauischen Dainos klingen seine Lieder!" [30])

Als letzter Dichter dieser Periode ist Anton Baranauskas (1835—1902) zu nennen, ein Bischof grossen Stils, Philologe, Seelenhirte, Mathematiker und Dichter — alles in einer Person. Seiner Begabung nach steht Baranauskas Duonelaitis nahe. Der Werdegang des Bischofs erinnert in vielem an den des Bischofs Valančius. Auch er war bäuerlicher Herkunft, besuchte das Priesterseminar zu Varniai und die Geistliche Akademie in Petersburg (1858—1862), auch er erhielt dort später eine Professur und wurde schliesslich an das Priesterseminar zu Kaunas berufen, wo er 30 Jahre tätig sein sollte. Er starb als Bischof von Seiniai.

Baranauskas begann seine poetische Laufbahn mit Versen in polnischer Sprache, ging aber sehr bald zur litauischen Sprache über. Bekannt wurden seine religiösen Lieder, vor allem seine Marienlieder. Seine bedeutendste Schöpfung, die Dichtung „Der Hain von Anykščiai", entstand in den Jahren 1858/59. Drei verschiedene Zeitalter lässt hier der Dichter vor unseren Augen erstehen — aus der alten Zeit, wo in Anykščiai dichte Wälder rauschten, führt er uns hinüber in jene Periode des „Hains" seiner Kindheit und schildert in einem dritten Teile die traurige Gegenwart, wo der Hain dem Beile zum Opfer fällt und kahle Hügel in die Landschaft starren. In seiner Dichtung gibt Baranauskas einem tiefen Naturgefühl starken poetischen Ausdruck, und zugleich klingt in seinen Versen der Schmerz über die Verwüstung seiner Heimat durch ihre vielen Unterdrücker wieder. Tritt auch das Gestaltende hinter dem rein Lyrischen zurück, so lebt doch in dieser Dichtung der Wald, seine Stimme spricht, seine Farben, Töne und Düfte

werden unmittelbar lebendig. Und so wird es denn auch verständlich, dass diese — leider kaum übersetzbare Dichtung — in Litauen noch heute als der dichterische Höhepunkt jener Periode angesehen wird. Neben dem „Hain" hinterliess Baranauskas noch eine kleine Dichtung, „die Reise nach Petersburg". Er schildert hier in Versform die Eindrücke einer Reise, bei denen dieses Mal nicht die Natur, sondern der Mensch — der Bauer und sein Schicksal — im Vordergrunde steht. Hier findet er auch starke Worte gegen die „fremden Herren", die seine Heimat knechten: „Nicht so erdröhnt die breite Chaussee von den schweren Wagen, wie unsere Bauern wehklagen über die fremden Herren", und an einer anderen Stelle heisst es, dass die von den „Söhnen des Nordens" (scil. Russen, V. J.) verfolgten Litauer dennoch nicht untergehen werden. So mischen sich in die Poesien auch dieses Dichters nationale Töne, die vom Volke aufgegriffen und weitergetragen werden. Für das Erwachen des völkischen Bewusstseins kommt Baranauskas zweifellos eine erhebliche Bedeutung zu. In seinem späteren Leben zog sich der Bischof fast völlig von allen literarischen Bestrebungen zurück und lebte gänzlich seinem geistlichen Beruf.

Das Bild des litauischen Schrifttums um die Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts wäre nicht vollständig ohne den Namen Laurynas Ivinskis. Als Privatlehrer weit im Lande herumgekommen und teilweise auch von den Gutsbesitzern unterstützt, gab dieser bis zum Jahre 1864 17 Jahrgänge seines schamaitischen „Landwirtschaftlichen Kalenders" heraus, der in Litauen weite Verbreitung fand. Diese Kalender ersetzten die in jener Zeit noch fehlende litauische Presse und griffen daher inhaltlich weit über den Rahmen eines gewöhnlichen Dorfkalenders hinaus. Wir finden hier sowohl Märchen, Lieder und Sprichwörter wie auch Verse von Poška, Valiūnas, ja sogar Baranauskas' „Hain von Anykščiai", obwohl dieser doch in hochlitauischer Mundart verfasst war. Daneben stehen Übersetzungen aus fremden Literaturen, so Teile von Miltons „Verlorenem Paradies" und anderer Werke.

D. DAS ZEITALTER DES DRUCKVERBOTES (1865—1904)

1. DIE EPOCHE DER AUŠRA

Zu Beginn der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts erfolgen zwei politische Ereignisse, welche die weitere soziale, völkische und damit auch literarische Entwicklung Litauens grundlegend bestimmen. Im Jahre 1861 wird durch Alexander II. die Aufhebung der Leibeigenschaft im Gouvernement Kowno verfügt. Die Bauern werden von sämtlichen Fronden und Dienstleistungen befreit und sitzen nun als freie Männer auf freiem Grund und Boden. Die Bauernbefreiung bewirkte eine weitgehende soziale Differenzierung: Bisher war der soziale Aufstieg aus dem Stande der Leibeigenen nur in einzelnen Fällen möglich gewesen, und zwar dort, wo etwa der Grundherr zufällig auf eine besondere Begabung aufmerksam wurde und geneigt war, sie zu fördern. Der Aufstieg selbst aber beschränkte sich günstigenfalls auf die Ausbildung zum Geistlichen. Der Eintritt in eine höhere Schicht, die, wie an anderer Stelle gezeigt wurde, fast völlig unter dem Einfluss polnischer Kultur und Sprache stand, führte nun in den meisten Fällen dazu, dass die wenigen, die in dieser Weise aus dem Bauerntum aufstiegen, ihrem eigenen Volke und seiner Sprache fremd wurden und sich der Klasse der polnischen „Herren" zugehörig fühlten. Erst in dem Augenblicke, wo der gesamte Bauernstand frei wurde, wo Aufstiegsmöglichkeiten nicht nur für einzelne, sondern für das ganze Volk geschaffen wurden, konnte es zum Aufbau einer litauischen Bildungsschicht kommen. Erst diese aber konnte wieder zum Träger der neuen litauischen Idee sowie aller damit verbundenen geistigen und künstlerischen Bestrebungen werden, die sich von nun an auf breiterer Basis zu entwickeln vermögen. Neben die bisherige polnische Bildungsschicht tritt damit eine litauische.

Der im Jahre 1863 erfolgte polnische Aufstand, der auch an einzelnen Stellen in Litauen aufflackerte, führte zunächst zu einer gewissen Begünstigung der Litauer gegenüber den Polen

durch die russische Regierung. So wurde den Litauern in Mariampolė ein Gymnasium und in Veveriai ein Lehrerseminar gestattet. Auch wurde bei der Aufhebung der Leibeigenschaft, die 1863 unter dem Eindruck der Revolution erfolgt, den Bauern die Loskaufsumme erspart. Eine Reihe günstiger Umstände, die natürlichen Bedingungen des Bodens, das Gelten des Code Napoléon, die Beseitigung der Gemengelage und die Nachbarschaft Ostpreussens führten weiter dazu, dass in den nun folgenden Jahrzehnten die materielle und damit auch geistige Entwicklung des Bauerntums in Suvalkija schneller fortschreitet als in den übrigen Teilen Litauens. Es kommt hier zur Bildung einer wohlhabenden Bauernschaft, aus deren Söhnen sich der erste Kern der neuen litauischen Bildungsschicht entwickelt. Die russische Regierung, bestrebt, den polnischen Einfluss, der sich in der Revolution von 1863 gezeigt hat, zu unterdrücken, gewährt den litauischen Abiturienten Stipendien für den Besuch der Hochschulen von Petersburg und Moskau, um sie dort zu russifizieren, jedenfalls aber dem polnischen Einfluss zu entziehen. Aber die Entwicklung ist nicht mehr zurückzuschrauben, die Russifizierung missglückt, und aus den Absolventen dieses Gymnasiums gehen die ersten Führer hervor, welche das Recht des Volkes auf seine eigene kulturelle Entwicklung verfechten. Die hervorragende Stellung, welche das Gebiet von Suvalkija in dieser geistigen Entwicklung einnimmt — denn zunächst handelt es sich nur um eine solche — wird auch durch die Tatsache beleuchtet, dass der nun allmählich entstehenden Schriftsprache die suwalkische Mundart zugrunde gelegt wird. Was Mariampolė für den Süden, wird später Mitau für den Norden, da auch hier infolge der besonderen Privilegien des baltischen Deutschtums das litauische Element eine Stätte selbständiger Entwicklung findet.

Unter der jungen litauischen Intelligenz entsteht sehr bald eine Differenzierung zwischen denjenigen, welche eine geistliche Ausbildung erhalten, und denen, die sich den weltlichen Wissenschaften zuwenden. Beide Gruppen aber finden sich zusammen in dem nun ausbrechenden kulturellen Kampf gegen die Russifizierungspläne der zaristischen Regierung. Da greift

diese zu einem in der Geschichte der Völker bisher nicht dagewesenen Mittel, indem sie am 6. August 1865 für sechs Gouvernements des westlichen Russlands das Verbot erlässt, Schriften in lateinischen Lettern zu drucken. Sollte dieser Erlass, der erst durch das Dekret vom 24. April 1904 aufgehoben wurde, auch in erster Linie das polnische Schrifttum treffen, so wirkte er doch auch auf die weitere Entwicklung des jungen litauischen Schrifttums zunächst wie ein Todesstoss. Die Unmöglichkeit, die litauische Sprache mit den Mitteln des russischen Alphabets darzustellen, erwies sich sehr bald, und so kam dieses Verbot einem Verbot des gesamten litauischen Schrifttums gleich, einschliesslich des religiösen, was in dem römisch-katholischen Lande besondere Erbitterung erregen musste. Um die Entwicklung einer litauischen Bildungsschicht und damit das Erwachen eines selbständigen Volksbewusstseins vollständig zu unterbinden, folgte ein weiteres Verbot, nach welchem Litauer in ihren Heimatprovinzen keine Anstellung im russischen Staatsdienste erhalten durften. Damit wurde die nun entstehende weltliche Intelligenz, sofern sie sich dem Staatsdienste zuwandte, ins Innere von Russland abgeschoben. Für das Verständnis der weiteren Entwicklung des litauischen Schrifttums ist ein Wissen um diese Zusammenhänge grundlegende Vorbedingung, denn es wird jetzt klar, warum die weitere geistige und literarische Entwicklung von nun an durch Kräfte vorwärtsgetrieben wird, die ihren Ausgangspunkt ausserhalb der politischen Grenzen des Landes haben. Es wird weiterhin erklärlich, warum in diesem Daseinskampfe, dessen Schwerpunkt von nun an auf der rein politischen Seite lag, das literarische und künstlerische Element erheblich zurücktreten mussten.

Von Bischof Valančius ging der Gedanke aus, litauische Bücher in Tilsit drucken und dann heimlich über die Grenze schaffen zu lassen. Diese Bücher trugen als Erscheinungsort die Stadt Vilnius und als Erscheinungsdatum irgendein Jahr, das vor dem Erlass des Druckverbotes lag. Im Verlaufe der Zeit gelingt es, das ganze Land mit einem Netz von sogenann-

ten „Bücherträgern" oder „Bücherbringern" (lit. knygnešys) zu überspannen, welche die Bücher heimlich über die Grenze schmuggeln und im Lande verbreiten, obwohl ihnen Gefängnis-, ja Todesstrafen und Ausweisung nach Sibirien drohen. Auf den Kopf des Bücherträgers Bielakas setzten die Russen 1890 eine Prämie von 500 Rubeln aus. Auch die Geistlichkeit wurde nicht verschont, eine Reihe von Pfarrern wurde nach Sibirien verbannt, und gegen Bischof Valančius selbst schwebte 1870/71 ein Prozess [31]).

Obwohl im Jahrzehnt 1864—73 nicht weniger als 214 und von 1874 bis 1883 sogar 270 litauische Bücher und Schriften (hauptsächlich religiösen Inhalts) gedruckt und verbreitet wurden [32]), ist für die Weiterentwicklung der litauischen Literatur doch erst wieder das Jahr 1883 entscheidend. Im März dieses Jahres gibt Dr. Basanavičius in Ragnit die erste Nummer einer Monatszeitung mit dem Namen „Aušra" (die Morgenröte) heraus. Um diese Zeitung, die sich den Polen gegenüber neutral hielt, scharte sich nun das junge litauische Schrifttum, die junge Intelligenz. Die Zeitung hatte kein eigentlich politisches Programm. Keiner ihrer Herausgeber war Politiker. Der Kampf ging um die Rechte der litauischen Sprache, der litauischen Schule, der litauischen Bildung. Das neue völkische Bewusstsein aber, welches die eigentliche Grundlage und Voraussetzung für alle diese Forderungen bildete, wurde durch diese Zeitung in die entferntesten Gegenden Litauens getragen [33]). Darin liegt ihre entscheidende Bedeutung. Für die Neubelebung der litauischen Literatur wurde sie bedeutsam durch die Schaffung einer festen Grundlage für die noch fehlende allgemeine Schriftsprache. Es ergab sich zwangsläufig die Notwendigkeit, aus den zahlreichen litauischen Dialekten eine gemeinsame allen verständliche Literatursprache zu schaffen. Allerdings gelang dieses Werk nicht auf einen Schlag, zumal auch die Redakteure wechselten und sich unter ihnen keine Sprachwissenschaftler befanden. Vor allem blieb die Schreibweise recht bunt [34]).

Die Gedankenwelt der „Aušra" steht in einem direkten Zusammenhange mit jener eigenartigen Ideenwelt, die wir bei

der Betrachtung der Vilniusschen Periode der litauischen Romantik kennen lernten. Eine romantische Beschäftigung mit der Vergangenheit des Volkes und seiner Sprache (Übersetzungen von Dichtungen polnischer Romantiker) ist für diese Zeit charakteristisch. Wo die Gegenwart behandelt wird, kommen elegische, absolut nicht revolutionäre Stimmungen zum Durchbruch, wie in dem schlichten in Nr. 6 vom Jahre 1885 enthaltenen Gedichte von Maironis „Litauische Not", in dem es heisst:

Gott, du grosser, Gott, du teurer,
Sag', worin liegt unsre Sünde,
Warum ist der Himmel dunkel,
Warum wehen kalte Winde?

Breite über uns die Flügel —
Sind wir auch aus Schwachheit Sünder,
Schütze uns und mach' uns einig,
Denn wir sind ja deine Kinder.

Die Zeitung „Aušra" brachte es nur auf ein dreijähriges Bestehen. Die Romantik einer idealisierten Vorzeit und völkischen Einigkeit verlangte Ergänzung durch die Gegenwart. Vor allem war es die eingangs erwähnte gleich zu Beginn der Entwicklung deutlich werdende Spaltung der litauischen Intelligenz, die wenige Jahre danach zur Gründung von vier neuen Organen führte: Die Gedankenwelt der „Aušra", jener religiös gefärbte Idealismus, verbunden mit patriotischer Romantik, lebte in der klerikalen Zeitschrift „Apžvalga" (Rundschau, Tilsit 1890—1896) und nach deren Eingehen in „Tėvynės Sargas" (Wächter des Vaterlandes) weiter, während die zweite, mehr realistisch und praktisch eingestellte Gruppe sich in den Zeitungen „Varpas" (die Glocke) und „Ūkininkas" (der Bauer) ein Sprachrohr schuf. Wenngleich, wie es nach dieser Entwicklung nicht anders sein konnte, der weitere Gang der litauischen Literatur in den nun folgenden Jahren vorwiegend zweckbestimmt war insofern, als die Erweckung des

völkischen Bewusstseins dieser Generation als die wichtigste, ja fast einzige Aufgabe der Kunst erschien, so nehmen doch von dieser Periode einige Dichter ihren Ausgang, von denen weitere literarische Einflüsse auf die späteren Generationen ausgehen sollten[34]). Aus dem romantischen Geiste der „Aušra" geboren sind die Schöpfungen von Vincas Pietaris (1850—1902). Sohn eines Bauern im Kreise Vilkaviškis, studierte er nach Absolvierung des Mariampoler Gymnasiums zunächst Physik, dann Medizin, und bestand 1879 das Staatsexamen an der Moskauer Universität. Wir finden ihn später als Kreisarzt in Ustiuschna, wo er auch gestorben ist. Die Rückkehr in seine litauische Heimat war ihm verwehrt, da er als Staatsstipendiat die Stellung annehmen musste, die ihm die russische Regierung zuwies. Die literarische Tätigkeit von Pietaris beginnt um 1890. Wir finden seinen Namen von da an häufig in der litauischen Presse wie auch in amerikanisch-litauischen Blättern. Pietaris war in erster Linie wie fast alle damaligen litauischen Schriftsteller Publizist. Auch seinem künstlerischen Schaffen drückt dies den Stempel auf. Seine bedeutendsten Veröffentlichungen sind seine Lebenserinnerungen, die 1905 in Amerika erschienen, sowie seine romantische Erzählung „Algimantas oder die Litauer im XIII. Jahrhundert", zu der ihn die einseitige Verherrlichung des Polentums durch Sienkiewicz angeregt hatte. Die Erinnerungen sind lebendig und plastisch geschrieben und gewähren namentlich einen interessanten Einblick in die Verhältnisse des russifizierten Schulwesens jener Zeit. Die Erzählung „Algimantas" (neue Auflage Kaunas 1921/22) behandelt das Leben dieses Fürsten bis zur Erringung der Herrschaft. Sie beginnt mit dem Heereszug des grausamen Fürsten Aršis, dem Vater und Grossvater zum Opfer fallen. Algimantas selbst, ein kleiner Knabe, wird durch den Fürsten Romanas, den Verbündeten des Aršis, nach Weissrussland entführt und wächst dort unter dem Namen Danyla auf. Später gelingt es seinen mütterlichen Verwandten, vor allem Basasis Dimitras, Algimantas mit List zu befreien. In dem nun folgenden Kampfe siegt Algimantas, während Aršis fällt. Auch in den weiteren Kämpfen gegen seine Gegner ist

der Fürst glücklich und legt damit den Grund zu einem mächtigen Reich.

Bei allen psychologischen Schwächen ist die Erzählung doch flüssig und leicht, mit unzweifelhaftem Talent geschrieben und interessiert namentlich durch die lebendige Darstellung alter Gebräuche und Sitten. Das mittelalterliche Kolorit lag dem Autor sichtlich weniger am Herzen, seine Litauer des XIII. Jahrhunderts erinnern mehr an die seiner eigenen Zeit. Dynamische Bedeutung für die Entwicklung der jungen litauischen Literatur hat Pietaris dadurch gewonnen, dass er ihr ein neues grosses Gebiet erschloss — das der historischen Erzählung. Die, wenngleich teilweise naive, Idealisierung der Vergangenheit wurzelt ganz im Ideengehalt der „Aušra", und die innige Liebe zur Heimat, zu der ihm die Rückkehr verwehrt ist, findet oft sehnsüchtigen Ausdruck. So lässt er den alten Sereika sprechen:

> „Willst du ein Sänger werden, mein Kind, dann lausche den Liedern, die in dir klingen, und bewahre sie im Herzen. Lausche dem Widerhall der uralten Zeiten, der aufflackert von unsrer Erde, erfühle das, was unsre Ahnen fühlten, und sammle alles in deinem Herzen, wenn dort ein Platz ist für diesen Schatz. In den Tiefen der Wälder, in dem Eise der Flüsse, auf den alten Gräbern unsrer Ahnen trauern die verzauberten Stimmen der Lieder. Von dort nimm sie, und du wirst zum Sänger werden. Kein Mensch wird dich zum Sänger bilden".

Von weiteren Werken Pietaris seien genannt „Keidošių Onutė", eine Erzählung, in der das Problem der geistigen Bildung der litauischen Frau aufgerollt wird, und die Geschichten vom Leben und Sterben des Fuchses — ein lebendig geschriebener Cyklus von litauischen Tiermärchen.

Mit zu den schärfsten und selbständigsten Geistern der Zeit gehörte der junge Arzt Vincenz Kudirka (1858—1899). Sein Lebenslauf ist geradezu typisch für den inneren Umbruch, den ein grosser Teil der litauischen Jugend in der zweiten

Hälfte des vorigen Jahrhunderts erfährt. Aufgewachsen unter Gymnasiasten und Seminaristen, deren Umgangssprache die polnische ist, herangebildet auf der Universität Warschau, erfährt er plötzlich durch die Gedanken, welche die Männer der „Aušra" unter das Volk werfen, eine völlige innere Wandlung, die er in seinen Erinnerungen später selbst beschreibt. Er wird zum politischen Kämpfer, gründet schon in Warschau eine litauische Studentenverbindung und setzt sich, in seine Suwalkische Heimat zurückgekehrt, mit ganzer Seele für die Gründung der neuen Zeitschrift „Varpas" ein. Er opfert sich der neuen Aufgabe in unermüdlicher Arbeit. Von den russischen Gendarmen verfolgt, selbst schwer lungenleidend, arbeitet er noch auf dem Krankenlager, an der Krim und an der Adria, wo er vergeblich Heilung sucht, für seine Idee. Er stirbt mit 41 Jahren.

Wenngleich das Hauptwerk Kudirkas publizistischer und politischer Natur ist — es existiert heute eine Gesamtausgabe seiner Schriften — so ist sein Name doch auch in die Literatur eingegangen. Neben einer Reihe von bitteren und geschliffenen Satiren, welche die russischen Verwaltungssünden zum Stoff haben (Erinnerungen einer litauischen Brücke 1896), stehen Gedichte politischer Natur und Übersetzungen von Schillers „Tell", der „Jungfrau von Orleans", Byrons „Kain" und anderer Werke, denen aufrüttelnde und vaterländische Gedanken zu Grunde liegen.

Mit Kudirka beschreitet, wie oft hervorgehoben wird, die litauische Literatur einen neuen, bisher nur von Valančius vorgezeichneten Weg, den des Realismus. Aber auch Kudirkas Übersetzungen und eigene Dichtungen spiegeln doch teilweise noch jenen idealen romantischen Geist der „Aušra-Epoche" wider, der ihn, den Schöpfer der litauischen Hymne, in dieser sagen lässt:

Litauen, Heimatland, du unsrer Helden Land,
Lass aus Vergangenheit uns Stärke schöpfen,
Lass deine Kinder gehn Wege des Rechten
Und wirken zu deinem, des Volkes Glück!

Lass Litauens Sonne das Dunkel vertreiben,
Lass Recht und Wahrheit unsre Schritte geleiten,
Lass Liebe zu dir uns brennen im Herzen,
Lass blühen die Eintracht in Litauens Volk!

Kudirka in manchem ähnlich ist der weit jüngere Pranas Vaičaitis (1876—1901), der aus bäuerlichen Verhältnissen stammte. Nach Absolvierung des Mariampoler Gymnasiums ging er gegen den Willen seiner Eltern auf die Universität Petersburg und erhielt hier durch die Bemühungen von Freunden eine Anstellung in der Bibliothek der Wissenschaftlichen Akademie. Einige anlässlich einer Haussuchung gefundene patriotische litauische Lieder brachten ihn für einen Monat ins Gefängnis. Ein Jahr später bestand er das juristische Staatsexamen (1900), aber die Schwindsucht, die seit früher Jugend an seinem Leben gezehrt hatte, setzte seinen weiteren Plänen ein Ziel. Er starb, 25 Jahre alt, in seiner Heimat. Sein künstlerisches Schaffen bewegt sich teilweise in der schon oben gekennzeichneten realistisch-positiven Richtung, die durch die Zeitung „Varpas" vertreten wurde. Deutlich wird daneben der Einfluss russischer und polnischer Dichter, vor allem auch in formaler Beziehung (Puschkin).

In seiner Lyrik zeigt Vaičaitis eine starke satirische Begabung. Die innerliche Hohlheit der gebildeten Schichten, die Trunksucht, die Aufgabe des eigenen Volkstums zugunsten des polnischen, werden in bitterer Weise gegeisselt. Daneben steht eine zweite Gruppe von Gedichten, deren Stoff aus der alten Heldenzeit des Volkes genommen ist, und solche vaterländischen Inhalts. Am stärksten erscheint seine Begabung auf dem Gebiete der reinen Lyrik, vor allem in seinen Elegien, in denen das traurige Schicksal seines Lebens Ausdruck findet. Die Echtheit der Empfindung, die Schlichtheit des Ausdrucks und die stille Trauer, mit der der junge sterbende Dichter Abschied von der Welt nimmt, haben seine Lyrik in weiten Kreisen bekannt gemacht, vor allem auch unter den Litauern Amerikas.

Zu sinken beginnt meines Lebens Sonne,
Immer länger gleiten die Schatten herab,
Mein kämpfendes Herz, es sehnt sich nach Ruhe,
Und täglich schreite ich näher dem Grab.

Vielleicht hab ich bald den Stecken des Wandrers
Gelegt auf die Schwelle zur Ewigkeit,
Doch zu den Menschen will ich entsenden
Die Lieder aus meiner Jugendzeit.

So fliegt denn, ihr Lieder, aus Elend gewoben,
Zu jung und alt über die Dörfer hin,
Und tröstet die Herzen, die Kummer zerrieben,
Und trocknet die Tränen und stärket den Sinn.

2. DIE WEIBLICHE PROSADICHTUNG UM DIE JAHRHUNDERTWENDE

Gegen Ende des Jahrhunderts tritt eine Spaltung in der litauischen Literatur ein. Während der mit den Traditionen der Aušra-Epoche verbundene und neu auflebende Idealismus in einer patriotisch-religiösen Richtung weiterlebt und in Dichtern wie vor allem Maironis seinen stärksten Ausdruck findet, entsteht daneben eine grösstenteils realistische Prosadichtung, die ihren Stoff im wesentlichen den sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Verhältnissen des Dorfes sowie den Beziehungen zwischen Volk und Adel entnimmt. Ihre Träger sind in erster Linie weibliche Angehörige verarmten schamaitischen Adels. Wir erinnern uns bei dieser Gelegenheit, dass schon einmal Schamaiten in der litauischen Literatur eine Rolle spielte, und dass in dieser vom Kleinadel durchsetzten Provinz auch unter den äusserlich polonisierten Grundbesitzern der litauische Gedanke niemals ganz untergegangen war. Auch konnte sich hier bei der durchschnittlichen Kleinheit der Güter der soziale Gegensatz zwischen Gutsherrn und Bauern, die sich in ihrer Wirtschaft oft kaum unterschieden, nicht zu solcher Schärfe ausprägen wie in anderen Gebieten.

Immerhin führten, wie aus dem folgenden ersichtlich werden wird, besondere, meist schwere Lebensschicksale dazu, dass eine Reihe von Angehörigen des Adels sich im Gegensatz zu diesem der neuen litauischen kulturellen Bewegung anschliesst. In dieser Zeit wird auch der seit der Union von Ljublin unklare „Begriff des Litauers", seine Abgrenzung gegen den des „Polen", ganz klar herausgearbeitet und den weitesten Schichten des Volkes zum Bewusstsein gebracht, so, wenn z. B. die Dichterin Šatrijos Ragana noch vor Aufhebung des Druckverbotes in der Zeitung „Tėvynės Sargas" schreibt: „Wenn wir tugendhaft sein werden, uns bilden und unser Vaterland lieben, was können uns dann diejenigen, die uns kränken, tun? Sie können uns noch hundert Mal mehr Popen herschicken — kein einziger von uns wird griechisch-katholisch werden. Mögen sie doppelt so viel Schulen bauen — kein einziger Litauer wird zum Moskowiter werden. Mögen die Polen uns locken und unsere Sprache und Art in den Staub ziehen — wir werden immer Litauer bleiben und darauf stolz sein!"

Unter den Prosaschriftstellerinnen dieser Epoche, die mit dem Eingehen der „Aušra" beginnt, sind vier Namen zu nennen — Bitė (Gabrielė Petkevičaitė), Žemaitė (Julija Žimantienė), Lazdynų Pelėda (zwei Schwestern Ivanauskaitė) und Šatrijos Ragana (Marija Pečkauskaitė). Bemerkt sei in diesem Zusammenhange, dass mit dem Zeitalter des Druckverbotes sich bei fast sämtlichen litauischen Schriftstellern die Gewohnheit einbürgert, nicht unter ihrem bürgerlichen Namen, sondern unter irgendeinem charakteristischen Pseudonym zu schreiben.

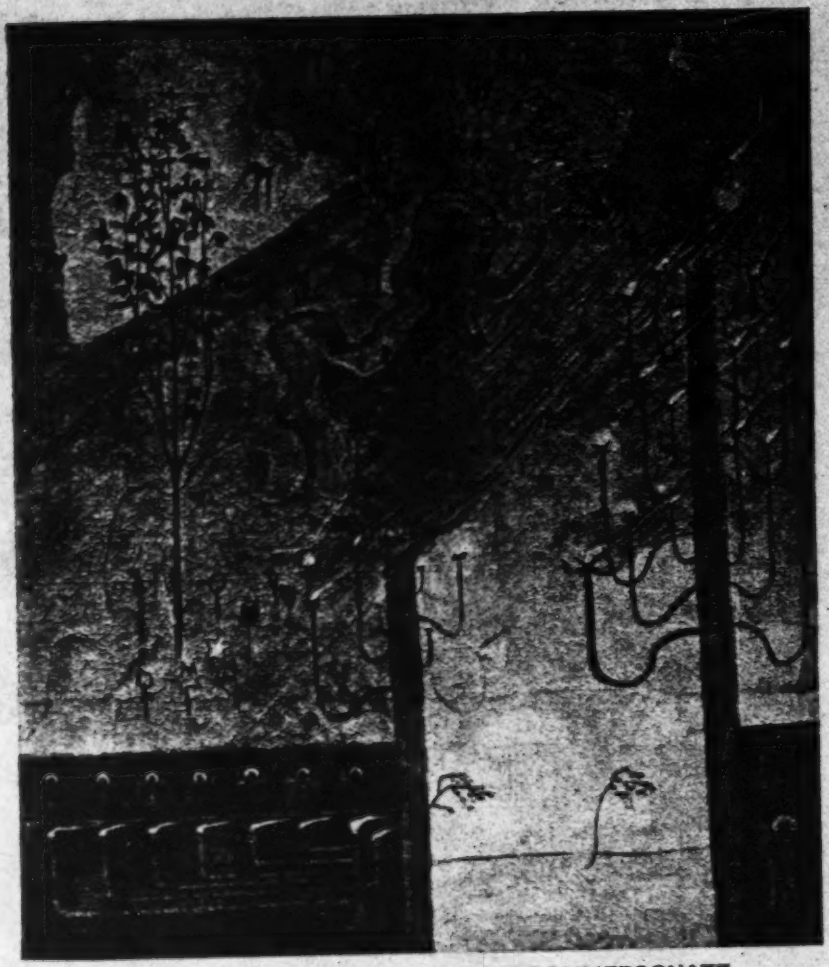
Gabriele Petkevičaitė wurde im Jahre 1861 als Tochter eines Bojaren auf einem nordlitauischen Gute geboren. Nach einer sehr harten Kinderzeit besuchte sie die Dorotheen-Töchterschule und später die Höhere Trinitatis-Töchterschule in Mitau, die sie 17-jährig mit dem Zeugnis der Reife verliess. Die nun folgenden Jahre werden für ihre innere Entwicklung entscheidend; sie hilft ihrem Vater, einem bekannten Arzte, jahrelang bei seiner Praxis und kommt dadurch auch mit den ärmsten Schichten der Landbevölkerung in enge Berührung.

Ihre ersten Erzählungen veröffentlicht sie in der „Varpas" unter ihrem Vornamen, die späteren unter dem Namen „Bitė" (die Biene), war sie doch eine grosse Bienenfreundin und -Kennerin.

Nach dem Tode ihres Vaters siedelt sie nach Vilnius über und wird dort Mitarbeiterin verschiedener litauischer Blätter.

In ihren Prosaschöpfungen ist Petkevičaitė Realistin. Ihre nicht zahlreichen Erzählungen sind von starkem sozialen Erleben getragen. Sie empfindet die Grausamkeit der Menschen gegeneinander zutiefst als Quelle alles irdischen Leidens. Da beschreibt sie den harten Bauern, der durch seinen Starrsinn das Lebensglück seines Sohnes zerbricht, da ist die arme mutterlose Dienstmagd auf dem Gute, die, von dem Inspektor verführt, die ganze Tragik der unehelichen Mutterschaft erfährt.

> Ein schmächtiges kleines Ding war sie mit Händchen wie die eines Säuglings. Woher hätte sie wachsen und stark werden sollen? . . . Von der fettlosen Rübensuppe und dem schwarzen Brot, das man im Insthause ass, und das die Hand der Stiefmutter ihr vorwarf? . . . Vielleicht von den Arbeiten draussen und drinnen, unter denen sie schon als ganz kleines Kind fast zusammenbrach, kaum dass sie sich auf ihre Füsschen gestellt, kaum dass sie zu kriechen aufgehört hatte. Wenn sie jetzt unter der Trage mit den vollen Futtereimern über den Gutshof zum Schweinestall ging, bog sich ihr schmales Körperchen richtig. Das hastige Trippeln der kleinen Füsschen, das Hin- und Herschwanken der Trage von der einen auf die andere Schulter, zeigten deutlich, dass eine solche Anstrengung für den unentwickelten Körper des Mädchens zu schwer war. Aber Tag für Tag lief sie so hin und her, im Winter mit den Eimern, im Sommer oft einen Sack Grünfutter auf dem Rücken.
>
> Den Kopf zur Erde gesenkt, mit vorsichtig unter der Stirn hervorlugenden Augen von unklarer Färbung, mit schmalen windgebräunten Wangen und immer geschlossenen Lippen ohne einen Tropfen Blut, auf dem Kopf ein



ČIURLIONIS / SCHERZO AUS DER SOMMERSONATE

pp. 240

verblichnes Tüchlein, Schultern und Leib mit abgetragenen Lumpen bedeckt — das war das Bild der Schweinemagda, wie sie allgemein auf dem Gute hiess.

Noch stärker in seiner Realistik wirkt die Darstellung des Schicksals des unglücklichen Kindes selbst, das seine Pflegemutter, Magdas Stiefmutter, in schrecklichster Weise verwahrlosen und endlich in einer kalten Herbstnacht draussen lässt und es damit „Gott darreicht", damit dieser es zu sich nimmt.

In solchen Schilderungen, die zweifellos echten Erlebnissen entspringen, liegt die Stärke der Schriftstellerin. Das Gefühl und Verständnis für die sozialen Fragen ihrer Zeit und Umwelt, das tiefe Mitleid für die Ärmsten der Armen, stehen bei Petkevičaitė in einer gewissen Synthese mit einem zweiten Thema ihrer Schriften: Mit der Schilderung der sozialen Gegensätze verbindet sich in ihren Werken die Darstellung der nationalen zwischen dem polonisierten Adel des Landes und den litauischen Bauern. Es ist dies auch der Stoff ihres einzigen Romans „Ad astra" (1933), der, obwohl weit später geschrieben, die „Aušra-Epoche" behandelt. Zeitgeschichtlich ist der Roman nicht ohne Interesse, der grosse Vorwurf hat jedoch sichtlich das künstlerische Vermögen der Autorin überstiegen. Eine weit stärkere Bedeutung gewann Petkevičaitė durch ihre Tätigkeit im politischen und erzieherischen Sinne. Das Gut ihres Vaters wurde nach 1900 zum geistigen Mittelpunkt der litauischen Jugend, und charakteristisch ist ihr Satz: „Wenn wir für unser Volk nicht jenen feurigen Säulen gleich werden, welche einstmals dem jüdischen Volke den Weg in der Wüste zeigten . . . was werden wir verrichten? Und welches wird unser Wert sein?" [35]) Und nichts beleuchtet die grosse Verehrung, welche diese Frau in Litauen genoss, stärker, als die Tatsache, dass sie in den verfassunggebenden Seim gewählt wurde und bei dessen erster Sitzung den Vorsitz führte — eine kluge und edle Frau, warmherzig und ehrlich, erfüllt von den Idealen eines echten Humanismus.

Literarisch unvergleichlich stärker ist die Persönlichkeit von Julija Beniuševičiutė Žimantienė, die unter dem

Namen Žemaitė (die Schamaitin) schrieb. Sie wurde 1845 auf einem Gut in der Nähe der Stadt Plungė geboren. Auch im Elternhause Žemaitės wurde (genau wie in dem Bitės) noch polnisch gesprochen, Žemaitė lernte jedoch das Litauische schon in frühester Jugend von den Dorfkindern des Gutes Bukantiškė, wo ihr Vater als Verwalter diente. Ihr äusseres Leben war ungewöhnlich schwer. Schon in jungen Jahren aller materiellen Stützung beraubt, war sie gezwungen, sich als Näherin und Kinderpflegerin ihr Brot zu verdienen, und heiratete schliesslich einen einfachen Gutsarbeiter Žimantas, dem sie zwei Kinder schenkte. Als reife Frau erst kommt Žimantienė, die in ihrer Jugend nie über nationale Probleme nachgedacht und nie den Gegensatz zwischen Litauern und Polen erfühlt hatte, unter dem Eindruck der aus Preussen herübergelangenden Schriften, die sie heimlich liest, zur Erkenntnis ihres Volkstums. Und nun vollzieht sich ein eigenartiges Phänomen: Mit fast 50 Jahren schreibt diese Frau, die fast ihre gesamte Bildung eigenen Bemühungen und einem unendlichen Lesehunger verdankt, ihre erste Erzählung. Sie wird 1894 gedruckt, und bis an ihr Lebensende legt Žimantienė die Feder nicht mehr aus der Hand. Sie hat ihre eigentliche Berufung erkannt.

Auch ihr äusseres Lebensschicksal gestaltet sich nun günstiger. Ihre Skizzen erregen Aufmerksamkeit; sie kommt mit der jungen litauischen Intelligenz in Berührung und befreundet sich mit Gabriele Petkevičaitė-Bitė, mit der zusammen sie sogar einige Theaterstücke für ein dörfliches Publikum verfasst. Bis zum Ausbruch des Weltkrieges arbeitet sie in den Redaktionen litauischer Blätter in Vilnius. Nach Beendigung des Krieges treffen wir sie in den Ver. Staaten, wo sie unter ihren dortigen Landsleuten Sammlungen für den Wiederaufbau des Landes veranstaltet. Aus Amerika zurückgekehrt stirbt sie 1921 im 76. Jahre ihres Lebens. Ihre Bilder zeigen ein sympathisches kluges Gesicht mit hoher Stirn; sie ist wie ein einfaches Dorfweiblein gekleidet und trägt ein Tuch, das ihr glatt gescheiteltes Haar sehen lässt.

Žemaitės Werke verraten eine echte künstlerische Begabung. Sie schafft stets intuitiv, nie nach vorher festgelegtem Plan. Ihre Schöpfungen sind durchaus spontan. In ihrem Tagebuche erzählt Petkevičaitė folgendes hübsche, auch von Mykolaitis-Putinas in seiner Literaturgeschichte (S. 345) erwähnte Erlebnis: Auf Veranlassung von Paul Višinskis soll Žemaitė mit ihr zusammen eine Komödie schreiben: „Da hockt Žemaitė den einen Tag, den anderen Tag, aber kein einziges Thema fällt ihr ein. Višinskis wird ungeduldig. Žemaitė rechtfertigt sich: „Sieh, lieber Paul, wenn etwas passiert, was mir ans Herz greift, mich erschüttert oder erzürnt, dann brauche ich überhaupt nicht nachzudenken, aber so . . . Das Altchen breitet die Hände auseinander und schüttelt den Kopf. Es fällt ihr nichts ein."

Die Art ihres künstlerischen Schaffens bestimmt deutlich auch das Gebiet der Literatur, dem alle ihre Schöpfungen angehören. Es sind ohne Ausnahme kurze Skizzen und Erzählungen aus dem Bauernleben, mit einer überraschenden Anschaulichkeit und Plastik geschrieben. Sämtliche Personen — und es sind nicht wenige — sind durch die Lupe eines scharfen kritischen Verstandes gesehen. Sie charakterisieren sich durch ihr Reden und Handeln selbst, und nichts vermeidet Žemaitė mehr, als über das Innenleben ihrer Personen zu sprechen. Damit wird vielfach nur die Aussenseite des Lebens erfasst, diese allerdings mit einem naiven Realismus, der durchaus überzeugend wirkt, und dessen kräftige Töne auch des Humors nicht entbehren. Obwohl Žemaitė die Schattenseiten des Dorfes stärker betont als seine Lichtseiten, bleibt ihre innere Haltung eine durchaus positive und optimistische. Es scheint fast, als ob die Dichterin ihre eigene ungewöhnliche Lebenskraft und Energie auch auf ihre Personen überträgt.

Natürlich stehen nicht sämtliche dieser kurzen Erzählungen auf gleicher Höhe. Wenn Žemaitė das ihr ferner liegende Gebiet des städtischen Lebens zum Stoff nimmt, wird ihre Darstellung sichtlich schwächer, die Personenzeichnung undeutlicher. Ihre Dorferzählungen dagegen haben neben dem

literarischen auch einen erheblichen volkskundlichen Wert, lernen wir aus ihnen doch das wirkliche Leben des litauischen Dorfes um die Jahrhundertwende kennen mit seinen Sitten und Gebräuchen, seinen Vorurteilen, seinen Härten, seinem Aberglauben, aber auch mit seinen Vorzügen. Nehmen wir etwa die Szene, wo ein Gutsherr im Gewitter in ein Bauernhaus flüchtet und dort mit allem Aberglauben bekannt wird, der bei solchen Gelegenheiten auflebt. Der Bauer erzählt dem Gast, wie bei einem solchen Unwetter einmal ein verzaubertes Hündchen herzugelaufen sei. Tatsächlich sei es gar kein Hund gewesen, und wenn man ihm mit dem Stock eins übergezogen hätte, dann wäre er sicher in Geld auseinandergefallen.

„Erklärt euch das, wie ihr wollt, Geld oder kein Geld" — aufgeregt trippelte die Bäuerin über die Diele und redete vor sich hin — „aber bei Gewitter da rennen die Teufel herum, und gut. Kriechen wo ins Haus oder sonstwo unters Dach; da schlägt dann der Blitz an der Stelle ein . . . weshalb brennt es denn sonst?"

„Als ich euch wegen des Regens ins Haus fiel, habt ihr mich auch wohl für einen Teufel gehalten", lachte der Gast.

„Nein, die Teufel verwandeln sich nicht in Menschen, nur selten mal; beim Gewitter erscheint meistens ein Kater, ein Hund, ein Ziegenbock oder sonst ein schnelles Tier. Von wem war hier diese Arbeit, wer hat unser Fenster ausgehauen?" Die Bäuerin zeigte auf das zerschlagene Fenster. „Wenn ihm nicht der Weg versperrt gewesen wäre, so wäre er uns tatsächlich in die Stube gefallen. Aber hier brennt die Kerze, hier haben wir mit geweihten Kräutern geräuchert, mit einem geweihten Glöckchen geläutet . . . da war kein Ort für den Judas".

Zuweilen streift die Darstellung schon das Gebiet der Groteske, so bei der drastischen Darstellung des Bauernburschen Jonukas Vingis.

Zur Tür schlenderte der besagte Jonukas herein, der einzige Sohn der Vingiai, nach des Vaters Wort „ein Mann aus Leib und Stamm". Massig, hochgewachsen,

mit sehr breiten Schultern, infolge seiner Grösse etwas krumm gehend, die Hände voller Teer, einen Mund wie ein Halbzentnermass, die Nase wie eine Dreiergurke, die Augen verquollen, der Kopf sehr gross, vornüberhängend, mit verwühlten aschblonden Haaren, mit einem starken Nacken in den Körper eingerammt; die Stirn fliehend und die Mütze schief aufgestülpt. Die Joppe aus grobem Tuch von unbestimmter Farbe, zerknüllt und verknautscht, mit Spänen und Stroh behängt. Hemd und Unterhosen freuten sich, wenn man sie weiss nannte — sie waren dick, schwarz vertragen und vermutlich im vergangenen Jahre einmal gewaschen worden, sodass kein Hund hätte durchbeissen können; er war barfuss, die schmutzigen Füsse staken in Holzschuhen.

So ging er durch die Stube, reckte sich, sperrte gähnend den Mund auf, sah noch in ein kleines Spiegelchen, setzte sich dann auf die Bank am Ende der Stube und begann in seiner Pfeife herumzukratzen und in seinen Taschen nach Tabak zu suchen.

Die gleiche Realistik zeigt sich in den Gesprächen der Bauern, die sie schildert. Da sie im Dialekt geschrieben sind, würden sie auch für eine künstlerische Wiedergabe einen Dialekt erfordern; andrerseits sind sie so typisch litauisch, dass es völlig unmöglich erscheint, die hier gebrauchten Bilder und Ausdrücke auch nur annähernd adäquat in einer anderen Sprache wiederzugeben. — Ihre künstlerische Selbständigkeit bewahrte sich Žemaitė ihr ganzes Leben und fiel niemals wie manches andere Talent dieser Zeit den Verlockungen des Journalismus zum Opfer.

Künstlerisch schwächer, aber immerhin von Einfluss auf die Entwicklung der litauischen Prosaliteratur ist Lazdynų Pelėda. Hinter diesem Pseudonym verbergen sich zwei Schwestern Ivanauskaitė, von denen die ältere, Sofia (geb. 1867, gest. 1926), zunächst besprochen werden soll. Aus einer künstlerisch gebildeten Bojarenfamilie stammend — ihr Vater war schriftstellerisch tätig und besuchte vier Jahre die Münchner Kunstakademie — seelisch empfindsam, altruistisch

und schwärmerisch, aufgewachsen ohne rechte Bildung auf einem einsamen Gut in der unwirklichen Atmosphäre von Gedichten und sentimentalen Romanen, lernt sie durch ihre Ehe mit einem heruntergekommenen polnischen Adligen (Pšibilewski) die ganze Bitterkeit des Lebens kennen. Nach wenigen Jahren von ihrem Manne getrennt, der das Gütchen durchbringt, nach Amerika auswandert und dort verkommt, kämpft sie sich mittellos mit zwei Kindern durchs Leben. „Was kann ich viel schreiben", sagt sie als fast Fünfzigjährige in ihrer Lebensschilderung, die den ersten Band ihrer Werke einleitet (Vilnius 1914), „mein ganzes Leben war die kummervolle Irrfahrt eines Blinden: ohne Ziel, ohne Zweck, leer und tragisch von Anfang bis Ende . . . Wenn das Leben ein Buch wäre, so würde ich alle Seiten aus ihm herausreissen, sie verbrennen und die Asche in die Winde streuen, dass keine Erinnerung und keine Spur mehr bliebe . . . Es ist schwer für mich, auf diese törichte Vergangenheit zurückzublicken, denn es sind da Reliquien, die ich mit ins Grab nehmen möchte; es sind da Sünden, deren ich mich schäme — es sind da tragikomische Dinge, deren Erwähnung die Selbstachtung verbietet".

Liudas Gira, dem wir eine erschütternde Darstellung des Lebensweges der beiden Schwestern verdanken, schreibt über Sofia:

> „Die Tage ihres Lebens waren, ohne im geringsten zu übertreiben, Not und Elend allein, und ihr Schaffen war ein winziges Golgatha mit der täglichen Kreuzigung einer gequälten Seele . . . In dauernden Sorgen, immer von neuem gezwungen, für sich und ihre Familie einen Bissen trockenen Brotes für den nächsten Tag zu erarbeiten, unausgeschlafen, ungegessen, vor ewiger Anstrengung und dauernder Kränklichkeit sich manchmal kaum auf den Füssen haltend, hat sie vom frühen Morgen bis in die späte Nacht hinein, im Winter in ungeheizter Kammer, in der Nacht meist bei einem glimmenden Kerzenstümpfchen sitzend, gestrickt, genäht, gestickt und Papierblumen geschnitten. Und nur wo die Zeit es erlaubte, hat sie geschrieben, abgeschrieben und wieder geschrieben" [illegible]).

Im Jahre 1896 wird Sofia mit einem Kreise junger litauischer Studenten bekannt, die sich um die Zeitungen „Varpas" und „Ūkininkas" scharen. Ungefähr um 1900 beginnt ihre literarische Tätigkeit für die litauische Presse, in der sie sich bald einen Namen macht. Ihre zahlreichen Erzählungen — ein geschlossenes Werk hat sie nicht hinterlassen — sind an Themen sehr reich und umfassen die gesamten Probleme ihrer Zeit. Das Leben auf den heruntergewirtschafteten Gütern des Kleinadels wird mit grosser Bitterkeit geschildert, aus der Darstellung namentlich der Frauen und Mädchen auf diesen Gütern spricht viel selbst Erlebtes. Im Zentrum ihrer Erzählungen steht das litauische Dorf, auch dieses mit grauen Farben gemalt — die Beziehungen zwischen Gutsherren und Bauern, die wirtschaftliche Not des Landproletariats, die Unbildung auf dem Lande, kurz der gesamte Komplex der sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Probleme des Dorfes. Daneben werden in ihrer grösseren Erzählung „Klaida" (der Fehler) die russische Unterdrückung und die Revolution des Jahres 1905 lebendig.

Noch früher als Sofia begann ihre jüngere Schwester Maria (geb. 1873) zu schreiben. Schon als junges Mädchen veröffentlichte sie Gedichte und kurze Erzählungen. Ein Leben voller Enge und Not, zunächst in Petersburg, später in Vilnius, unterbricht ihre schriftstellerische Arbeit für lange Jahre. Erst nach Aufhebung des Druckverbotes geben ihr die äusseren Lebensumstände wieder die innere Möglichkeit zu eigenem Schaffen, und nun schreiben beide Schwestern unter dem gleichen Pseudonym. Maria liegt nichts an eigenem schriftstellerischen Ruhm, ihr einziger Wunsch, wie auch der ihrer Schwester in jener Zeit, ist der, dem alten Vater, welcher auf seinem Gütchen Not leidet, mit den verdienten Honoraren zu helfen. So ähnlich sind die Schöpfungen der beiden Schwestern, die die gleiche Veranlagung geerbt, durch die gleiche Jugend gegangen, durch die gleichen schweren Schicksale geformt sind, dass niemand auf den Gedanken kommt, es könnten sich hinter dem Decknamen zwei Schriftstellerinnen verbergen. Allerdings steht, wie Mykolaitis in seiner Literaturgeschichte bemerkt, Sofia dem litauischen Dorfe näher, Maria dagegen

dem Leben der Stadt und damit einer mehr psychologischen Behandlung literarischer Probleme.

Das literarische Urteil über Lazdynų Pelėda ist nicht einheitlich, jedoch schreibt V. Bičiūnas in seinem Nachrufe für Sofia 1926: „Man muss zugestehen, dass in jener Epoche Lazdynų Pelėda eine der lebendigsten und talentvollsten Vertreterinnen unseres Schrifttums war“ [37]). Künstlerisch am stärksten sind die kurzen unkomplizierten Erzählungen wie „Das Mütterlein lockt“, eine Kindergeschichte, die auch ins Deutsche übersetzt wurde [38]). Stilistisch tritt eine eigentümliche Mischung von Realismus und Lyrik hervor, häufig unausgeglichen wie die Schilderung selbst. Fraglos sind vor allem die umfangreicheren Erzählungen nicht einheitlich aufgebaut, und die Charakteristik der Personen ist weit schwächer als die Darstellung der Handlung. Zweifellos ist auch die ganze in den grauen Pessimismus eines unglücklichen Lebens gehüllte Auffassung der Wirklichkeit ohne Licht, ohne Natur, eng und teilweise trostlos. Aber es ist wohl auch kein Zweifel, dass die künstlerische Entwicklung beider Schwestern bei anderen Lebensschicksalen auf einer anderen Linie verlaufen wäre.

Aus den Niederungen proletarischer Verbitterung führt uns die letzte der hier zu nennenden Prosaschriftstellerinnen, Maria Pečkauskaitė, die unter dem Schriftstellernamen Šatrijos Ragana bekannt wurde, in die Höhen wirklicher aus optimistischer Weltanschauung gespeister Ideale zurück.

Maria Pečkauskaitė wurde im Jahre 1878 im Kreise Telšiai (in Schamaiten) geboren und verlebte ihre Jugend zunächst auf dem elterlichen Gut. Sie wurde — einen kurzen Gymnasialbesuch in Petersburg abgerechnet — infolge ihrer zarten Gesundheit von Hauslehrern fortgebildet und beherrschte schon in ihrer Jugend die russische, französische und deutsche Sprache fliessend; das Litauische (Schamaitische) aber wurde die Sprache, in der sie dachte und schrieb. Obwohl die Umgangssprache in ihrem Elternhause die polnische war, fand hier die junglitauische Bewegung vom Jahre 1891 ab einen immer stärkeren Widerhall und ergriff das junge Mädchen mit aller

Macht. 18-jährig schreibt sie ihre ersten Skizzen für die Zeitung „Varpas", und mit 22 Jahren veröffentlicht sie ihre erste grössere Erzählung „Viktutė" in Tagebuchform. Es ist ein grossenteils autobiographisches Werk. Die junge Schriftstellerin wird hier zum Apostel der neuen Ideen unter ihren Standesgenossen. Neben politischen und demokratischen Gedankengängen spielt auch das religiöse Element — sie bleibt ihr ganzes Leben hindurch eine überzeugte Katholikin — schon eine Rolle.

Obwohl auch an Pečkauskaitė die Sorgen des Alltags nicht vorübergehen, und obwohl sie gezwungen ist, nach Verkauf des väterlichen Gutes als Hauslehrerin in adligen Familien ihr Brot zu verdienen, bleibt ihr äusseres Schicksal doch im ganzen ein günstiges. Ihre aussergewöhnliche Begabung wird sehr bald erkannt, im Jahre 1905 erhält sie, die Frau, das Auslandsstipendium eines litauischen Bildungsvereins. Sie folgt ihrer ausgesprochen pädagogischen und literarischen Begabung und wird in Zürich Schülerin des Pädagogen Fr. Förster, dessen Grundsätze sie späterhin in eigenen grösseren Werken und Übersetzungen in Litauen verbreitet („Jugenderziehung", „Sexuelle Ethik und Sexualpädagogik", „Christus und das menschliche Leben" u. s. w.). Nach Litauen zurückgekehrt besteht sie das Privatlehrerinnenexamen für höhere Schulen und erhält im Jahre 1909 die Leitung des von dem Bildungsverein „Žiburys" unterhaltenen Mädchenprogymnasiums in Mariampolė. Der Krieg unterbricht diese Tätigkeit. Sie kehrt in ihre Heimat Schamaiten zurück und entfaltet nach dem Kriege eine grosse schriftstellerische Tätigkeit auf pädagogischem Gebiete. 1928 wird sie für ihre Verdienste um das Erziehungswesen des Landes durch die Verleihung des philosophischen Ehrendoktors der Litauischen Universität ausgezeichnet. Sie stirbt am 24. Juli 1930. Eine fast vollständige Sammlung ihrer schöngeistigen Schriften liegt in sechs Bänden vor.

Was Maria Pečkauskaitė von den übrigen Prosaschriftstellerinnen ihrer Zeit unterscheidet, ist zunächst ihre hohe abgeschlossene Bildung, die ihr in Verbindung mit ihren grossen geistigen Gaben eine ungleich weitere Schau über die Wirk-

lichkeiten des Lebens ermöglicht. Ihre Schriften sind grösstenteils für Gebildete geschrieben, keine Dorfgeschichten im herkömmlichen Sinne. Sie sind dynamisch insofern, als sie den künstlerischen Bezirk, in dem die litauische Literatur bisher zu Hause war, vor allem nach der gedanklichen Seite erweitern.

Ein weiterer deutlicher Unterschied liegt darin, dass die Schriftstellerin trotz aller Sympathien für das Dorf doch niemals wie die bisher genannten die Ideologie des Bauern vertritt, sondern stets überzeugte Aristokratin bleibt. So erfahren auch die Gegensätze zwischen Bauerntum und Adel in ihren Erzählungen keine Behandlung. Innerlich durchdrungen von der junglitauischen Idee ist sie bestrebt, auch in ihren polonisierten Standesgenossen eine geistige Umstellung hervorzurufen. Ihre Erzählungen atmen den Geist und die Stimmung des adligen Gutes, und so herb und satirisch die Darstellung bisweilen auch werden kann, so artet sie doch nie zum Pamphlet aus. Inhaltlich sind vor allem diejenigen Erzählungen von Interesse, in denen geschildert wird, wie die junglitauische Bauernbewegung der „Litwomanen" sich in den Köpfen des Kleinadels widerspiegelt („Für das Vaterland", „Auf dem alten Gut"). Aus reinem Idealismus heraus kämpft Pečkauskaitė für die Bildung und Erziehung des Volkes, für Nächstenliebe und Selbstaufopferung und alle anderen menschlichen Ideale. Von einer im Grunde trotz aller Elegie optimistischen Weltanschauung getragen, sieht sie überall die Möglichkeit zu bessern, zu helfen, zu erziehen. Wenn nun aber auch eine ganze Reihe ihrer Prosaschriften einem ausgesprochen didaktischen Zweck dient, so tritt dieser doch niemals aufdringlich in Erscheinung. So sind in ihrer schönsten Geschichte „Auf dem alten Gut" alle Ereignisse mit den Augen eines achtjährigen Kindes gesehen, und in einer anderen Erzählung „Irkas Tragödie" erleben wir die Erschütterung einer kleinen Menschenseele durch die Entfremdung von Vater und Mutter mit einer solchen Eindringlichkeit, wie sie nur echte künstlerische Begabung zu geben vermag [illegible]).

Der Subtilität ihrer Schilderung entspricht ein starkes Stilgefühl. Die Sprache schmiegt sich der Darstellung in jeder

Schwingung an. Sie ist sparsam, plastisch und ausdrucksreich, auch in Bildern ungekünstelt. Wenn Pečkauskaitė in ihrer Erzählung „Irka" etwa von einem „stiefmütterchenweissen Bettlein" spricht oder von der Stimme des Kindes sagt: „sie begann zu klingen wie ein silbernes Glöcklein", so darf man nicht vergessen, welche Kühnheit der Ausdrucksweise und welchen Fortschritt zugleich solche dichterischen Vergleiche bei der damaligen Entwicklung der litauischen Schriftsprache bedeuteten.

Es ist schwer, die Erzählungen dieser Schriftstellerin einer bestimmten literarischen Richtung zuzuteilen. Zweifellos sind sie mit sentimentalen und romantischen Elementen durchsetzt, und einige poetische Träumereien können als rein romantisch bezeichnet werden („Warum bist du nicht hier", „Das blaue Mägdlein"). Andererseits ist die Sparsamkeit der Naturschilderungen hervorzuheben, die nur gelegentlich einmal eine zarte lyrische Stimmung einleiten oder untermalen. Gerade diese Note tritt in den Erinnerungen an ihre Kindheit besonders hervor").

Auf dem alten Gut.

Jenseits der Wälder, jenseits der Ströme, zwischen Flusstälern und Hügeln steht das alte hölzerne Gutshaus. Nicht hoch, aber langgestreckt und breit, mit einem grossen Vorbau auf weissen Säulen, voll von heimlichen Eckchen, warm und behaglich, treuer Hüter all' unsrer Freuden und Kümmernisse. Hinter ihm liegt ein grosser, verschlafener künstlicher Teich mit geheimnisvollen Tiefen, am Abend von Mond und Sternen vergoldet, und — von Liedern in Schlummer gewiegt, voll von Düften und heimlichen Träumen — der Garten.

Zärtlich schmiegt der Garten den Teich und das Gutshaus an seine breite Brust — seine vertrauten Freunde — und erzählt ihnen flüsternd Märchen ohne Ende, heimliche lange Geschichten und ewiges Leid. Und beide lauschen, — still und versonnen.

Eine kleine Halbinsel liegt im Garten, hineingestreckt in den Teich, mit blühenden Spiräensträuchern bedeckt,

ganz mit Blumen übersät. An ihrem Ufer wächst eine Weide, deren Stamm einmal gefällt wurde, und die nun drei neue Stämmchen hervorgetrieben und eine Art Sessel gebildet hat, in dem man sehr bequem zurückgelehnt sitzen kann. Einmal habe ich mit meiner lieben Mutter dieses Eckchen entdeckt. Da hat sie auf das eine Stämmchen meinen Buchstaben geschrieben und gesagt: „Das ist jetzt dein Sessel, Irussja. Und wenn du hier sitzen wirst, dann sollst du an mich denken, und nur gute und schöne Gedanken mögen dir in den Kopf kommen".

Diesen Frühling sitze ich oft in dem Weidensessel, denn ich arbeite an einem Geschenk für Mutters Namenstag. Im Winter habe ich sticken gelernt, und nun möchte ich gern ihr den ersten Erfolg meiner Arbeit schenken. Von meinem eigenen Gelde habe ich das Material gekauft, und jetzt sticke ich, zurückgelehnt in den Sessel, damit Mutter mich nicht sieht, eine kleine Decke für ihr Nachttischchen. Ich bin gerade auf dieses Geschenk gekommen, nachdem ich ganz tief nachgedacht habe. Am Abend — habe ich gedacht — wenn Mutter, nachdem sie gelesen hat, die Kerze auslöschen will, wird ihr Blick auf mein Deckchen fallen, und sie wird in Gedanken an mich einschlummern. Und am Morgen geht ihr erster Blick nach der Uhr auf dem Tischchen. Und da wird sie wieder an mich denken müssen.

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

Warum sagst du, liebe Mutter, dass wir, wenn wir ins Nest zurückkommen, dich und den Vater vielleicht nicht mehr finden werden?" „Die alten Vögel fliegen dorthin, von wo niemand mehr zurückkehrt. Ins Paradies der Väter. So ist es, Kinder. Ach, es kann aber auch anders sein . . ."

Plötzlich klopfte jemand stark ans Fenster des Nebenzimmers.

Meine Mutter zuckte zusammen, wir alle sprangen erschrocken auf und liefen, um zu sehen, wer dort sei. Aber

hinter dem Fenster dunkelte die Nacht, und niemand war zu sehen und zu hören.

„Wer war da? Wer war da?" fragte Mutter unruhig. In ihren Augen sah ich ein schmerzliches Erschrecken. „Was war das für ein Zeichen? Hat das Schicksal geklopft wie in Beethovens Schicksalssymphonie?" Und wieder setzte sich Mutter ans Klavier und begann die schöne Symphonie zu spielen. Aber sie wusste aus dem Gedächtnis nicht viel, und so unterbrach sie sie und begann eine unendlich traurige Melodie, zu der sie im Rezitativ sang;

. . . . . .

So traurig sang meine liebe Mutter, und in mir stieg ein bekanntes Gefühl auf, dass alle sterben würden und ich dann ganz allein wäre. Das war so furchtbar, und ich sagte zu meiner Mutter:

„Mutter, gehen wir von hier fort ins Licht".

Meine Mutter schloss das Klavier, und wir gingen ins Esszimmer, wo über dem Tisch fröhlich die Lampe brannte, auf einem Tischchen freundlich der Samovar summte und Nika mit Jonelis über einen Tisch gebeugt sich Bilder ansahen.

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Und alles ist vergangen und vorübergeflogen . . . Gegangen bist auch du, meine Mutter, fortgeflogen aus dem Nest ins Paradies. Aber zuerst sind doch die Vöglein ausgeflogen.

Und das Nest hat der Sturmwind zerrissen.

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3. MAIRONIS UND DER IDEALISMUS IN DER LYRIK SEINER ZEIT

Die Schöpfungen Maria Pečkauskaitės leiten uns zurück in jene romantisch gefärbte, religiös-politische Gedankenwelt, deren Erwecker die Zeitschrift „Aušra" (1883—1886) wurde, und deren Ideen später durch die „Apžvalga" (1890—1896) und die von Pfarrer Tumas begründete Zeitschrift „Tėvynės

Sargas" (1896—1904) immer weitere religiös eingestellte Kreise erfasste. Namentlich dem letzten Blatte kam Bedeutung zu. Wir finden in seinen Spalten neben klugen mit grosser Eindringlichkeit geschriebenen Aufsätzen Maria Pečkauskaitės auch andere später bekannt gewordene Namen, scharte sich doch um dieses Blatt die gesamte Geistlichkeit des Landes, die von der neuen Bewegung ergriffen war. Um den Geist jener Zeit, aus dem für die Weiterentwicklung der litauischen Dichtung ein neuer Anstoss kam, zu verstehen, seien wenigstens die grundlegenden Gedankengänge aufgezeigt. Erstrebt wird eine Synthese zwischen katholischer und nationaler Weltanschauung, wie dies aus einem programmatischen Satze der Zeitschrift (Nr. 4 vom Jahre 1896) deutlich hervorgeht: „Aus dem heissen Wunsche heraus, unseren Glauben zu schützen und unser Volk zu erhalten, werden wir bestrebt sein, es aufzuklären; niemals opfern wir jedoch den Katholizismus für des Vaterlandes Wohl, sondern wir wollen erfüllt sein von vaterländischem Gefühl aus der Liebe Gottes." Vor jeder Gewaltanwendung gegen die Machthaber wird gewarnt („wer mit dem Schwerte Krieg führt, fällt auch vom Schwert", Maironis), die Erweckung des Widerstandes gegen Orthodoxie und Russifizierung soll mit geistigen Mitteln erfolgen. Diese Mittel aber sind die gleichen wie in der Aušros-Epoche — Erweckung der Liebe zur angestammten Heimat, eine romantische Verherrlichung der Vergangenheit, der umgekehrt eine pessimistische Auffassung der Gegenwart entspricht, und die Hoffnung auf die Gnade Gottes, der das Volk doch einmal vom russischen Joche befreien wird. Das ist die Thematik der Zeit.

Nun sind zweifellos Gedankengänge wie die hier aufgezeigten, namentlich wenn sie aus einer starken gefühlsmässigen Quelle gespeist werden, ein dankbarer Stoff vor allem für die Lyrik, und so ist es denn kein Wunder, dass in dieser Zeit und dieser Ideenwelt ein Dichter ersteht, der in Litauen als der bedeutendste Vertreter der Lyrik bis zum Weltkriege gilt, und der vom literarhistorischen Standpunkte aus jedenfalls als der Schöpfer der modernen litauischen Kunstlyrik angesehen

werden muss — der Prälat Jonas Maculevičius Mačiulis, oder, wie er sich selbst mit seinem Schriftstellernamen nennt — Maironis.

Geboren 1862 als Sohn eines Freibauern im Kreise Raseiniai, aufgewachsen im Verkehr mit Bauern sowohl wie mit dem Kleinadel der Umgegend, trat er in das Gymnasium zu Kaunas ein, das er 1883 beendete. Das Kauener Priesterseminar, das er von 1884 an besuchte, war von polnischer Atmosphäre durchtränkt. Unter dem Einfluss der Romantiker und geschichtlicher Werke über die Vorzeit Litauens erwacht in ihm hier das Gefühl inniger Verbundenheit mit seiner Heimat, wovon seine ersten litauisch geschriebenen Dichtungen Zeugnis ablegen. Nach Beendigung des Seminars und der Geistlichen Akademie zu Petersburg wird Maironis Professor am Kauener Priesterseminar. Von 1894 bis 1909 finden wir ihn als Professor der Moraltheologie an der Petersburger Geistlichen Akademie. Diese 15 Jahre sind für seine künstlerische Entwicklung entscheidend. Er gibt unter anderem hier schon 1895 eine Gedichtsammlung „Stimmen des Frühlings" heraus, die ihn in weiten Kreisen bekannt macht und in immer neuen Auflagen erscheint. Seinem scharfen und kritischen Geist liegt auch die Satire. Später übernimmt er die Leitung des Kauener Priesterseminars. Nach Begründung der Litauischen Universität beruft ihn die Theologische Fakultät als Professor der Moraltheologie und der litauischen Literatur. Er stirbt unter Anteilnahme des ganzen Volkes am 28. Juni 1932. Von seinen wissenschaftlichen Schriften sind seine 1903 erschienenen „Praelectiones de justitia et jure" sowie einige Arbeiten aus dem Gebiete der Moraltheologie zu nennen.

Der grosse Einfluss, der von den Dichtungen Maironis' ausging, beruhte zunächst darauf, dass seine Zeit die Zeit des nationalen Erwachens seiner Nation war. Damit war der Boden für die Aufnahme seiner Lyrik vorbereitet. Maironis kann geradezu als der künstlerische Erwecker des nationalen Bewusstseins in Litauen angesehen werden. Er wird zum Sänger seines Landes, zum Verkünder der völkischen Einigkeit, der Liebe zum Vaterlande. In dieser Liebe bewahrt er aber

doch immer seine geistliche Ideologie. Wenn schon der Jüngling sang (1885):

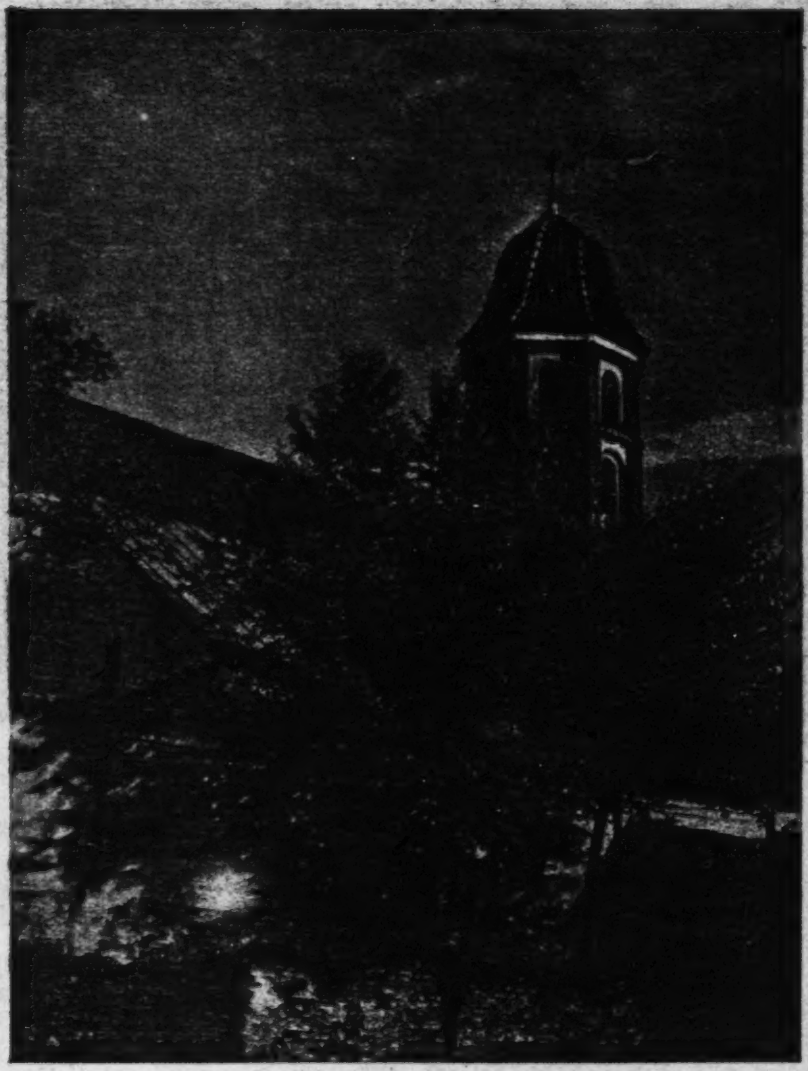
Kommen wird die Zeit, wo der Allmächtige
Für uns erheben wird das zornige Schwert
Und die fernsten Länder wieder vernehmen
Den heute vergessenen litauischen Namen,

so bleibt er diesem hohen Stil, diesem ihm eigentümlichen Pathos, sein ganzes Leben hindurch treu. Seine Bedeutung als Dichter liegt darin, dass er diese Ideen nicht in blassen Allegorien erschöpft, sondern in bildhafter Form und mit starker innerlicher Leidenschaft zum Ausdruck bringt. So haben seine Dichtungen auch sehr bald Eingang ins Volk gefunden. Nach der russischen Revolution 1905, als die Unterdrückung des geistigen Lebens der Randvölker etwas nachliess, wurden die volkstümlichsten Lieder des Dichters bei allen Zusammenkünften und Veranstaltungen in Litauen gesungen, später auch teilweise in die Lesebücher der Schulen übernommen. Überhaupt lässt sich bei den meisten seiner Gedichte ohne weiteres erkennen, dass sie für den Gesang oder die feierliche Deklamation bestimmt sind:

Dort, wo die Scheschupe, der Nemunas rauschen,
Liegt unser litauisches Vaterland,
Wo die Pflüger der Heimatsprache lauschen,
Dort, wo das Birutelied klingt über Land.
Mögen unsre Ströme in die tiefsten Meere rinnen!
Mögen unsre Lieder durch die fernsten Lande klingen!

Wo die Winden sich röten und grünen die Rauten,
Die Schwestern sich flechten die Haare zur Zier,
Wo im Garten der Kuckuck mit klagenden Lauten —
Unsre Heimstatt — der Wandrer, er findet sie hier.
Wo der graue Kuckuck, wo die Winde, wo die Raute,
Vaterland ist hier und Heimat, Mutterlieb' die traute.

Ob leuchtet die Sonne, ob dunkelt die Erde,
Du bleibst unsrer Ahnen teuerstes Land,
Hier tränkten wir mit unsrem Schweisse die Erde,



BENEDIKTINERKIRCHE IN KAUNAS

opp. 256

Hier ists, wo das Herz Erinnrungen fand.
Immer bleibst du unsre Liebe, ob im Glücke, ob in Schmerzen,
Ruhmvoll in Erinnerungen, teuer unsrem Herzen!

Idealisierung der Heimát, ihrer Vorzeit, die Liebe zur Sprache — diese Motive kehren in allen jenen Liedern wieder, welche die junge Generation in ihrem kulturellen Kampfe gegen die russische Unterdrückung begeisterten. Sie sind fast ausnahmslos von einer romantischen Stimmung getragen, in der zuweilen die Vergangenheit reliefartig vor den Augen des Hörers auftaucht:

Schau Vilnius dort, mit Prunkpalästen,
Wie breit es zwischen Bergen ruht!
Die Nacht hüllt's mit den dunkelsten, besten
Gewändern wie Rauch ein! . . . es schlummert gut!
Wo blieb der Ruhm, mit dem du einst erschollen?
Die Macht der Ahnenschar, der ehrenvollen?

und weiter:

Noch kann der Morgen sich nicht rot mit Sonne malen,
Noch schläft ringsum die Nacht, die war,
Nur zag, vereinzelt glänzen her die Strahlen
Des Monds, der auftaucht aus der Wolken Schar.
So möchte ich das Schloss, das teure sehen,
Wo schweigend, schlafend, die Jahrhunderte stehen,
Da Vilnius uns noch wie das Auge war,
Als es leuchtete klar
Litauen, unserem Vaterland.

Warum so traurig? Warum gleiten
Dir auf die Brust die Tränen bitterlich?
Bedauerst du erhabner Zeiten Scheiden?
Verspürst du schönre Zukunft? Sprich!
Schau nur, im Osten steigt bereits die Morgenröte!

Sie ist für den Dichter das Sinnbild, dass auch für sein Volk neue bessere Zeiten anbrechen werden.

Neben solchen Dichtungen nationalen Charakters und solchen, in denen er zu Zeitfragen Stellung nimmt, treten die rein persönlichen Stimmungsgedichte stark zurück. Ein Grund hierfür ist sicherlich die hohe geistliche Würde, die der Dichter in der Öffentlichkeit einnahm, das Priesterideal, dem er auch innerlich treu blieb, und das ihn auch sein eigenes Innenleben nur im Spiegel dieser ethischen und religiösen Grundeinstellung erfassen liess. Gelegentliche Konflikte, die sich hieraus ergeben, führen zur Resignation, wie sie in dem Gebet an seinen Schutzengel Ausdruck findet:

Viel nicht erhoff' ich vom Leben, du ja erkennst mich so leicht,
Offen vor dir liegt, was mich quält;
So viel hab' ich gelitten, dass der Höchste vielleicht
Mir vergibt, wenn ich einmal gefehlt.

Aber solche rein persönlichen Töne sind selten, und so bleibt Maironis im Grunde doch mehr der objektive Dichter, der das Objekt seiner Betrachtung nicht in sich sucht, sondern ausserhalb — in der Welt. Jedoch schwingen in den rein lyrischen Dichtungen, die in dieser Weise objektiviert sind, viele volksliedhafte Klänge mit. Gedichte erzählenden und balladesken Inhalts nehmen keinen grossen Raum im Rahmen des Gesamtwerkes ein.

Maironis gilt in Litauen ungeachtet seiner romantischen Grundeinstellung als Repräsentant der klassischen Dichtung, wozu vor allem seine grosse Formbeherrschung führte. Er stellte die Forderung der grössten Formstrenge auf, und seine Dichtungen sind durch absolute Reinheit der Reime ausgezeichnet. So gewinnt erst durch sein Vorbild die litauische Lyrik jene strengere Formung, die eine ganze Generation nach Maironis beherrschte. Formal stehen die Lieder des Dichters damit schon jenseits alles Volksliedhaften. Die Sprache Maironis' ist einfach, der Wortschatz ungekünstelt, jedem verständlich, die Form knapp und klar. In metrischer Beziehung sind seine Dichtungen verschiedentlich behandelt worden [1]).

Die rhythmische Melodik seiner Verse ist nie eine zufällige, sondern hat stets Beziehung zum Inhalt.

Von nicht so grosser Bedeutung wie die lyrischen sind die epischen Schöpfungen des Dichters, die gleichwohl auf ihre Zeit — als die ersten, wirklichen Kunstdichtungen — einen starken Einfluss ausübten. Auch sie sind von der gleichen patriotischen Welle getragen und vielfach rein lyrisch. In seinem Epos „Jaunoji Lietuva" (Jung-Litauen), veröffentlicht 1895 unter dem Titel: Unter Schmerzen zur Ehre, gibt Maironis ein Bild des erwachenden Litauens, in dem Epos „Mūsų vargai" (Unsere Leiden), sozusagen eine Fortsetzung, in der er die kulturelle Bewegung Litauens vom Revolutionsjahre 1905 bis zur Erringung der staatlichen Unabhängigkeit schildert. Daneben sind seine satirische Dichtung „Magda aus Raseiniai" und das Opernlibretto „Wo liegt das Heil?", gedruckt 1896, zu nennen. Im Zentrum aller dieser Dichtungen steht ein Problem, auf das wir schon früher stiessen — die Frage der völkischen Entfremdung des litauischen Adels, für den der Dichter echte Sympathien hegt, und den er zu seinem Volke zurückführen will.

Nach der Neugründung des Staates entgehen Maironis viele der Mängel nicht, die mit einer solchen Übergangszeit verbunden sind. So entsteht in diesen Jahren eine Reihe von teilweise sehr bitteren Satiren, in denen sich das Temperament des Dichters entlädt.

Aus seiner letzten dichterischen Periode stammen auch die dramatischen Dichtungen — die grosse Vytautas-Trilogie (geschrieben 1922—1929). Sie ist eine idealisierte Darstellung der mittelalterlichen Heldenzeit. So blieb Maironis bis an sein Lebensende der Aufgabe treu, die er als junger Schüler im Priesterseminar von Kaunas als seine Berufung erkannte. Ein Menschenalter schritt er an der Spitze einer grossen Schar von Verehrern und Nachahmern, und wenn auch manches, was er geschrieben hat, schon der Zeit zum Opfer gefallen ist, so tönt der Sang seiner Lieder im Volke doch heute noch wie am ersten Tage[42]).

SECHSTES KAPITEL

QUERSCHNITT DURCH DIE JÜNGSTE ENTWICKLUNG DER LITAUISCHEN LITERATUR

A. DIE ÜBERGANGSZEIT / DIE NEUE LYRIK

Es ist nur natürlich, dass die Aufhebung des Druckverbotes 1904 auch zu einer Vermehrung der wertlosen Literatur auf dem litauischen Büchermarkt führte. In scharfer Form und mit grossem Schwung wendet sich 1910 die Dichterin Čiurlionienė-Kymantaitė in ihrer Schrift „Lietuvoje" (In Litauen) gegen diese Verflachung und fordert, dass der Zusammenhang mit der Volkskunst überall im Schrifttum gewahrt bleibe:

> „Was bedeuten unsere Lieder für uns? Ihr Sinn ist der, dass dort eine grosse Periode unseres Kunstlebens beschlossen liegt. Dort findet die Seele des Volkes ihren Ausdruck, dort ist der erste reine Anfang der litauischen Poesie. Wir haben nichts in dieser Hinsicht, was vollkommener wäre, und wir müssen dort die Belehrung suchen, welche Wege die neue Poesie zu gehen hat" . . . „Wir müssen in der Dichtung zu allererst zu den Dainos zurückkehren, zu diesen auserlesenen, die Vollkommenheit ihrer Formen übernehmen und verstehen, dass die Poesie aus dem Herzen des Volkes strömen muss" (S. 33).

Gegen die Nachahmung der klassischen Stilformen Maironis'scher Prägung — in seiner Wirkung auf den lyrischen Stil

seiner Zeit könnte man Maironis etwa mit Heine vergleichen — erhebt sich eine neue Bewegung, bewusst vertreten durch J. Herbačauskas in seinen 1908 erschienenen Aufsätzen „Erškėčių vainikas" (Der Dornenkranz) [1]), in denen er sich gegen die aus Nachäfferei geborne „populäre Schablone, die Manier und den literarischen Bürokratismus" wendet, welcher den Ausdruck individueller Gedanken und Gefühle unmöglich mache (S. 45). „Nicht die Form gebiert und erzeugt den Gedanken und das Gefühl, sondern Gedanken und Gefühle gebären und schaffen die Form". So sehen wir in dieser Zeit überall die Sehnsucht nach Expansion, nach Befreiung von dem Herkömmlichen, nach Bereicherung der Stilformen, und zum ersten Male treten rein künstlerische Erwägungen in den Vordergrund der Betrachtung. Die von Maironis aufgestellten Gesetze der Regelmässigkeit des Versbaus, der Leichtigkeit und des schönen Klanges, waren dieser Generation schon zur Selbstverständlichkeit geworden, und eins darf man allerdings nicht vergessen — was bei Maironis als natürliche Ausdrucksform verliehener Begabung erschien, erstarrte unter seinen Nachfolgern und Epigonen und wurde häufig zur toten Form.

Immerhin hatte — zumal Maironis ja noch lebte und schuf — bis zum Weltkriege die sogenannte „klassische" Richtung das Übergewicht, zumal ihr in der Person des 1860 geborenen Prälaten A. Dambrauskas, der unter dem Schriftstellernamen Jakštas schrieb († 19. II. 1938), ein Verteidiger von hohem geistigen Rang erwuchs. Er übte einen massgebenden Einfluss auf die junge litauische Literatur aus und galt ein Menschenalter hindurch als das ästhetische Gewissen seiner Zeit. Auch in seiner eigenen etwas kühlen Lyrik zeigt er sich als Anhänger eines strengen Klassizismus. So vermochte sich die hier angedeutete Dynamik — für welche die Zeit vielleicht auch noch nicht reif war — zunächst nicht durchzusetzen. Erst die jüngere Generation der Nachkriegszeit ging über die von ihm aufgestellten Regeln hinweg. Das Bestreben, einen eigenen und artgemässen künstlerischen Ausdruck zu finden, und das hieraus hervorgehende Suchen nach solchen Elementen und

Ausdrucksformen, welche gerade für das eigene Volk charakteristisch erschienen und es von anderen unterschieden, konnte schon bei der Entwicklung der modernen Malerei festgestellt werden. In der Dichtung führte es zur Verwirklichung der von Čiurlionienė aufgestellten Forderung, insofern der Einfluss der Volksdichtung sich von nun an in der weiteren Entwicklung der litauischen Lyrik wie der Prosa deutlich widerspiegelt. Es ist eine Zeit lebendigster Entwicklung und fruchtbarer Auseinandersetzung.

Mit Beendigung des Weltkrieges und der Neugründung des Staates taucht eine Fülle von neuen Namen, darunter auch wirklich schöpferischen Begabungen, auf, und es erscheint völlig unmöglich, in einem kurzen abschliessenden Überblick auch nur die wesentlichsten zu charakterisieren. Um wenigstens einen gewissen Einblick zu gewinnen, sei an folgendes erinnert: Wir sahen, dass die litauische Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts aus zwei verschiedenen Strömungen gespeist wurde, einer positiv-realistischen, für die etwa die Schöpfungen Kudirkas und Žemaitės charakteristisch sind, und einer romantisch-idealistischen, die aus dem Ideengehalt der „Aušra" und des „Tėvynės Sargas" erwuchs, und für welche vor allem die Lyrik Maironis' das Vorbild abgab. Wir können nun in grossen Zügen feststellen, wie sich die Entwicklung auf dieser schon vor 1905 geschaffenen Basis weiter vollzieht. Sie geht in beiden Fällen von aussen nach innen: Die realistische Darstellung des litauischen Dorfes wandelt sich zur psychologischen Vertiefung wie etwa in den ausgezeichneten Bauerngeschichten von Krėvė-Mickevičius; die gleiche Vertiefung erfährt auch die Lyrik. Sie tritt aus ihrer Objektivität heraus, geht den Weg neuer subjektiver Entwicklung zur innerlichen Erfassung der Wirklichkeit anstelle der Darstellung äusserer Bilder. Das Naturempfinden wandelt sich zu subtilem Erlebnis:

Wir schauen — es sinken schweigend
Die Apfelblüten —
Wie weisse Falter —
Wir schauen — sie sinken schweigend.

Fiel nicht erst jüngst
In Flocken der Schnee noch? —
Wir schauen — es sinken schweigend
Die Apfelblüten.

(Aus Binkis: Verse.)

Daneben ist der ausserordentlich fruchtbare Lyriker Liudas Gira (geb. 1886) zu nennen, dessen Gedichte sich bewusst an das Volkslied, die Daina, anlehnen. Inhaltlich übernimmt Gira zugleich auch den patriotischen Gehalt der Dichtungen Maironis' mit den Wandlungen, die einer veränderten Zeit entsprechen. Leichter in der Form, reicher an Themen, bedeutet Giras Lyrik wohl den Endpunkt einer bestimmten Entwicklung.

Eigene Wege gehen Balys Sruoga und Faustas Kiršа, zwei Symboliker mit starkem mystischen Einschlag.

Balys Sruoga (geb. 1896) durchbricht bewusst die strengen Formen der bisherigen litauischen Lyrik. Der Reim verschwindet oder tritt völlig zurück und wird zum gelegentlichen Attribut. Es setzt eine Auflösung in freie Rhythmen ein, die über die Zeilen wegstürmen, und auch der Inhalt verrät ausserordentliches künstlerisches Temperament und Intensität des Erlebens. In einem Aufsatz über die litauische Dichtung der Zeit in der lettischen Monatsschrift „Sejejs" (Märznummer 1938) vergleicht A. Vaičiulaitis Sruogas Dichtung mit einem überschäumenden Strom, der die Ufer zerreisst. Erinnerungen an Walt Withman und Arno Holz drängen sich vor allem beim Lesen der ganz auf Rhythmus und Musik gestellten reimlosen Gedichte auf:

So ein gross[illegible] osser Festtag.
So rot ist d[illegible] mmel.
So viele Feuer wandern auf Wogen —
Und ferne Zeit gab den gleitenden Segeln zum Schmucke
Korallen . . .
Der Mond zupft verborgen am grünlichen Haufen der
Wolken.

Es ist, als ob nichts mehr das Herz erschüttert!
Es ist, als wenn nirgendwo Knechtschaft mehr wäre.
Jahrhunderte irrt ich, der Säule gleich halt' ich
Und sinne.

Die Sonne sinkt traurig, so traurig —
Noch trauriger als in der Heimat!
Und manchmal scheint es, dass all meine Trauer
Unirdischer Taten unirdisches Echo . . .
Und das tiefste Geheimnis vernehmbar nur
Dem trauernden Herzen
Allein.

(Aus: Sonne und Sand.)

Wir sehen, dass diese Freiheit der Formgebung im Grunde nichts Futuristisches an sich hat, denn diese Gedichte sind eine eigenartige Mischung von spontanem Erleben und Reflexion, und ihre Sinngebung erwächst aus dem Symbol. Nicht ohne Grund verdanken wir dem Dichter jene ausgezeichnete Einführung in den symbolischen Gehalt der litauischen Dainos, auf die verschiedentlich Bezug genommen wurde (Kap. II). Neben elementaren und scheinbar alle Fesseln sprengenden Versen stehen andere voll stiller Melodik, aus denen ein gebändigtes Gefühlsleben, ja innere Heiterkeit und Aufgeschlossenheit sprechen. In den Versdramen der letzten Zeit ist Sruoga vollkommen zu klassischen Formen zurückgekehrt. Von seinen schlichteren Gedichten ging manches ins Volk über wie das nachfolgende oft gesungene Lied:

Meine Seele hat heut Feier,
Spiele, Schwester, froheren Klang!
Fort, ihr quälenden Gedanken!
Noch beschwingter flieg mein Sang!

Meiner Kankles straffe Saiten,
Kaum, dass ich berührt sie weich —
Schon steigt auf ein Heer von Schwänen,
Flattert fort geheimnisreich.

Meine Seele hat heut Feier —
Stille Rast — die Nacht entflieht;
Wege, die im Schmerz getreten,
Leuchten von des Sommers Lied.

Blick', o Schwester, auf zum Himmel!
Sieh, wie die Reseden blühn —
Brausend klingt hier unsre Jugend,
Unser Leben stark und kühn.

(Aus: Auf den Pfaden der Götter.)

Aus innerer Schau und kontemplativer Betrachtung erwachsen die lyrischen Bilder von Faustas Kiršа (geb. 1891). Seine Lyrik wirkt oft fragmentartig, zuweilen daher schwer verständlich, weniger in seinen ersten als in den späteren Büchern. Während aus den Gedichten der Frühzeit (Aidų Aidužiai — Widerhall der Echos) grosse Leichtigkeit und ebenmässige Schönheit spricht, klingen in seinen letzten (Maldos ant akmens — Gebete auf dem Stein) asketische Stimmungen auf, voll von gedanklicher Schwere, die nach Ausdruck ringt. Mit zu den besten Versen Kiršas gehören wohl jene, in denen die gedanklichen Elemente sich in gleichnishaften Bildern aus der Natur spiegeln und dadurch Farbe und Leuchtkraft gewinnen:

Wie im Raume der Kranich mit fliehenden Winden
Irrt ich auf dem grünenden Feld:
Mein Herz strömt über von süssem Empfinden,
Mit Blüten der Liebe bestellt.

Namenlos irrt ich, verstrickt in mein Schauen,
In der Schwüle des Mittags so weit,
Nicht kenn' ich den Gott, dessen Gluten mich formten
Für den Weg voll Blüten und Leid.

Ich grüsse auf Erden die irrenden Winde,
Ich errate, wen Irrtum trug.
Nur der Erde Tod, wie von Träumen gereift,
Wird enden des Irrenden Flug.

(Aus: Hymnen (Giesmės).

Noch manche anderen Dichter suchen nach eigenen Formen für den Ausdruck künstlerischen Erlebens, so Stasys Santvaras, der früheste der jüngeren Symbolisten, und Stasys Anglickis, in dessen Lyrik ein stärkerer subjektiv gefärbter Intellektualismus hervortritt. Soziale Probleme spiegeln sich in den Gedichten von Kazys Boruta, und Teofilis Tilvytis wird durch seine Satiren bekannt.

Fruchtbar für die Entwicklung der litauischen Lyrik wird vor allem die letzte Epoche, die mit der Staatsgründung beginnt [2]). Den Charakter der Lyrik dieser Nachkriegsgeneration können wir ganz allgemein als düster und pessimistisch bezeichnen. Das Dasein wird als Last empfunden, seine Problematik grübelnd durchforscht. Inhaltlich und gedanklich reissen viele Verbindungen mit der Vorkriegszeit. Westliche Strömungen wirken deutlich ein, nicht nur Symbolismus, auch Futurismus und Expressionismus finden ihren Niederschlag. Charakteristisch für diese neuen Strömungen ist die Bildung zweier Gruppen — der futuristischen der „Vier Winde" (Keturi vėjai), die aus italienischen und russischen Quellen gespeist wurde, sowie einer Gruppe von Aktivisten, die in einem eigenen Organ „Die dritte Front" (Trečias Frontas) eine internationale marxistische Ideologie vertraten. Beide Gruppen bestehen heute nicht mehr, ihre Zeitschriften brachten es nur auf wenige Nummern.

In der Frauendichtung der Zeit schafft sich Salomėja Neris einen Namen. Ihre Lyrik zeigt deutliche Anklänge an Marie Madelaine und Dolorosa:

So kurz und heiss ist dein Kuss gewesen,
Wie ein Blitz und voll Leidenschaft wie die Nacht.
O Macht der Verführung! — die Heiligen stürzen . . .
Dein Kuss — ein Funke, der Flammen entfacht!

Nicht vergessen kann ich der Lippen Glut,
Sie brannten ihr Mal in die Seele mir!
Sie haben in sinnlosem Rausch mich betört —
Eine Sklavin, die träumt Tag und Nächte von dir.

Keine Schlange biss mich — heisse Lippen, die küssten...
Kälte zieht schaudernd die Glieder zusammen —
Ich kann nicht vergessen . . . all deine Gluten
Sie lodern ja mit in den gleichen Flammen!

(Aus: Spuren im Sand.)

So geht die Entwicklung in einem vielfach geradezu stürmischen Tempo vor sich, und fast könnte es dem Aussenstehenden scheinen, als wolle die junge litauische Literatur die westlichen Stil- und Ausdrucksformen eines ganzen Jahrhunderts von der Klassik über die Romantik, den Naturalismus, Symbolismus und Expressionismus bis zur neuen Sachlichkeit nun in wenigen Jahrzehnten auf einmal absolvieren. Dem Soziologen aber entgeht hierbei nicht die Tatsache, dass auch diese stürmische literarische Entwicklung nur den Abglanz einer tieferen Umformung darstellt, welche die geistige Oberschicht seit dem Weltkriege erfahren hat, und auf die wir schon in dem Kapitel über die Schriftsprache hinwiesen. Damit aber gewinnt unsere literarische Betrachtung eine über das Künstlerische hinausgehende Bedeutung. Von besonderem Interesse ist in diesem Zusammenhang die Ideenwelt von Antanas Miškinis. In seiner Lyrik klingen viele patriotische Motive auf, daneben ein starkes soziales Erleben. Das litauische Dorf und die intellektuellen Bestrebungen und Erfolge der Gegenwart erscheinen in hellem Licht — ihnen gegenüber empfindet der Dichter stark die Schattenseiten und Auswüchse der neuen städtischen Kultur. Seine Liebe gehört dem Dorf, und bezeichnend ist es, dass seine Lyrik auch die Stilmittel der Daina, des Volksliedes — allerdings in einer durchaus verinnerlichten und subjektiven Form — mit Vorliebe verwendet.

Von weiteren jüngeren Dichtern der Gegenwart — eine Aufzählung aller Namen wäre ohne rechten Sinn — seien zum Schlusse noch zwei genannt — Kossu-Aleksandravičius und Brazdžionis.

Für Kossu-Aleksandravičius charakteristisch ist das ehrliche Ringen um die Formung des Gedankens. Er fühlt

es tief, wie das Unausgesprochene, das in dem Dichter lebt und das nach Ausdruck ringt, in Worte gefügt sich seltsam entwertet. Und so wird auch für ihn der Gedanke Erlebnis, den Maurice Maeterlinck in seinem „Schatz der Armen" im Kapitel über Novalis ausspricht: „Alles, was man sagen kann, ist an sich nichts".

Niemandem hab ichs gesagt und niemals,
Niemandem vermag ich dies zu sagen:
In der Knospe schon verwelkte Blüte
Stirbt das Wort auf seinem Wege in die Welt.

(Aus: Erloschene Augen der Chimäre.)

Das innere Ringen um den Ausdruck führt zu ausserordentlicher Formstrenge, zu kunstvollen Ziselierungen, die in grossem Gegensatz etwa zu der freien Behandlung der Form bei Sruoga stehen. Bezüglich der Form sei in diesem Zusammenhange jedoch bemerkt, dass hiermit nicht Reimstrenge gemeint sein soll, denn auch Kossu-Aleksandravičius verwendet mit Vorliebe wie die meisten der jüngeren litauischen Dichter anstelle des Reimes Endassonanzen. Da diese, wie auch Horst Engert in seinen schon erwähnten Übertragungen „Aus litauischer Dichtung" mit Recht bemerkt, im Deutschen unerträglich wirken (S. 110), im übrigen auch teilweise mit echten Reimen vermischt auftreten, begegnet eine Übersetzung bzw. Nachdichtung moderner litauischer Lyrik ungewöhnlichen Schwierigkeiten. Die Verwendung unreiner Reime anstelle der Endassonanzen, die noch am ehesten in Frage kommt, bedeutet sicher keine ideale Lösung für eine Sprache, in deren moderner Lyrik der unreine Reim nirgends mehr auftritt. So ist auch die oben erwähnte Formenstrenge bei Kossu-Aleksandravičius in einem anderen Sinne zu verstehen, wie er sich aus der Entwicklung der litauischen Lyrik ergibt, als innere Notwendigkeit des Ausdrucks, als Durchsichtigkeit, Beherrschtheit, Klarheit und Strenge des Wortes.

Das Land dieses Dichters ist das Land der Ferne, der Wunder, der Schönheit, der stillen Nächte, des Himmels und der

Sterne — ein Land der Sehnsucht, das dem Menschen unerreichbar bleibt. So atmen die meisten dieser Verse Trauer und Sehnsucht:

. . . . . .

Der Abend ging fort mit verhängtem Gesicht —
Und wir blieben — die Nacht, die Sehnsucht und ich.

Auch bei dem letzten der hier zu Nennenden, Bernardas Brazdžionis, finden wir komplizierte Stimmungen in mystisch-symbolischer Form. Subtil im höchsten Grade beherrscht er die Schwingungen der Sprache, die er des Alltäglichen entkleidet. Seine Weltanschauung ist ausgesprochen religiös. Aus seinem 1937 erschienenen schönen Buche „Ženklai ir stebuklai" (Zeichen und Wunder) sei hier ein Gedicht wiedergegeben, in welchem der Künstler die Nachfolge Christi als den Weg aus allen Dunkelheiten des Lebens erkennt:

Das Feuer erlosch. Die Asche
Verglomm in Dunkelheit,
Nun irrt das letzte Wort des Wandrers, als er starb,
Hin durch die Ewigkeit.

Die Sonne wird in Wolken stehn,
Nicht sehn wirst du den Schein —
Wie Wolken, so wie Wolken wird
Auch unsre Zukunft sein.

Wir gehen fort, wir kehrn zurück,
Die alten Wege sind uns fremd, verhüllt,
In die Zukunft der Weg, zum Vergangnen der Weg,
Und unser Glück verbirgt ein schmerzlich Bild,
des Heilands Kreuzesbild.

Das Feuer erlosch. Die Asche
Verglomm in Dunkelheit.
Doch führt das heilge Wort des Glücks uns, und es wird
Uns führen in Ewigkeit.

B. DIE PROSA UND DAS DRAMA

Werfen wir zunächst einen Blick auf die bis zum Weltkriege entstandene Prosa, so müssen wir daran erinnern, dass sie — wie es den Umständen nach nicht anders sein konnte — aus dem Feuilletonteil der Zeitung und der Kalenderliteratur hervorwuchs. Es waren kleinere und grössere Novellen, Geschichten und Erzählungen, mit denen wir es zu tun hatten. Nun aber entsteht der litauische Roman, der künstlerische neben dem Unterhaltungsroman, und die litauische Prosa erobert damit ein neues grosses Gebiet. Noch fehlt die eigene Tradition, noch ist auch bei den Begabteren der jüngeren Generation die Handhabung des Stoffes oft schwerfällig, der Stil ungleichmässig und schwankt oft sogar bei literarisch wertvolleren Werken zwischen nüchtern referierender Prosa und beschwingter Lyrik hin und her; und noch ist vielfach auch die hier erstrebte psychologische Durchdringung nicht gestaltet, sondern löst sich in Beschreibungen seelischer Zustände auf. Aber die Entwicklung schreitet mit grosser Schnelligkeit vorwärts, und wenn die litauische Literatur bisher noch keine grossen geschlossenen Werke aufweist, die etwa der Lagerlöf, Hermann Stehr, Hamsun und anderen an die Seite zu stellen wären, so haben wir doch schon einzelne Werke, deren Übersetzung in eine Weltsprache Anerkennung verspricht, ähnlich wie sie den Werken beispielsweise finnischer und estnischer Dichter schon zuteil geworden ist.

Zeitlich an erster Stelle steht Dobilas-Lindė (1872—1934), von dem die litauische Romandichtung ihren Ausgang nimmt, und der sie zugleich psychologisch begründet. Ein Geistlicher von hoher Kultur und umfangreicher Bildung machte sich Dobilas-Lindė zugleich als Kritiker einen Namen, indem er dem Verständnis Benedetto Croces und H. Taines Kunst in Litauen den Weg bahnte. Sein Roman „Blūdas" (Wahnsinn), der die Revolution von 1905 zum Stoffe hat, ist psychologisch, politisch und auch weltanschaulich von Interesse.

Ebenfalls auf der Schwelle zweier Generationen steht Tumas-Vaižgantas (1869—1933), mit seinen frühesten Schriften noch in der Zeit der „Aušra" und des „Tėvynės Sargas" wurzelnd, den er selbst begründete und leitete. Eine der populärsten Persönlichkeiten in Litauen, Geistlicher, Literarhistoriker, Kritiker, Journalist und Schriftsteller, aber vor allem Politiker — nicht im Parteisinne — hat Vaižgantas das litauische Schrifttum durch eine unabsehbare Fülle von Veröffentlichungen bereichert. Ausserordentlich belesen, auf weiten Reisen nach Russland, Schweden, Italien, Amerika gebildet, war Vaižgantas als Persönlichkeit doch so stark, dass er alle diese Eindrücke in sich verarbeitete, ohne seine typisch litauische Grundhaltung darüber zu verlieren, war seine menschliche, künstlerische und weltanschauliche Formung doch schon in der Heimat zum Abschluss gelangt. So kann Kuzmickis in seiner Literaturgeschichte über ihn sagen: „In der Geschichte der litauischen Literatur kommt Vaižgantas zweifellos Bedeutung zu. Er bereicherte die litauische Literatur um eigenartige litauische Schöpfungen von grossem Wert; er stellte die litauische Literatur in eine Sphäre lebendigerer und schöpferischer Arbeit und hob den Idealismus auf den Schild" [3]).

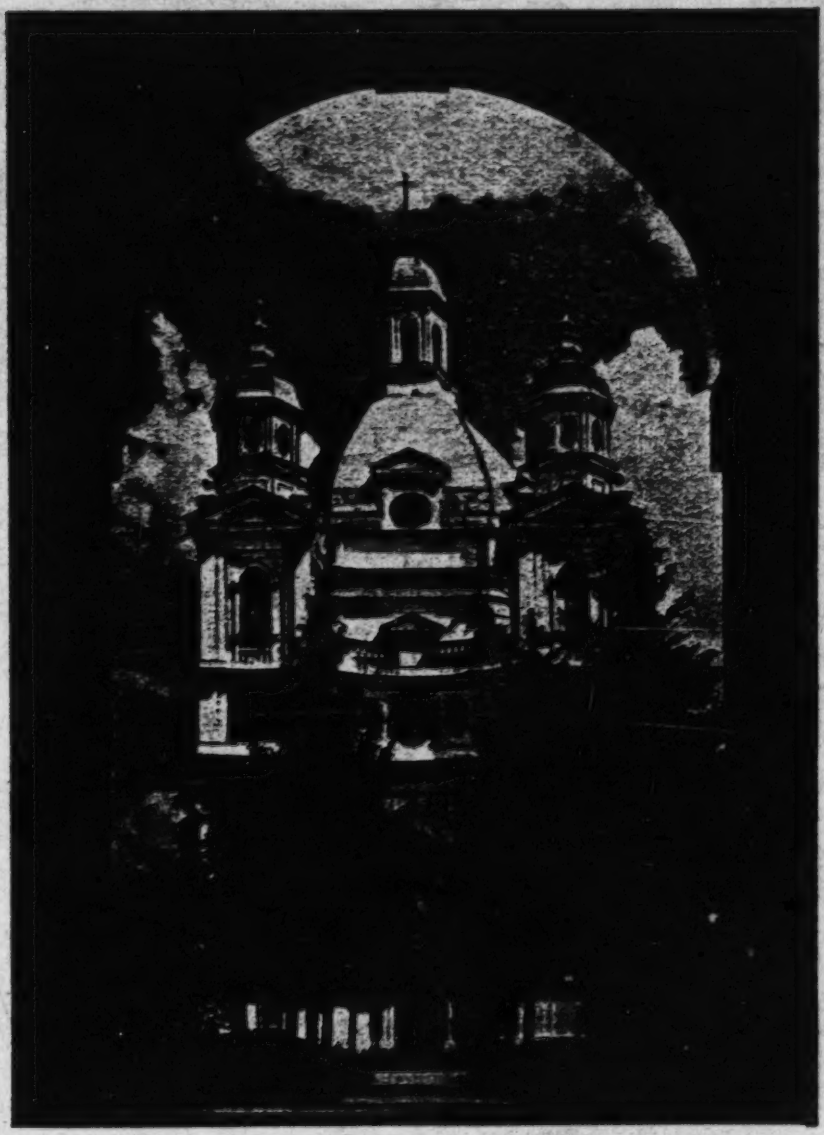
Obwohl eine Persönlichkeit wie die des Kanonikus Tumas-Vaižgantas nur in ihrer Gesamtheit voll verstanden werden kann, sei in diesem Zusammenhange lediglich der literarische Sektor seines Schaffens gewürdigt. Seine schöngeistigen Schriften stehen sowohl unter dem Einfluss des russischen Realismus (Turgenjeff, Tolstoi), wie der polnischen Romantik (Mickiewicz, Kraszewski). Beide Richtungen kreuzen sich in seinem Schaffen. Nehmen wir sein bedeutendstes Werk „Pagiedruliai" (Lichtstrahlen), so sehen wir, dass die Quelle, aus der er schöpft, das heimatliche Dorf ist, seine Eltern, die ihm nahe stehenden Menschen und vor allem die Natur der litauischen Landschaft. Und wenn der Dichter am Ende einer Legende schreibt: Lieb und traulich ist es in Litauen nicht nur deshalb, weil es so abwechselungsreich ist — auch noch deshalb, weil das Land interessant ist und von Geheimnis umwittert. Seine Natur ist ein einziges vollständiges und vollkomme-

nes Zeugnis des Altertums: du musst nur lernen, darin zu lesen[4]) — so beherrscht dieses romantische Naturerlebnis auch die Menschen seiner Schilderung, die mit der Natur eine untrennbare Einheit bilden[5]).

Die Thematik der schöngeistigen Schriften Vaižgantas' ist sehr reich. Sie geben uns fast eine Chronik der Entwicklung des Landes im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Das litauische Dorf erscheint in seinen Büchern in einem idealen Licht, und an einer Stelle charakterisiert Vaižgantas seinen Standpunkt selbst mit den Worten:

> „Unsere Volkskunst ist sanft, idyllisch, sie liebt nicht das Grausige, noch den nackten Realismus. Die Armut zu schildern, wäre ihr nicht gemäss und nicht litauisch. Und wozu soll man schliesslich alle möglichen Verirrungen und die Not schildern, wo wir so viel Rechtlichkeit, Liebe, Gottesfurcht, Mystik und Barmherzigkeit haben — so viele leuchtende Schönheit in Liedern und Märchen, in Webereien und Schnitzereien — so viel Idyllisches in Natur und Leben"[6]).

Aus dieser Grundeinstellung, die auf einem unzerstörbaren Optimismus beruht, sind alle Schöpfungen Vaižgantas' zu verstehen; Rechtlichkeit, Arbeit, Ordnung, Fortschritt — immer von neuem kehren diese Themen in seinen Erzählungen wieder. Das Eigenartigste und vielleicht auch literarisch Wertvollste darin ist aber die typisch litauische Stimmung, mit der sie durchtränkt sind, und die Vaižgantas auch bei der Darstellung seiner Personen gelingt. Mit zu den besten seiner Geschichten gehört die Titelerzählung seines Buches „Dėdės ir dėdienės" (Onkel und Tanten)[7]), in der die Person des alternden Junggesellen Mykoliukas, des Träumers, dessen wahre Welt auf einem anderen Stern liegt, überzeugend dargestellt wird. Leider hat Vaižgantas kein zweites geschlossenes Werk hinterlassen. Auch seine „Pagiedruliai" (Lichtstrahlen), deren erster Teil in Schamaiten und deren zweiter Teil in Hochlitauen spielt, enthalten keine geschlossene Fabel, sondern sind locker aneinander gereihte Bilder, mit lyrischen Stimmungen verwo-



KLOSTERKIRCHE VON PAŽAISLIS

opp. 272

ben; letztere sind oft von grosser Schönheit wie etwa die einleitende Schilderung des Winters. Die künstlerische Persönlichkeit dieses Schriftstellers charakterisiert Kuzmickis mit folgenden Worten:

> „Vaižgantas erschien das Leben wie ein kinematographischer Film, in dem man ganze Serien von Bildern sehen kann. In solchen Serien, Fragmenten von Bildern, schreibt Vaižgantas seine literarischen Schöpfungen. Er eilt mit der Darstellung, springt schnell von einer Sache ab und interessiert sich schon für eine andere. Diese fragmentarische Art wird auch in Vaižgantas' Stil deutlich; er ist ungleichmässig, plötzlich — hier lyrisch sanft, dort philosophisch ernst, an anderen Stellen wieder publizistisch belehrend. Im allgemeinen ist sein Stil voll lebendiger Schönheit und wirkt anziehend durch seine Natürlichkeit und Ungekünsteltheit" [8]).

Zweifellos kommt Vaižgantas auch für die weitere Entwicklung der litauischen Schriftsprache Bedeutung zu.

Noch ein weiterer Dichter der älteren Generation muss in diesem Zusammenhange gewürdigt werden, der 1868 geborene V. St. Vydūnas. Vydūnas ist in erster Linie Philosoph und Mystiker. Er hat die Theosophie Indiens in sich aufgenommen, in tiefer Gläubigkeit auch sein eigenes Leben gestaltet, und ist in seinen zahlreichen Vorträgen zum Prediger einer ethischen Weltanschauung geworden. Das Wesen seines dichterischen Schaffens ist allegorisch, mystisch, märchenhaft. Er steht in der Entwicklung der litauischen Literatur allein, ohne Vorgänger und ohne Nachfolger, denn er bleibt stets der Verkünder und Mahner, auch dort, wo er sich der Dichtung als Mittel bedient. Wenn wir die lange Reihe seiner Bühnenstücke dem Inhalte nach überschauen, so sehen wir, dass sie — einige kleinere Lustspiele vielleicht ausgenommen — im wesentlichen die Verinnerlichung des litauischen Menschen zum Ziele haben. Durch dieses Medium des inneren Schauens gesehen, erfährt auch der nationale Gedanke dort, wo er in seinen Dichtungen

deutlich wird, eine eigenartige Verklärung, etwa in dem Sinne, wie er es selbst in seinem Prosawerk „Mūsų uždavinys" (Unsere Aufgabe), erschienen 1910, ausspricht: „Vor allem ist es notwendig, dass ein jeder in seinem Innern das wahre Menschentum grossziehe, sein Bewusstsein kläre, seine Gefühle vertiefe, seine Neigungen läutere, seine Sittlichkeit festige, die Liebe und die Vernunft in Ehren halte und pflege, das Gewissen wecke". Denn „ein Volk kann nur bestehen bleiben, wenn in ihm geistiges und sittliches Leben vorhanden ist, wenn dieses gehegt und gefestigt wird. Und täte dies auch nur ein einziger Mensch". Von den Dramen, in denen der Gedanke einer solchen Verinnerlichung am deutlichsten hervortritt, ist zunächst die dramatische Trilogie „Amžina ugnis" (Ewiges Feuer), erschienen 1913, zu nennen, eine Apotheose der altlitauischen Religion, die mit den Morgen- und Abendgesängen der Flammen mystisch eingeleitet und abgeschlossen wird, sowie die schon früher entstandene, aber erst 1908 gedruckte Trilogie „Probočių šešėliai" (Schatten der Ahnen). Er gibt hier ein Spiegelbild des litauischen Schicksals in verschiedenen Phasen, aber das gesamte hier dargestellte äussere Geschehen wird doch letztlich zum Symbol wie in fast allen seinen Werken.

Von seinen Dramen lässt sich ganz allgemein sagen, dass sie nicht dem entsprechen, was man unter „Dramen" versteht, also keine Konflikte und Intriguen und damit auch keine Lösungen im gewöhnlichen Sinne enthalten. Es sind dialogisierte, teilweise in Versen, teilweise in beschwingter Prosa geschriebene Dichtungen, erfüllt von Enthusiasmus und Optimismus. Schon ihre Titel sind charakteristisch: „Jūrų varpai" (Glocken der Meere), Mysterium in 3 Akten, 1920, „Žvaigždžių takai" (Pfade der Sterne), Märchendrama 1920, „Likimo Bangos" (Wogen des Schicksals) 1922 und anderes. — Auf die ästhetische und ethische Entwicklung des litauischen Kunstlebens und vor allem auf einen Teil der Jugend hat Vydūnas Einfluss gewonnen sowohl durch seine poetischen, wie vielleicht noch mehr seine philosophischen und gedanklichen Werke und Aufsätze [9]).

Nimmt Vydūnas sowohl als Persönlichkeit wie als Dichter eine einzigartige Stellung in der litauischen Literatur ein, so führen uns zwei weitere Prosaiker, die gleichfalls noch der Vorkriegsgeneration angehören, in den Realismus der Gegenwart zurück. Jonas Biliūnas (1879—1907) ist der Verfasser zahlreicher prägnant geschriebener kurzer Novellen und Erzählungen. Hineingeboren in eine revolutionär bewegte Zeit, innerlich getragen von starkem sozialen Gefühl, ist er schon auf dem Gymnasium in Libau Führer einer sozialistischen Schülergruppe. Später wird er von der Universität Dorpat sogar wegen Teilnahme an studentischen Unruhen relegiert und nimmt nun an der sozialistischen Bewegung in Litauen aktiven Anteil. Eine innerliche Wandlung bringen ein Studienaufenthalt in Leipzig 1903, seine Heirat im folgenden Jahre und seine Übersiedelung nach Zürich mit sich. Hier studiert er Literatur und Kunstgeschichte, sagt sich endgültig von der Politik los und widmet sich ganz dem literarischen Schaffen. Die letzten beiden Jahre sind die fruchtbarsten für ihn. 1907 wird auch er, wie mancher andere litauische Schriftsteller ein Opfer von Not und Entbehrung, von der Schwindsucht dahingerafft.

Die künstlerische Entwicklung von Biliūnas geht vom reinen Sozialismus und Materialismus der Jugend immer stärker zu einer idealistischen Auffassung des Lebens, von der äusseren Darstellung zur psychologischen Vertiefung. Resignation liegt über den letzten Schöpfungen. Seine kurzen Erzählungen sind in einem konzentrierten Stil geschrieben, bildhaft und eindringlich. Ihre Thematik bilden die Schicksale der vom Leben Enterbten und Verstossenen, die der Autor in ihrer ganzen grauen Wirklichkeit darstellt. Eine seiner besten Erzählungen, „Liūdna pasaka" (Traurige Kunde) behandelt die Revolution von 1863.

Vienuolis-Žukauskas (geb. 1882) gehört heute zu den bekanntesten Schriftstellern des Landes. Er behandelt in der Hauptsache Probleme der Gegenwart, sodass sich in seinen Schöpfungen der Gang der geistigen und politischen

Entwicklung seit Aufhebung des Druckverbotes deutlich verfolgen lässt. In seiner Darstellung realistisch, oft satirisch, vereinigt er eine durch weite Reisen gewonnene Schau mit grosser Beobachtungsgabe und wurde darum auch auf dem Gebiete des künstlerischen Journalismus führend. Für seine Dichtung kennzeichnend ist die individuelle Charakterisierung und psychologische Vertiefung der dargestellten Personen. Von seinen Werken sind namentlich die „Kaukazo legendos" (Legenden aus dem Kaukasus), die Novellen „Paskenduolė (Die Ertrunkene) und „Inteligentų palata" sowie sein Roman „Viešnia iš šiaurės" (Die Fremde aus dem Norden) bekannt geworden. Dr. G. Wirschubski nennt ihn geradezu den „litauischen Tschechow"[10]), A. Vaičiulaitis betont jedoch mit Recht, dass Tschechow ein Feind jeder Naturbeschreibung war[11]), während diese bei Vienuolis einen breiten Raum einnimmt. Zweifellos lässt sich bei Vienuolis jedoch eine Entwicklung feststellen, die ihn vom Sentimentalismus der Jugendzeit über den Realismus zunächst zu einem erbarmungslosen Naturalismus führte, wie er den Roman „Prieš dieną" (Vor Tag) kennzeichnet. In einer kühlen objektiven Betrachtungsweise führt uns hier der Autor mit einer Reihe von Menschen zusammen, die sich nur auf der niedrigsten Ebene des Eigennutzes, der Sinnlichkeit und der Instinkte bewegen. Aus den Schöpfungen der letzten Jahre spricht wieder eine positivere Auffassung des Lebens, eine bewusste Betonung des Nationalen, jedoch ohne Pathos, und zugleich der Wunsch nach geschichtlicher Rückschau. 1932 erscheint der Roman „Kryžkelyj" (Am Kreuzweg), eine historische Erzählung aus der Zeit des Grossfürsten Vytautas. Bei der künstlerischen Begabung dieses Schriftstellers wird die weitere Entwicklung seines Schaffens mit Interesse verfolgt werden müssen.

Selbständig und eigenwillig in Auffassung und Darstellung ist der 1891 geborene Jurgis Savickis, aus dessen beiden Novellenbänden „Šventadienio sonetai" (Feiertagssonette) und „Ties aukštu sostu" (Vor dem hohen Thron) eine hohe schriftstellerische Kultur spricht. Mit scharfen Augen fängt er das Leben, stellt es in eigenartigen Bildern mit den

Mitteln eines lapidaren Stils dar und erzielt so oft besondere Wirkungen. Für seinen Stil charakteristisch ist etwa die folgende kurze Beschreibung:

> Ein schauernder Spätnachmittag. Hinter dem Fichtenwald vom Himmel herabgelassen das rote Tuch des Abends. Es ist so kalt. Fröstelnd und unheimlich. Der Wind macht dieses rote Tuch flattern — einen Lappen, aufgehängt und verstrickt in den beiden Ästen einer vertrockneten Birke. Einmal hat hier der Blitz eingeschlagen. Es ist, als hätte man einst an ihnen Mörder aufgehängt, mit schwerer Schuld Beladene, und der Baum ertrug es nicht und vertrocknete [12]).

Die Thematik der neuen Literatur hat gegenüber der Vorkriegszeit eine völlige Wandlung erfahren: Der politische Gedanke, die politische Zielsetzung (politische Aufklärung, Bildungsfragen), ordnen sich in einen grösseren Lebensbezirk ein. Damit erfolgt das dichterische Schaffen mehr und mehr aus einem inneren künstlerischen Zwange heraus und führt genau wie in der Lyrik zu subjektiver Vertiefung. Allerdings spielt hier neben den Problemen der Gegenwart auch die Dynamik eine Rolle, die seit fast einem Jahrhundert die Geschichte des Volkes vorwärts trieb und über die Revolutionen von 1863 und 1905 hinweg zum Weltkrieg und zur Gründung des Staates führte. Charakteristisch ist hier etwa der dreibändige Roman von Marcinkevičius „Mes ateinam" (Wir kommen) und „Benjaminas Kordušas" sowie der zweibändige Vaidilutės „Tėvišką" (Heimat), der das litauische Dorf in dem Zeitraum von 1905 bis zur Nachkriegszeit behandelt. Eine historische Erzählung von Šalčiuvienė, „Juozukas", spielt in den bewegten Revolutionszeiten des letzten Jahrhunderts. Ein gross angelegtes kulturhistorisches Bild, bemerkenswert durch Sprache und Charakterzeichnung, gibt Simonaityte mit ihrem Roman „Aukštųjų Šimonių likimas" (Das Schicksal der Šimoniai aus Aukštujai), welcher den Staatspreis für 1935 erhält. Leben und Zeit des Dichters und Pfarrers Strazdas spiegeln sich in der dramatischen Chronik „Prieš

srovę" (Gegen den Strom) von J. Petrulis wieder. Das Gebiet des rein historischen Romans und der historischen Erzählung pflegt K. Puida, der auch durch poetische und dramatische Dichtungen sowie durch zahlreiche Übersetzungen bekannt wurde. Es ist nur verständlich, dass die heutige Generation jene Geschehnisse innerlich zu verarbeiten und zu analysieren sucht, die das Schicksal des Volkes und damit jedes einzelnen in andere Bahnen lenkten und eine jahrhundertelange Gebundenheit lösten.

Daneben aber treten die Tagesfragen sowie der grosse Komplex der sozialen, wirtschaftlichen und geistigen Probleme und des dadurch bedingten Umbruchs, mit dem man sich auseinanderzusetzen hat, in den Vordergrund. Aber nicht nur die Thematik der neuen Schriftstellergeneration wandelt sich grundlegend, auch die Sprache wird eine andere: sie gewinnt an Fülle, Reichtum und Ausdrucksmöglichkeit, und sie erfährt eine durchaus individuelle Prägung, die allerdings bei sehr vielen noch mehr oder weniger landschaftlich gefärbt ist. In einer leichten und formschönen Sprache, mit viel Lyrik durchtränkt, schrieb Ignas Šeinius, dem für die Entwicklung der neuen Prosa und des Prosastils Bedeutung zukommt, seine Werke „Vasaros vaišės" (Gaben des Sommers), „Bangos siaučia" (Brausende Wogen) und „Kuprelis" (Der Bucklige), die lyrisch beschwingte Geschichte eines Buckligen, der durch seinen körperlichen Mangel in seiner Liebe herbe Enttäuschung erfährt, und der zu den Träumern gehört, die sich im Leben nicht zurechtfinden. Ihm legt der Autor solche Worte in den Mund:

> „Waren die Litauer nicht stark, als ihr Weg zu Gott noch kürzer war, und als sie Gott mehr und öfters fühlten und weniger dachten? Ihres Glaubens Sinnbilder, die Sprache ihres Glaubens, verbanden sie mit Gott bei jedem Schritt, zu jedweder Zeit und an jedem Tage. Der Litauer fühlte Gott durch die Sonne, den Mond, den Wind und den Sturm — war das ein schlechter Weg?"

Probleme der Gegenwart behandelt Petras Cvirka in seinem „Frank Kruk", einer scharfen Satire gegen den Materialismus der amerikanischen Litauer, die viel Staub aufwirbelte. In „Žemė maitintoja" (Nährerin Erde) wird das Leben der Neusiedler lebendig, und „Meisteris ir sūnus" führt uns in die Welt der Schneider, Tischler und Schmiede. Juozas Grušas nimmt den Stoff zu seinem Roman „Karjeristai" (Erfolgsjäger) aus dem Beamtenleben, und Neveravičius behandelt in seinem Buche „Dienos ir naktys" die Stellung der unehelichen Mutter im Rahmen der Gesellschaft. Ein zweiter Roman, „Flackernde Flammen" erschien 1936. Das Leben des Gymnasiallehrers kommt in dem Roman „Pirmieji metai" (Das erste Jahr) zur Darstellung. Liudas Dovydėnas führt uns in seinem zweibändigen Roman „Ieškau gyvenimo draugo" (Ich suche einen Lebensgefährten) in das Leben der Volksschullehrer. Ein anderes seiner Werke aus dem Bauernleben, „Broliai Domeikos" (Die Brüder Domeika) trägt ihm den Staatspreis für 1936 ein [13]). Unter den Novellendichtern machen sich neben den schon Genannten Inčiūra und Zobarskas einen Namen. Eine zarte subtile Liebesgeschichte „Valentina" veröffentlicht Vaičiulaitis.

Gemessen an der Fülle der Prosaveröffentlichungen namentlich der letzten Jahrzehnte tritt das dramatische Schaffen zurück, wenngleich auch seine Traditionen schon in die Zeit des Druckverbotes zurückreichen. Neben Fromas Gužutis (1822—1900), dessen 5-aktiges Drama „Ponai ir Mužikai" (Herren und Bauern) die Beziehungen zwischen Adel und Volk zum Stoff haben, wurden nach 1900 Petliukas und Landsbergis-Žemkalnis mit seinem Drama „Blinda" bekannt. Den grössten Erfolg errang Keturakis (Pseudonym für J. Vilkutaitis) mit seiner 1895 veröffentlichten Bauernkomödie „Amerika pirtyje" (Amerika in der Pirtis), die seinerzeit über alle litauischen Liebhaberbühnen ging und sich auch in heutiger Zeit noch als zugkräftig erwiesen hat. Daneben sei Šiaulėniškis genannt, dessen Drama „Sparnai" (Flügel) unter dem Einfluss des modernen Symbolismus steht.

Eine stärkere Entwicklung der litauischen dramatischen Dichtung konnte erst nach Aufhebung des Druckverbotes einsetzen. Schon an anderer Stelle erwähnt wurde das dramatische Schaffen von Maironis und Vydūnas. In diesen Zusammenhang gehört auch das dramatische Werk von Sofija Čiurlionienė-Kymantaitė. Ihr Drama „Aušros sūnus" (Sohn der Aušra) wurde mit Erfolg aufgeführt, und grossen Anklang fand ihr 1932 veröffentlichtes Märchenspiel von den 12 Brüdern, die in Krähen verwandelt wurden, und in das verschiedene litauische Märchenmotive verwoben sind. Aus früherer Zeit endlich stammt eine Reihe kleinerer Lustspiele, die 1920 unter dem Titel „Komedijos" (Komödien) erschienen. Auch als Prosaikerin hat sich Čiurlionienė einen Namen gemacht. Aus einer vornehmen Gesinnung heraus geschrieben ist ihr 1937 erschienener Roman „Šventmarė", der uns in plastischen Bildern die Verhältnisse in einem katholischen Pfarrhause gegen Ende des Jahrhunderts vor Augen führt. Im Zentrum der Handlung stehen der Geistliche selbst, die „Šventmarė", die „heilige" bigotte Marie, und vor allem das Mädchen Barbutė als Typ der jungen weiblichen Generation der Zeit, die mit ihrem heissen Wunsche zu lernen und sich zu bilden, psychologisch besonders gut herausgearbeitet ist.

Zu den erfolgreichsten Dramatikern der Gegenwart gehört der 1890 geborne Petras Vaičiūnas, dessen Dramen das Kauener Staatstheater mit starkem Publikumserfolg aufgeführt hat, so „Tuščios pastangos" (Vergebliche Anstrengungen), 1926, dem das Problem des vom Lande stammenden gebildeten Litauers, der in der Stadt schnell all das zu vergessen geneigt ist, was ihn mit dem Dorfe verknüpft, zu Grunde liegt. In „Patriotai" enthüllt der Autor jenen Scheinpatriotismus, der zum Aushängeschild für unlautere Zwecke wird. Ebenso gingen „Nuodemingas angelas" (Der sündige Engel), „Sulaužyta priesaika" (Der gebrochene Eid) und noch andere Dramen des gleichen Autors unter grossem Beifall über die Bühne. Hinzugefügt sei, dass Vaičiūnas auch als Lyriker einen Ruf besitzt und durch einige seiner Gedichte sehr volkstümlich geworden ist.

Einen starken künstlerischen Erfolg erzielte in den letzten Jahren der schon als Lyriker gewürdigte Balys Sruoga mit seinen in Versen geschriebenen Dramen „Milžino paunksnej" (Im Schatten des Riesen) und „Baisioji naktis" (Die furchtbare Nacht). Das erste spielt um die Person des „Riesen", des Grossfürsten Vytautas, der selbst nicht handelnd auftritt, aber durch seine Person den Gang der Handlung bestimmt [14]), das zweite führt in die Revolution von 1905, wobei dem Dichter nicht die Revolution, sondern das Unverständnis weiter Kreise für ihren tieferen Sinn und das Fehlen hoher Ziele als furchtbar erscheint — die Nacht, die damals noch über dem Volke lag. Von den Dramen der letzten Jahre ist das historisch-biographische Gemälde „Vincas Kudirka" von Inčiūra zu nennen. Mit den stärksten Erfolg errang J. Petrulis mit seinem oft aufgeführten Drama „Prieš srovę" (Gegen den Strom), in dem die Zeit der Leibeigenschaft lebendig wird. Dramatische Form endlich tragen auch die grossen Dichtungen von Krėvė „Šarūnas", „Skirgaila" und „Likimo keliais" (Auf den Wegen des Schicksals), von denen im folgenden Abschnitt die Rede sein soll. Genug der Namen! Es kann sich im vorliegenden Zusammenhange nicht darum handeln, mehr als eine kurze Übersicht über die litauische Literatur der Gegenwart zu geben. So sollen zum Schlusse nur noch zwei Dichter hervorgehoben werden, die in ihrer Kunst reif und abgeschlossen genug erscheinen, um ein Urteil zu gestatten, und die andrerseits sowohl ihrer Thematik wie auch der Behandlung des Stoffes nach als typische Vertreter der litauischen Kunst der Gegenwart gelten können — Mykolaitis-Putinas und Krėvė-Mickevičius — der erstere 1894 geboren, der zweite zwölf Jahre älter.

C V. MYKOLAITIS-PUTINAS UND KRĖVĖ-MICKEVIČIUS

Stand im Zentrum der Dichtungen von Maironis der Gedanke der Nation, die zu neuem Leben erwachen sollte, so verkörpert unter den lebenden Dichtern Putinas die rein subjektive Rich-

tung. Putinas ist ein geborner Lyriker, er sieht alle Dinge durch das Prisma des rein persönlichen Erlebens. So wird ihm die äussere Welt der Erscheinungen im letzten Grunde nur zum Mittel, Gefühlen und Gedanken Ausdruck zu verleihen. Obwohl auch er aus dem Priesterstande hervorgegangen ist, finden sich unter seinen Dichtungen nur wenige mit religiösem Inhalt, und auch diese gehen oft in zarte und stimmungsvolle Naturgedichte über. Jede dieser dichterischen Schöpfungen ist ein in sich geschlossenes Kunstwerk, abgerundet in der Form, musikalisch im Ausdruck und von starkem inneren Rhythmus getragen. Hinter dem rein Gefühlsmässigen, das hier vorherrscht, tritt das Gestaltende, Bildhafte, in seinen früheren Dichtungen mehr zurück. Seine schönsten Gedichte sind aus ursprünglicher elementarer Empfindung heraus geschrieben, keine Reflexionen. Sie tragen alle den Charakter der Einmaligkeit, und nichts vermeidet der Dichter mehr als Wiederholungen oder Variationen des gleichen Themas.

In der Entwicklung des Künstlers lässt sich eine deutliche Stufenfolge feststellen, die von seinen Jugendgedichten zunächst zu einer Periode des Symbolismus hinführt. Längere Aufenthalte in der Schweiz und in München waren hier wohl bestimmend. Charakteristisch für die Dichtungen dieser Zeit sind elementare und teilweise stürmische Ausbrüche seelischer Erschütterung und ein tiefer Pessimismus. In späteren Jahren ist der Dichter zu einer klassischen Einfachheit der Form und des Ausdrucks zurückgekehrt. Die inneren Bilder erscheinen jetzt klarer gesehen, sind deutlicher gestaltet. Eine sanfte Melancholie liegt über den Schöpfungen der letzten Zeit. Zwei seiner schönsten Gedichte seien im folgenden in der Nachdichtung von Horst Engert wiedergegeben.

Der Schmerzensmann.

Mein lieber Herrgott, was für helle Nächte!
Und was für eine Höhe weiter Himmel!
Und Sterne, Sterne! grosse und auch kleine,
Sie strahlen, rührend gar, mein lieber Herrgott.

Ich gehe, sagt' ich mir, auf ebnem Wege:
Auf ebnem Wege, da ist frei der Wille,
Auf ebnem Wege in den hellen Nächten,
Da nur kann, jung, man Hochgedanken denken.

Doch was sitzst du, mein wachsam lieber Herrgott,
Am ebnen Wege, sorgenvoll gekauert?
Am ebnen Wege, wo die Mühbeladnen
Allein die Tage durch mit Seufzen wandern?

Mein lieber Herrgott, haben unsre Leiden
Dich an den Weg vom Himmel hergebetet,
Vielleicht auch diese hellen Herbstesnächte
Dich gar herausgeträumt aus unsrer Erde?

So nimm mich auf denn, wachsam, lieber Herr der Schmerzen,
Am ebnen Wege heute Nacht zu sinnen. —
O, dass in Himmelshöhn die hellen Sterne
So strahlen, rührend gar, mein lieber Herrgott.

Romanze.

Als der lächelnden Lenzsonne erstes Geschenk
Flogst umblühten Gefühls du mir an die Brust,
Und noch jetzt, wenn ich still deines Namens gedenk',
Lacht mir immer die Sonne und duftet der Blust.

Ich weiss nicht, ob du lange gewesen mit mir:
Zwischen Frühröten zwein ward nicht dunkel die Nacht.
Und noch jetzt, von der Glut dieser Frühröte hier
Strahlt am Abend der Himmel, mein Sein wird entfacht.

Ich weiss nicht, ob dereinst du noch kehrest zurück,
Noch wie fern erste Freude entsendet ihr Licht; —
Doch beschwört dich der Lenzsonne Lächeln und Glück,
Dich verbergen vor mir, das vermagst du dann nicht.

Wo nur immer ich gehe, rings Strahlen und Blust,
All mein Denken wird neu in Verwirrung gebracht
Wie voreinst, da du freudig mir flogst an die Brust, —
Ob auch heute bei mir nur die Nacht, nur die Nacht.

Über die Lyrik der Jugend gelangt Putinas zum Drama und zur Prosa. In dem Mysterium „Nuvainikuotoji vaidilutė" (Die sündige Priesterin) sucht er die Berufung und das Geschick seines Volkes zu erfassen, in seinem „Valdovas" gibt er ein Drama aus kriegerischer Vorzeit: Durch Ermordung des rechtmässigen Herrschers ist Krūšna, ein ehrgeiziger grausamer Despot, zur Herrschaft gelangt. Er lässt den Sohn des Ermordeten mit seinem eigenen Sohne Gytis zusammen erziehen. Aber politische Feinde rauben die Kinder, die fern von ihm aufwachsen und sich endlich gegen den Despoten erheben. Sie werden gefangen genommen, und Gytis reizt bei der Begegnung mit Krūšna diesen so, dass der Herrscher sein Schwert zieht und ihn tödlich verwundet. Da erst bekennt Gytis dem Vater, wer er ist, und der Vater erkennt den Sohn:

Er ists . . . er ists . . . erst jetzt kommt das Erkennen,
O seine Augen! — was für Augen — o!
Und wie er schaut — — o — du verfluchter Vater!
Er ruft den Vater — ja, er ruft nach mir.

In Krūšna gewinnt das Vatergefühl die Oberhand. Sein Reich und seine Macht gelten ihm nichts mehr. Alle irdischen Werte sind vor dem elementaren Erlebnis dieser Stunde verblasst.

Hatte Putinas schon durch seine Lyrik und seine Dramen die Aufmerksamkeit weiterer Kreise auf sich gezogen, so errang er mit seinem 1933 veröffentlichten dreibändigen Roman „Altorių šešėlyj" (Im Schatten der Altäre) den grössten Publikumserfolg, den bisher ein Roman in Litauen zu verzeichnen hatte. Eine lebendige im Gegensatz zu den meisten anderen Autoren nicht dialektisch gefärbte und allen verständliche Sprache sowie die Neuheit und Kühnheit des Vorwurfs trugen dazu bei.

Im Zentrum der Handlung steht der junge Vasaris, von den Eltern zum Priesterberuf bestimmt, innerlich scheu und verschlossen. Lebens- und weltfremd, zum Künstler geboren, erfährt er den Widerspruch zwischen der hellen und leuchtenden Welt, nach der er sich sehnt, und der Enge des äusseren und inneren Lebens im Seminar der Vorkriegszeit. Noch völlig im unklaren über seine eigentliche Bestimmung, gedrängt von Rücksichten gegen die Eltern, deren Lebensglück er sonst zerbrechen würde, getrieben von Idealen, seinem Volk ein leuchtender Führer zu werden wie Pfarrer Maironis, nimmt er die Weihen. Im zweiten Teile des Buches sehen wir ihn als jungen Vikar in der Gesellschaft anderer Geistlicher, die alle mit scharfen Strichen gezeichnet sind. Da ist der Pfarrer Platūnas, der nur für seine Wirtschaft lebt, Pfarrer Stripaitis, der ganz in der litauischen Genossenschaftsbewegung aufgeht, der Idealist Ramutis und noch mancher andere. Aber immer stärker beginnt Vasaris zu fühlen, dass ihm zu seinem Berufe die Berufung fehlt. Er gestaltet sein Leben freier, sein Denken wandelt sich, vor allem auch durch die Liebe zur Frau des Barons Rainakis, des Patronatsherrn seiner Kirche. Dann überrascht ihn der Weltkrieg. Er fährt nach Petersburg, um an der dortigen Geistlichen Akademie zu studieren. Noch einmal wendet er sich im Wagen nach dem Dorfe um. Er hört ein donnerndes Krachen und sieht den Turm seiner Kirche stürzen, den die Russen beim Herannahen der deutschen Truppen in die Luft sprengen.

> Es war wie ein Schlag, den Vasaris in seiner Brust spürte. Zu Trümmern wurde der Turm, mit dem ihn die Pflichten des Priesteramtes, Sorge und Leid verbunden hatten. Ihm dünkte es, dass nicht allein der Turm zusammengebrochen sei, sondern mit ihm zusammengebrochen viele schöne Träume und Ideale der Jugend, die ihn einst an diesen Ort geführt hatten.

Im letzten Teil des Romans kehrt Vasaris im Jahre 1924 in die Heimat zurück. Innerlich schon völlig von seinem Berufe gelöst, lebt er seinem künstlerischen Schaffen,

Zwei Fragen sind es, die nach des Autors eigenem Bekenntnis ihn zur Abfassung seines Werkes bewogen haben — das Verhältnis des Geistlichen zum künstlerischen Schaffen und das Problem des Expriesters, der sich einer weltlichen Beschäftigung zuwendet. Es sei in diesem Zusammenhange daran erinnert, dass nach russischem Gesetz kein Litauer in seiner Heimatprovinz eine Beamtenstellung bekleiden durfte, sodass nur die damals geringe Anzahl der freien Berufe sowie der geistliche Beruf für den Aufstieg aus dem Bauernstande in Frage kamen. So fand sich im Priesterstande bis zum Weltkriege der grössere Teil der schöpferischen Intelligenz des Landes zusammen. Zwangsläufig ergab es sich hieraus, dass auch nach der Staatsgründung der litauische Geistliche in vielen hohen Staatsämtern eine massgebende Rolle spielte. Daraus ergibt sich die überragende Bedeutung dieses Standes für die damalige Zeit und zugleich auch die Weite des künstlerischen Vorwurfs, an litauischen Verhältnissen gemessen, den Putinas in seinem Romane behandelt. Über den litauischen Geistlichen schreibt der Autor im Vorwort:

> „Der litauische Pfarrer war sowohl Landwirt wie Genossenschaftler, Finanzmann, Politiker, Diplomat, Minister, Arzt, und — die Götter mögen wissen, was noch. Er agitierte auf Volksversammlungen — er nimmt noch heute teil an den internen Besprechungen der politischen Parteien. Der litauische Pfarrer war ebenso Literat — manchmal Erzähler, aber häufiger Dichter . . . Der litauische Pfarrer, sehr oft durch Zwang ins Priesterseminar hineingetrieben, manchmal auch eingetreten aus einem Missverständnis heraus, verlockt durch fremde Ideale, sammelte in sich die verschiedensten Begabungen und Talente . . . Und von Fall zu Fall treibt es den einen oder anderen begabten litauischen Priester dazu, den Priesterberuf aufzugeben . . . Hier liegt eine ganze Reihe soziologischer, religiöser und psychologischer Probleme."

Es ist nur verständlich, dass das Erscheinen eines so aktuellen und dabei künstlerisch gestalteten Werkes zu lebhaften Auseinandersetzungen führte [14]), die weniger den künstleri-

schen Aufbau als den Inhalt betrafen, vor allem auch die Frage, inwieweit die hier dargestellten und teilweise im Licht herber Kritik gesehenen Personen eine Verallgemeinerung zulassen — die der Autor allerdings ausdrücklich verneint, wenn er schreibt:

> „Er (der Autor) wusste ebenfalls, dass die wichtigsten Figuren seines Romans nicht typische sind, dass es Personen sind, die sich von den einzelnen Gruppen unterscheiden, und vielleicht auch Ausnahmen."

Künstlerisch ist über das Werk zu sagen, dass es den ersten wirklich psychologischen Roman in der litauischen Literatur darstellt. Er ist lebendig geschrieben mit einer ausgezeichneten Charakteristik der dargestellten Personen, die namentlich in den Dialogen Leben gewinnen. Die Handlung dient im wesentlichen dazu, die innere Entwicklung des Helden zu verdeutlichen. Neben schönen lyrischen Episoden — das Fest der Jugend auf dem Aukštakalnis — erfahren psychologische Vorgänge eine künstlerisch gestaltete Analyse, wofür etwa die letzte Verlockung des Liudas Vasaris vor Empfang der Weihen charakteristisch ist: Vasaris hat als junger Seminarist vor Jahren das Bild einer nackten Sklavin in einer illustrierten Zeitschrift gesehen und sich über dieses Bild mit dem später aus dem Priesterseminar ausgetretenen Cyniker Variokas unterhalten; er ist von den Rekollektien ermüdet und zerstreut.

> An diesem Tage blieben nach dem gemeinsamen Abendgebet, während die übrigen Kleriker sich zerstreuten, die sechs zu der gewöhnlichen kurzen Konferenz mit dem geistlichen Vater zurück. Der geistliche Vater sprach über die Bedeutung ihrer morgigen Beichte. Aber Vasaris hörte nur ein paar der ersten Sätze. Dann glitten seine Gedanken aus irgendeinem Grunde zurück, und Variokas stand auf einmal wie lebendig geworden vor seinen Augen und sagte zynisch lächelnd:
>
> — Komödie, alles Komödie . . .
>
> Das Gespräch, das beide einmal im ersten Kurse im Garten des Seminars miteinander geführt hatten, begann in der Erinnerung Vasaris Leben zu gewinnen. Variokas'

Vorwürfe gegen die Pfarrer und seine eigenen Geständnisse passten nicht zu diesen Rekollektien, und Vasaris richtete von neuem seine Gedanken auf die Worte der Konferenz. Ein leichter Schwindel überkam ihn, aber er hörte deutlich, wie der geistliche Vater sagte:

— Die Lüste des Fleisches, concupiscentia carnis, sind der grösste und gefährlichste Feind des geistlichen Lebens.

Und im gleichen Augenblick erschien in der Vorstellung Vasaris wie von einer magischen Flamme beleuchtet die nackte Sklavin aus der Zeitschrift „Klosai", und seine eigene Stimme sagte:

— Zu schlank. Der Schenkel ist dicker als der Leib.

— Dummkopf! — antwortete Variokas' Stimme. — Das sind herrliche rassige Formen einer Frau des Ostens.

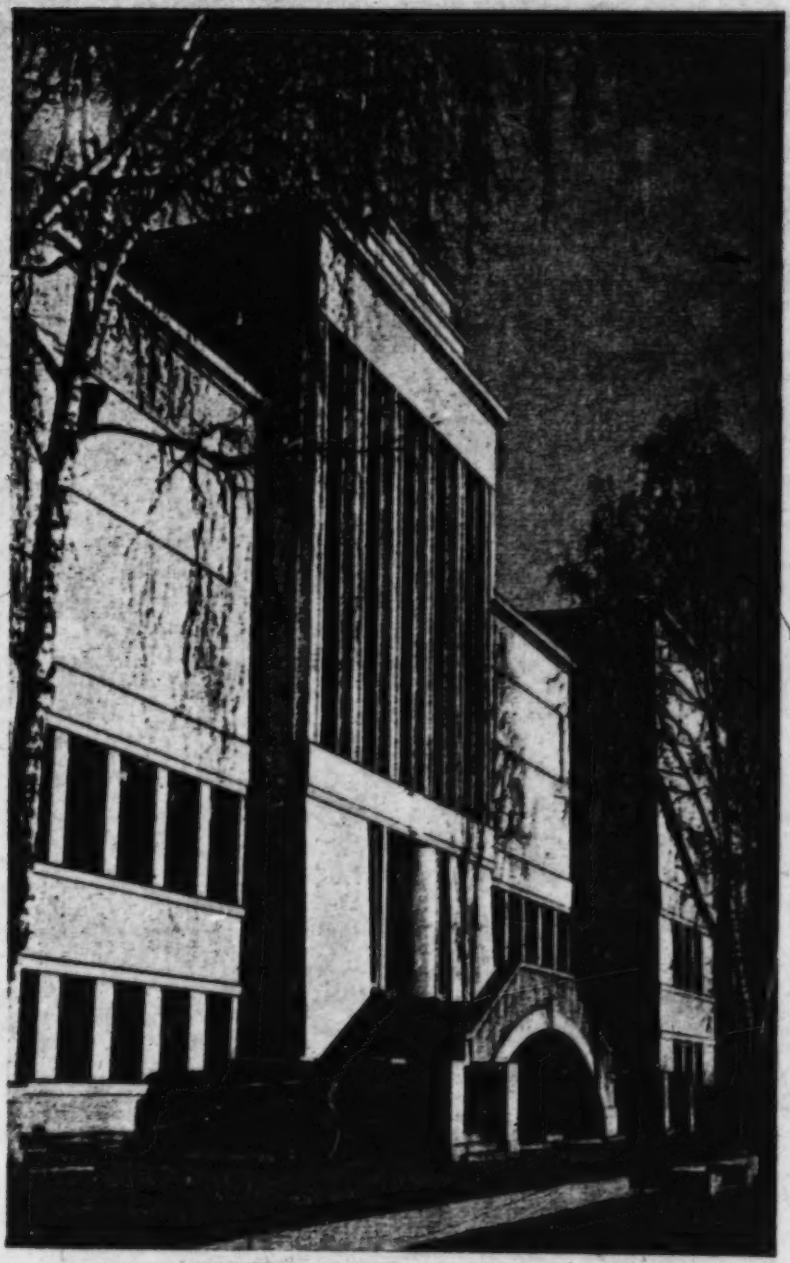
Vasaris schüttelte den Kopf, um sich gegen das unzüchtige Bild zu wehren, und wieder hörte er die Worte des geistlichen Vaters:

— O, liebe Brüder, möge euch Gott schützen vor einem solchen Unglück! Die Lage eines jungen Pfarrers in seiner Gemeinde wird dann . . .

Aber die „Sklavin" verschwand nicht aus der Vorstellung Vasaris! Er sah, dass ihr schlanker Leib so gebeugt war, dass sich oberhalb ihrer Hüfte drei zarte Falten bildeten. Seine Augen und alle seine Gedanken richtete er auf den geistlichen Vater, aber der Körper der Sklavin verschwand nicht. Und je mehr er sich bemühte, von ihr loszukommen, umso deutlicher wurde sie, immer stärker, wie der Anfall einer Krankheit, wie ein Entsetzen überkam sie seine Gedanken.

— Allmächtiger! — dachte der Kleriker — was geht mit mir vor. Noch nie ist es so mit mir gewesen.

Nach Beendigung der Konferenz verliess er sofort die Kapelle, da er glaubte, ein Wechsel des Ortes würde das unzüchtige Bild vertreiben. Er wusste aus den Lehrbüchern des geistlichen Lebens, dass man mit einer Versuchung am Anfange nicht kämpfen darf, sondern sie fliehen soll. So versuchte er zu fliehen. Er versuchte über



MUSEUM VYTAUTAS DES GROSSEN IN KAUNAS

opp. 288

die einfachsten Dinge nachzudenken, aber die Versuchung jagte ihm nach und stand wieder vor seinen Augen. Er machte einen Augenblick vor dem Fenster halt, um nach dem Wetter zu sehen, aber im Glase des Fensters erschien wieder die „Sklavin". Nicht mehr mit Ketten gefesselt, sondern frei stand sie vor ihm mit ihrem ganzen Körper und lachte schamlos.

Das war furchtbar. Vasaris fühlte in sich den von fern immer näher kommenden Wunsch, das Bild zu besehen, sich an diesem jungen Körper satt zu sehen . . . Aber das wäre ja schon Zustimmung, Sünde, und vielleicht sogar die schwere . . . So lief er weiter. Er kehrte in sein Zimmer zurück und begann in der Heiligen Schrift zu lesen. Aber die Buchstaben verschwammen vor seinen Augen, es war, wie wenn eine in seinem Innern gespannte Feder ihn am Niedersetzen hinderte. Er ging in den Korridor, und hin- und herschreitend bemühte er sich, an etwas Freundliches zu denken, das ihn von diesen gefährlichen Bildern ablenken könnte. Er begann von zu Hause zu träumen, wie die Eltern und alle zu Hause sich freuen würden, wenn er als Subdiakon zurückkehren würde.

— Und Luzie? . . .

Was denn, nichts besonderes. Hatte sie ihn doch freigegeben und ihm sogar zugeredet, Pfarrer zu werden.

— Warum habe ich sie damals nicht geküsst? Ein einziges Mal im ganzen Leben. Damals war ich doch noch nicht Subdiakon . . .

Er spürte es deutlich, dass er schon mit Genugtuung und Bedauern an etwas ihm nicht Zukommendes und Sündiges dachte. Schon früher und nicht nur einmal hatte er darüber nachgedacht, dass dieser Kuss, wenn sie beide sich damals geküsst hätten, eine Sünde gewesen wäre. Und wie er sich jetzt klar wurde, dass auch seine Träumereien über Luzie von der Versuchung herrührten, versuchte Vasaris, auch vor ihr zu fliehen. Aber vor Luzie zu flüchten war noch schwerer. In seiner Fantasie erwachte nicht nur sie selbst, sondern auch all seine Erwar-

tungen, alle Regungen seines Herzens, die sanft und doch mächtig waren, da sie aus der Natur selbst kamen. Es war das auch schon früher geschehen, aber an jenem Abend begann neben diesen reinen Schwingungen eines jugendlichen Herzens ihn etwas Niedriges, etwas Leidenschaftliches und Sinnliches zu verwirren, das früher nicht gewesen war.

Jetzt begann seine Fantasie, ihm Luzie mit lüsternen unreinen Farben auszumalen. Er besann sich, wie er einmal, als sie auf dem Aušra-Berge sassen, ihr Bein etwas oberhalb des Knies erblickt hatte. Damals hatte er sich sehr geschämt und keinen Blick mehr darauf geworfen. Jetzt aber war das, was er damals gesehen, auf einmal lebendig geworden, verwirrte seine Gedanken und erschütterte ihn mit unbeschreiblicher Leidenschaft. Auch kam ihm in Erinnerung, wie Luzies Brüste unter ihrem leichten Sommerkleidchen sich andeuteten, — und dass ihre Lippen gleichmässig, rot und schwellend waren. Der versäumte Kuss brannte ihn jetzt wie in der Asche zurückgebliebene und wieder angefachte Glut.

Er schritt durch den Korridor, ging zum Saale hinunter und wieder nach oben, aber die irrsinnigen Bilder wühlten wie in einem dämonischen Kino unaufhörlich in seinem zermarterten Hirn. Und wieder war es die „Sklavin", und wieder Luzie. Und beide zugleich, und die eine verwandelte sich in die andere.

Neun Schläge der Glocke tönten durch die leeren Korridore — und Vasaris befand sich auf einmal mit der hinflutenden Welle der Kleriker von neuem in der Kirche, um das letzte Mal das Sanctissimum zu besuchen. Das dauerte fünf, vielleicht zehn Minuten; die Kapelle leerte sich schnell, aber er hatte Furcht, schlafen zu gehen. Seine Fantasie und seine Gedanken waren so in Wallung, dass er gewiss wusste, er werde nicht einschlafen können. Er blieb und kniete allein in der leeren Kapelle, die nur von der roten Öllampe beleuchtet war. Im vergangenen

Jahre hatte er hier manche Stunden zugebracht, aber das waren ruhige Kontemplationen und später geradezu Stunden nutzlosen Sitzens gewesen.

Jetzt aber zitterte und brannte er ganz und gar, von einer unverständlichen Leidenschaft gepackt. Hier an diesem heiligen Orte gegenüber dem tabernaculum Sanctissimi fühlte er im Scheine der roten Lampe irgendein schreckliches Wesen, das auf seinen Untergang lauerte. Und zu seinem grössten Erschrecken kam es ihm zum Bewusstsein, dass er, der niemals Gott lebendig gefühlt hatte, plötzlich den Teufel zu fühlen begann. Erschreckt von seiner krankhaften Vorstellung fürchtete er sich, sich zu rühren und um sich zu blicken. Die beiden in der Wandnische aufgestellten Heiligen, sonst so still, erschreckten ihn heute mit ihrer Stummheit, ihren Sutanen, ihren Chorhemden, ihren Aureolen und ihrer eigenen Unwirklichkeit.

Aber die Bilder stürzten ihn aus einem Entsetzen in das andere. Was er einmal unbewusst an Unkeuschem gesehen hatte, wuchs jetzt zu ekelhaften Erscheinungen der Unzucht. Er dachte an einen anderen Rat in den Lehrbüchern des geistlichen Lebens, dass, wenn man sich gegen die Versuchung schützen wolle, und wenn es nicht gelänge, ihr zu entfliehen, man sich die entgegengesetzten Dinge vorstellen müsse, am besten die Bilder von Christi Leiden. Er bedeckte das Gesicht mit den Händen und bemühte sich, den ganzen Leidensweg Christi, wie er im zweiten Teile des Rosenkranzes stand, sich vorzustellen. — Dafür waren tiefe Konzentration und grosse Willensanstrengung nötig. Am Schlusse schlägt man den Erlöser ans Kreuz und stellt es auf den Gipfel. Aber — o Gotteslästerung! Anstelle des duldenden Christus höhnte vom Kreuze herab schamlos die schlanke Sklavin.

Vasaris fühlte, dass er in einem schwarzen furchtbaren Abgrund versank und dass ein kalter Hauch ihm über den Hinterkopf strich. Er sah es nicht, aber er fühlte es deut-

lich, wie der Fussboden knarrte und durch die letzte Bankreihe ein unsichtbares Wesen heranschlürfte. Er wollte beten, aber eine elementare Angst verschloss ihm nicht nur die Lippen, sondern auch Herz und Willen. Aber das Wesen neigte sich schon zu seinem Ohr, und er sah, dass das Variokas, nein, nicht Variokas war, sondern jemand unsagbar Ekelhaftes, der flüsterte:

— Komödie, Komödie, Komödie . . .

Und von der anderen Seite beugt sich jemand anderes herab und flüstert noch grausiger:

— Ihr, ihr seid wie wir: auf die Mädchen schaut ihr, und küssen wollt ihr, wollt ihr, wollt ihr . . .

Und der erste spottet wieder mit seinem ekelhaften Lächeln:

— Werde nur Pfarrer, Vasaris, werde, werde es nur . . . ein guter Pfarrer wirst du sein, ein guter, ein guter, ein guter . . .

Vasaris wurde so furchtbar unter ihren glühenden Blicken und dem höllischen Flüstern zumute, dass er alle Kraft zusammen nahm und schwer und schmerzlich aufstöhnte. In diesem Augenblick legte ihm jemand die Hand auf die Schulter. Er sprang in der Bank auf und sah im Scheine der roten Lampe eine hohe schwarze Gestalt vor sich.

— Warum gehen Sie nicht schlafen? — sagte der geistliche Vater zu ihm. — So darf man sich nicht abmühen. Sie beben und stöhnen wie ein Kranker. Ist etwas nicht in Ordnung?

Mühsam begann Vasaris sich auf das Vorgefallene zu besinnen, es schwindelte ihm, aber ihm war leicht zumute, dass alles vorüber war.

. . . . . .

In dieser Nacht schlief Vasaris den Schlaf der Toten. Am nächsten Morgen hatte er noch ein leichtes Schwindelgefühl, und während der ersten Meditation schlief er mit offenen Augen [17]). . . .

Ein zweiter Roman des Autors, „Krise", führt direkt in die Geschehnisse der Gegenwart hinein, den grossen Umbruch, der auf allen Gebieten des Lebens sich vollzieht [18]).

Grundlegend verschieden von Putinas und doch in seinem Schaffen genau so oder vielleicht noch mehr charakteristisch für das, was wir als typisch litauisch bezeichnen können, erscheint der etwas ältere, 1882 geborne Vincas Krėvė-Mickevičius, Universitätsprofessor wie auch Putinas, langjähriger Dekan der Hum. Fakultät und Folklorist, dessen Märchen-, Sagen- und Liedersammlungen ihm in der wissenschaftlichen Welt gleichfalls einen Namen gemacht haben [19]).

Vincas Krėvė ist der Schöpfer einer Neu-Romantik, die aus den lebendigen Tiefen der Volkssage gespeist wird. Er ist zugleich auch Realist, sogar Naturalist in seinen psychologischen Erzählungen, die das litauische Dorf der jüngsten Vergangenheit zum Stoffe haben.

Krėvė hat tief hineingehorcht in jene Welt der alten Sagen und Heldengeschichten, die er in seiner Heimatprovinz Dzūkija noch heute lebendig fand. Sie wurden ihm zur Grundlage seiner dramatischen Dichtungen „Šarūnas", „Skirgaila" und anderer. Am bedeutendsten wohl ist die Dichtung von dem Fürsten Šarūnas (1911), die den Leser in die Zeit vor den Ordenskämpfen führt. Aber dieses Litauen hat nichts Realistisches, das historische Kolorit ist dem Autor gleichgültig, seine Dichtung spielt „in sehr alten Zeiten"; es ist ein geheimnisvolles Land, wie es sich in den alten Sagen spiegelt, und seine Menschen sind Täter und Träumer zugleich, in mystischer Weise verbunden mit dem Geschehen und dem Geheimnis der Natur. Mystisch und geheimnisvoll, ein primitiver Mensch, leidenschaftlich, rachsüchtig, ein Feind des Christentums, ganz aus dem Elementaren seines Wesens gespeist, ist Šarūnas, der Fürst, der die Teilfürsten seines Landes überwinden, das Land Dzūkija einen und sich zum Alleinherrscher aufschwingen will. Kühn und hochfliegend in seinen Plänen, auch ein Freund der Dichtung, ist Šarūnas doch andrerseits auch der Mensch, der sich nach Liebe und Freude sehnt. Diesen beiden

Seiten seines Charakters entspricht die doppelte Tragik seines Schicksals: Seine hochfliegenden Pläne vermag er nicht zu verwirklichen, er muss sie seinem Erben Mindaugas überlassen, und in seinem persönlichen Schicksal scheitert er gleichfalls, als er, von Eifersucht blind gemacht, seine edle Frau Voverė erschlägt. Allerdings bildet diese Familientragödie nur ein Rankenwerk um die Grundidee der Dichtung — die Einigung des Landes Dzūkija.

> „Eine Sonne nur steht am Himmel, ein Herrscher nur soll sein in Dainava, oder die Erde wird mich lebend nicht halten".

Neben Šarūnas verblasst die Zeichnung der übrigen Personen der Dichtung, er selbst ist überlebensgross herausgearbeitet, wie die alten Volkssagen ihn schildern [20]). Die Dichtung ist in Dialogform geschrieben, bemerkenswert durch ihre teilweise lyrische schöne Sprache.

Eine zweite historische Dichtung Krėvės — „Skirgaila" (1925) — bildet der Zeit und dem Ideengehalt nach eine Fortsetzung der ersten. Das vieraktige Drama hat das Verhältnis dieses Grossfürsten zu Polen und dem deutschen Orden zum Stoff. Im Zentrum der Handlung steht die Fürstentochter von Lyda, Ona Duonutė, die von dem deutschen Ritter Keller geliebt wird und ihn wiederliebt. Im zweiten Akt kommt es zu einem Zusammenstoss zwischen Skirgaila und dem Ritter. Skirgaila zwingt die Fürstin, seine Gemahlin zu werden, und vereinigt durch diese Ehe ihr Land mit dem seinen. Den Höhepunkt des Dramas bildet der dritte Akt, in dem der Grossfürst einen schweren inneren Kampf besteht. Er sieht die Kraftlosigkeit der alten heidnischen Götter, die Macht des Christengottes, er fühlt sich politisch bedroht durch Polen sowohl wie den Orden, und er sieht seine Ehe gefährdet durch die Liebe seiner Frau zu dem deutschen Ritter. Schliesslich siegt das Gefühl der Rache in ihm. Im letzten Akte erfolgt die Auflösung: Der Fürst vollendet seine grausame Rache, indem er Keller lebendig begraben lässt. In der Stärke seiner Tragik erreicht dieses Werk die Kraft der hohen Dramatik.

Nicht weniger charakteristisch als dieses Drama ist die in einer gehobenen lyrischen Sprache geschriebene Dichtung „Dainavos šalies senų žmonių padavimai" (Sagen der Alten aus dem Lande Dainava), deren Einführung ich in meinem Buche „Hinter den Seen, hinter den Wäldern. Bilder litauischen Volkstums", in deutscher Nachdichtung gegeben habe. Hier entfaltet sich der volle romantische Glanz der Krėvėschen Sprachkunst, und die geheimnisvolle Stimmung des alten heidnischen Landes überträgt sich unmittelbar auf den Leser. Von den träumenden Mädchen an kupfernen Toren, welche die Jünglinge erwarten, die auf dunkelbraunen Rossen mit silbernen Hufen und goldenem Zaumzeug heranreiten, berichtet diese Dichtung, vom Tod in der Schlacht und der Trauer um den Geliebten. Die ganze Stimmung der idealisierenden Dainos wird hier lebendig.

Aber das litauische Dorf hat auch noch eine andere Seite, und dass Krėvė auch diese zu erfassen wusste, beweist die Weite seiner künstlerischen Konzeption. Sein Drama „Žentas" (Der Schwiegersohn) schildert uns die Folgen einer nur aus Besitzrücksichten ohne Liebe geschlossenen Heirat, den Unfrieden in einer Bauernfamilie, in plastischen und realistischen Bildern, und in den Bauernerzählungen, die in Band II und III seiner Werke unter dem Titel „Šiaudinėj pastogėj" (Unterm Strohdach) gesammelt sind, gibt er uns Analysen und Zustandsschilderungen aus dem bäuerlichen Leben der jüngsten Vorkriegszeit. In ihrem Realismus erinnern sie zuweilen geradezu an Žemaitė, so etwa, wenn der Autor in „Vargingame gyvenime" (Leben im Elend) eine verfallene Dorfhütte beschreibt.

P. Lapienė bemerkt an einer Stelle ihrer Analyse der Schriften Krėvės[21]) sehr fein, dass jedes Volk von aussen gesehen auf den Beschauer den Eindruck eines Monolithen macht, dass sich aber bei näherer Betrachtung sehr grosse Unterschiede ergeben. Ebenso glichen sich unter dem Einfluss der Zivilisation dort, wo diese stärker einwirke, auch die psychischen Unterschiede mehr aus als in jenen Ländern, wo die allgemeine

Kulturhöhe eine geringere sei. Es sei dahingestellt, ob die Tatsache, dass es auf dem Lande mehr selbständige und eigenartige Köpfe, mehr „Originale" gibt als in der Stadt, lediglich von der Kulturhöhe abhängt, und ob nicht vielleicht auch die grössere Unabhängigkeit des selbständig wirtschaftenden Bauern von anderen Menschen zu einer grösseren inneren Freiheit Menschen und Dingen gegenüber führt und damit zum Entstehen eigenartiger Charaktere. Einen solchen eigenartigen Menschen schildert Krėvė etwa in seiner Erzählung „Skerdžius" (Der Hirte). Der uralte Lapinas, ein grosser Spassmacher und Lügner, Animist, Pantheist und Mystiker, der an die Laumen, die bösen Feen, glaubt, und dem der Wald mit Zauberei erfüllt erscheint, bildet sich ein, er werde so lange leben wie die Linde des Bauern Grainis. Und als dieser eines Tages die Linde fällt, stirbt auch Lapinas — vielleicht an einer Erkältung — eine Erklärung, die der Dichter für den zweifelnden Leser offen lässt. Eine andre Erzählung „Bobulės vargai" (Die Mühen der Alten) ist mehr eine Zustandsschilderung, eine Darstellung, in der ganz realistisch und typisch die vielen Hausarbeiten eines Sommertages geschildert werden, die tausende solcher alten Frauen zu leisten haben. Eine feine psychologische Darstellung eines naiven Landmädchens lesen wir in der kurzen Erzählung „Silkės" (Die Heringe). Hier hat die Magd Marcelė einem alten halbblinden Juden, welcher der Bäuerin Heringe verkauft hat, ein paar Heringe entwendet und wird nun von der Bäuerin ausgescholten und mit der Beichte erschreckt. Die wenigen Worte graben sich so tief in ihr Unterbewusstsein ein, dass sie in der Nacht einen ganz besonderen Traum hat. Sie ist im Himmel.

> „Dort war es so schön wie in der Kirche von Pivašiūnai. Überall brannten Kerzen und Lichter. Der Herrgott selbst, grau, mit einem langen Bart, sass hoch auf dem Altar, und rings um ihn herum alle Engel: die einen, ganz klein wie auf dem Bilde der Heiligen Jungfrau zu Merkinė, flogen hoch und niedrig um den lieben Gott, und die andern, schon gross in langen Kleidern, mit grossen Flügeln an den Schultern, knieten am Altare und

hatten die zarten Hände gefaltet wie die jungen Pfarrerlein oder Kleriker und lobten Gott."

Der Himmel ist voll von Seelen „wie die Kirche zu Merkinė beim Fest des Heiligen Rochus". Endlich gewahrt Marcelė auch ihre verstorbene Mutter. Sie will sich zu ihr durchdrängen, aber ein Engel vertritt ihr den Weg. Er schilt sie, dass sie in ihrem Alltagskleid die weissen Gewänder der Seelen beschmutze, und fährt sie an:

„Wozu hast du die Heringe in Gottes Haus gebracht? — Damit sie Gestank machen?"

Marcelė sieht an sich herab und bemerkt, dass sie tatsächlich die drei Heringe, die sie doch schon gegessen hat, in der Hand hält, und dass die Lake an ihrem Kleide herabläuft.

„Da nahm sie der Engel bei der Hand und führte sie durch den ganzen Himmel geradeswegs vor Gottes Thron. Marcelė war es eine solche Schande, dass sie am liebsten in die Erde gekrochen wäre" . . .

„Und die Seelen begleiteten sie. Am schwersten war es Marcelė, dass sie der Engel an der Stelle vorbei führte, wo ihr Mütterlein sass. Obwohl Marcelė nicht die Augen hob, fühlte sie, wie ihr Mütterlein schmerzlich auf sie blickte. Sie fühlte es und wurde rot wie eine Ebereschenbeere."

Vor Gott vermag sie sich nicht zu rechtfertigen. Sie wird aus dem Himmel gestossen, die Tür fällt hinter ihr ins Schloss, und sie steht draussen, von gehörnten Teufeln umringt. In furchtbarem Erschrecken wacht sie schweissgebadet auf.

Und nun zeigt sie zum zweiten Male ihre Naivität. Sie schleicht sich heimlich in der dunklen Nacht in den Vorraum, nimmt 6 Eier der Bäuerin aus dem Spind und verbirgt sie im Sande,

„und ungeduldig wartet sie auf den Sonntag, an dem sie Kušlius die Eier bringen und ihm die gestohlenen Heringe damit bezahlen wird! . . . Dann braucht sie keine Angst mehr zu haben, dass man sie wieder wegen Diebstahls aus dem Himmel treiben wird! . . ."

Mögen die kurzen Beispiele genügen. Das Psychologische und auch das Beschreibende steht bei diesen Erzählungen im Vordergrunde, die eigentliche Handlung tritt häufig zurück. Der Dichter sieht seine Personen von einer überlegenen Warte, er schildert ihre Schicksale mit einer leichten Ironie und doch einer inneren Anteilnahme. Literarisch wie volkskundlich bedeuten die Bauerngeschichten Krėvės einen Höhepunkt in der bisherigen Entwicklung der litauischen Literatur.

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Wir haben den Rundgang durch das Werden und Wachsen des litauischen Schrifttums bis zur jüngsten Gegenwart damit abgeschlossen. Wir sahen, wie diese Literatur, entstanden und erwachsen zunächst unter einem fremden Stern, ihre Selbständigkeit und Eigenheit im wesentlichen erst in unserem Jahrhundert erhält. Im Rahmen der vorliegenden Darstellung beanspruchte sie eine ausführlichere Berücksichtigung, spiegelt sich doch in ihr die innere geistige Entwicklung des litauischen Volkes, deren Triebkräfte aufgezeigt und deren Gang bestimmt werden sollte.

p. 298 blank

ANMERKUNGEN

ERSTES KAPITEL

Zur Aussprache der im Text vorkommenden litauischen Worte sei folgendes bemerkt: z = weiches s, s = scharfes s, c = z, ž = j (wie in französ. jardin), š = sch, č = tsch, e = offenes ä, ė = e.

Die Namensschreibung im Text erfolgte einheitlich nach der amtlichen litauischen Terminologie, also „Suvalkija" statt russ. Suwalki, „Garliava" statt russ. Godlewo, „Vilnius' statt russ. Wilna (poln. Wilno) u. s. w. Eine gewisse Uneinheitlichkeit, die jedoch mit in Kauf genommen werden musste, ergab sich infolge des deutschen Sprachgebrauchs bei gewissen Ableitungsformen: „im Suwalkischen", das „Kauener Stadtbild" u. a.

Zur Schreibung der Personennamen sei bemerkt, dass ursprüngliche nichtlitauische Namen den Forderungen der deutschen Sprache entsprechend selbstverständlich unverändert blieben, also „Mickiewicz", „Kraszewski" u. s. w. Dagegen wurden die Namen älterer litauischer Schriftsteller auch dort, wo sie in den ursprünglichen Texten der Sitte der Zeit nach teilweise polonisierte Formen aufweisen, ebenso selbstverständlich in ihrer litauischen Form gegeben, also „Daukantas" statt poln. Dowkont u. s. w.

Eine vollständige Bibliographie der litauischen Sprachforschung gibt das jährlich erscheinende „Indogermanische Jahrbuch" (Verlag Walter de Gruyter, Berlin u. Leipzig). Daneben seien von den wichtigsten neueren Werken genannt:

Leskien. Litauisches Lesebuch. Heidelberg 1919. — A. Baranowski. Litauische Mundarten. Bd. I. Texte. Bd. II. Grammatische Einleitung. Herausg. v. F. Specht, Leipzig 1920/22. — G. Gerullis. Litauische Dialektstudien. Leipzig 1930 (Grundlegend.) — A. Salys. Kelios pastabos tarmių istorijai. (Einige Bemerkungen zur Dialektgeschichte.) Mit einer Dialektkarte. Archivum Philologicum IV, 21—34. Kaunas. (Diese Zeitschrift dient speziell der litauischen Sprachforschung.) G. Gerullis.

ieji lietuvių skaitymai I. (Altlitauische Lesestücke.) Kaunas 1927. (Das Werk enthält ausgewählte Beispiele aus alten Schriften.) K. Būga. Lietuvių kalbos žodynas I—II. (Wörterbuch der litauischen Sprache.) Kaunas 1924. (Sprachwissenschaftlich sehr wichtig.) — Ders. Die Vergangenheit der aistischen (baltischen) Völker im Lichte der Ortsnamenforschung. Streitberg-Festgabe. Leipzig 1924. — P. Skardžius. Die slawischen Lehnwörter im Altlitauischen. „Tauta ir žodis" (Volk und Wort) Bd. VII. Kaunas 1931. — K. Alminauskas. Die Germanismen des Litauischen I. Kaunas o. J.

1) Einen Vergleich des Altpreussischen mit dem Litauischen erschwert die Tatsache, dass von der altpreussischen Sprache wenig mehr als drei Übersetzungen des lutherischen Katechismus (zwei vom Jahre 1545 und eine vom Jahre 1561) erhalten geblieben sind. Damals aber war, wie Kurschat bemerkt, das Preussische schon eine aussterbende Sprache, und die Übersetzer waren ausserdem der Sprache anscheinend nicht so mächtig, „ um dieselbe zuverlässig genau wiedergeben zu können". (Friedrich Kurschat, Grammatik der littauischen Sprache. Halle 1876. S. 56—57.)

2) Trautmann. Altpreussische Sprachdenkmäler. S. VIII—XV.

3) A. Schleicher. Handbuch der litauischen Sprache. Bd. I. Litauische Grammatik. Prag 1856/57). Einleitung.

4) A. Senn. Kleine litauische Sprachlehre. Heidelberg 1929. S. 2.

5) Trautmann. Baltisch-slawisches Wörterbuch. Göttingen 1923. — Vergl. ferner: E. Fraenkel. Zur baltoslawischen Ethymologie und Wortforschung. „Tauta ir žodis" Bd. III. S. 481—489. Kaunas 1925.

6) Fr. Kurschat a. a. O. S. 53.

7) K. Būga. Die litauisch-weissrussischen Beziehungen und ihr Alter. Sonderdruck der Zeitschrift für slawische Philologie aus Bd. I, Heft 1/2. S. 26—55. Leipzig 1924. — Būga weist hier nach, dass eine Reihe von weissrussischen Worten religiösen Inhalts schon vor 1387 in die litauische Sprache eingedrungen sein müssen (S. 50 u. 52). Das Gleiche gelte für die Bezeichnungen einer Reihe von Gegenständen, mit denen die Litauer durch den Handel mit den Weissrussen schon vor 1200 bekannt geworden seien, z. B. Glas, Seide, Markt, Esel, Radieschen u. a. (S. 46).

8) A. Senn a. a. O. S. 5—6.

9) Sämtliche grammatischen Darstellungen der heutigen litauischen Schriftsprache fussen in erster Linie auf den Arbeiten von Prof. Jablonskis, der unter dem Namen Rygiškių Jonas schrieb. 1) Rygiškių Jono Lietuvių kalbos vadovėlis. Kaunas 1925. 2) Rygiškių Jono Lietuvių kalbos gramatika. 2. Aufl. Kaunas-Vilnius 1922.

10) Zitiert nach Bezzenberger. S. Anm. 13.

11) Prof. Dr. Leo Brenner. Litauer und Preussen, Stammesbrüder der Griechen. Deutsche Tageszeitung vom 12. 9. 1917.

12) Schleicher. Vergleichende Sprachgeschichte 1848 (vergl. hier das Kapitel über den „Zetazismus der litauischen Sprache"), und: Die Sprachen Europas 1850.

13) Bezzenbergers Erwiderung auf L. Brenners Aufsatz: Litauer und Preussen. Königsb. Hartungsche Zeitung v. 10. 2. 1918. — Vergl. hierzu in der gleichen Zeitung vom 24. 10. 1918 die Erwiderung von Dr. Herbert Krüger. Griechen und Litauer: „Ob die auf lautliche Unterschiede begründete Zweiteilung der indogermanischen Sprachen in Kentum- und Satem-Sprachen auch einen guten Masstab für den Grad der Verwandtschaft der betreffenden Völker bildet, wird von mancher Seite bestritten. Es muss der Arbeit der Fachgelehrten überlassen bleiben, ob zwischen den Litauern und Griechen nur die allgemeine indogermanische Verwandtschaft oder noch eine etwas nähere besteht, die Herr Geheimrat Bezzenberger in Abrede stellt. Vor der angenommenen Zweiteilung muss doch einmal ein einheitliches Urvolk vorhanden gewesen sein, und wenn man dann, wie auch Herr Geheimrat Bezzenberger es tut, die Urheimat dieses Urvolkes nicht wie früher im fernen Asien, sondern in Europa am Gestade der Ostsee annimmt, so sind die Vorväter der Griechen doch einst aus der nordischen Heimat, sei es vor oder nach den Litauern sich vom Urvolk trennend, nach Süden ausgewandert."

14) W. Kalwaitis. Litauischer Namensschatz. (Lit. u. deutsch.) Tilsit 1910. S. 24, wo folgende sich steigernde Diminutiva von „mama" angegeben sind: mamaitė + mamaitužė + mamaitužužė + mamaitužužužė + mamaitužužužėlė. Es wäre möglich, dass ein gewissenhafter Philologe bei der Zählung sämtlicher Diminutivformen dieses einen Wortes auf die Zahl 100 käme.

15) F. Brender. Die Verwendung der sogenannten Diminutive im Litauischen. Tauta ir Žodis. Bd. III. S. 76—111. Kaunas 1925.

16) C. C. Reisig. Vorlesungen über lateinische Sprachwissenschaft. Berlin 1881. Bd. 1. S. 219. — Die hier angeführte Be-

merkung stimmt überein mit den Ergebnissen von W. Schmidt, der, von völlig anderen Gesichtspunkten ausgehend, in seinem Werke „Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkreise der Erde" auf S. 464 die (im Litauischen durchweg erfolgende) Voranstellung des Genetivs einer naiven, natürlichen, spontan warmen Denkweise zuschreibt, während in der kühleren konstruktiven, „logischen" Denkweise der Genetiv, eben weil er die differentia specifica, das Spätere, das Nachherige, zum Ausdruck bringt, nachgestellt werde.

17) W. St. Vydūnas. Litauen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. Tilsit 1916. S. 87—88.

18) Élisée Reclus. Nouvelle Geographie Universelle. Paris 1880. T. V. S. 431.

19) W. St. Vydūnas a. a. O. S. 88.

20) Die ältesten litauischen Sprachdenkmäler vom Jahre 1547 ab sind abgedruckt bei Gerullis: Moswid. Die ältesten litauischen Sprachdenkmäler bis zum Jahre 1570. Herausgegeben von Dr. Georg Gerullis. Indogermanische Bibliothek. Bd. II. Heidelberg 1923.

21) Eine kurze Würdigung von Jablonskis in deutscher Sprache gibt Vydūnas: Schöpfer der litauischen Schriftsprache. Unsere Stimme. Heft 2. S. 27—28. Tilsit.

22) Niedermann, Senn, Brender. Wörterbuch der litauischen Schriftsprache. Bd. 1. Heidelberg 1932.

23) Christian Gottlieb Mielcke. Littauisch-deutsches und Deutsch-littauisches Wörterbuch. Königsberg 1800. Vorrede S. 4.

24) Die wichtigste wissenschaftliche Literatur über die litauische Sprache aus dem 19. Jahrhundert ist verzeichnet bei Oscar Wiedemann. Handbuch der Litauischen Sprache. Strassburg 1897. S. 4—6. — Besonders erwähnt seien: Leopold Geitler. Litauische Studien. Prag 1875. — Adalbert Bezzenberger. Beiträge zur Geschichte der litauischen Sprache. Auf Grund litauischer Texte des XVI. und des XVII. Jahrhunderts. Göttingen 1877. — Ders. Litauische Forschungen. Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Sprache und des Volkstums der Litauer. Göttingen 1882. — Anton Baranowski und Hugo Weber. Ostlitauische Texte. Weimar 1882. (S. auch die in dem Kap. über die Volksdichtung angegebene Literatur.)

ZWEITES KAPITEL

Da es bei der unübersehbaren Fülle der Literatur über die litauische Volksdichtung unmöglich erscheint, an dieser Stelle einen vollständigen Überblick zu geben, verweise ich für die Dainos auf die von V. Biržiška veröffentlichte „Bibliographie zur Literatur über die litauischen Dainos" (Lietuviškųjų dainų literatūros bibliografija) in „Mūsų Tautosaka" Bd. III. Kaunas 1931, S. 187—223 — für die übrigen Zweige der Volksdichtung neben den Textnoten auf den Absatz in Kap. II. „Zur litauischen Folkloristik".

1) Vydūnas. Der Charakter der litauischen Volksweisen. Ztg. d. X. Armee, Nr. 511.

2) Fr. Kurschat. Grammatik der littauischen Sprache. Halle 1876. S. 448. „So viel ich davon verstehe, verrathen die littauischen Lieder mehr oder weniger griechische Tonweisen..."

3) Chr. Bartsch. Dainų Balsai, Melodien und deutsche Übersetzung litauischer Volkslieder. 2 Bände. Heidelberg 1886—1889. Bd. I. S. 34, Melodie 27. (Die Liedersammlung enthält 392 verdeutschte Dainos, die erste Strophe zugleich litauisch angeführt.)

4) T. Brazys. Die Singweisen der litauischen Dainos. Stuttgart 1918. — Ders. Lietuvių liaudies daina vestuvėse (Litauische Hochzeitslieder). Tauta ir Žodis. Bd. II. Kaunas 1924, S. 190—238. — Ders. Kaikurie lietuvių ir latvių liaudies dainų melodijų giminystės bruožai (Einige verwandtschaftliche Züge in den Melodien litauischer und lettischer Volkslieder). Tauta ir Žodis, Bd. V. Kaunas 1928, S. 215—224. Ders. Lietuvių tautinių dainų melodijos (Melodien litauischer Volkslieder). Kaunas 1927. (199 Melodien.)

5) Vergl. hierzu W. Hoffheinz. Giesmų Balsai. Litauische Kirchengesänge. Herausgegeben von der Litauischen litterarischen Gesellschaft. Tilsit 1894, Einleitung: „Er (scil. der Litauer) springt in seinen Melodien, zieht die Töne über und verändert den Rhythmus . . . Wo sie diese Melodien nur herhaben? — Wer kann das jetzt noch erkunden? Gewiss sind viele aus alten Dainos-Melodien entstanden". — (Der Einfluss des litauischen Volksgesanges auf den Kirchengesang ist m. W. noch nicht untersucht worden. — Für Deutschland vergl. hier etwa die interessante Untersuchung von Prof. Fellerer „Der Durchbruch deutschen Musikempfindens im liturgischen Gesang des Mittelalters" in „Funde und Forschungen", Jahrg. 1938, Nr. 7, S. 75—76.)

6) Chr. Bartsch a. a. O. Bd. II. S. VII—VIII.

7) G. H. Nesselmann. Dainos, Littauische Volkslieder, gesammelt, kritisch bearbeitet und metrisch übersetzt. Mit einer Musikbeilage. Berlin 1853. Einleitung S. IX. (Die Sammlung enthält 410 Volkslieder mit Übersetzung und ca. 60 Melodien.)

8) B. Sruoga. Dainų Poetikos Etiudai (Studien zur Poetik der Dainos). Kaunas 1927.

9) A. R. Niemi u. A. Sabaliauskas. Lietuvių dainos ir giesmės (Litauische Dainos und Gjesmes). Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae Bd. VI. S. 301 u. 298. (Zitiert nach Sruoga a. a. O. S. 40. Die Sammlung umfasst 1459 in Nordost-Litauen aufgezeichnete Liedertexte und 26 Melodien.) Helsinki 1912.

10) Antanas Juszkewicz. Lietuviszkos Dajnos, uszraszytos Welunos apigardoje (Litauische Dainos, aufgezeichnet im Kirchspiel W.). Kasan 1882, Nr. 1520. (Die grosse dreibändige Sammlung enthält die Texte von 1569 Liedern.)

11) M. Biržiška. Dainos keliais (Auf den Wegen des Volksliedes). Vilnius 1921, S. 22—24.

12) K. Bücher. Arbeit und Rhythmus. Leipzig 1902.

13) Über das litauische Arbeitslied vergl. B. Sruoga a. a. O. S. 29—35, sowie das Kap. „Darbo daina" (das Arbeitslied) bei Biržiška a. a. O. S. 33—62. Weiterhin M. Biržiška. Dainų istorijos vadovėlis (Leitfaden der Geschichte der Dainos). Kaunas 1925, S. 42—53.

14) Ludwig Rhesa. Dainos oder litthauische Volkslieder. Königsberg 1825. Neue Auflage mit einigen Berichtigungen von Kurschat. Berlin 1843. Nr. 2. — Goethes Rezension der Sammlung in: Werke, Stuttgart 1833, 46. Bd. S. 346—367. (Die Rhesasche Sammlung enthält 85 Dainos mit deutscher Übertragung. — Vergl. hierzu auch den „Hausschatz der Volkspoesie" von O. L. B. Wolff, Leipzig 1853.)

15) M. Biržiška. Dainos keliais a. a. O. S. 40.

16) Ebenda S. 52.

17) Ebenda S. 57.

18) Ebenda S. 47.

19) Ich verdanke die Angaben über die Tänze „Suktinis" und „Norių miego" dem Leiter des volkskundlichen Archivs, Herrn Dr. J. Balys.

20) Adelbert von Chamisso, Werke, 5. Aufl. Berlin 1864. Bd. I. S. 164—166. (Für das Schlussmotiv dieses Gedichtes gibt es im Litauischen nicht weniger als 37 Varianten. Vergl. J. Balys. Nuo žirgo kritęs bernelis (Der vom Ross gestürzte Bursche). Tautosakos Darbai. Bd. I. S. 142—178).

21) A. Niemi. Die Beziehungen zwischen der litauischen und der finnischen Volkspoesie. Litauische Warte Nr. 1. 1920. S. 13.

22) Jonas Norkus. Didžiojo karo laikų lietuvių dainos (Lieder aus der Zeit des Weltkrieges), Kaunas 1927.

23) L. Rhesa a. a. O. Nr. 48.

24) Nesselmann a. a. O. Nr. 131.

25) B. Sruoga a. a. O. S. 9.

26) M. Biržiška, vadovėlis a. a. O. S. 55.

27) Niemi-Sabaliauskas a. a. O. Nr. 842.

28) Daynas Žemayczių surynktas yr yszdutas par Symona Stanewicze. Wylniuje 1829. S. 12—13.

29) In dieser Tatsache liegt auch der Grund, warum in der litauischen Liederforschung selbst über diese Frage Uneinigkeit besteht. So wird z. B. B. Sruogas Ansicht „In den litauischen Volksliedern ist, als Regel, die Strophe unbedingt nötig" (a. a. O. S. 21) von Dr. Balys und anderen für die älteren Lieder bestritten. (Vergl. hierzu auch L. Gira „Lietuviškos eilėdaros kūrimosi raida" (Die Entwicklung der litauischen Versbildung) in Bd. III. des Journals „Darbai ir Dienos" S. 130—213).

30) Adalbert Bezzenberger. Litauische Forschungen. Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Sprache und des Volkstums der Litauer. Göttingen 1882, S. IX—X. (Eins der wertvollsten Werke der älteren folkloristischen Forschung. Es enthält u. a. 67 Volkslieder mit einer Musikbeilage, 12 Volkserzählungen, gegen 100 Rätsel, über 100 Sprichwörter, eine grosse Anzahl von Verwünschungen und Schimpfwörtern sowie einen wertvollen Abschnitt über „abergläubische und andere volkstümliche Vorstellungen und Gebräuche der Litauer". Entstanden 1879—1881.)

31) B. Sruoga a. a. O. S. 29.

32) Vergl. hierzu Dowkont (Daukantas). Daynes Žemaitiû, pagal žodiû Dajninikû iszraszytas. Petropilie 1846, S. 8 u. 10 „margouie gegelė" und „marga gegelė". — Diese Sammlung „schamaitischer Lieder, nach den Worten der Sänger aufgezeichnet", ist eine der wertvollsten älteren Sammlungen; sie enthält 118 Dainos.

33) A. Niemi a. a. O. S. 28.

34) S. Stanewicz a. a. O. Nr. I, S. 7—8.

35) Ebenda Nr. XXIV, S. 54.

36) Den litauischen Text vergl. bei Rhesa a. a. O. Nr. 28, S. 95.

37) Dr. R. von der Meulen. Die Naturvergleiche in den Liedern und Totenklagen der Litauer. Leiden 1907.

38) Vergl. für das Folgende das Kap. „Symbolik" bei B. Sruoga a. a. O. S. 92—115.

39) L. Rhesa a. a. O. S. 51.

40) J. Šimtakojis. Trakiečių dzūkų dainos (Lieder der Traker Dzuken). Shenadoah 1899. XX.

41) Die Äusserungen Herders über das litauische Volkslied finden sich in den „Fragmenten über die neue deutsche Literatur" und in seinem Aufsatz „Über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker." — In einem Briefe an Hamann vom 18. Juni 1775 teilt er diesem mit, dass er von Kreutzfeld vier schöne litauische Lieder gelesen habe. „Sie sollen in meine Volkslieder, gewiss, o hätt' er mehr!" — Vergl. ferner Herders Werke (Bong, Stuttgart) Teil V „Ideen zur Philosophie der Menschheit" Bd. II. S. 16 und die Anmerkungen von Ernst Naumann zu seinen „Litauischen Volksliedern". — Zu den Kreutzfeldschen Übertragungen vergl. ferner Müller-Blattau. Hamann und Herder in ihren Beziehungen zur Musik. Königsberg 1931, S. 21.

42) Über den Einfluss der litauischen Volkslieder auf Goethe vergl. den ausgezeichneten Aufsatz von Priv.-Doz. Dr. Erich Jenisch: Goethe und die Dainos. Ostdeutsche Monatshefte 1930. 11. Jahrgang, Heft 7, S. 417—422. — Erwähnt seien ferner Antana Domeikaitė: Die litauischen Volkslieder in der deutschen Literatur. Diss. München 1928, und Ignas Skrupskelis: Die Litauer in der deutschen Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts. Diss. Wien 1932.

43) F. u. H. Tetzner. Dainos. Litauische Volksgesänge. Reclams Universalbibliothek Nr. 3 694. S. 30. (Eine gute historische Studie über das litauische Volkslied mit 70 gereimten Übertragungen.)

44) A. v. Chamisso a. a. O. S. 138.

45) Die Übertragungen von O. Wöhrle sind abgedruckt in „Das Litauenbuch. Eine Auslese aus der Zeitung der X. Armee". 1918.

S. 155—159. — Die auf den Übertragungen Nesselmanns beruhenden nicht immer geglückten Nachdichtungen Richard Dehmels sind veröffentlicht in „Die neue Rundschau". XXVIII. Jahrg. d. freien Bühne. 1. Heft v. Januar 1917. — Für Herbert Eulenberg vergl.: Struck und Eulenberg. Skizzen aus Litauen, Weissrussland und Kurland. 1916.

46) Aus der Fülle der damaligen grösstenteils populären Literatur über das litauische Volkslied seien einige wenige in der Zeitschrift: „Das neue Litauen" 1917/18 erschienene Aufsätze hervorgehoben: Tetzner. Tolminkemer Erinnerungstage. 1917. Nr. 5/6. — Alfred Brust. Die litauische Kultur und der Expressionismus. 1918. Nr. 1. — Victor Jungfer. Die Raubehe im litauischen Volksliede. 1918. Nr. 15/16. — W. W. Ulmenried-Naujeck. Zur litauischen Literatur. 1918. Nr. 18/19. — Daneben sei auf die gleichen Jahrgänge der damals herausgegebenen „Zeitung der X. Armee" verwiesen, in deren Literaturbeilage eine Reihe tatsächlich wertvoller Beiträge zur Erforschung der litauischen Volkslieder und ihrer Melodien enthalten ist. — Für die neueste Zeit vergl. Möller. Das Lied der Völker (Heft 13 über das litauische Volkslied) Leipzig 1930, und H. Engert. Aus litauischer Dichtung. Deutsche Nachdichtungen. 1. Aufl. Kaunas 1935, 2. Aufl. 1938.

47) F. u. H. Tetzner, a. a. O. S. 5.

48) Chr. Bartsch. Über litauische Volksliteratur. Mitteilungen der Litauischen litterarischen Gesellschaft, Bd. II. Tilsit 1884, S. 100.

49) Akiras Biržys. Lietuvos miestai ir miesteliai. Bd. I. Alytaus apskritis. Dzūkų kraštas. Kaunas 1931. S. 397. (Litauens Städte und Flecken. Bd. I. Der Kreis Alytus. Das Land der Dzuken.) — Die bedeutendste Sammlung litauischer Totenklagen ist die von Dr. J. Basanavičius. „Lietūvių raudos" (Litauische Raudos), abgedruckt in der Zeitschrift „Lietūvių Tauta" Bd. IV, Heft 1, S. 59—145. Vilnius 1926.

50) Die wichtigsten litauischen Märchensammlungen sind folgende: Aug. Schleicher. Litauische Märchen, Sprichwörter, Rätsel und Lieder. 1857. (Mehr sprachwissenschaftlich.) — A. Leskien und K. Brugmann. Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen aus dem preussischen und dem russischen Litauen. Strassburg 1882. (Die ausserordentlich wertvolle Sammlung enthält u. a. 249 (nicht übersetzte) Volkslieder und 47 ins Deutsche

übersetzte Märchen nebst Kommentar von Wilhelm Wollner.) — Dr. J. Basanavičius. Yvairios Lietuviškos Pasakos (Verschiedenartige litauische Märchen). 4 Bände. 4. Aufl. Kaunas 1928. — Ders. Iš gyvenimo lietuviškų vėlių bei velnių (Aus dem Leben der litauischen Seelen und bösen Geister). Chicago 1903. (Enthält 198 Volkserzählungen sowie eine eingehende Untersuchung des litauischen Totenkults mit umfangreichen Literaturangaben.) — Für das litauische Tiermärchen vergl.: Pasakos apie paukščius. Žemaitische Tierfabeln. Text, Wörterverzeichnis und Übersetzung. Herausgegeben von Hugo Scheu und Alexander Kurschat. Heidelberg 1913. — Die zugänglichste Sammlung litauischer Volksmärchen in deutscher Übertragung sind heute die von H. Boehm und F. Specht 1924 bei Diederichs herausgegebenen Lettisch-litauischen Volksmärchen. (Für die gegenwärtige Märchenforschung vergl. Kap. II, 5 des vorliegenden Buches.)

51) V. Jungfer. Hinter den Seen, hinter den Wäldern. Königsberg 1932, S. 91. — Boehm und Specht a. a. O. Nr. 8 und 13 sowie Einleitung S. 158.

52) F. von der Leyen. Das Märchen. Leipzig 1911. S. 80.

53) M. Valančius. Palangos Juzė (Josef von Palanga). 5. Aufl. Vilnius 1906. S. 121.

54) A. Bezzenberger. Litauische Forschungen a. a. O. S. 61—64. — Krėvė-Mickevičius. Aitvaras dzūkų legendose (Der Aitvaras in den Legenden der Dzuken). Mūsų Tautosaka Bd. III. S. 3—81. (16 Erzählungen). — Ders. Aitvaras liaudies padavimuose (Der Aitvaras in den Volksüberlieferungen). Kaunas 1933. — Dr. J. Balys. Aitvaras. In der Zeitschrift „Gimtasai Kraštas" Heft 1 u. 2 d. Jahrg. 1934, wo auch die gesamte wiss. Literatur über dieses Motiv angegeben ist.

55) Die Natter (Russisches Märchen). Von J. Koncewicz. Mitteilungen der Litauischen litterarischen Gesellschaft. Heft X. 1885, S. 260—262.

56) Yermoloff. Der landwirtschaftliche Volkskalender. Leipzig 1905, S. 11.

57) V. Krėvė-Mickevičius. Patarlės, priežodžiai ir išsireiškimai (858 Sprichwörter und Redensarten). Tauta ir Žodis Bd. III. Kaunas 1925. — Ders. Patarlės ir priežodžiai (Sprichwörter und Redensarten). Bisher 3 Bände, Kaunas 1934—37. (Diese bisher grösste Sprichwörtersammlung ist alphabetisch ge-

ordnet. Bd. I. 1—7766, Bd. II. 7767—11650, Bd. III. 11651—14177. Bd. III. endet mit dem Buchstaben i.) — Zum Vergleich: F. Seiler. Deutsche Sprichwörterkunde. München 1922.

58) 1000 lettische Rätsel. Übersetzt und erklärt von A. Bielenstein. Mitau 1881. Einleitung S. 10.

59) V. Krėvė-Mickevičius. Tautosakos rinkinių 1. Mislės (Rätsel). Tautos ir Žodis Bd. V. Kaunas 1928. — Die bedeutendste Sammlung litauischer Volksrätsel ist die von K. Jurgelionis. Mislių knyga (Rätselbuch). Chicago 1913. (Über 1000 Rätsel). — Vergl. ferner die entsprechenden Kapitel bei Schleicher und Bezzenberger a. a. O. Für eingehendere Studien wichtig R. Petsch. Das deutsche Volksrätsel. Strassburg 1917.

60) Einen guten Überblick über den gegenwärtigen Stand der folkloristischen Wissenschaft in Litauen und ihrer Probleme gibt J. Balys in seiner Aufsatzreihe „Mūsų tautosaka" (Unsere Volksdichtung) in der Zeitschrift „Jaunoji Karta" (Junge Generation), Jahrg. 1938. Nr. 7, 9, 10, 11 u. 12. Eine kurze Zusammenfassung enthält der Aufsatz des gleichen Verfassers: A short review of the collection of Lithuanian folk-lore (Tautosakos darbai Bd. I).

DRITTES KAPITEL

Grundlegend für die Kenntnis der litauischen Volkskunst ist heute das grosse von der Landwirtschaftskammer herausgegebene Werk: „Sodžiaus Menas" (Die Kunst des Dorfes), von dem bisher 6 Bände vorliegen. Bd. I. Webereien. Bd. II. Schürzen. Bd. III. Muster von Erzeugnissen der Volkskunst (Schnitzkunst, Töpferei u. s. w.). Bd. IV. Bänder (Juostos). Bd. V. Strick- und Häkelmuster. Bd. VI. Muster altertümlicher Handarbeiten. Erschienen Kaunas 1931/34. — Es handelt sich um ein grosses Bilderwerk mit ausführlichen von dem Leiter der Abteilung für Volkskunst A. Tamošaitis geschriebenen Einleitungen über die einzelnen Techniken und ihre Entwicklung. (Vergl. daneben den Aufsatz des gleichen Verfassers über die litauischen Webereien in der „Liet. Enciklopedija" (Litauischen Enzyklopädie) Bd. I.) Ausschliesslich die litauischen Juostos behandelt das von Galaunė herausgegebene Bilderwerk „Lietuvių juostų raštai" (Muster litauischer Bänder). Kaunas 1928. (40 lithographierte Tafeln.) Die litauischen Dachkreuze sind ausführlich behandelt in

dem grossen Bilderwerk von Jaroševičius „Lietuvii Kryžiai" (Litauische Kreuze). Wilno 1912.

1) Hans Naumann. Grundzüge der deutschen Volkskunde. 2. Aufl. 1929. S. 28—29.

2) P. Galaunė. Lietuvių liaudies menas, jo meninių formų plėtojimosi pagrindai. Hum. mok. fakulteto leidinys. (Die litauische Volkskunst, die Grundlagen der Entwicklung ihrer Kunstformen. Veröff. d. Hum. Fak.) Kaunas 1930. S. 33—38.

3) Cornelius Gurlitt. Alt-litauisches Bauwesen. „Der Tag", Berlin, v. 8. IX. 1918.

4) Vergl. hierzu auch Dr. Dethlefsen. Führer durch das Ostpreussische Heimatmuseum. 1913. S. 12.

5) Zitiert nach Dr. Hans Mortensen. Litauen. Grundzüge einer Landeskunde. Hamburg 1926. S. 97.

6) Hans Naumann. Vom litauischen Bauernhaus. Das neue Litauen. 2. Jahrg. 1918. Nr. 1/2. S. 98—99 u. 106.

7) P. Galaunė a. a. O. S. 46—50.

8) Hans Naumann. Vom litauischen Bauernhaus a. a. O. S. 106.

9) Für das litauische Bauernhaus vergl. ferner: Baurat Richard Dethlefsen. Bauernhäuser und Holzkirchen in Ostpreussen. Berlin 1911. Kapitel: Litauen. S. 17—35. — Adalbert Bezzenberger. Über das litauische Haus. Ein Versuch. Altpreuss. Mon.-Schr. N. F. Bd. 23. Königsberg 1886. S. 34—79. — R. Virchow. Die altpreussische Bevölkerung, namentlich Letten und Litauer, sowie deren Häuser. Verhandlungen der Berl. Gesellsch. für Anthrop., Ethnologie u. Urgeschichte. Jahrg. 1391. Berlin 1891. — A. Bezzenberger. Bemerkungen über den Hausbau im russischen Litauen und in einem Teile Kurlands. Sitzungsber. d. Altert. Gesellsch. Prussia. Heft 19. Königsberg 1895. S. 130 ff. — Grundlegend: H. Grisebach. Das polnische Bauernhaus. Veröffentlichungen der Landeskundlichen Kommission beim Kaiserl. Deutschen Gen.-Gouv. Warschau. Beiträge zur poln. Landeskunde. Reihe B. Berlin 1917.

10) Vergl. die Darstellung der Aufrisstypen des lit. Bauernhauses bei Mortensen (a. a. O. S. 93—96) und die analogen Zeichnungen bei Galaunė (a. a. O. S. 55).

11) P. Galaunė a. a. O. S. 62.

12) S. 23.

13) Hans Naumann. Volkskunde a. a. O. S. 40.

14) Dr. Günther Grundmann. Die Bethäuser und Bethauskirchen des Kreises Hirschberg. Breslau 1922. S. 8. — Zur Entwicklung der Dorfkirche vergl. ferner: Wippert u. Burgemeister. Die Holzkirchen und Holztürme der preussischen Ostprovinzen. Berlin 1905. — Gruner. Die Dorfkirche im Königreich Sachsen. Paul Brinkmann. Baukunst des 17. u. 18. Jahrhunderts I. u. II. — Richard Konwiarz. Alt-Schlesien. Architektur, Raumkunst, Kunstgewerbe.

15) Prof. Dr. Paul Weber. Litauische Kirchen. In „Bilder aus Litauen". 2. Aufl. Kowno 1917. S. 121.

16) Ebenda S. 121.

17) P. Galaunė a. a. O. S. 86.

18) Naumann. Volkskunde a. a. O. S. 40.

19) P. Galaunė a. a. O. S. 92.

20) Hermann Struck und Herbert Eulenberg. Skizzen aus Litauen, Weissrussland und Kurland. Berlin 1916.

21) Alfred Brust. Die litauische Kultur und der Expressionismus. Das neue Litauen. Jahrg. 1918. Nr. 14. S. 50—51.

22) Prof. Otto Schwindrazheim. Litauische Grabkreuze. In „Das Litauenbuch der X. Armee" 1918. S. 48.

23) Luigi Caglio. Alla Biennale di Monza. 1925. (Zitiert nach Galaunė a. a. O. S. 103.)

24) W. Szukiewicz. Krzyże zdobne w gubernji Wileńskiej. „Wisła" 1903. Bd. XVII. — Brensteyn. Krzyże i kapliczki 1906 — Dr. J. Basanavičius. Lietuvių kryžiai archeologijos šviesoje (Die litauischen Kreuze im Lichte der Archäologie). Brensteyn untersucht in seinem Werke ausschliesslich die Dachkreuze Schamaitens. Der Aufsatz von Dr. Basanavičius bildet die Einleitung zu dem eingangs genannten Bilderwerk von Jaroševičius: Lietuvii Kryžiai. (Im Auszug in deutscher Sprache in V. Jungfer. Alt-Litauen. Berlin 1926. S. 71—90.) Die neueste Literatur: Antanas Rukštelė. Lietuvių Tautodailė. Kaunas 1929. S. 55—69. — Wissenschaftlich: Galaunė a. a. O. S. 101—142 (mit ausführlichen Literaturangaben).

25) P. Galaunė a. a. O. S. 110

26) S. 131.

27) S. 127.

28) S. 137.

29) Schwindrazheim a. a. O. S. 48.

30) Eine tiefgehende symbolische Deutung versucht u. a. H. Schaeder in einem Aufsatz: Litauische Ornamentik. Das Land Ober-Ost. Stuttgart u. Berlin 1917. S. 63.

31) V. Jungfer. Alt-Litauen a. a. O. S. 87. — V. Jungfer. Hinter den Seen, hinter den Wäldern. Bilder litauischen Volkstums. Königsberg 1932. S. 45 u. S. 58.

32) Einige schöne und künstlerisch wertvolle Kreuze sind heute im Garten des Vytautas-Museums in Kaunas aufgestellt.

33) Vergl. V. Jungfer. Kulturbilder aus Litauen. Berlin 1918. S. 120. Der vollständige lateinische Text lautet: „Plurimis in locis per Samogitiam divagantur imperitissimi sculptores, an verius Iconoclastae et Iconomachi, qui proprio Marte effigies Sanctorum moliantur, non quam speciem deorum, quam monstra Lernaea ab omni sacra Traditione, habitu gestuque ex toto se abhorrentia, vili autem pretio simplicioribus abtrudentes graviter eis imponant, unde optata pullulat, materia nullis vicinorum sectariorum cachinnis. Parochi locorum arguant, increpant tales et confiscent, nisi specialem an Nobis produxerint licentiam."

34) P. Galaunė a. a. O. S. 175.

35) S. 176—180.

36) Dr. Willi Burger. Altdeutsche Holzplastik. Berlin 1926. S. 179. Vergl. ferner: Franz Wolter und Willi Burger. Die mittelalterliche Holzplastik in Deutschland. München 1924.

37) A. Rukštelė a. a. O. S. 84.

38) Vergl. für den Absatz über die dörflichen Holzschnitte und Malereien Galaunė a. a. O. S. 231—238 sowie die dort angegebene Literatur. Ferner: P. Galaunė. Lietuvių liaudies raižinių katalogas (Katalog der Holzschnitte der litauischen Volkskunst). Kaunas 1927 sowie das entsprechende Kapitel bei A. Rukštelė a. a. O. S. 41—48.

39) Alfred Brust, vergl. Anm. 21.

40) Heinrich Schaeder a. a. O. S. 62.

41) Zur Entwicklung der Kanklės vergl. die grundlegende Arbeit des schwedischen Professors Tobias Norlind. Bidrag Till Kantelens Historia. Särtryck ur Rig 1923.

42) A. Rukštelė a. a. O. S. 42.

43) Thaddäus von Dowgird. Margutschai — die litauischen Ostereier. Kownoer Ztg. 1917.

44) Karl Brammer. Litauische Webereien. Litauenbuch a. a. O. S.52.

45) Heinrich Schaeder a. a. O. S. 64.

46) A. Rukštelė a. a. O. S. 22—23 und S. 46.

47) Johanna Behr-Heyder, Cöln. Litauische Volkskunst. Leipziger Ill. Ztg. vom 8. 11. 1917. S. 10.

48) P. Galaunė a. a. O. S. 262.

49) S. 266.

50) Vydūnas. Litauen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. Tilsit 1916. — Emma Dethlefsen. Über litauische Volkstrachten in Ostpreussen. Blätter für Heimatkunde und Heimatschutz Jahrg. 3. Nr. 1 u. 2.

VIERTES KAPITEL

Eine Gesamtdarstellung der Entwicklung der litauischen Architektur existiert bis zum heutigen Tage nicht. Einen kurzen Abriss der Architektur des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts gibt K. Jasenas in Bd. III, Heft 5 seiner „Visuotinė meno istorija" (Allgemeine Kunstgeschichte), ebenso finden sich dort fast die einzigen Angaben über die litauischen Schlossbauten. — Eine Würdigung des Architekten Vl. Dubeneckis, des Erbauers des Vytautas-Museums, der Kunstschule, des Staatstheaters und anderer öffentlicher Gebäude gibt P. Galaunė in Bd. I. des Almanachs „Prošvaistė" (1937). Ebenso sei die wertvolle Monographie des gleichen Autors „Vilniaus Meno Mokykla 1793—1831" (Die Kunstschule von Vilnius), Kaunas 1928, hervorgehoben. — Auch die Darstellung der litauischen Malerei, Plastik und Musik beschränkt sich bisher auf Abrisse und Einzeldarstellungen. (Vergl. etwa Galaunė. L'art lithuanien. 1934. Jasenas. Kunstgeschichte III, 8 mit sorgfältig ausgesuchtem Bildmaterial u. a.)

1) A. Bezzenberger. Der Werdegang des litauischen Volkes. Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte. Jahrgang 1915. Bd. XIII. Heft 1. S. 26. „Städte waren nur spärlich vorhanden und hatten, wie das 1321 gegründete Wilna, vermutlich mehr fremde als litauische Bewohner."

2) Zur Geschichte der Hanse in Litauen vergl. Walther Stein. Vom deutschen Kontor in Kowno. Hansische Geschichtsblätter Jahrg. 1916. Bd. XXII. Heft 1 u. 2 sowie die dort angegebene Literatur.

3) Vergl. hierzu Ljubawski. Областное дѣленіе и мѣстное управленіе Литовско-Русскаго государства ко времени изданія перваго Литовскаго статута (Kreiseinteilung und lokale Verwaltung des litauisch-russischen Staates zur Zeit der Ausgabe des ersten Litauischen Statuts), sowie S. A. Berschadski, Литовскіе евреи (Die litauischen Juden). 1883. — In neuerer Zeit erfuhr die Geschichte des Judentums eine ausführliche Darstellung durch Prof. A. Janulaitis, Žydai Lietuvoje (Die Juden in Litauen). Kaunas 1923.

4) Die Ansiedlung der Tataren, die sich grösstenteils assimiliert haben, geht noch auf Vytautas zurück. Ungefähr 700 Tataren leben heute noch im Kreise Alytus. Auch in Kaunas verfügen sie über eine eigene schmucklose Moschee.

5) Die Frage des ältesten Backsteinbaus in Litauen wird behandelt von Cornelius Gurlitt. Alt-Litauisches Bauwesen. Baltisch-Litauische Mitteilungen 1918, Nr. 127 vom 4. Sept. Vergl. hierzu ferner Prof. Dr. P. Weber. Litauische Kirchen. In „Bilder aus Litauen", II. Aufl. Kaunas 1917. S. 123. — Für die Quellenkunde wichtig: Kun. P. Veblaitis, Kauno Bazilika (Die Kauener Basilika). Naujoji Romuva. V. Jahrg. 1935. Nr. 16/17. S. 379—380. Ferner: Vyskupas M. Valančius, Trumpa Kauno bažnyčių istorija (Kurze Geschichte der Kauener Kirchen). Zeitschrift Žinyčia. Tilsit 1900, Nr. 2. S. 32—51. Nach Valančius wurde auch die Franziskanerkirche im Jahre 1400 schon als Steinbau aufgeführt.

6) Kan. J. Tumas. Iš Vytauto bažnyčios istorijos (Aus der Geschichte der Vytautas-Kirche). Iliustr. Lietuva. Jahrg. 1927, Nr. 15 und 16.

7) Valančius a. a. O.

8) Jasenas. Visuotinė meno istorija (Allg. Kunstgeschichte), V, S. 267.

9) V. Bičiūnas. Kaunas 1030—1930. Kaunas 1930. S. 208.

10) Vergl. hierzu A. Thomas. Rombinus. In: Mitteilungen der Litauischen litterarischen Gesellschaft. Bd. II, Heft 2. Jahrg. 1884. Dazu in Bd. IV, 4 die farbige Abbildung samt Grundriss nach der Aufnahme von Kulakowski vom Jahre 1823.

11) Kairiūkštytė-Jacynienė. Pažaislis, ein Barockkloster in Litauen. Züricher Dissertation 1928. Sonderdruck aus „Tauta ir žodis", Kaunas 1928, S. 1—2.

12) Prof. Dr. P. Weber a. a. O. S. 128.

13) In Kaunas zogen die Jesuiten erst im Jahre 1642 ein. Vergl. hierzu K. Lerkis S. J. Kaip jėzuitai įsikūrė Kaune? (Wie siedelten sich die Jesuiten in Kaunas an?), Zeitschrift Židinys, Jahrg. 1934, Bd. XX. S. 184—192.

14) René Fülop-Miller. Macht und Geheimnis der Jesuiten. Berlin 1932. S. 523.

15) Jasenas a. a. O. S. 270.

16) Kairiūkštytė-Jacynienė a. a. O. S. 19.

17) Ebenda S. 128.

18) Vergl. Purickis. Die Glaubensspaltung in Litauen im 16. Jahrhundert bis zur Ankunft der Jesuiten im Jahre 1569. (Diss.) Zeitschrift „Litauen", Bd. II, S. 329. Jahrg. 1917.

19) Zur Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche und ihrer Gemeinde in Kaunas vergl. die Schrift von Pastor Joh. Wischeropp. Die Evang-Luth. Trinitatiskirche zu Kaunas 1683—1933. Kaunas 1933.

20) Prof. Dr. P. Weber a. a. O. S. 141. — Zur Kirche von Kedainiai s. „Die evangelisch-lutherische Kirche zu Keidany" in „Deutscher Genossenschaftskalender für Litauen", Jahrg. 1931, S. 37—41 (nach einem Vortrag von Propst Tittelbach), sowie den Aufsatz von Prof. Dr. Jonas Yčas: Das Kulturwerk des Hauses Radziwill in Kedainiai. Deutscher Genossenschaftskalender für Litauen, Jahrg. 1930, S. 100—105. In den Gründungsjahren der evangelischen Kirchen in Litauen spiegelt sich die Einwanderung aus Deutschland wider. Bis zum Jahre 1840 wurden die Kirchen von Kedainiai (Keidany) 1714 und Skuodas (Schoden) 1821 erbaut. In den Jahren nach 1840 verstärkt sich die Einwanderung. Es werden Kirchen gebaut in Mariampolė 1841, Tauragė (Tauroggen) 1844, Naumiestis (Neustadt) 1845, Priėnai 1847, Šiauliai (Schaulen) 1851. Eine neue Periode evangelischen Kirchenbaus beginnt mit der Einwanderung in den 60. Jahren — Raseiniai (Rossieny) 1862, Vištitis (Wischtyten) 1864, Švekšniai (Schwekschny) 1867, Vilkaviškis (Wilkowischki) 1868, Garliava (Godlewo) 1870, — und am Ende der 70. Jahre: Šakiai 1877, Virbalis (Wirballen) 1878, Batokiai 1885, Jurbarkas (Georgenburg) 1892. Aus jüngster Zeit endlich stammen die Kirchen von Sudargiai 1914 und Pilviškis 1926. Die evangelischen Gemeinden selbst weisen jedoch durchweg ein weit höheres Alter auf.

21) Vergl. Galaunė. Lietuvių liaudies menas (Die litauische Volkskunst). Veröff. d. Hum. Fak. d. Univ. Vytautas d. Gr.

Kaunas 1930 S. 153 u. 154 sowie die dort angegebene russische und polnische Literatur.

22) Tarasenka. Gimtoji senovė (Heimatliche Vorzeit). Šiauliai 1925. S. 90—92. — Tarasenka. Medžiaga Lietuvos archeologijai (Material für die litauische Archäologie). — Für die Burg von Gelgaudai vergl. auch Tarasenka. Gelgaudų pilis (Die Burg Gelgaudai) in Iliustr. Lietuva, Jahrg. 1927, Nr. 39; für die Burg von Kaunas: Volteris. Kauno senosios pilies pėdsakai ir palaikai (Spuren und Überreste der ältesten Kauener Burg), ebenda Nr. 45.

23) Carl Meissner. Das schöne Kurland. München 1917. S. 101.

24) Paulius Galaunė. Vilniaus Meno Mokykla (Die Kunstschule von Vilnius) 1793—1831. Kaunas 1928. S. 12—45. — Für Brzostowski vergl. den entsprechenden Artikel in der „Lietuviška Enciklopedija".

25) Otto Grautoff. Die baltischen Provinzen. Bd. 3. Bauten und Bilder. Berlin 1916. S. XVII u. S. 118. — Jasenas a. a. O. Bd. III. Heft V. S. 308—311.

26) Prof. Dr. P. Weber. Litauische Kirchen a. a. O. S. 138.

27) Prof. Dr. P. Weber. Wilna. Eine vergessene Kunststätte. Wilna 1917. S. 118.

28) Vergl. etwa Dr. H. Kairiūkštytė-Jacynienė. Dėl Vytauto Didžiojo vardo muziejaus projekto (Zum Projekt des Museums Vytautas des Grossen). Zeitschrift Židinys. Bd. XIV, Jahrg. 1931, Nr. 8/9, S. 167—170.

29) Über Varnas vergl. auch Ign. Šlapelis. Adomo Varno kūrybos keliais (Auf den Wegen des Schaffens von Adomas Varnas). Iliustr. Lietuva, Jahrg. 1927, Nr. 12.

30) P. Galaunė. L'art lithuanien. Malmö 1934. S. 34.

31) Ign. Šlapelis. Iš J. Mackevičiaus ir J Zikaro parodos. Zeitschrift Meno kultūra. Jahrg. 1928. Nr. 1. S. 18/19.

32) Vydūnas. Litauen. Tilsit 1916. S. 116.

33) Heinrich Schaeder. Čiurlionis — ein litauischer Maler. Das Land Ob. Ost. Stuttgart u. Berlin 1917. S. 393—395.

34) Die Literatur über Čiurlionis ist relativ umfangreich. Sie besteht in der Hauptsache aus Aufsätzen in verschiedenen Kunstzeitschriften. Erwähnt sei u. a. die Čiurlionis-Sondernummer der

Zeitschrift „Naujoji Romuva", 5. Jahrg. 1935, Nr. 42, weiterhin der kurze Abriss bei Galaunė in L'art lithuanien a. a. O. S. 12—13, sowie die kleine Schrift des gleichen Autors: M. K. Čiurlionies galerijos istorija (Geschichte der Čiurlionis-Galerie). Eine Biographie von Č. schrieb Bičiūnas. In deutscher Sprache: Schaeder a. a. O. und V. Jungfer. Hinter den Seen, hinter den Wäldern. Königsberg 1932, S. 65—69. Nicht mehr berücksichtigt werden konnte die grosse 1938 von P. Galaunė herausgegebene Čiurlionis-Monographie, die vor allem wertvolles, bisher noch nicht veröffentlichtes Bildmaterial enthält.

35) Vergl. Jean Mauclère. Sous le ciel pâle de Lithuanie. Paris 1926. S. 52—54.

36) Z. B. „Kön. Hartungsche Ztg. vom 27. VIII. 1918.

37) V. Vizgirda. Tapyba ir skulptūra Lietuvoje (Malerei und Skulptur in Litauen). Naujoji Romuva, V. Jahrg. Nr. 10/11 vom 17. III. 1935. S. 248.

38) Naujoji Romuva Nr. 45 vom 6. XI. 1932 (III. Jahrg.).

39) Über das Jesuitentheater vergl. die ausführliche Darstellung bei E. v. Ungern-Sternberg. Aus einem erwachten Lande. Bresl. Ztg. vom 24. IX. 1923.

FÜNFTES KAPITEL

Von grösseren zusammenhängenden Darstellungen über die Entwicklung der litauischen Literatur wurden benutzt:

Mykolaitis-Putinas. Naujoji Lietuvių literatūra (Die neue litauische Literatur). Bd. I. Kaunas 1936. 425 S. (Veröffentl. d. Hum. Fakultät.)

Zigmantas Kuzmickis. Lietuvių literatūra. Bd. IV. Kaunas 1933. 318 S. Ders. Bd. V. Kaunas 1934. 235 S.

J. Gabrys. Lietuvių literatūros apžvalga (Übersicht über die litauische Literatur). Zweite verbesserte und vervollständigte Auflage 1924.

1) Vergl. zu Daukša: E. Wolter. N. Daukša, ein litauischer Nationalschriftsteller des 16. Jahrhunderts. Mitteilungen der Litauischen litterarischen Gesellschaft zu Tilsit. 22. IV. 4.

2) Prof. Dr. Bezzenberger. Der Werdegang des litauischen Volkes. Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte. Jahrg. 1915. Bd. XIII, Heft 1, S. 19.

3) M. Biržiškos Mūsų raštų istorija (Geschichte unseres Schrifttums). II. Auflage. Kaunas 192[illegible]. S. 40. (Ausgabe d. Buchveröffentlichungskommission des Unterrichtsministeriums.)

4) Alexander Alexandrow. Sprachliches aus dem Nationaldichter Litauens. I. Zur Semasiologie. Dorpat 1886.

5) Die sämtlichen Dichtungen wurden mit lit.-deutschem Glossar zum ersten Male von Schleicher ediert, Petersburg 1865. Weitere deutsche Ausgaben sind: Nesselmann. Christian Donalitius. Litauische Dichtungen. Königsberg 1869. (Mit Übersetzungen, Anmerkungen und Glossar). Passarge. Christian Donalitius. Litauische Dichtungen. Königsberg 1894. Dr. F. Tetzner. Christian Donalitius, der litauische Nationaldichter. Bd. VII. des Sammelwerks: Unsere Dichter in Wort und Bild. Leipzig o. Jahr. (R. Clausner). Namentlich Nesselmann (1870) und Tetzner (1880) haben sich durch ihre Forschungen um diesen Dichter verdient gemacht.

6) Prof. Dr. F. Tetzner-Leipzig. Tolminkemer Erinnerungstage. Das neue Litauen. 1. Jahrg. Berlin 1917. Nr. 6. S. 22.

7) Prof. Dr. Bezzenberger. Werdegang a. a. O. S. 18.

8) Litauische Ausgaben: Šlapelis. Wilna 1914. — M. Biržiška. Duonelaičio gyvenimas ir raštai (Leben und Schriften des Duonelaitis), 1921. — Auch Übersetzungen ins Polnische und Lettische liegen vor, vergl. E. Volteris, Litowskaja Chrestomatija, 2. Aufl. Petersburg 1904.

9) Biržiška, a. a. O. S. 39. — Prof. Maironis-Mačiulis, der Duonelaitis in seiner ersten Literaturvorlesung vor der Theol. Philos. Fakultät am 26. IX. 1923 behandelt, würdigt den Dichter mit folgenden Worten: „Mir scheint, dass das, was vor einhundert und zweihundert Jahren wirklich schön, formvollendet und dichterisch war, auch heute noch nicht seine Schönheit verloren hat". (Naujoji Romuva, Jahrg. 1932, S. 818). Vergl. ferner von demselben Autor: Kristijonas Duonelaitis. Ebenda S. 820—822, 845—848 und S. 868. (Unveröffentlichte Vorlesungen, gehalten an der Litauischen Universität.)

10) Dr. J. Puzinas. Vorgeschichtsforschung und Nationalbewusstsein in Litauen. Kaunas 1935. S. 11.

11) Ebenda. S. 13.

12) August Paulukat. Litauische Hoffnungen. Halle 1915. S. 10—11.

13) Die Proben sind entnommen A. Paulukat a. a. O. und Peter Cornelius: Die Sonette von Adam Mickiewicz. (Reclambücherei.) Vergl. ferner Schwab im „Deutschen Musenalmanach" 1833.

14) Biržiška a. a. O. S. 57.

15) Otto von Leixner. Geschichte der fremden Literaturen. Bd. 2. Leipzig 1883. S. 422.

16) Biržiška a. a. O. S. 59. — Deutsche Übertragungen von Mickiewicz: K. von Blankenburg. Sämmtliche Gedichte. 1836. Peter Cornelius. Die Sonette. Leipzig 1868. Weiss. Gražyna. Prag 1873. — Die Dichtung „Konrad Wallenrod" wurde in deutscher Sprache herausgegeben von Kannegiesser Leipzig 1834 und 1858, von Weiss, Bremen 1871, die Dichtung „Pan Tadeusz" von Spazier Leipzig 1826, von Weiss Leipzig 1882 und von Lipiner Leipzig 1883. — „Gesammelte Werke" Leipzig 1862—1869.

17) Eine kurze Darstellung mit Proben aus den Dichtungen jener Zeit gibt A. Ješmantas in dem Büchlein: Poška, Stanevičia, Valiūnas, Strazdas ir jų raštai. (Poška, St., Val., Str. und ihre Schriften.) Kaunas 1930. — Die Melodie des Biruteliedes habe ich in meinen „Kulturbildern aus Litauen" 1918 wiedergegeben.

18) Biržiška a. a. O. S. 70.

19) Einige Lieder aus dieser Sammlung habe ich in meinem volkskundlichen Buche „Hinter den Seen, hinter den Wäldern", Königsberg 1932, wiedergegeben.

20) XIX. amž. pradžios žemaičių sąjudis ir A. Strazdas (Die schamaitische Bewegung zu Beginn des 19. Jahrh. und A. Strazdas) von J. Petrulis. Monatszeitschrift Židinys. Jahrg. 1933, Bd. XVIII, S. 372—386.

21) Biržiška a. a. O. S. 73.

22) Ebenda S. 75. — Über die Bedeutung von Strazdas für den litauischen Kirchengesang schreibt Žilevičius in seinem Aufsatze „Aušra ir lietuviškoji muzika" (Die Aušra und die litauische Musik). Židinys, Jahrg. 1935, Bd. XXI, S. 286.

23) Vergl. hier Karge im Litauenbuch der X. Armee.

24) Zitiert nach Puzinas a. a. O. S. 26—27. Auf S. 21—27 würdigt der Autor die Persönlichkeit N.'s ausführlich, namentlich in seiner Bedeutung für die Archäologie.

25) Eine kurze Darstellung Chodzkos in deutscher Sprache findet sich im 2. Jahrg. Heft 6—7 der Zeitschrift „Litauen", 1917. Den Hintergrund seiner Erzählungen bildet die Stadt Vilnius (Die Ufer der Wilja, die Edelsitze auf dem Antokol u. s. w.). Seine dichterischen Arbeiten, Erzählungen, Sagen und Landschaftsschilderungen teilt er in zwei Gruppen, „Litauische Bilder" und „Litauische Sagen".

26) A. Paulukat, a. a. O. S. 36/38 und S. 42.

27) Biržiška a. a. O.

28) In der Einleitung zur zweiten Auflage der polnischen Grammatik des um die Volksbildung sehr verdienten suwalkischen Pfarrers Totoraitis schreibt der Herausgeber: „Bei aller Schönheit der litauischen Sprache kann man doch nicht in ihr über alles so sprechen und schreiben wie in der polnischen". Dann folgt die Warnung: „Vergesst nicht eure angeborne geliebte Sprache, und schämt euch ihrer nicht, wie mancher von euch tut, der fast nicht eingestehen will, dass er litauisch zu sprechen vermag, und wacht mit ganzem Herzen über der litauischen Sprache, in welcher ihr einen sehr teuren Schatz findet, das heisst eine schöne Wissenschaft und allerlei nützliche Kenntnisse." (1861). Biržiška, a. a. O. S. 105.

29) Palangos Juzė (Josef aus Palanga). 5. verbesserte Auflage, Vilniuje 1906, S. 33—34.

30) Dozent J. Tumas. Lietuvių literatūros draudžiamojo laiko paskaitos (Vorlesungen über die litauische Literatur zur Zeit des Druckverbotes). Kaunas 1925. S. 64 u. 65.

31) Einen guten Einblick in diese Periode gibt das umfangreiche zweibändige Sammelwerk von P. Ruseckas, Knygnešys (Die Bücherbringer), I. Bd. Kaunas 1926, II. Bd. 1928, welches zahlreiche Erinnerungen und Aufzeichnungen dieser Männer selbst enthält, daneben reichhaltige Literaturangaben. Auch sonst ist diese Periode in der litauischen Literatur vielfach behandelt worden.

32) Berechnungen des litauischen Bibliographen Baltromaitis.

33) Vergl. hierzu Eduard Hermann. Die litauische Gemeinsprache als Problem der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft. Göttin-

gen 1929. S. 103: „Ich habe mir von manchem älteren Litauer erzählen lassen, wie sie als Schüler die Zeitschriften, deren Einfuhr nach Russland verboten war, und die sie daher nur heimlich lesen durften, geradezu verschlangen, und wie so der nationale Gedanke die Jugend begeisterte. Durch diese Zeitschriften lernten viele erst litauisch. Die Aufsätze wurden, weil wenige Exemplare vorhanden waren, oft den Freunden laut vorgelesen."

34) Vergl. für diese Frage: P. Jonikis, Apie Aušros rašomąją kalbą. (Über die Schriftsprache der Aušra), Monatszeitschrift Vairas, V. Jahrg. 1933, Nr. 12, S. 418, wo auch weitere Literatur angegeben wird, ferner das schon erwähnte Werk Hermanns (Anm. 33) in den Abh. d. königl. Ges. d. Wiss. Phil.-Hist. Kl. Heft 1.

35) J. Ambrazevičius. Gabrielė Petkevičaitė-Bitė. Židinys. Jahrg. 1931, Nr. 4. S. 354—364.

36) Liudas Gira. Dvi seserys Ivanauskaitės (Zwei Schwestern Ivanauskaitė). Židinys, Jahrg. 1929, Nr. 4, S. 313. — Zur Lebensgeschichte Sofijas vergl. ferner den Aufsatz von J. Ambrazevičius, Sofijos Pšibilauskienės biografijai (Zur Lebensgeschichte von S. P.). Židinys. Jahrg. 1936, Bd. XXIV, Nr. 12 und Jahrg. 1937, Bd. XXV, Nr. 2.

37) V. Bičiūnas, A. A. Sofija Pšybilauskienė-Lazdynų Pelėda. Židinys. Jahrg. 1926, Bd. III, Nr. 3, S. 148.

38) Abgedruckt im „Litauenbuch der X. Armee", S. 164—171.

39) Eine eingehende kritische literarische Untersuchung dieser Erzählung gibt J. Ambrazevičius in seinem Aufsatze „Šatrijos Raganos „Irkos tragedija" (Šatrijos Ragana „Irkas Tragödie"). Židinys. Jahrg. 1931, Bd. XIII, Nr. 1, S. 27—36.

40) Schriften Bd. II, S. 5. Vergl. hierzu Vairas, III. Jahrg. S. 486.

41) Horst Engert. Metrische Studien zu Gedichten von Maironis. Darbai ir dienos, Bd. IV. Kaunas 1936. — Engert untersucht vor allem die Bedeutung der sogenannten „Nebentöne" der Maironis'schen Lyrik und stellt weiterhin fest, dass der Versbau in diesen Dichtungen auf dem rein wägenden Prinzip (im Gegensatz zum messenden) aufgebaut ist.

42) Die Literatur über Maironis ist sehr beträchtlich. Abgesehen von den umfangreichen Literaturgeschichten wird sein Schaffen vor allem in folgenden Schriften und Aufsätzen behandelt: Doz. J. Tumas, Jonas Maironis-Mačiulis (Vorlesungen über litauische

Literatur). Ges. Schriften, Bd. IV und XIX. Ambrazevičius, Maironio lyrikos sociologija (Soziologie d. Lyrik M's) Zeitschrift Židinys, Jahrg. 1932, Nr. 8/9. Derselbe: Maironio vieta lietuvių religinej literatūroje (Die Stellung M's in der litauischen religiösen Literatur). Židinys, Jahrg. 1933, Nr. 4. V. Mykolaitis. Visuomenės Maironio kūrybos pagrindas (Die gesellschaftliche Grundlage der Schöpfungen M's). Zeitschrift Kultūra, Jahrg. 1932, Nr. 8/9. In deutscher Sprache erschien ein kurzer Aufsatz über M. in der „Ztg. d. X. Armee", Nr. 276 vom Jahre 1917. Vergl. ferner Horst Engert. Aus litauischer Dichtung. Deutsche Nachdichtungen. Kaunas 1935. 2. Aufl. 1938.

SECHSTES KAPITEL

1) Vergl. hierzu den Aufsatz von Mykolaitis-Putinas „Naujosios lietuvių literatūros angoje" (An der Schwelle der neuesten litauischen Literatur) in seinem 1937 erschienenen Buche Literatūros etiudai (Literaturstudien), S. 86—104. Ferner Korsakas Radžvilas. Straipsniai apie literatūrą (Aufsätze über Literatur), Kaunas 1932, u. ders. Kritika. Kaunas 1936.

2) Faustas Kirša. Trys rašytojų kartos mūsų dailioje literatūroje (Drei Schriftstellergenerationen in unserer schönen Literatur). Monatszeitschrift Vairas. 1. Jahrg. 1929, Nr. 2. S. 152—159.

3) Zigmantas Kuzmickis. Lietuvių literatūra (Die litauische Literatur). Bd. V. Kaunas 1934. S. 131.

4) Schriften Bd. IX, S. 113.

5) Vergl. hier die Einleitung von Mykolaitis-Putinas zu Bd. X der Schriften. Kaunas 1929, S. 17.

6) Ebenda S. 13—14.

7) Schriften Bd. X.

8) Kuzmickis a. a. O. Bd. V. S. 112.

9) Von den philosophisch-theosophischen Werken Vydūnas' seien genannt: Mirtis ir kas toliau? (Der Tod und was dann?) — Slėpiningoji žmogaus didybė (Die geheimnisvolle Hoheit des Menschen). — Žmonijos kelias (Der Weg der Menschheit) u. a. — In Deutschland bekannt wurde sein 1916 erschienenes Buch „Litauen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart". Der Erlernung der

litauischen Sprache dienen die beiden Veröffentlichungen „Deutsch-litauischer Wortschatz" 1916 und „Führer zur Erlernung der Anfangsgründe der litauischen Sprache" 1924. In diesen kleinen Lehrbüchern wendet Vydūnas eine eigene Schreibweise an, die sich von der offiziell vorgeschriebenen unterscheidet.

10) Dr. G. Wirschubski. Die Entwicklung der litauischen Literatur. Zeitschrift Osteuropa. Juni 1929.

11) A. Vaičiulaitis. Natūralizmas ir lietuvių literatūra. Kaunas 1936. S. 88.

12) Kuzmickis a. a. O. Bd. V. S. 260.

13) Der litauische Staat vergibt seit 1935 regelmässig einen Geldpreis für das literarisch wertvollste Werk des Jahres, eine Massnahme von nicht zu unterschätzender Bedeutung, da in einem kleinen Volke literarische Werke günstigenfalls eine Auflage von wenigen tausend Exemplaren erleben.

14) Der erste Akt ist abgedruckt bei Horst Engert. Aus litauischer Dichtung. Kaunas 1935. S. 77—104 (Deutsche Nachdichtungen).

15) Ebenda S. 65 und 67.

16) Vergl. etwa Grinius. Putino „Altorių šešėlyj". (Putinas. Im Schatten der Altäre). Zeitschrift Židinys, Jahrg. 1933, Bd. XVII, S. 46—53. (Über die ersten beiden Bände.) Weiter: K. Korsakas. Kritika (Kritik), daraus das Kapitel „Kunigas Liudas Vasaris literatūroje ir visuomenėj" (Der Pfarrer L. V. in der Literatur und der Öffentlichkeit). S. 69—159.

17) Bd. I. S. 351—358.

18) Bei Abschluss dieses Buches lag das Werk in Buchform noch nicht vor.

19) Erwähnt seien etwa Dainavos krašto liaudies dainos (Die Volkslieder des Landes Dainava), 1924. — Sparnuočiai liaudies padavimuose (Die Flügelwesen in den Volksüberlieferungen), 1933. — Aitvaras liaudies padavimuose (Der Aitvaras in den Volksüberlieferungen), 1933. — Dzūkų poringės. (Volkserzählungen der Dzuken) u. a. m.

20) Vergl. hierzu Krėvės wissenschaftliche Forschungen über Šarūnas, abgedruckt in Mūsų tautosaka (Unsere Volksdichtung) Bd. I. S. 90—123.

21) Vierteljahreszeitschrift Varpas, Jahrg. 1932, Nr. 3, S. 214/215.

VOM GLEICHEN VERFASSER SIND ERSCHIENEN:

Kulturbilder aus Litauen. Ein Beitrag zur Erkenntnis des litauischen Volkstums. Verlag Fritz Würtz, Berlin-Leipzig-Riga 1918. 3. Tausend. 3,— M. Vergriffen.

Alt-Litauen. Eine Darstellung von Land und Leuten, Sitten und Gebräuchen. Berlin 1926. 2. Tausend. Geh. 4,75 M., gebunden 6,25 M. Vergriffen.

Hinter den Seen, hinter den Wäldern. Bilder litauischen Volkstums. Königsberg 1932. 2. Tausend. Kart. 3,75 M. Vergriffen.

IN VORBEREITUNG:

Litauischer Liederschrein. Volkslieder in deutschen Übertragungen und Nachdichtungen.

THE LITHUANIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

131 /3/The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic is situated in the western part of the S.S.S.R.

The territory of the Lithuanian S.S.R. constitutes 65,200 square kilometers. In the south it borders on the Polish Democratic Republic. Inside the Soviet Union Lithuania's neighbors are: in the north, the Latvian S.S.R.; in the west and the southwest, the Kaliningrad Oblast', R.S.F.S.R. The northwestern part of the Lithuanian S.S.R. occupies the coast of the Baltic Sea.

133 The surface of the Lithuanian lands presents a hilly plain, cut through by rows of elevations, lakes, swamps, and woods. There are up to 1,743 lakes in the country. The majority of these are situated in the south. The most cut-up section of the district is found in the seacoast province, which stretches form the southwest to the northeast. The elevations in the west reach from 175 to 200 meters. This is the so-called Zhemaitis* elevation, or the

*Editor's Note--Names which did not occur in English reference books available to me occur in a form transliterated from Russia and are marked with an asterisk.

Telshiai Mountains.

In the area of the lower Nemunas there is a valley that merges into a similar valley along the lower course of the Neris (Viliya) and the Nevezys rivers. A strip of valley from 20 to 25 kilometers wide extends along the Baltic seacoast which forms in the south the shallow Kurshiu Marios (Courland Spit). The landscape in the east and in the south of the Republic is extremely varied. "Hills beyond hills, and beyond those-little hillocks,"- thus the poet Baranauskas describes his native land. /4/ In Sarasay mountains and hillocks are surrounded by woods, and they look into the lakes as if admiring themselves. Dzukiya competes for beauty with the Sarasay country. The same hills and woods are scattered amoung fields and lake islands, like rich nosegays. Here is the largest number of lakes.

133 529 Zhemaitya* (Zhmud*) is beautiful, with its forests, the largest in Lithuania, and its Shatriya* and Medvagalis* mountain, steeped in legends. Zhemaitiya* ends at the Baltic Sea, with the ports of Klaipeda and Shventoiji, and with the sea resorts Palanga, Smelta, Yodkranta*, and Nida, which are known far beyond the Republic's frontiers. Palanga, with its pine woods and snow-white sand dunes is one of the finest resorts on the Baltic shore.

133 Neringa* presents a remarkable natural wonder. It is a long strip of earth stretching several tens of kilometers to the south, separating the Baltic Sea from Kurshiu Marios (Courland Spit). It is covered in places by young woodland or low pines, and in some places magnificent sand dunes rise, which around the hamlet of Nida are the highest in Europe. Lithuania's largest river is the Nemunas (Neman). It is navigable from the Alytus. Its most important tributaries inside Lithuania are the Neris (which in turn has its tributaries Shventoiya* and Nevezys), and also the Dubysa and the Sheshupe.

The lowest parts of Lithuania are swampy. There are especially many swamps in the Siauliai area and to the west from the middle of the Nemunas.

137 Wooded surface comprised before the Second World War, 19 percent of the whole Republic. About two-thirds of the woods are coniferous, and about one-third is deciduous. Among the coniferous varieties fir trees and pines predominate. Among the deciduous varieties the ash, the birch, the aspen, and, less often, the alder and oak predominate. The meadows are covered with dense, mellow grass. The natural pastures, and also fodder grass, are the basis for the development of animal husbandry.

132 Owing to the proximity of the sea, the climate is damp and mild. There are no severe winters and no dry winds. The average annual temperature is from plus 6.5° to 7° C.; the average temperature in /5/ January is from minus 2.5° to minus 4.7°; in July it is from plus 17° to 18.6°.

162 The population of Soviet Lithuania (according to the statistics of 1940) is 3,150,000. The bulk of the population consists of Lithuanians (80 per cent). In addition there are Russians, Poles, White Russians, Jews, and Latvians.

631 Administratively Soviet Lithuania is divided into 41 uyezds, 320 volosts, and 2,774 apilinks (selsoviets).

361 The capital of the Republic is Vilnius. The city of Vilnius was founded in the tenth century and has been the capital since 1323. It is situated at the junction of the rivers Vilnele (Vileika) and Neris, on the shores of both rivers.

The largest cities of the Republic are Kaunas, Klaipeda, Siauliai, Paniveshis.

135 In the Republic there are rich resources in water power, of peat and mineral construction material.

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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LITHUANIAN FOLK ART

by

JURGIS BALTRUŠAITIS · PH · D

256 ILLUSTRATIONS

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LITHUANIA · COUNTRY AND NATION III

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CONTENTS

Introduction 9000

Architecture 14

Crosses and Chapels 36

Sculpture 54

Painting and Engraving 62

Domestic Art 68

Bibliography 79

List of Illustrations 80

Illustrations 81

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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Drawings by A. Jaroševičius, E. Krasauskas, A. Rakštelė (from „Lietuvių Liaudies Menas" by P. Galaunė) and F. Wittlinger

p. 8

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These books (see inside wrapper) have been published under extremely difficult conditions, the rich materials for illustrations and texts being inaccessible behind the Iron Curtain. The only materials available were some photographs, newspaper-cuttings etc. The technical difficulties in present-day Germany as to blocks, colours, paper and printing prevented the Editor from realising his aims. The Editor shall feel grateful if the Reader will kindly overlook the unavoidable deficiencies. He expresses his sincere thanks to Dr. J. Baltrušaitis for the trust he placed in him in connexion with publication

1.—3.000

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1 [Errata: Should be overlook cf. Errata sheet, p. 204 Cat 116. --- Analyst]

p. 6 [pages 1-5 and blank]

10:Baltrušaitis R44,5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

INTRODUCTION

The history of a European country and the life of her people's tradition do not follow a uniform course. On one hand there is a succession of eras, a succession of styles and fashions, on the other hand, there is stability uninfluenced by events. On the one hand there is precipitancy and haste, and on the other hand slow and regular development. Evolution has two rhythms. It is not a question of different levels or of unequal values. These are the two faces of the same civilisation. These two so very distinct parts however, are not without reciprocal action. Historic currents leave their traces on the permanent foundation and deposit their sediment there. Under its influence this foundation begins its course of evolution. It models itself under the influence of these alluvial deposits in the same way as does a river's bed. Human geology is composed of a number of strata. The ties

* [Errata: Should be on the one hand. C.f. Errata Sheet, P204, CAT. 116--- Analyst]

OOO between the surface and the underground layers change according to surroundings, background and era. Sometimes they tighten, at other times they have no balanced relationship. They seldom coalesce. Each stratum has its own measure of motion and time.

[101] 175 [72] A branch of the Indo-European family which to-day speaks one of Europe's oldest languages, the Lithuanians, settled away from the great travelled routes, were spared for a long period from revolutionary changes. The Iron Age was prolonged until the 12th century of our era. For all that, it was not an archaic culture. The objects found in graves are of an advanced type. Textile industry, metal objects, ceramics, fortifications are testimony of a clearly defined social structure and a political organization. According to the Ancients these populations were industrious and peaceful and devoted to a rustic life. The road of amber[1] from the deposits along the banks of their rivers, connected them with the Mediterranean world Gradually exchanges became more frequent. The pressure of the Goths did not directly affect these homes, but nevertheless, its repercussions were felt. In the period of migration the frontiers and the interior positions became more precise. The first strongholds called *"piliakalniai"* — were erected at strategic points. Soon Scandinavians and Russians appeared upon the scene. King Olaf of Sweden attacked the city of Apulia, — the Apuolé of to-day — Kiev menaced the people of Nemunas (Niemen), but later became a goal of Lithuanian conquests. In the West, Rimbert, a monk of Corbie, was one of the first in the IXth century to report on a township called Apuolé.

These different movements did not destroy the unity of development, but on the contrary strengthened it. Subsistence of faiths and practices continued. Entrance into history proper did not put an end to their existence. It was not a rupture, but a new phase. The prehistoric gods were not dead. For a long period adoration of the forces of nature, the stars, the thunder and all the genii of field and forest persisted. Princes were baptized in the 13th and 14th centuries, but the people's religion remained unimpaired. Penetrating the country, Christianity had to face the local myths. Frequently it mixed with them: Christ and *"Perkúnas"*, the Thunderer, had the same worshippers. It was the same favor which was transferred from the one to the other. This fidelity did not mean retrogression. Lithuania had her historic mission. She marks the limit of the barbarian

1 [Errata: Should be The Amber-road. Cf. Errata Sheet, p. 204, cat. 116 — Analyst]

invasion; she is the principal obstacle against Teutonic hegemony. In 1239 Mindaugas had taken possession of Smolensk. He consolidated his positions in the South-East and dared to oppose the Order of Chivalry which was already master of Courland and East Prussia. In order to disarm his enemies he became a convert in 1251. The knights accompanied by the Bishop of Culm, brought him the grand ducal crown. But only a short time later the struggle was resumed and Mindaugas relapsed to his old faith.

The country was invaded. Gediminas freed it in 1320. But this striking success gave rise to new dangers. A coalition was forming against the victorious Lithuanians; Germans, French, Spaniards, Czechs and Danes prepared to attack the pagans. But at that moment the *"kunigaikštis"*, the Grand Duke had himself baptized. Secure in the North he turned again to the South East towards Kiev, thus laying the foundation of the Lithuanian empire. In 1341 he was killed by the knights of the Teutonic Order. After a period of troubles his two sons, Algirdas and Keistutis, divided the power between themselves. Under the reign of Keistutis' son, Vytautas the Great, Lithuania reached the apex of power. By the Treaty of Vilnius (Vilna) in 1401, Vytautas was recognized as Grand Duke. Within a few years he re-established and enlarged the empire, which now stretched from the Black Sea to the Baltic. A Lithuanian governor was established in Kiev. Lithuanian strongholds were erected along the course of the Dnieper and the Bug protecting the route from Palanga to Odessa. The Grand Duke intervened even in the elections of the Khans of Tartary. In Vilnius he played the part of a great European sovereign. In 1410, allied with the Poles, the Lithuanians crushed the Teutonic Order of Knighthood at Tannenberg and the Order never recovered from this defeat.

In the course of the 15th century the relations with Poland became still more close. A number of alliances were negotiated, which culminated in the Treaty of Lublin. The Grand Duke Jagellon married Queen Hedwig[1] of Anjou. The two countries were united under the same sceptre, but each of them retained its government and its institutions. In 1569 the union of the two states was realized. Lithuania preserved an autonomous administration, but from that date on she shared the fate of her neighbour. The Grand Duchy is still to be found on some maps of the 18th century, but after the successive division[2] of Poland, it fell into the hands of the Russians.

[1] [Errata: should be the Polish Queen Hedwig. Cf. Errata Sheet, p. 204, cat. 116 --- Analyst]

[2] [Errata: should be successive divisions. Cf. Errata Sheet, p. 204, cat. 116 --- Analyst]

175 During this period the social conflicts rooted in the past gradually grew more serious. The mass of the peasantry and the provincial nobility separated from each other and became two antagonistic worlds. The one became absorbed in itself and remained true to its secular traditions. The other, influenced by Poland, endeavoured to take an ever increasing part in the intellectual life of the West.

Under Russian domination an era of decay began, which was marked by revolts, repressions and disasters. The Great Army appeared as a liberator, and Napoleon proclaimed the independence of the country from Vilnius. Lithuanian regiments joined his troops. But this was only an episode of the struggle. Further insurrections took place in 1831 and 1863. They were followed by deportations to Siberia and a mass emigration to the United States. More than a million, one third of the Lithuanians, found shelter and a new home in the latter country. The treasures of art which were collected by the nobility were dispersed and destroyed. In 1865 a decree was issued prohibiting publications in the Lithuanian language. Centres of resistance however were successfully established in the Russian universities, as also in Königsberg, in London and in America. Students and smugglers clandestinely introduced prohibited books, periodicals and calendars. Theatrical performances were held in barns. The folklore, the ancient folk songs served as a rallying sign. But it was only after World War I, after having suffered a long German occupation, that the country recovered its independence. Twenty years of fervent and pious work showed what a small but free nation is able to accomplish. The country was happy at last, -- World War II destroyed this. Renewed occupations and deportations, a new exodus, destruction by fire and iron, subjugation by neighbouring nations succeeded one another without interruption. Few peoples have had so tragic a fate, even in war-ravaged Europe. But Lithuania will not be subdued. She believes in the power of justice.

000 Such is the outline of the history of Lithuania. All through the tempest of the ages the people continued to perform its tasks. But it did not remain insensible to the vicissitudes of the changing eras. New forms of life are grafted on secular traditions. Sun and thunder worship gives way to medieval Christianity, but still survives in the *"dainos"*. The currents of Western art succeed each other and leave deep traces. Contacts with

1 [Errata: should be country at. Cf. Errata sheet p. 204, cat. 116. --- Analyst]

sometimes far off centres enrich the technique. But on the permanent background of traditional culture, the new elements are themselves transformed. Values undergo chronological changes and their foundations are reconstructed.

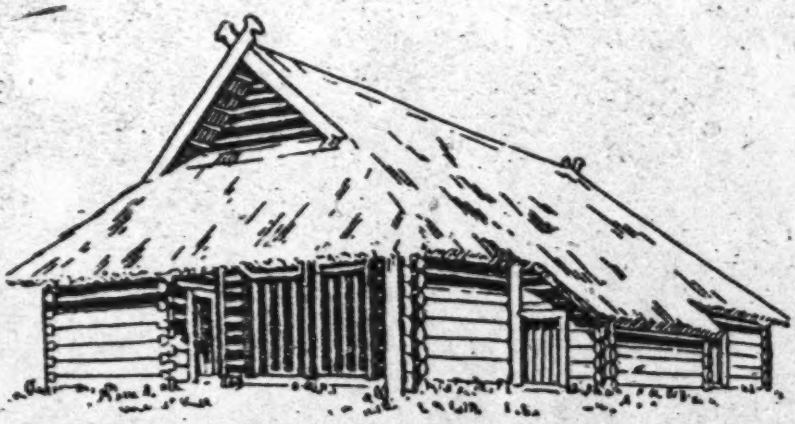
Such is the eternal play of these two opposing forces: stability versus motion.

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

ARCHITECTURE

342 In all forest-clad countries the dwellings of the peasants resemble each other. The most usual type is the low-walled cabin, built of logs under a roof sloping towards the front and the back. This shape is familiar in three quarters of Europe, but Lithuania preserves very ancient patterns of it. The simplest form of such buildings consists of one room. They stand on four cornerstones or poles. They are mentioned in certain documents of the 16th century, but the tradition goes still further back to prehistoric buildings. The timber framing is fitted together without the aid of metal parts, by joggle joints — *"raktas"*, — or by a central key way cut in the beam with dents, *"iškarpa"*. The house has only two openings, a door and one attic window. The roof is protected by a thick layer of straw. Inside, a hearth, a bed, a chest, a table and few seats

342

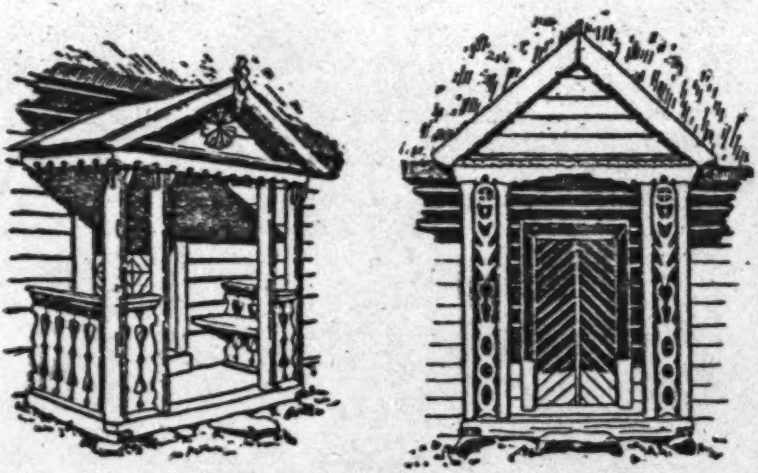


1. "Numas" of Žemaičiai

Inside, a hearth, a bed, a chest, a table and a few seats [352]
constitute the modest fittings of a Spartan way of living. Such was without doubt the Black House, black with smoke and soot, mentioned by Caspar Hannenberger in 1595, and the houses built on the rectilinear plan, traces of which have been discovered during excavations at Dukštas. Such was certainly the primitive Nordic cabin.

The twin system of dwelling was very often used and shows several variations. The first addition consists of a terrace. The arrangement of the interior was changed, the number of windows was increased. Sometimes the one room, was also divided by a partition, but the general lines of the plan were maintained. If other buildings were added this was done in the centre, in the direction of the reception hall. Sometimes it is only one wing, sometimes a real transept was built. A special type was evolved in Žemaitija (Lower Lithuania, Samogitia). If a family became wealthy it used to abandon its old home — which henceforward served as a barn — and to build a new and vaster dwelling, the *"numas"*, consisting of two equal parts: the stable and the human dwelling. As in Biblical times man and beast are sheltered under the same roof. The principal room is spacious and contains the hearth. Another room used to be built on the Southern side. It had no communication with the interior and served as a bedroom for the landlord and for young married couples. On the same side there

342



2.—3. Porches

was a large terrace where in summer the inhabitants could take their meals and sleep.

342 531 Decoration was generally scarce and usually limited to the front of the house. Perforated boards embellished the cornices, the cross beams and the window frames. They were cut in saw pattern or in a design of intersecting segments of a circle. They were decorated with rows of hearts and various other ornaments. Sometimes birds or other arimals[1] surrounding a vase were placed on both sides of the holy tree of the Orient, the "Hom", which is perfectly recognizable. The oculi are surrounded by rosaces. The bodies of the pillars were often decorated with spheres or tores placed one above the other. The balustrades imitated the carvings [777] on the rail posts. On the façade circular designs were often used. On the gable two intersecting branches representing horses or birds showed the ancient zoomorphic combinations we find so often in Romanesque sculpture. They were believed to protect the dwellers against ruin, disease and fires. According to legend, evil spirits flying over a village only entered dwellings which lacked this ornament on which they could perch and take breath.

1 [Errata: should be other animals. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, cat. 116. --- Analyst]

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

342
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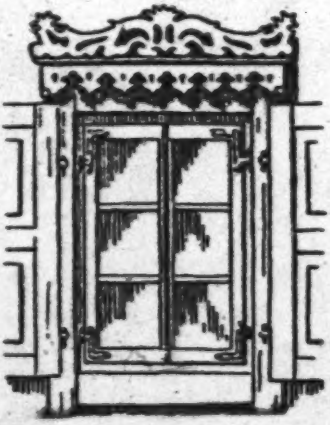
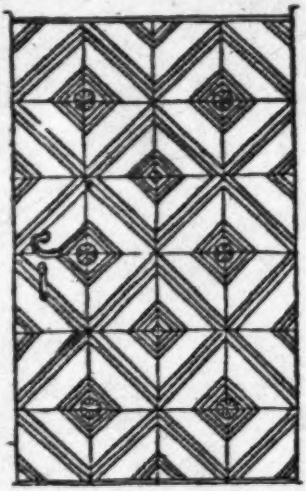
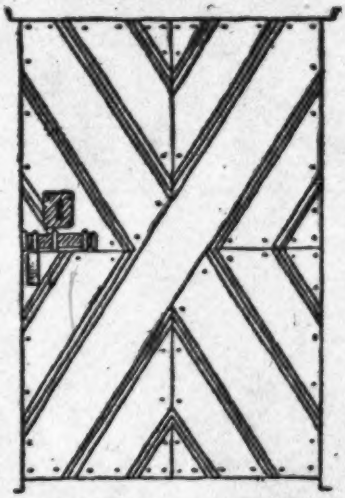






4.—7. Windows and Doors

8.—14. *Iron Door Mountings (cf. Chapter on Domestic Art)*

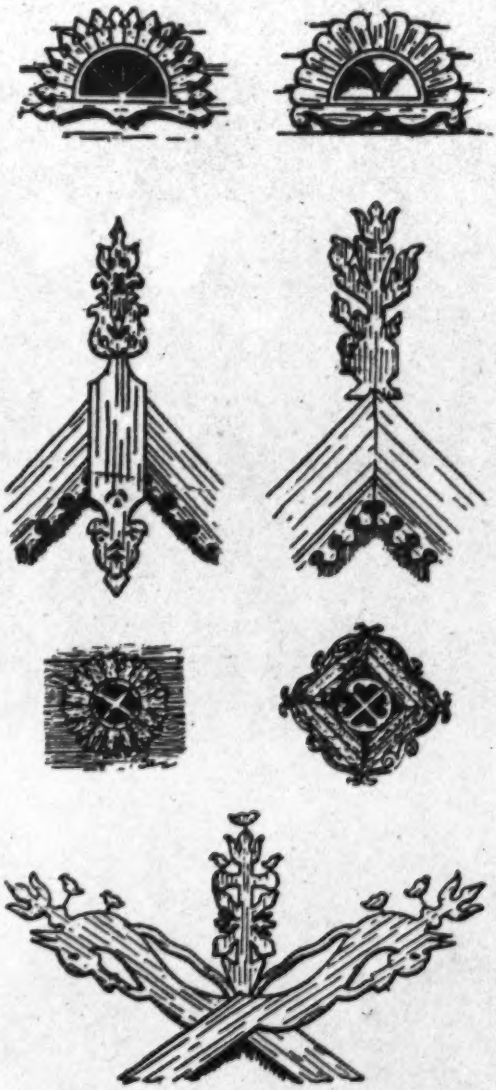
10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

342
531

Such were the simple dwellings in which the peasant still succeeded in improving his condition of life and in introducing some progress. All these designs repeat themselves with remarkable constancy through generations and they are also to be found in buildings adapted to modern requirements.

When it became necessary to enlarge the dwelling-house, the attached storehouse gave rise to interesting architectural developments. Such houses are called "*klétis*", a name derived from *kali* — wood in Sanscrit — compare with the Greek *kality* and the Celtic *kliath*, words more than a thousand years old.

The roof is extended on one side or projected over the gable and sup-



15.—21. Gable Ornaments and Windows

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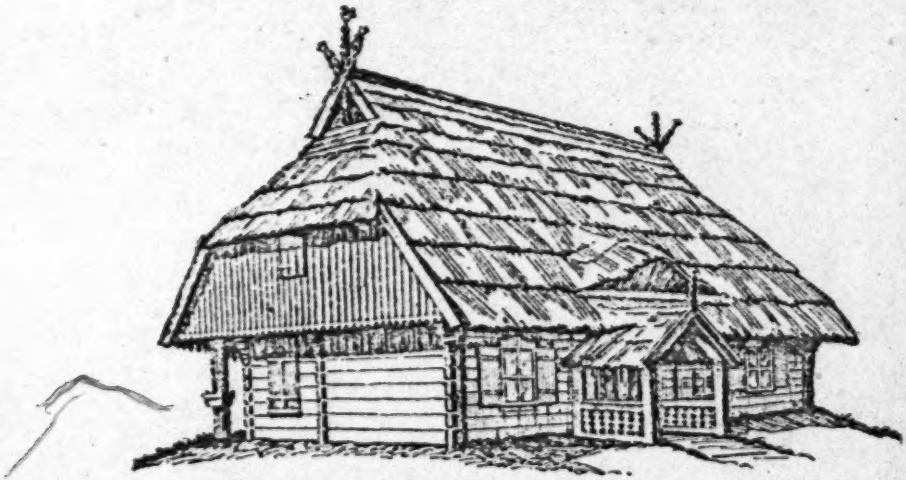
342

22. *Dwelling-House, District of Alytus*



23. *Dwelling-House, District of Stalupėnai (Stallupönen, Prussian Lithuania)*

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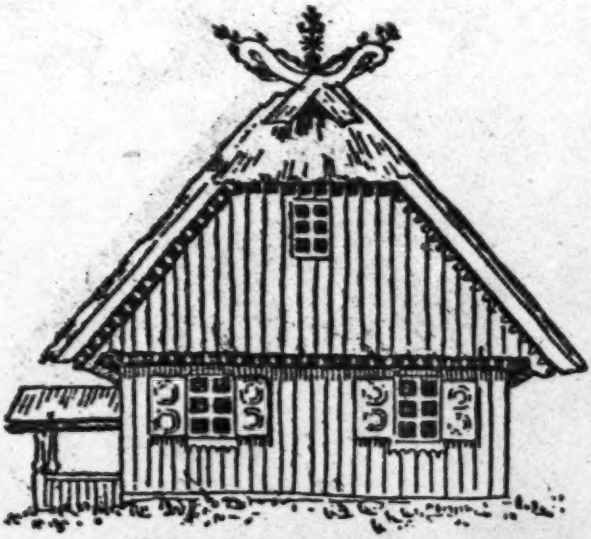
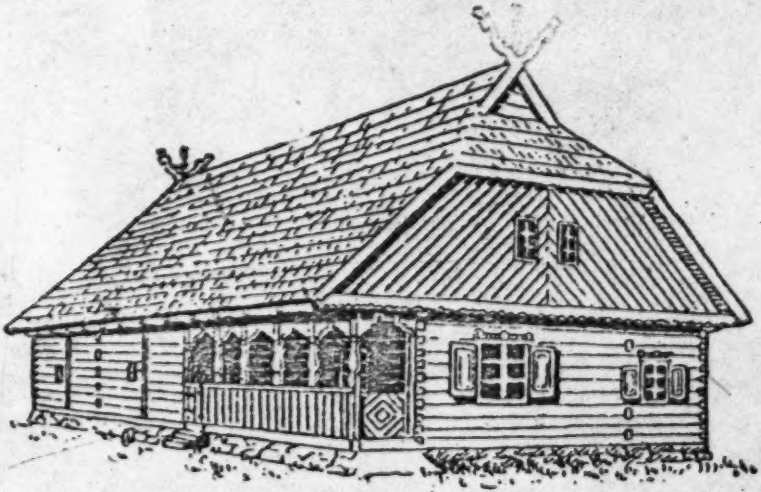
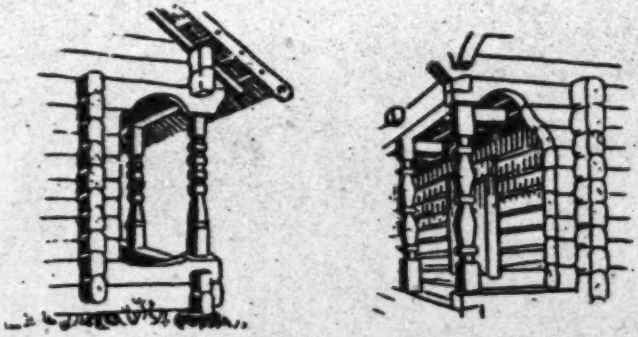


24. Fisherman's Dwelling at Nida (Nidden)



25. Dwelling-House, District of Pagėgiai (Pogegen)

342



26.—27. "Prieklétis" of the Storehouse

342 531 ported by two or four posts which form a kind a[1] pillar-borne frontal, "*prieklétis.*" The vertical section and plan resemble those of a small Greco-Roman prostyle. The *klétis* corresponds to the naos, the *prieklétis* to the pronaos. This is a wooden temple, Mr. Galaunė compared them with one. The proportions, the distribution of parts and the whole arrangement of the front are nearly identical. Horizontal branches supported by the pillars form the architrave, above which appears the frontal. The transversal beams, with their ends inserted in the entablature of the roof, bear some resemblance to triglyphs and metopes.

341 There can be no doubt that this architectural type, which originated in centres of human culture that had no contact whatever with Greece, is completely independent from classical buildings, but the absence of direct ties renders such coincidences all the more remarkable. Indeed they are of great interest for the investigation of the genesis of the ancient type of architecture. The principal factors which produced the Doric style are well known. Several trends are knotted together therein and form a homogenous order, but it is a Northern strain that seems to define its particular character. The triglyphes, the metopes, the steep roof as well as certain parts of the plan are due not to the technique of stone building, but to the timber-framing system hailing from the North. Unfortunately we can form nothing but hypotheses with regard to the pre-Hellenic huts of Thessalia and other regions which may have co-operated in their

1 [Errata: Should be Kind of. Cf. Errata Sheet, P. 204, Cat. 116--- Analyst]

28. "Klétis", Storehouse
District of Kedainiai

development. Only by way of comparison with later and frequently distant monuments, which nevertheless follow the same rudimentary procedure, is it possible to catch a glimpse of these initial elements. It was thought that the *klétis* might give the best idea of them. Similarity of material, of the very limited means and of constructive nercessities should give rise to similar forms. But the *klétis* is only a prototype which is apt to become more complicated. Sometimes the *prieklétis* is shifted to one of the lateral walls, in such a case the space is developed, not in depth but in breath as in certain oriental architectures. The most ancient known Syrian dwelling is built on the same plan. No doubt in this case, as in that of the temple, it is an accidental analogy, but this analogy deserves to be pointed out. Even when built in our time the *klétis* is sometimes filled with the smoky dust of yore.

341 [342]

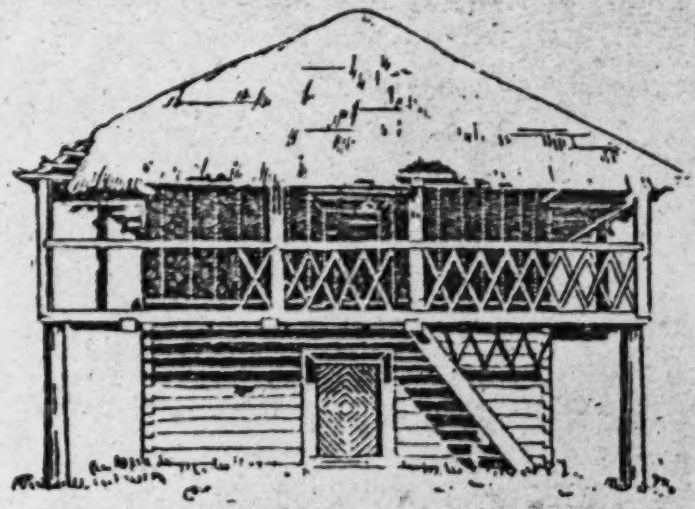
342

29. "Klétis", Storehouse
District of Biržai

[Errata: should be necessities. Cf. Errata sheet, p.204, cat. 116. --- Analyst]
[Errata: should be breadth. Cf. Errata sheet, p.204, cat. 116. --- Analyst]

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

342



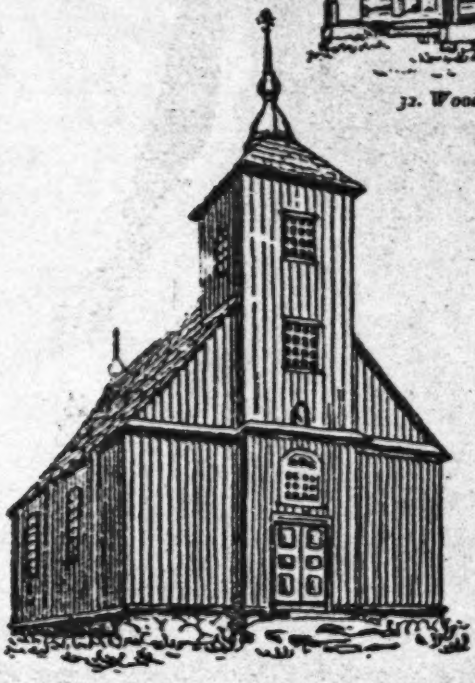
30.—31. "Klėtis", Storehouse, District of Biržai (above) and Vilnius

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

346

The architecture of the churches is linked to the same traditions. Since time immemorial wood was used to build them. The Cathedral of Vilnius was constructed in 1387 and was consecrated in that year. It was burnt down by the Teuton Knights.

32. Wooden Church at Rumšiškės



33. Wooden Church at Verpena

In 1390 Jagellon complained to the Pope of the destruction of the new wooden church by the Teuton Knights, who used the material to build a bridge across the Neris river. The cathedral was rebuilt, but it was again burnt down entirely in 1394. These sanctuaries of Christian Lithuania were often erected on the very spots formely occupied by ancient temples. According to the chronicles the first cathedral just

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

34. Wooden Church at Gruzdžiai

mentioned above, had been erected on the very spot of the altar on which the eternal fire used to burn.

> *"Principalem autem aram in loco ubi ignis qui falso perpetuus creditus est, accendebatur, constituit, ut error gentilis fieret cunctis patentior."*

Their construction and design certainly could not have differed much from that of the civilian buildings. As in the times of the first Christians, it was the private dwelling that at first received the new God. Up to the present the *klėtis* often serves as a church. When dedicated to the cult, the dwelling of the peasant was enlarged, its plan was extended, the roof was built higher, the windows became wider, but the general lines remained

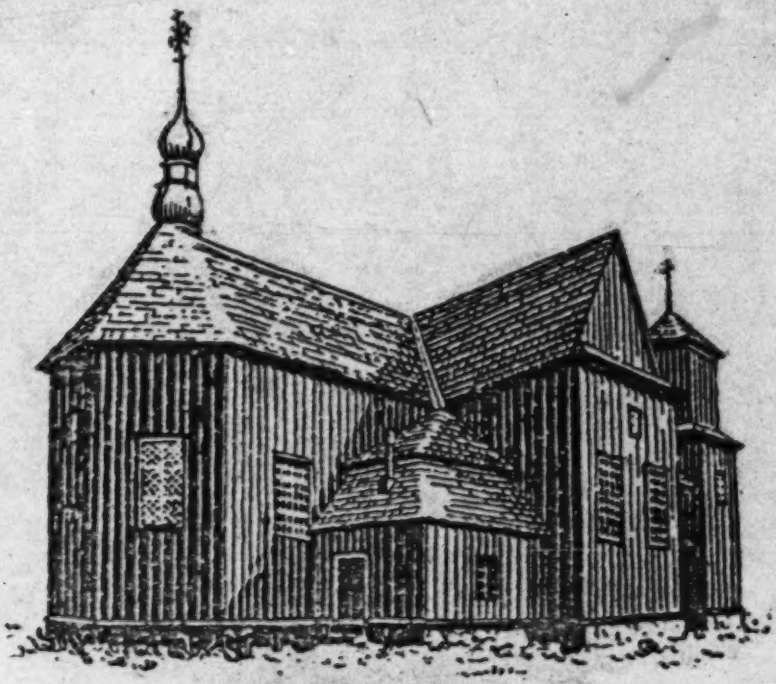
10:Baltrusaitis R-4,5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

15. Wooden Church at Salantai, 17th cent.

unchanged. The altar was separated from the nave by a simple railing and the *prieklėtis* then played the part of a direct porch. Where an apse was provided for it was either formed by a prolongation of the lateral walls, or it was narrower, of the usual dimensions only. In the interior the walls were painted in uniform color, the ceiling was often blue and strewn with gilded stars. The windows were sometimes decorated with multicolored panes of glass, a last reflection of the monumental Gothic church windows. On certain holidays the beams, the ceiling, the altar and the statues were overladen with garlands of flowers and foliage. Peasants' fairy plays were later acted in this adornment of plants and stars. The church in its Sunday splendor sparkles under its clothing of wood. [353]

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

346

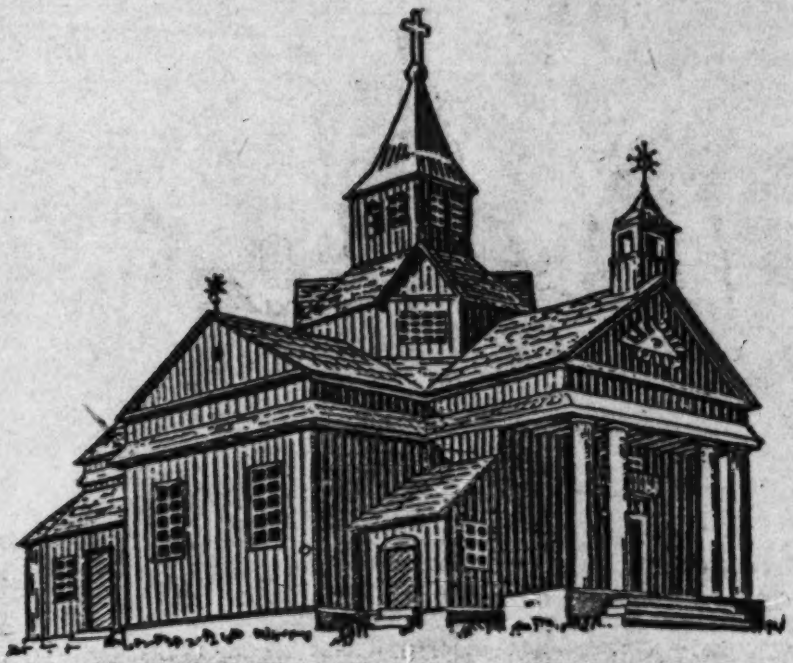


36. Wooden Church at Kedainiai, 18th cent.

The bell was sheltered in a small tower, situated at first on the churches. It was suspended under the porch or even in the vestry. But in most cases a separate building was erected for it. The steeple proper never constituted a part of the church, it developed independently. At Vabalninkas at Varéna long beams, supporting a double sloped roof replaced the steeple. In general however the construction was more complicated. The plan was sometimes a square and sometimes octagonal. There are innumerable variations, from a simple pyramid protected by a roof to the boldest scaffoldings, the stories of which seem to evolve from each other as from a magic box. At Vajasiškis the three stories, receding one above the other, constitute a kind of ziggurat. The tower frequently rose upon a pyramidal base which in certain cases formed the main part of the

1b:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

346



37. Wooden Church at Ukmergė

buildings. Its walls were perpendicular or inclined. The number of stories later increased. The divisions between them were marked off by cornices. The apertures were large and sometimes transformed into arcades.

Resting on their large bases with their solid and uniform fronts, these towers often give an impression of imposing weight, which one is astonished to find in a building erected of such light materials. They have the shape and the ruggedness of a military construction, it is a massive architecture without superfluous decorations. The types with slanting walls remind one of big windmills without wings. They have been compared with Ukrainian and Polish monuments, in particular with those of Galicia, where such church towers may have been developed from observation towers and defence keeps of ancient strongholds. Such rustic churches and steeples however could satisfy only small villages. Whenever a vaster

1 [Errata: should be however. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, cat. 116.--- Analyst]

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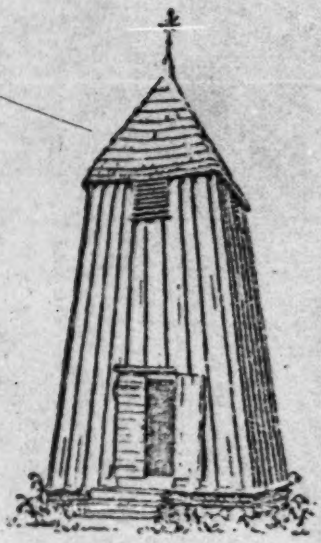
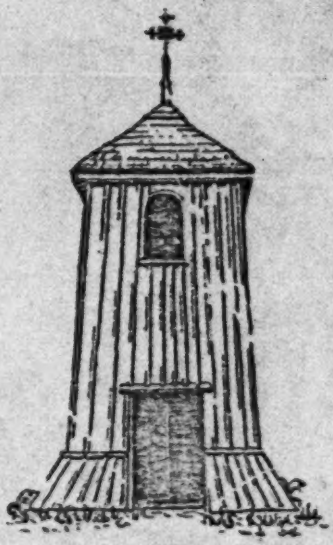


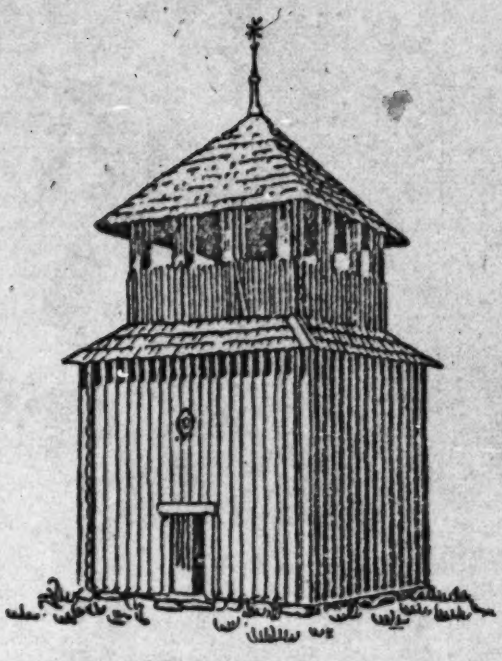
38. Bell-Tower at Varputėnai



39. Bell-Tower at Degučiai

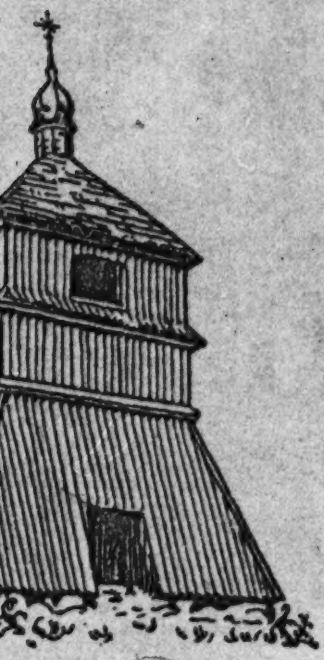
building was necessary the plans and vertical sections of Western monuments were adopted, such as those of the churches consisting of several naves or provided with a dome. But the cathedral conceived for an architecture in stone completely changed its aspect when built of wood. Often imported systems mingle with the local forms and the elements of a large church are then grafted upon the *klėtis*.

Small chapels were divided into three naves separated from each other by columns. Galleries were built on the sides of the aisles and towards the entrance. The number of vestries was increased, transepts appeared, a tower or two steeples were added to the front, the windows, though enlarged remained faithful to their primitive rectangular plan and only in some cases they were surmounted by a mitre-shaped arch. Being built of wood the edifice lost its habitual ornamentation. Buttresses and arcades were suppressed. Curves were completely banished and there was nothing left to attenuate an impression of nudity. All harmony was reduced to the proportions and equilibrium of the masses.



40. Bell-Tower at Pasvalis, 18th cent.

41. Bell-Tow



ver at Rozalimas, 18thcent.

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346

531

42.—44. Iron Heads of Crosses on Churches and Bell-Towers

346 They are formidable barns, the austerity of which reminds one of Cistercian architecture. The same may be said of the churches which reproduced classic models with marble panelings, colonnades and cornices. At Utena the entablature is replaced by a supplementary roofing running along the walls, as is to be seen on certain church towers. The dome is composed of an octagon with a roof supporting a small square turret, the lantern. The reduction of curves to straight lines gives the structure an air of particular solidity. No luxury, no clever distribution in which everything is calculated, in which every profile has been meditated, but only a frank and sober framework of timber. In the churches of the 17th and 18th centuries there are baroque bulbs on the roofs or on the towers, but such light designs only serve to accentuate the massiveness of the construction. The wood is not hidden behind a coating of stucco. Friezes and mouldings are replaced by simple boarding. The seafaring peoples of the North built their church to resemble the hull of a boat. In Lithuania they are the work of the wood chopper. Even if inspired by the mason the builder of huts will not renounce his craft. He will discover therein new possibilities and succeed in erecting buildings on a hitherto unusual scale. By suppressing such elements of construction and ornamentation which belong to monuments built of stone only, he will succeed in avoiding what is not genuine and only calculated to deceive the eye and in creating an art belonging to him alone.

45. Bell-Tower at Trylkiai, 18th cent.

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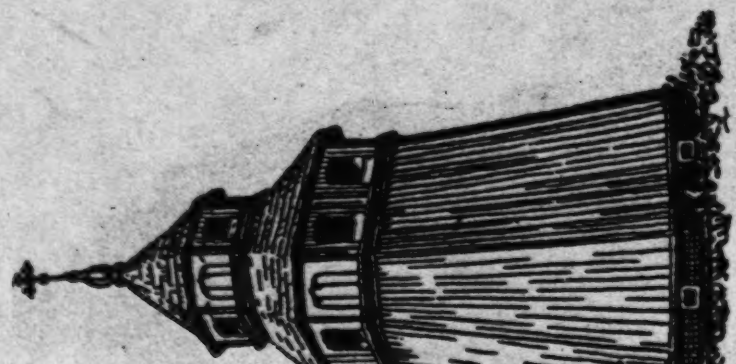

Bell-Tower at Saukland, 18th cent.

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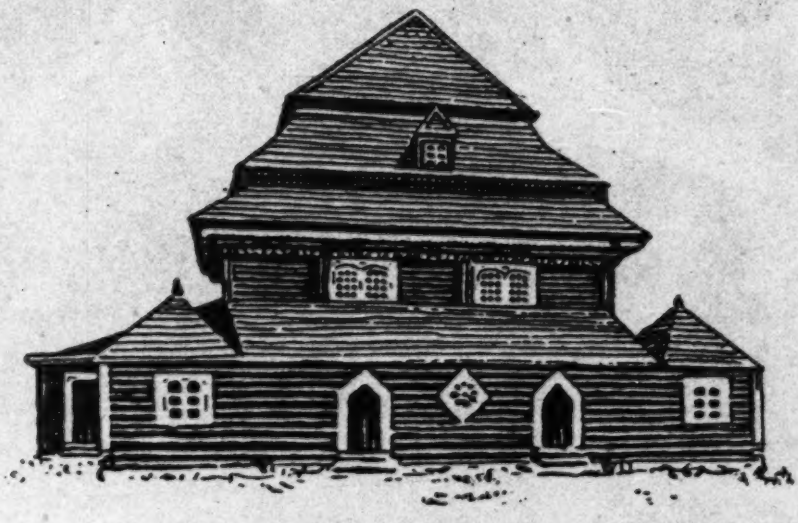

47. Synagogue at Valkininkai

The same dexterity in the handling of material may be seen in the synagogues. As early as 1388 Vytautas the Great granted to the Jews privileges that assured them liberty of worship. Article 14 of this decree protects their temples: "Whosoever throws something into a Jewish school — i. e. a synagogue — shall be fined two talents or two pounds of pepper." Such religious tolerance has become a matter of tradition.

The most ancient buildings which have been preserved go back to the 17th century. The rectangular buildings are surrounded by galleries and by numerous outbuildings. Towers are sometimes placed at the corners, but the whole complex is dominated by an enormous roof. This is above all an architecture of masses. The pyramidal masses crush the walls. They are multiplied and accumulated. At Vyžuoniai there are two and at Jurbarkas three. These phantastic superstructures are not infrequently many times higher than the wall of the front side. Between two roofings a second story is often built in. In most important synagogues a dome rises above this structure, which is covered also by a roof. At Šaukėnai the synagogue is built on an octagonal plan, at Valkininkai on

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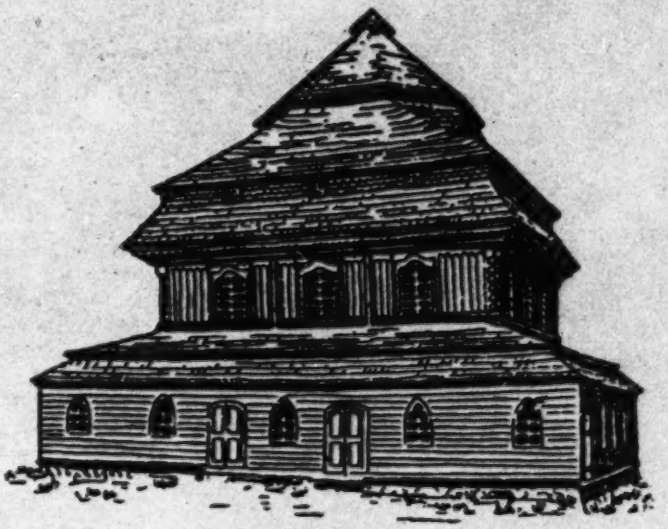
346



48. Synagogue at Saukénai

a square plan externally, but octagonal in the interior. The principle of a double plan, which is used in the East in the so-called encasing system, can be recognized here. With the exception of the dome however, architecture due to local builders seems to be linked with local tradition. This perhaps gives the most correct idea of what the vast mansions of the nobility were in the 17th and 18th centuries. According to documents they were very large buildings, often provided with cubic pavillons at the corners and with gigantic attics. By their dimensions and their construction they belong to the same series as the large churches and church towers. If the family of buildings of the *klétis* order is characterized by a rational economy of construction, we have here a superabundance of plastics and of bold effects in the proportions.

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

CROSSES AND CHAPELS

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But Lithuania is not only a country of wooden churches: she is particularly the land of crosses. Inseparable from the landscape their outlines follow the undulations of the fields and penetrate into the woods. They are placed along the roads, in the proximity of sources, on tombs, on *piliakalniai*, both in solitary and frequented places. According to legend you find one at every ten paces in Holy Žemaitija. At the cemetery of Vilnius they leave no room for a tree. Though they are originally funereal they are mostly votive offerings. They commemorate a birth, a baptism, the favorable issue of a lawsuit. They are planted in times of epidemics or of drought. They remind the peasant of the successes and misfortunes

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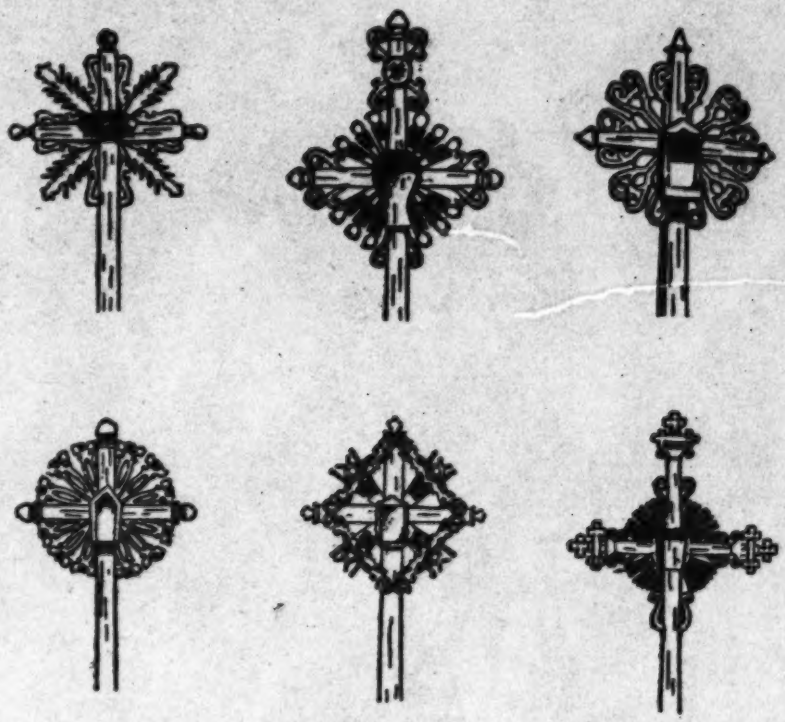

49.—54. Crosses

of his lifetime. Their consecration was celebrated by ancient rites and banquets, at which mead and beer flowed in streams. They often had nothing in common with a cross but the name and the clergy forbade their use. As early as 1426 the church proscribed them. It refused to bless them and had them removed from the neighbourhood of the chapels. Mr. Basanavičius has proved that the origin of these monuments lies far back in primitive beliefs. Trunks of trees, often rudimentary stems, were erected in prehistoric cemeteries. The archives of the churches at Insterburg testify to the custom followed by the Lithuanians up to the 17th century of placing on their tombs figures carved from boards, horses for men and birds for women. Up to the present day in the graveyards of

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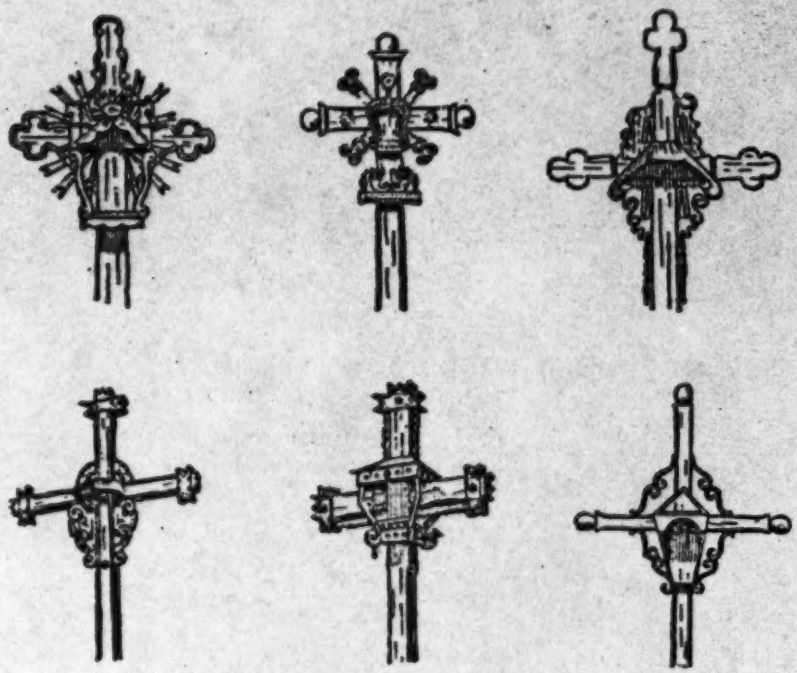

55.—60. Crosses

fishermen in the region of Klaipéda (Memel), one may come across toads and fantastically shaped animals carved in oak or in pinewood. They are placed not near the head, but at the feet of the dead. In these monsters cowering on the grave, there is no trace of Christian symbolism. Though their variety seems to be inexhaustible, — Mr. Varnas photographed more than 2000 crosses all differing one from the other — these crosses and steles may be divided into several groups. According to Mr. Galauné, the most ancient type is a simple tree trunk rudely squared. Similar funereal posts have also been found in Russia, in Finland and in Hungary. At their tops there is sometimes a small roof and sometimes a small niche. From these two archaic types stem two series of crosses: the "mushroom cross", crowned by a gable and the "lantern cross", consi-

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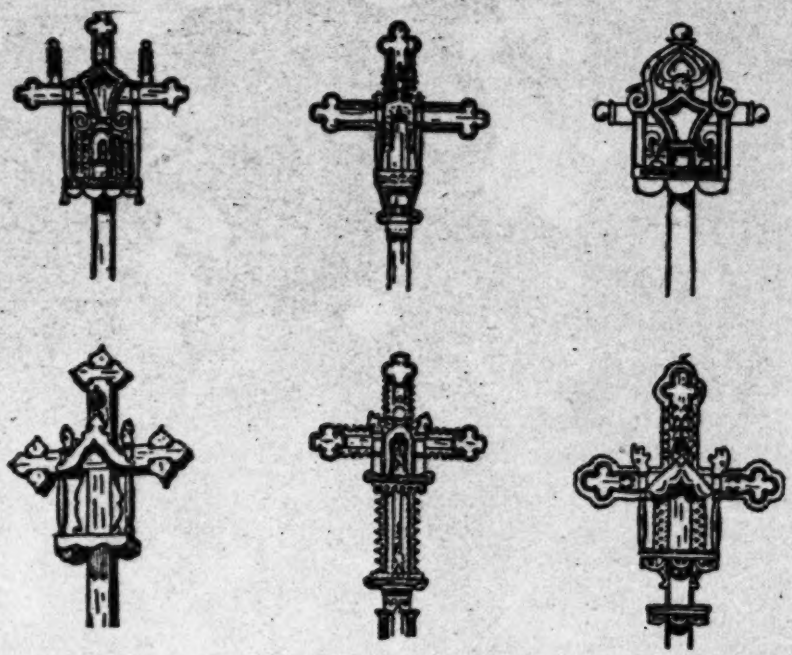

61.—66. Crosses

sting of a chapel supported by a pedestal. A third series comprises the crosses properly so called.

In these types of craftsmanship on a reduced scale, rather than in churches and dwelling-houses, the woodcutter gives his imagination free play to produce complicated forms. The roof of the "mushroom cross" is constantly renewed and reshaped as a cone or a pyramid, a star or a Greek cross. Cornices are suspended below it. It is supported by consoles or by twisted columns. They become reliquaries set on high posts. Sometimes a number of such erections are placed one above the other in the shape of strange pagodas. The "lantern type" goes through a similar evolution, small houses replace the ordinary roof, small *klétis*, the front of which is decorated with two columns, buildings in the shape of a cross or a polygone with spires or small central domes or rotundas. The walls are fre-

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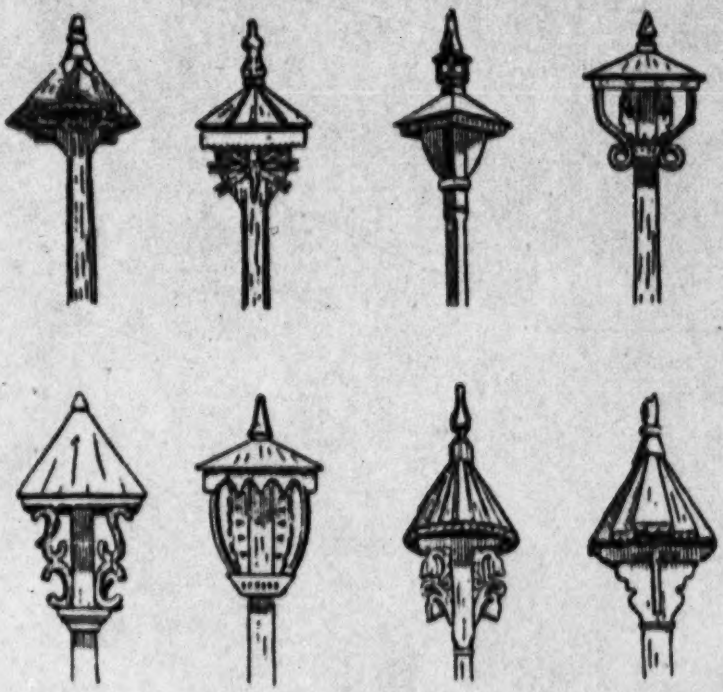

67.—74. Crosses

quently replaced by pillars. The chapel is often protected by trellis work, by jutty rooms, by openwork balustrades, so that the chapel itself seems to be nearly submerged under the weight of this light burden. It is an architecture of fairy tales and toys.

But it is the third group, that of crosses proper, that is the fittest object of such goldsmith's work in boards. It may be combined with the "lanterns", and then the chapel is placed at the crossing of the arms. In some cases the chapel disappears completely, leaving nothing behind but its back wall, which then becomes an independent element of ornamentation, a shield with capricious outlines fixed at the intersection of the arms of the cross. One could have thought that henceforth all traces of the ancient themes

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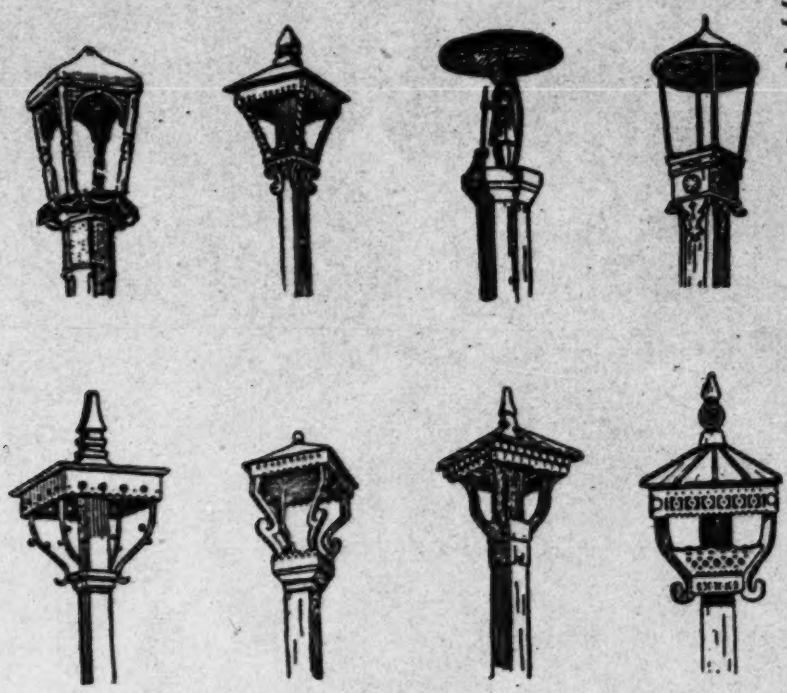

75.—82. Crosses and Chapels

had disappeared, but such is not the case. Around the cross, with or without a chapel, there are often placed wheels and disks of fire. As in Ireland there are frequently to be seen circles or fan shaped arrays of arrows, leafwork, palm leaves, wreaths of flowers. Sometimes their dimensions do not exceed those of a simple aureole, but in certain cases the cross is submerged thereunder.

To the now barely discernible Christian symbol another element is joined, 778
the origin of which goes back to pagan traditions. It is a surviving rem- 531
nant of prehistoric forms and of the ancient worship of the celestial bodies. Sun wheels are revived and eclipse the symbol of Christ. The myth is also preserved in the legends transmitted by word of mouth.

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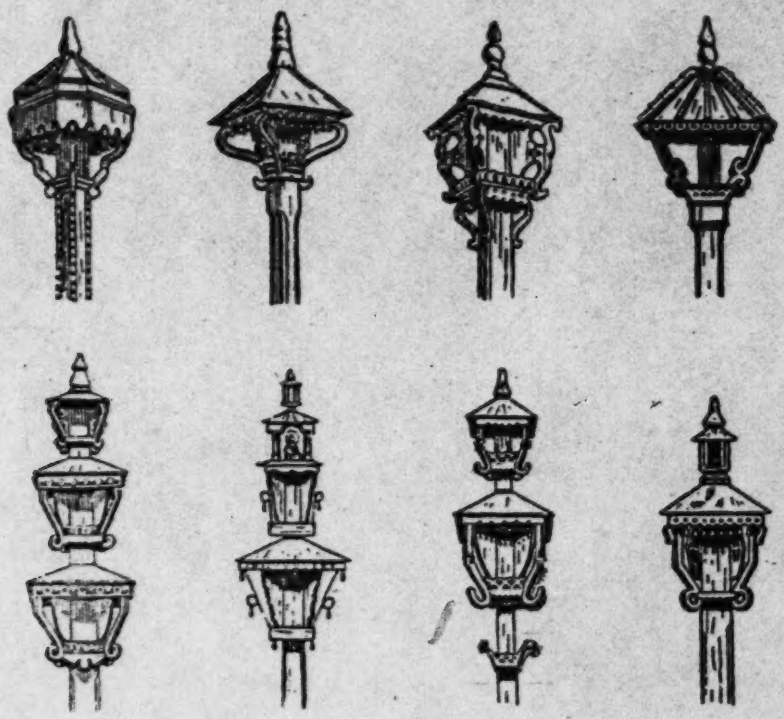

83.—90. *Crosses*

There can be no doubt that the most ancient forms are those in which the wheel prevails. Sunk in the flames of the former god, the emblem of the new religion is lost at first in the conflagration and only emerges from it gradually. Gradually also the light of the celestial body diminishes and transforms itself into an aureole. For a long time both symbols are at par, but later the cross emerges. It has often several arms, each of which itself bears several arms. Finally the last of these accessories disappears and the cross alone remains in its traditional simplicity. The large grave crosses that stand inclined all over the open country belong to the most recent type.

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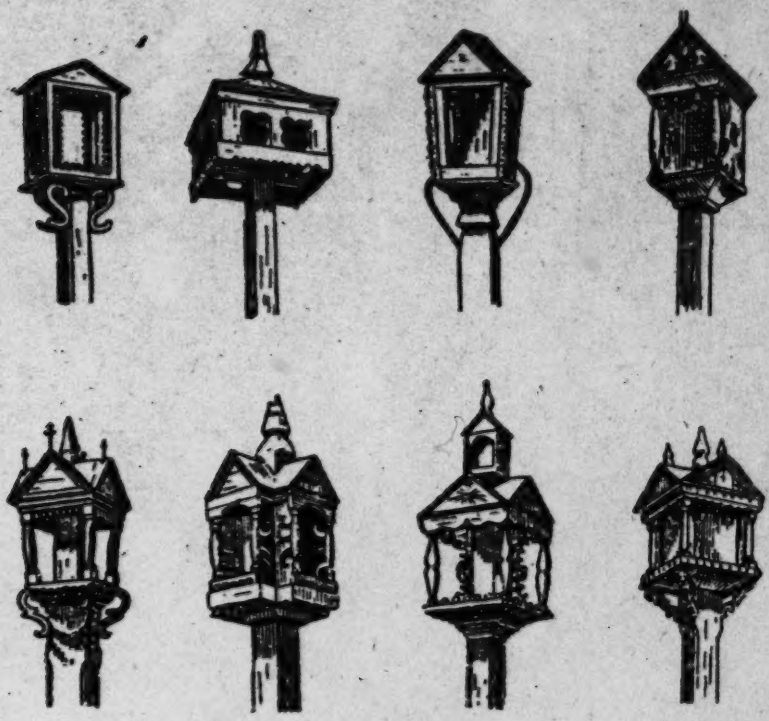

91.—98. Crosses and Chapels

Small votive chapels are scattered in the woods and in the meadows. They only came into fashion at some later time and they are especially frequent in Žemaitija. They shelter small statuettes and offerings are usually deposited there, such als strings of beads of amber or glass, ribbons, colored tissues, artificial flowers and frequently also pocket mirrors, to which some particular meaning seems to be attached. Small statuettes of the Holy Virgin are surrounded by bits of looking glass, that reflect and multiply her image. Sometimes such chapels are suspended aloft on trees, sometimes they stand on the ground or on a base of stone. These are the cages or the cabins of the Saints. The "cages" often attached to oaks,

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99. Votive Chapel near Kremala

100. Votive Chapel near Skiemoniai

firs and pines, do not differ essentially from the small "houses" set upon pillars and crosses, but the "cabins" constitute a distinct series. They are much larger, their height sometimes attaining two meters, they are no longer toy houses and not yet real houses. Sometimes they consist of an old excavated tree trunk, surmounted by a conical roof, the statuette itself is placed in the very heart of the tree. They sometimes reproduce the *klétis* type of church or its pyramid-shaped steeple, and often they are built on a circular, hexagonal or octagonal plan. They are easier to make on account of their reduced scale, which presents the double effect of a church and piece of furniture. These monuments abound in inventions, but they are not the work of ornamentalists like the lanterns. The decorative elements of Western buildings are adapted to them and the Gothic as well as the classic forms are reproduced there according to the taste of the joiner.

The small chapels are loaded with spires and ornamental flowers. Broken arches run along the walls and join the colonnades. The various themes are thrown into one and recast. Out of this mixture arose a fantastic

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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101. Votive Chapel near Jučiūnai

102. Votive Chapel, Forest of Silėnai

miniature architecture, a Pompeian style of the Middle Ages, similar to that of the tabernacles and stained glass windows of churches. Baroque designs treated with liberty and measure are also frequent. Nothing is forgotten here, pinions, broken gables, delicately outlined roofs and so on. Cornices, entablatures, pillars, capitals and mouldings are carved with the greatest skill and an eye for detail. Imaginary and real at the same time, these small tempietti lost amid the vegetation, seem to have been devised to receive the smaller deities of Nature. Similarly to the steles, crosses and churches, these chapels are frequently surmounted with ornaments in wrought iron. These appear later than the wooden solar roses, but continue their tradition. Until the end of the 18th century they usually represent the signs of celestial bodies, the sun, the crescent moon or celestial wheels. Later the cross appears, but it is often broken up by the geometrical ornamentations. Sometimes each arm bears supplementary arms, sometimes the horizontal arms are double or even treble. Angels, animals, persons and certain Oriental images are also represented. But the design is always dominated by the theme of radiation.

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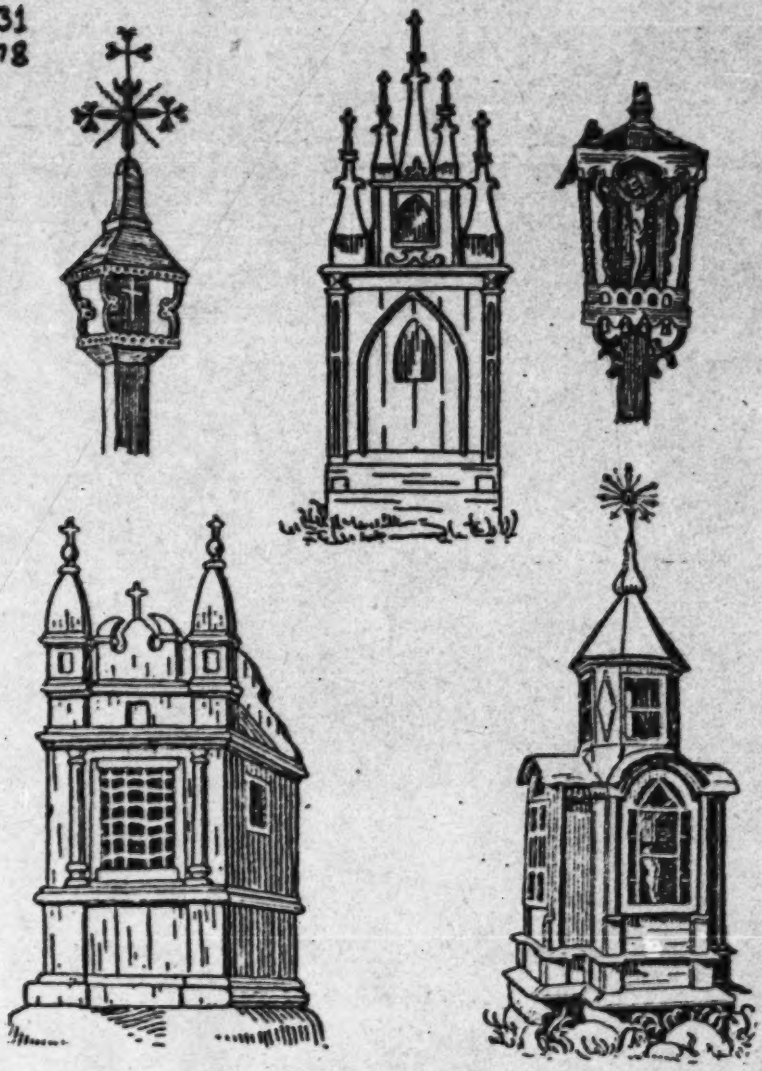

103.—107. Votive Chapels and Crosses

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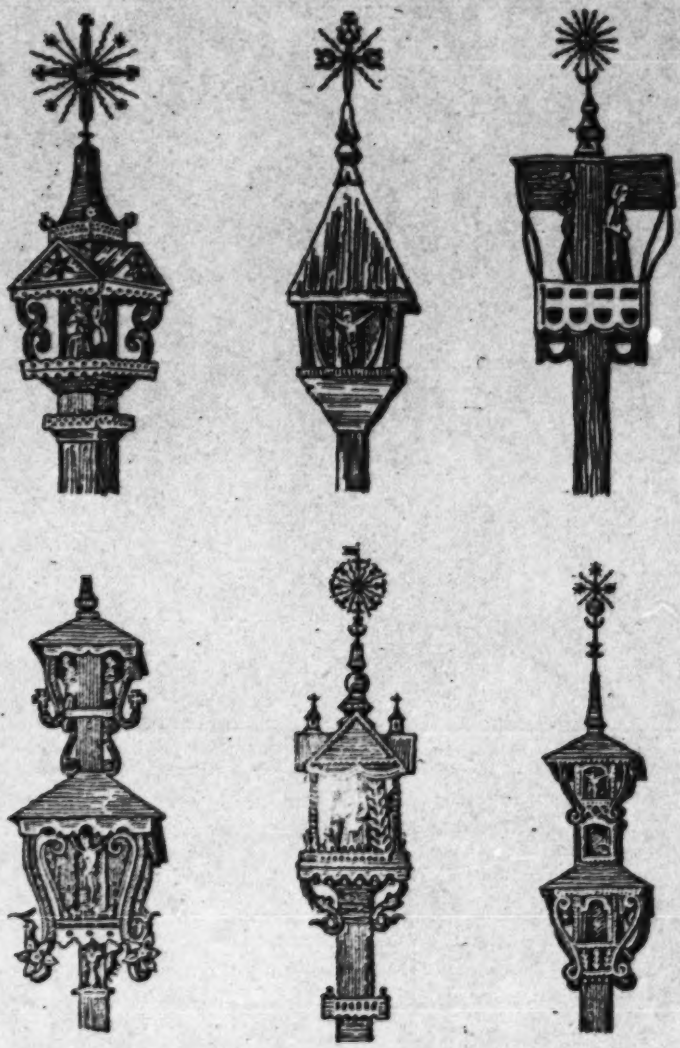

108.—113. *Crosses and Chapels*

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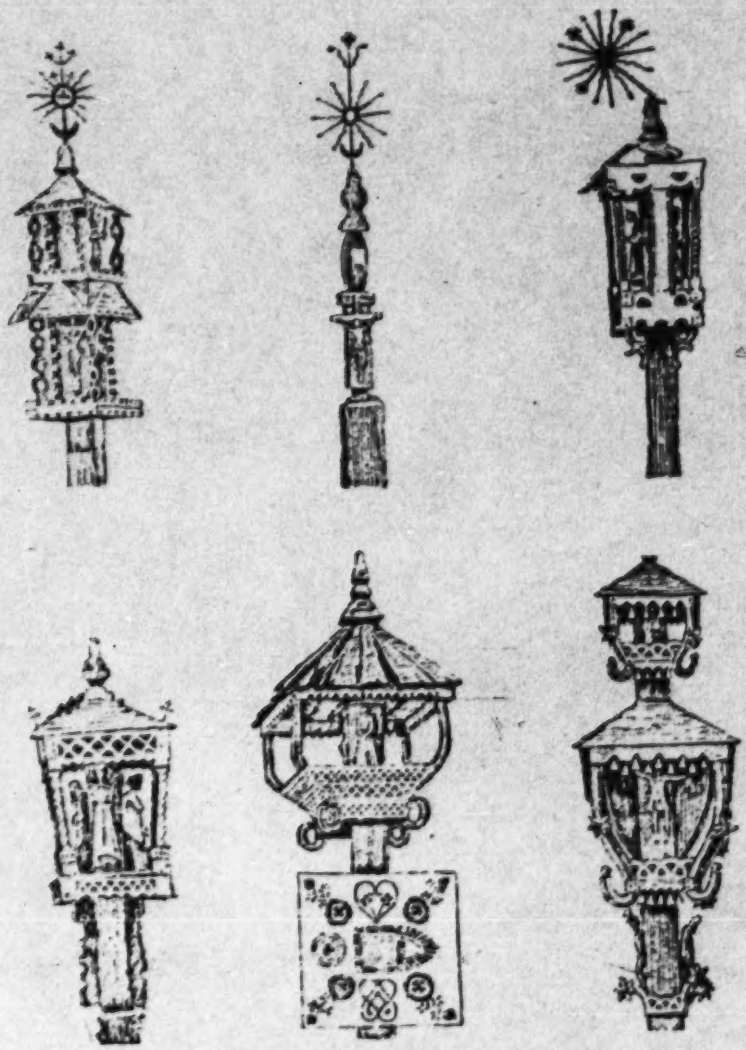

114—119. *Crosses and Chapels*

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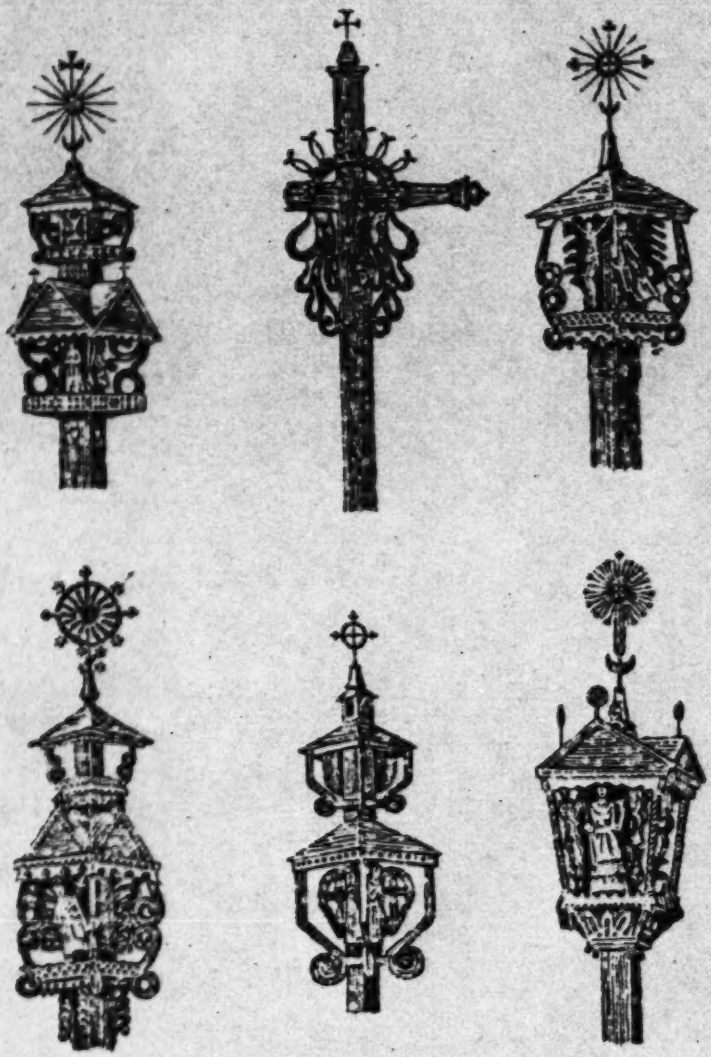

120.—125. Crosses and Chapels

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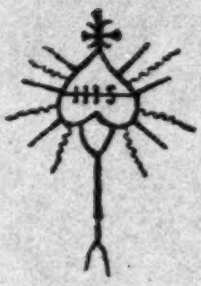

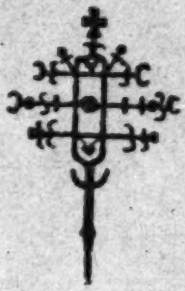

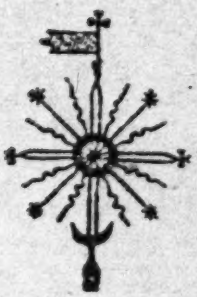

130.—134. Iron Heads of Crosses

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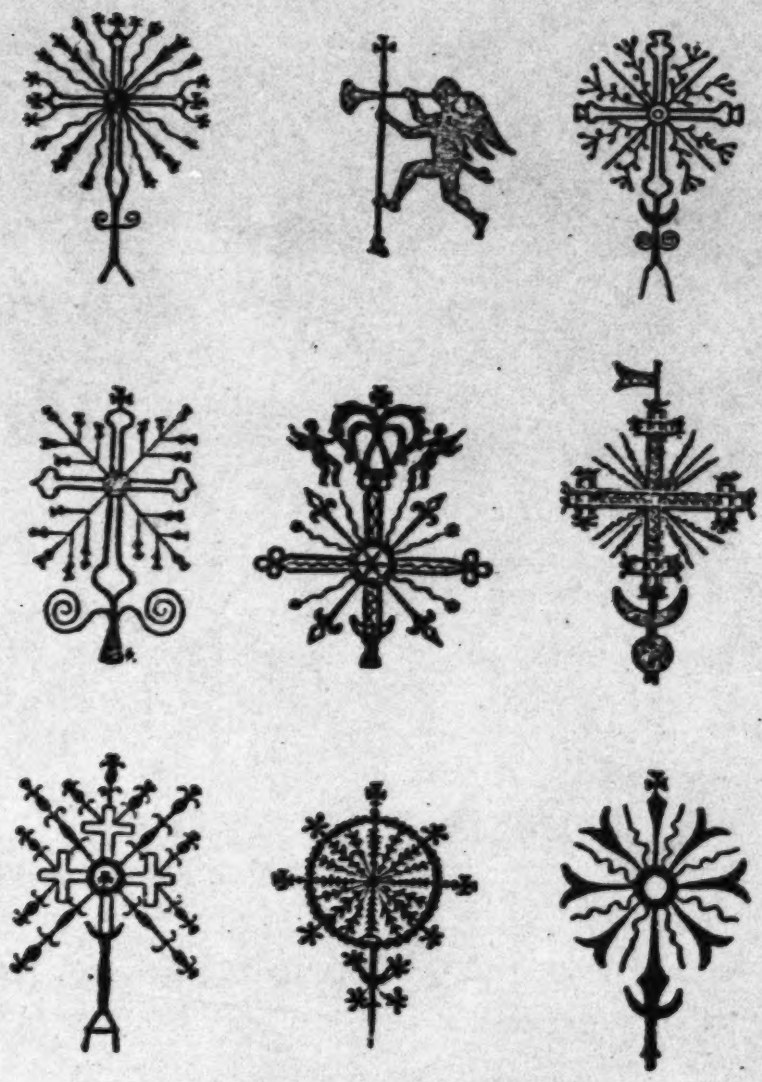

133.—143. Iron Heads of Crosses

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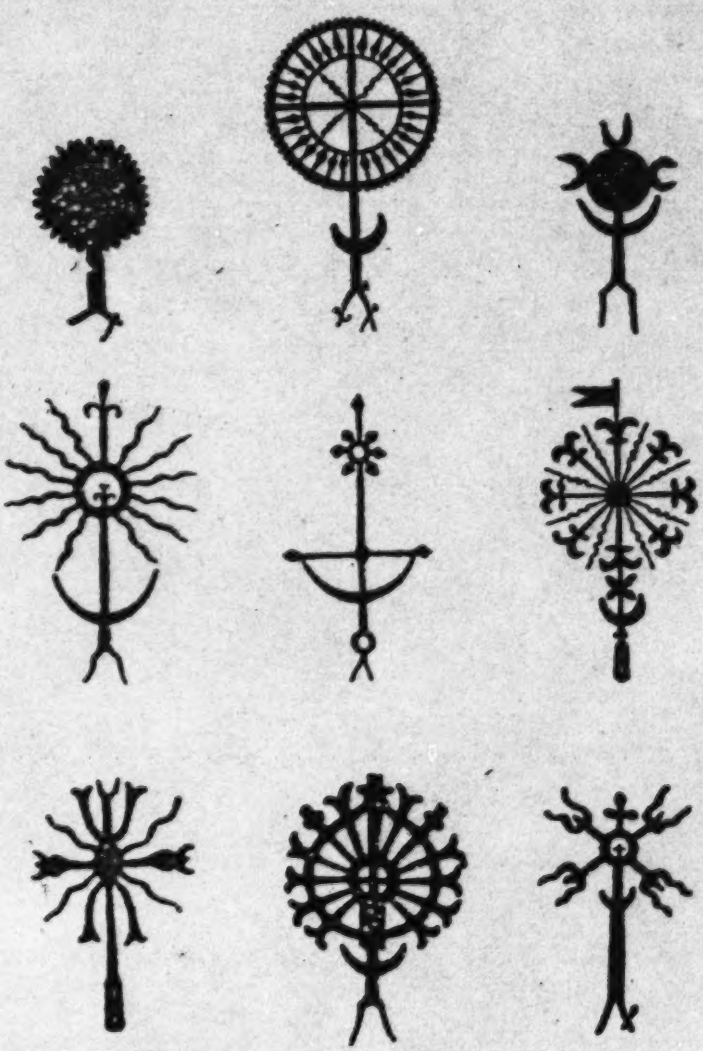

144.—152. Iron Heads of Crosses

P. 52

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Arrows stream forth in all directions, regularly undulated sword blades, idealized vegetation, tulips which are already to be found on prehistoric jewelry, the uruta, the national flower and branches of fir. When executed in metal they retain all the hardness and refinement of the material of which they are made. In these complicated networks all the parts are cleverly united and cut with cold precision. The monuments are crowned by iron crystals resembling blackened crystals of snow.

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10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

SCULPTURE

532

The chapels and crosses shelter small deities, the *"dievukai"* and *"rupintojėliai"*. The Holy Virgins and the Christs, as well as the good popular Saints, take up their quarters under trees, appear in the "cages", hung in trees, conceal themselves in the "cabins". It is perhaps in this imagery in wood that the Lithuanian peasant has done his utmost. A religious art, though not an art of the church, this sculpture spread in spite of the periodical campaigns of the clergy. One inconoclastical[1] crusade follows another, but the work of the "God makers", the *"dievdirbis"*, does not cease. As late as in 1752 the bishop Tiškevičius of Žemaitija preached against this statuary. No doubt he invoked the same reasons as St. Bernhard in his fight against the monsters of the Romanesque churches, excessive freedom of expression and rudeness of features. Such figures were denied benediction and their admission to sanctuaries was forbidden with only two exceptions, a crucifixion and a Christ. All the others populate the fields, the woods and the roads.

Such conflicts have had a profound repercussion on the formation of this art. Driven out of the church popular sculpture cast off the fetters of convention and developed itself freely. The subjects most frequently treated were borrowed from the Gospels and the Apocrypha, as well as from the legend of the Saints. The chief subject taken over from the Gospel was the cycle of the Passion: Pietà, the Virgin of the Seven Sorrows, Christ

1 [Errata: should be iconoclastical. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, Cat. 116 --- Analyst]

10:Baltrušaitis R-4.5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

532

in a sitting posture or bearing the cross, the Crucifixion. The Pietà remained faithful to its canonical image, as in Western sculpture the Holy Virgin was represented with the body of her Son on her knees. The figure of the Saviour is sometimes quite small in comparison with that of his mother, — he always has remained a child. The Virgin of the Seven Sorrows shows an immense heart pierced by seven flaming swords The sitting Christ is represented as awaiting execution.

153. „Rûpintojėlis" wood-cut, 18th cent.

The Apocrypha furnished scenes from the education of the Virgin and St. Joseph rocking the Holy Infant. Among the Saints St. George killing the Dragon takes first place, being the patron Saint of the Lithuanian peasant. Then follows St. Isidore, patron Saint of the agricultural labourer with the angel at the plough. The iconography is in general correct. St. Catherine holds the wheel, St. Agatha the bread, St. John Nepomuk a crucifix and a branch. St. Rochus the pilgrim, followed by his dog, covers his crushed leg, St. Francis receives the stygmata. Nevertheless, certain details sound a particular note, the image of Pietà is often blended with that of the Virgin of the Seven Sorrows and an aureole of stars surrounds the Mother of God, while two angels bearing chandeliers stand on each side. Sometimes she is represented with the crown of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania on her head. The sitting Christ, generally represented alone in Western sculpture, is here attended by two hieratic worshipping figures. According to Žemaitic legend this is not a scene of the Passion, but represents Christ returned to earth after his resurrection. He is resting by the wayside and weeping over the misery of mankind. The Christ of

[Errata! should be angel at, Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, Cat. 116 --- Analyst]

532 Nazareth has a thick growth of hair, — a reminiscence of a much venerated statue brought from Italy to Vilnius in 1700, — on which the hair was believed to have grown by a miracle. St. Rochus and St. Isidore, having arrived from abroad, wear bowler hats. St. Francis sometimes has a large spoon stuck in his belt. The bread of St. Agatha protects against fire. In case of fire, consecrated bread is carried around the house. St. George is often represented wearing a helmet. It would be easy to multiply these examples.

It was not however these picturesque details which filled the representatives of the church with indignation, but much rather the form, the movement and the treatment of the subject.

Certain figures remind us of the images of Greece of Homer. A rudely shaped trunk has a simple sphere for a head. On other faces a smile of Kożee is frozen. The canon is often irregular, heads either too big or too small, hands sometimes enormous and sometimes atrophied, postures convulsed. It is here in these deformed bodies that the artist gives the measure of his power of expression. Certain heads, e. g. that of the sitting Christ submerged in the mass of his hair, his cheeks stained by gigantic drops of blood, or that of the crucified Christ displaying His large hands, His mouth like an open wound, His eyes scarcely visible, produce a dramatically violent impression. The features of such heads differ widely. Sometimes the heads are supported by long, thin necks, sometimes they are fixed immediately on the trunk with eyes wide open or closed and the mouths distorted in grimace, they are supernatural and yet true. Other figures stiffen in inaccessible gravity like that flat and pale Virgin holding her dead son with the gestures of an automaton.

These figures however belong to two races: at the side of a tormented and monstrous mankind, we see a pastoral and peaceful mankind. There the Saints are peasants, round-cheeked with salient cheekbones and big astonished eyes. This is a homely world. The Pietà is no longer an insensible idol, but a peasant woman who is bending over her son. She is surrounded not by angels, but by winged choirboys. Often she looks like a timid shepherdess hidden behind a fan formed of swords. Such statues are full of good nature and joviality and they are perhaps still more pathetic than the supernatural beings with their exaggerated features. The episodes there are not scenes of family life, an atmosphere of

mystery still persists. The little angel who, with courageous hands, seizes the handle of the plough, resembles a troll in a fairytale. The tale is often told with an epic simplicity and love of detail does not affect the great lines. Quizzical observations assume a new meaning. A miracle performed by a Saint dressed like a village curate, seems to be all the more marvellous. Provided with symbolic attributes such as bread, tools etc. these peasants with the resigned features of the wise and the humble ones, are given the wings of angels and enter into legend.

Such are the principal aspects of this sculpture. At the same time deities and toys, reality and fable, but seldom indifferent, these little statuettes carved in wood affect or terrify us. The reason of the hostility of the clergy in the era of Classicism and afterwards, when countryside churches favored mass production of statues, is easily comprehensible.

The composition and execution of these statues are very varied. We find there all the stages of an evolution which extends from archaism to sophisticated refinement. Forms preserved in the rites of craftsmanship, though wide apart in time, meet again on the same object and are applied in the same workshop. Rigorous geometry, monumental distribution of the masses and the colorful play of agitated surfaces contradict and complete each other.

These statues are hewn by hard and vigorous blows. Synthetic lines simplify the features and sometimes deform them. Details are accentuated by graphic incisions, the polychromy of pure and vivacious colors emphasizes the outlines and plans. A deep sense of architecture is everywhere manifested. Certain extended bodies stiffen into pillars. The legs of a sitting Pietà form a pedestal for the body of Christ. These statues are great in spite of their reduced scale. The wood in them is no longer a senseless material, it helps to animate the features represented. Within the statues the tree trunk is still alive. The priest's vestments resemble a suit made of the bark of a tree. St. George's dragon seems to twist and turn like a tortuous root. These are indeed sylvan deities hewn from a log of wood. Rigidity sometimes disappears to give place to a more flexible treatment. The graphics of the outlines are softened. The masses flow freely in a ripple of lights and shades, a breeze passes over the folded clothing and the outlines sometimes assume an affected grace. In his eagerness to make use of anything he can, the sculptor seeks to exhaust

532 all possibilities and takes his inspiration from every quarter. In his art we find traces of the Western Middle Ages, of the Baroque and even of the rustic toys of the present time. ~~Lost in a world~~ far removed from the highways of history, the village sculptor is often in arrear ~~and~~ sometimes successive epochs and fashions reach him simultaneously. Styles which would exclude each other elsewhere meet here. These different contributions arriving simultaneously enrich his choice. But, though a recipient for different techniques and various styles, the sculptor still remains true to himself. He transposes and adapts without betraying his true personality.

The influence of toys is particulary noticeable in groups the units of which are placed side by side like tin soldiers without any common action to link them together. They are displaced or interchanged, although they are incapable of motion. Such groups of articulated dolls are nevertheless touching in their candour. This series comprises a number of animals, St. George's horse is often a fine pied wooden mount. The two oxen fixed to a board and placed before a plough look like gingerbread beasts. Led by an angel they become God's own beasts. The magic objects of the little ones serve for the worship of the adults.

532 177 Among the Western styles which have exercised the strongest and most lasting influence in this field, the baroque elements and classic art should be mentioned in the first place. Following the Counter Reformation the Jesuits triumphed over all the numerous currents of art in Lithuania. The great European currents penetrated everywhere. Five large religious colleges were established between 1565 and 1575, the largest at Vilnius in 1579. There the latest doctrines were taught and tastes refined. A new age of civilisation began, cathedrals and palaces were built and foreign masters called upon to co-operate. Collections were brought together by the nobility and in the churches. Certain miracle performing statues are still venerated. But the influence of this sculpture is limited chiefly to the propagation of a certain number of iconographic types and plastic themes. The carver in wood is not insensible to this statuary, but his work, although inspired by it, lacks its magnificence. The faces ~~are heavier~~, the gestures are awkward, the proportions become impersonal. The agitated folds and mystic rays have perhaps been assimilated best. But even amid

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

all these luxuriant undulations certain traits seem to be reminiscent of the flamboyant style. There seems to be no doubt that medieval art has exercised the stronger influence. This becomes evident in the very choice of the themes, such as the Passion, the Pietà, the Holy Virgin of the Seven Sorrows, afflicted Christ and in the preference shown for scenes of the childhood of Christ or of the education of St. Mary, in the success of some Saints, such as St. Rochus, the protector against the plague. The cycle of 15th and 16th century subjects is reconstituted. In it we find also the figure of the Devil, with his bat wings, his horns and crooked claws, the demon of Žemaitija hails from the hell of the Middle Ages which classic art did not retain.

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177

This is a strange survival of a vast ancient repertoire. Nothing interfered with its development. In the churches of the towns hardly any traces of it are at present to be found, but the chapels nailed to the trees or built at the roadside are full of such images. They preserve it as a kind of relic of the first Christians in this country. The witnesses of their baptism have never abandoned the Lithuanians.

We know that the religion of the West was introduced at the exact time when this sculpture flourished. The conversion of certain chieftains, such as Mindaugas in 1251 and Gediminas in 1320, did not affect the beliefs of the people. Only in the 15th century the penetration of Christendom became deeper and broader. At first it had to adapt itself to local traditions, to allow itself to be mixed with local legends, later transforming and renewing the ancient faith. No doubt the wooden Gothic Saints were heartily welcomed in this country of trees. The popular pathos which developed in the last years of the Middle Ages, with its sense for melodrama and its love of anecdotes which go right to the heart of the peasant, has certainly also largely contributed to further the new propagation of these ancient forms.

These have left a profound impression on the sculpture of this country. Even the statues copied from the classic baroque monuments often show a touch of it. Medieval man survived in our makers of images. But this is not only the man of the 15th century, a more archaic and unknown Middle Age also survives in him. The oversized deities and the statues bearing

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

532 clumsy heads are sometimes more akin to the characters of the 12th cen-
177 tury, than to those of the great Gothic altar pieces. They show identical deformations and their movements are the same, angular and rigid. There too the supernatural world of fairytales reigns. Elongated shapes frozen in a trunk, remind one the statue pillar of Chartres. As they do in architectural ornamentation, vertical folds form real streaks. Certain crucifixes show the same violence as the Christ of Perpignan. If a Romanesque sculptor had had to represent a group of the Pietà, he would have done it in the same manner as shown by a group in which a stiff St. Mary holds the body of her child with arms and legs rigid, broken into a rectangle and supported by the massive pedestal formed by the Virgin's knees. The Virgins of Auvergne reappear in certain sitting Virgins. But these insensible idols are but distant relatives of Sainte Foy of Conques, sometimes adorned with necklaces, and they have no historical connection with her. There has been no transmission, but an accidental coincidence of conception.

When carving a Gothic saint from his log, the *dievdirbis* to a certain extent unveils his past. The energetic tool of the peasant rips off the bark formed in the course of years and lays bare the primitive form. Square images issue from opulent statues. The outlines are simplified and schematized. In the suffering features of Christ are expressed the ferocious features of a more ancient god. Movements again become jerky, the bodies stiffen, become shorter or longer and again attain the coarseness and power of bygone days. The rudeness of the means, the necessity of solid construction, the innate taste for geometric forms, coupled with a craving for the strange and the supernatural, bring about the same deformations as we find in the statuary of the 12th century, certain aspects of which also show popular traits. The hermit of the Nemunas river dreams the same dreams as the makers of images and the monks who once decorated the small Romanesque churches. It is this fraternity of forms and of technique, which has made it possible to reconstruct an ancient and unknown world.

Strange contradictions thus characterize the principal aspects of this sculpture. It is somewhat indifferent with regard to the great Western currents which have left fine traces in this country. It bears deep marks of an
532 epoch of which we possess but few monuments. And finally it shows certain striking affinities with an art which had never been known in these regi-

ons. But, most of all, it belongs to the forest. Its statuettes still show the structure and retain the fragrance of newly hewn wood. Even in our days the *dievuhai* have not changed. It is this faithfulness towards the world into which they were born which alone can explain their permanence.

532

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

PAINTING AND ENGRAVING

532 Painting has a character different from that of sculpture. Though a religious art too, it has less stable traditions and more spontaneous techniques. The pictures are generally painted on wooden panels covered with a plastering of stucco, but also sometimes on tissue, on glass or even on paper. The artist himself prepared his colors with oil or eggs. The subjects did not differ much from those of the statuary. Several compositions: St. George, who figures in nearly all *mimai* of Žemaitija, the Crucifixion, the Pietà, the Virgin of the Seven Sorrows and St. Rochus, are often directly inspired by them. Sacred images to be found in the churches or illustrating books also served as models, but the themes were not always faithfully reproduced. New designs appeared and some of them are of a charming naiveté, as for example the hands of the Lord emerging from a bank of clouds and throwing big loaves of bread to the kneeling peasants. The design has however no stability, the composition is irregular, the gamut of colors is limited to two or three tones. These very shortcomings give them their poetic charm. As painted by the "douanier Rousseau" of the village, Christ and the Saints are near to the people, their awkwardness gives them more truth than a correct design would have been able to do. Sometimes the traits are more definite, thick contours emphasize the outline and the decorative effect In most cases these engravings hail from Lower Lithuania and the most ancient samples which have been preserved date from the beginning of grows more distinct. The splashes of color are distributed with generosity, 1

1 [Errata: transport lines 21 and 23 from p.62 to the beginning of p.64. Cf. Errata sheet, p.204, cat. 116. --- Analyst]

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

oversized flowers and 532
ornaments appear on the clothes at the will of the brush. A riper art however manifests itself in engravings.
Here too the artist is inspired by the wood. As in painting the elements of technique are 532 177 introduced by the currents of Western Art. To be sure, at first copies were made of the incunabula and the illustrated books collected by the clergy, but new sources of inspiration were soon found. Engravings came from Germany and further distant lands. A number of compositions were inspired by works of French popular art, and may be the trade in playing cards, that were also engraved on wood, had its share in their diffusion. Epinal pictures may also have followed the same channels.

154. The Crucifixion, wood-cut, 18th cent

1/1 [Errata: should be the. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, Cat. 116. --- Analyst]

532 the 17th century. One St. George is dated 1710, and the most recent sheet dates from 1853. From 1865 until 1904 this production was practically stopped by the Russian *ukase* on printing. During that time only a few new editions with changed inscriptions have been issued. And since the end of the period of suppression this art seems to have been unable to recover. At present a large part of the originals and of the printed copies is in Germany, many are in Poland and only a few have remained in Lithuania.

The subjects are exclusively of a religious or didactic character. Among the themes treated in common with sculpture, we again find St. George, Christ at Nazareth, St. John of Nepomuk, St. Anne, stygmatized St. Francis, in short, all the familiar figures, but on the one hand the composition is not always the same, and on the other, there is a much larger variety of prototypes. Not only drawings were made of venerated statues, but also of etchings, popular engravings, paintings by old masters, such as a Christ attributed to Roger van der Weyden, which had been at Vilnius, the Coronation of the Holy Virgin by Rubens, certain compositions of Paolo Veronese, copied from deformed reproductions thereof, a Crucifixion by Dürer. Such copies were far from being true and sometimes whole parts are missing. Cuts were made and also additions. On the same panel fragments of various origin are thrown into one. Famous works copied from inexact models often become irrecognizable.

The procedure followed by the artist is very simple. On a wooden panel usually of lime prepared a long time in advance, a coat of wax and chalk was spread, on which the delineation was drawn by means of a pencil or a pen. The design was then carved with a knife. The typographic ink stamped in large slabs often exceeds the contours. The copies were printed on a rudimentary press or by application of the paper. The engravings are sometimes colored by hand. There are large compositions requiring a juxtaposition of several panels, the height of which sometimes attains one meter. Sometimes it is a group, sometimes a single figure, sometimes a succession of scenes set side by side or above each other. In the first case a crowd of figures suggestive of a miniature is represented.

The laboriously handled tool traced energetic, irregular lines devoid of grace. Series of parallel lines indicate the various shades and define the outline. Heaven and clouds, sun rays and trees, in short, the whole sur-

61

1 [As per errata (cat. 116, p. 204), see cat. 532, p. 62 for beginning of sentence (line 21-23) -- Analyst]

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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133. The Holy Family, wood-cut

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10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

532 roundings of the world in which the persons represented live, are indicated by the same awkward method. Everything is equally filled in. The forms squeeze each other and even invade the background. The horror of the vacuum of archaic art is here combined with baroque profusion. All the figures are aligned on the same plane. Hierarchic distribution according to schedule creates around the principal hero a space devoid of depth, in which, as on a stage, churches and houses, hills and plants are thronged together. An ordinary man is only half the size of a Saint. Nature is reduced to symbolic ornament, flowers such as adorn trunks, broad leaves on their stems. It is an abridged landscape. Sometimes a perspective of a sort is indicated, but the fields rise as on an arras hung on a wall or form a pedestal for the scenes represented. The characters do not live in a real world, but amidst garlands, glories, rays, cascades of stars and clouds resembling a circus of chaotic rocks. In spite of this baroque luxury, there still prevails a heaviness and hardness of expression suggestive more of the Middle Ages than the classic century.

In this framework of superimposed zones with all the attributes of ancient mysteries, in a system ruled by the old dogmas, the angels and the Madonnas once more find the atmosphere of Gothic drama. As in sculpture the artist spontaneously invokes the spirit of another age. Notwithstanding this unity of character and technique it is possible to discern several currents; a severe style, a flowery style and a sumptuous style. The severe style is evidenced especially in subjects borrowed from sculpture. An image reproducing a rustic deity remains impregnated by its coarseness, the Christ of Nazareth, erect with tied hands and an oversized head, is drawn with a few strokes only, a monumental figure placed in a niche. The etching all around intensifies its shadow and gives the body the aspect of a tree trunk. The same arrangement prevails in other scenes, all the numerous figures are placed on superimposed levels, without losing their frontal attitude. Their coarse and dense masses are pressed in a frame that seems not to have been made to their measure. The flowery style is also used in large and full compositions. Small fragile figures would not have been adequate for its vegetation. Leaves and petals are strewn upon their clothes. Uniform surfaces are replaced by a bed of flowers, a kind of luxuriant carpet. Our Lady of Loretto, decorated like a Virgin in a reliquary, is surrounded by the garland of a mystic rosary

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

adorned with medallions. St. John of Nepomuk seems to grow out of a 532
flower basket. Elsewhere stars resembling sunflowers dot the firmament. In this luxuriant garden the figures however maintain their robust character. This stability gives way only under the weight of the rays and folds which streak and break up the surface in all directions. The Saints, both male and female, become larger and fatter. Little full cheeked angels emerge from the clouds. Clothes puff up. This heavy and awkward whirl is what may be described as baroque.

The sense of the monumental only disappears completely from sheets on which several scenes are represented; the panel is made up of several parts, each of which represents one or several independent compositions, it is a mosaic of paintings framed in a ribbon composed of foliage and flowers. The drawing becomes schematic, the descriptive element prevails, but there is no continuity in the narrative. The fragments of a film are placed side by side, sometimes without sequence. Elements of the same group are not always linked together, they form several distinct rows. As in small statuary comprizing several figures, the movements are stiff, a recumbent figure is drawn with the same outlines as an erect figure. One might think that it had been knocked down. As represented in this little world, Sacred History and sermons assume the character of rustic tales.

These apparently contradictory characters are sometimes present in one and the same work. The figure of St. George of 1710, the most ancient and one of the most beautiful that have come down to us, impresses both by the amplitude of its conception and by the abundance of detail. On this large sheet is seen a knight in full armour, ostrich feathers waving from his helmet, careering with his cloak flying in the wind on a pied steed with short legs awkwardly attached. He is spearing a medieval dragon, ferocious and ridiculous at the same time. All around him, in the rare empty spaces left by the main subject, between the legs of his horse and round about its tail and its head, are crowded small houses, suspended in empty space, a small queen crowned by angels and plants. Being himself of supernatural stature the Saint has to fight his way in an overcrowded world. By its theme, as well as by its execution, this engraving, in which a childish gravity is mingled with flowers and vast undulations, may be said to recapitulate and illustrate all the various aspects of the whole of Lithuanian imagery.

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

DOMESTIC ART

322 [531] During the long winter months of enforced retirement in his dwelling the peasant does not remain inactive, he repairs and manufactures all the things he needs. He also tries to decorate and embellish familiar objects and his faithful tools, such as the spinningwheel, the distaff, the loom, the beating arms, the sheaths of the whetstones, the napkin-rings and the nutcrackers. Similarly to the *dievdirbis,* he cuts and carves wood. He uses it even to make such appliances as are generally made of iron; primitive ploughs made of oak were still in existence a few decades ago, the locks are often a device made of boards, the bells for the cattle are made of hollowed-out branches and emit the dull sound of a rattle, and last but not least, so are most of his musical instruments, the *"trimitai"* trumpets, 1.50 or 2 meters long, wrapped in bark, — the *"kanklês"*, a sort of zither with an archaic box. Certain containers, tuns, buckets, pails and devices for measuring agricultural produce, are composed of simple staves held together by rings. Sometimes they are made of bark so tightly plaited that they can hold water. Such plaited vessels are used in Žemaitija in the manufacture of beer. The liquid within them is heated by means of incandescent stones. Even in our days such enormous *"dundulos"*, resembling Greek jars serve as containers for flour and cereals.

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Part of the crockery is made of wood. Cups, spoons, saucers, goblets for 322
tasting spirits, all present a great variety of shapes. Each type serves a special purpose. Sometimes they have a ritual meaning. The museum of Kaunas (Kovno) owns twin cups, from which bride and bridegroom drank on their wedding-day. It is cut from a single piece of wood in the shape of a horn, and is the equivalent of the ancient rhyton. The raw material used, readily submits to treatment with a knife and favors carved decoration. Sometimes the wood is engraved in the manner of a bone by simple striation, sometimes it is carved. The many sharp edges produce an effect of dry lights and shades. Sometimes a board is entirely perforated and the designs seem to have been punched out. This method is chiefly applied to window frames. The two other methods are applied to all sorts of objects. Designs containing figures are rare. Distaves and beaters are often decora- 322
ted with birds or two flaming hearts, such are gifts exchanged between lo- 531
vers. But generally the ornamentation consists of vegetation or geometrical figures. The design of plants is most frequently made by slight incisions. On thread-like stalks large leaves and flowers are suspended, spread as on a sheet of a herbarium. The contours are regular and supple. They freeze and become harder the deeper the incision. Work with a cutting tool entails regular movements, which produce both straight lines and curves. It is under such technical conditions that the abstract style is originated. Zigzags, crosses, triangles unite in a thousand ways and are ceaselessly renewed. On plane surfaces prisms and diamond shaped points are cut. Inside the large figures small designs are cut, a trellis of polygones and rosaces. These "ornamented ornaments" are placed side by side, they intersect and fit into each other, and in their apparent monotony an infinite variety is manifested. A distaff and a spindle, thus carved with care and precision, become precious objects.

No doubt this gamut contains elements which are common to nearly all rustic arts, and the tool everywhere leads the hand to execute the same designs. The geometric themes entail designs which very often coincide. Some of them composed of interlaced circles are common to all ages and to all countries, they can be seen on the ceramics of Susa, on Roman mosaics, Syrian lintels and Merovingian manuscripts. The shepherds of the Pyrenees reproduce them on their crockery up to the present day. But the distribution and the place of these designs lends them

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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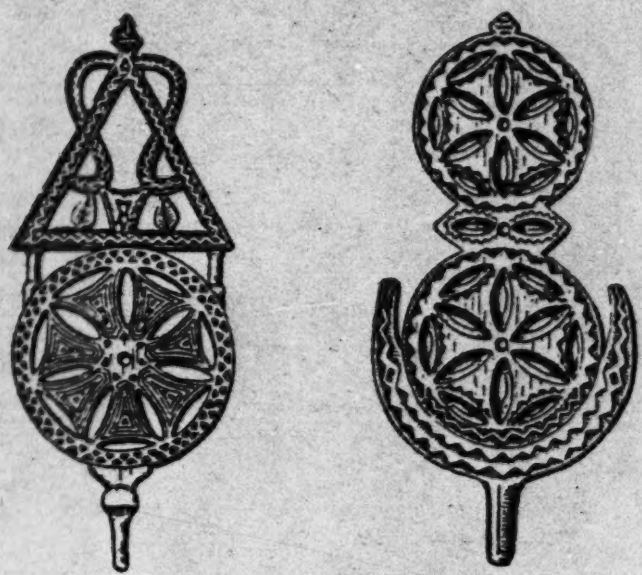

156. Carved Distaves, used on a Spinning-Wheel

a personal note. Sometimes the decoration is made in high relief, the edges disappear and the outlines become more subtle, while maintaining their clear-cut precision. Plants again invade the panels, flowers crush each other on the polished surfaces of the boards. Instead of graphic roses, we find an abundant vegetation. Small baroque volutes sometimes mingle with rustic decoration. This decorative sculpture sometimes takes on a grotesque character, especially on walking sticks and nutcrackers. Such walking sticks are entirely covered with geometrical ornaments and are crowned with a head or a torso. Some of them serve as marks of distinction or of clanship. etc. These so-called *"krivulés"* belong to chieftains and are passed from hand to hand in case of a summons or the transmission of an order. The nutcrackers represent monsters with powerful jaws, in which can be recognized domestic animals, the fauna of the steppes or grimacing human faces.

The great wooden coffers serving at the same time as trunks and cup-

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

The great wooden coffers serving at the same time as trunks and cupboards in which the family valuables are piled up, are generally decorated 531
with paintings. On a monotone background are carved idealized flowers, 352
framed in rectangles or planted in pots, such as tulips, roses, daisies, harebells. They often sprout forth on the same straight or undulated twig at regular intervals. Animals, such as horses, cocks and hens, oriental lions and even the image of a mermaid with the tail of a fish are less frequent. The colors are usually brillant blue, yellow and white. The strokes of the brush are energetic and clear. They contrast by their breadth and their spontaneousness, with the minutely calculated ornament carved with a knife. In the *klétis*, with their bare walls, such large painted panels play the part both of pictures and frescoes. In the same spirit the village painter applies himself to the decoration of window shutters, the doors of houses, small chapels and crosses. Among the art still in existence, cera- 383
mics plays a large part. The tumuli, *antkapiai* and *piliakalniai*, have yielded 531
numerous prehistoric specimens. There is earthenware of solid and simple profile thrown by hand. Such vessels are sometimes narrow with an elongated neck, and sometimes low and wide. Large plates with vertical or oblique edges have also been found. The bottom is generally flat. The decoration is composed of fir trees or saw-teeth or indentations. These elements subsist up to the present time. The peasant pottery follows the same procedures and is decorated with the same ornaments. The gray, black, brown or red earth is modelled on a primitive throw, dried and baked over a moderate fire. Here the whole gamut of the ancient designs can be seen, such as dentelated and undulated designs, rhombs, crosses. They run along the rims, cover the bodies and sometimes even extend to the bottoms. The designs become more regular, but their elements do not change. Even when provided with improved tools, the potter returns incessantly to the same old designs. This constancy however does not exclude an enrichment of the craft. The number of types increases, milk-jugs, — *"puodynė"* or *"dubenėlis"* — with oval bodies, large neck and without handles, water-jugs, — *"asotis"* — which resemble the antique oenochoi, bowls, saucers, special vessels designed as containers for the meals of the workers in the fields and with a double body connected by a single handle. Sometimes the clay jugs are wrapped in plaited bark.

The ceramic items are nowadays glazed and influenced by painting, the ornaments are now not only engraved, but also painted with a brush. New

531 figures appear, stars of intersected lines, flowers similar to those painted
323 on trunks. They radiate from the centre of the plates and dishes, emphasize the curves of the bodies, the rims and the necks. They are animated designs which seem to have been invented by the rapid movement of a clever hand, and which always occupy the place intended for them. Here also the colors are free and vivacious. Yellow, red, blue spots are clearly visible on a ground often of a darker color, brown, gray or green. When covered by a varnish or glazed, such objects which are made of a somewhat coarse material, frequently assume metallic tints. The simple shapes usual in household ware, become more complicated in vases, candlesticks, small pots designed for the decoration of dwellings and holy water containers. Sometimes the design is even overloaded, multiple bodies, small vases set on rims of the main body, double, triple or even multiple handles sinuously undulating, undulated or embossed rims, handles rolled up in baroque convolutions. Curve and countercurve, used with discretion, lend a singular elegance to this robust pottery.

Zoomorphic themes which are not used in pottery, are developed with much imagination in children's whistles. There is a distinct series of odd figures, horsemen, rams with big horns, birds, dogs, horses, fantastic monsters. With their arms formed in guise of small handles, their bodies reduced to a trunk and the limbs to small projecting branches, they resemble the schematized statuettes of archaic Greece. As everywhere else popular ceramic art has been threatened by industrial production. But in the neighbourhood of Biržai, Radviliškis and Vilkoniai, potteries are still in existence and the potters are still active. Those of the region of Biržai have managed to maintain their old reputation.

531 Certain designs of the ceramic are also employed in the decoration of egg-shells which is still common in most parts of the countries of Eastern Europe, in Poland, Roumania, Czechoslovakia and Russia, though not with the neighbouring Latvians. In Lithuania this custom is mentioned in documents of the 16th century. Egg shells are not only painted at Easter, but, in certain regions, at other feasts also, as e. g. on St. George's Day or at Whitsuntide. This is done in two different manners; either the eggs are plunged in the colored liquid and the design is then engraved with a knife, or in imitation of the technique of the Javanese batik, the figures are designed by the application of wax and the egg is afterwards soaked in

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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157.—162. Decorated Eggs

the color. When the wax is removed, the ornaments appear in white. A great variety of shades is obtained by using a series of colored baths. Some of the designs used in pottery are retained, such as firs, rosaces, stars, dots, zigzags, a few types of flowers, but the design is small and condensed, it covers the egg with a network of lace. The potter turns goldsmith. These designs have distinct names, the adder, chicken's feet, the rake, butterflies, snow crystals. But these names are more or less symbolical and have only a very distant connection with the corresponding design. In general the background is dark, black or dark brown, blue or red. It resembles island wood more than egg shell.

Besides wood and ceramics, work on textiles, wool, cotton and particu- 286
lary linen is one of the richest and most ancient branches of popular art. 531
On Latvian territory tissues of the Iron Age have been discovered, with metal ornaments resembling those still in use in Lithuania, but in wool. Prototypes of the latter must certainly also have existed. Later certain

10!Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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163.—168. Decorated Eggs, Pattern scratched with Knife

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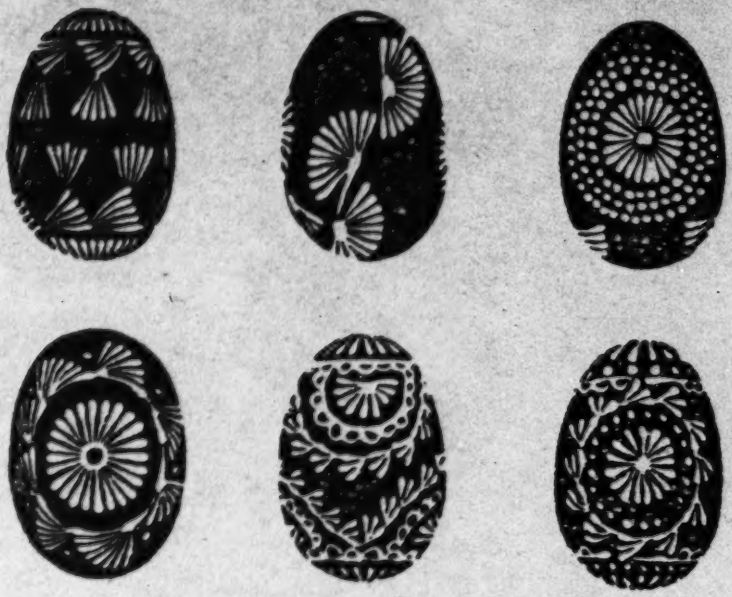
elements may have been imported from the East. The word *"kilimas"*, which means carpet, is directly derived from the Asiatic *kelims*. Unfortunately their patterns have not been preserved, but the foreign inventories of the 17th century assign them a good place. Linen and fabrics have always been renowned and were exported as far as Hungary.

Tissues, embroideries made for the decoration of the home or of clothes are the work of women. They make them by hand and by means of archaic devices, such as the spinning-wheel, distaff, spindle and loom, which have undergone but little change in the course of centuries. Linen is used alone or mixed with cotton for sheets, table-cloths, napkins and towels. In the large cloths, which are so solid that they are handed on from generation to generation, the damask decoration is of an infinite variety. Raw linen and bleached linen, linen mixed with cotton threads intercrossed in all directions combine to bring forth designs in checks, stars or intersec-

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5



169.—174. Decorated Eggs, Pattern laid on with Bees-Wax

ting circles. Designs in gray on gray, which are sometimes very intricate, 531
produce light effects which relieve the austerity of the material used. 286
Towels are made on the occasion of a birth. They are also used to cover a coffin. Being much smaller than sheets, they require smaller cleverly laid out designs. In the district of Biržai they are often given a colored band along the edge, generally red, but sometimes blue, or long plaited fringes. The lace that sometimes borders them is made with a needle or a spindle.

Colors are sometimes used in the cloths, but chiefly in clothing. Two item[1] are of special interest, the "*juostos*" and the "*žiurstai*", i. e. belts and aprons. In the former the most ancient designs are preserved, whereas the latter are remarkable for the splendor and richness of their decoration. The *juostos* make use of several techniques and of different looms, some of which are complicated, whereas others are so rudimentary that a shep-

[1] [Errata: should be items, cf. Errata Sheet, p. 204, Cat. 116 --- Analyst]

531 herdess can work them while watching the cattle. They are made of woven,
286 plaited or sewn strips. Originally they were made of wool, but later bleached or coarse linen and even cotton bought in town were added.

The most ancient belts were plaited. They are decorated with simple zigzags and only in a few tones, white, red, blue. Some of them may still be found in the neighbourhood of Zarasai, Panevėžys and Ukmergė, but they become increasingly rare. The sewn *juostos* of Suvalkai (Suvalki) too are seldom to be found. The method most frequently employed is weaving. The primitive specimens show but few colors, blue green, red, rarely black and white, with a brownish border. With the Dzūkai Lithuanians of the region of Merkinė, Alytus and Pūnia, white and red, prevail, but the scales show a a tendency to increase. Nevertheless, red, green, and yellow prevail. The designs are geometrical and formed of interwoven threads. Designs à la Grecque, swastikas with ramified branches, rosaces and complicated polygones are worked in lozenges, squares and crosses. Also ladders, hooks, angles, windows, rakes, goat's hooves, nuts, four-and fivefold eyes. The ornaments crowd together and form new designs, an uninterrupted series of straight lines and angles. The principal parts of the design occupies the centre of the strip. A double row of ornamentation appears on broad belts. Each side of the belt is framed by two small independent friezes.

Aprons are made by more skilful methods, certain techniques resemble those of the *kilimai*. The ornaments are often handsewn, and various systems are employed on the same apron. The preparation of the frame itself requires more care. The threads are colored by the weaver herself and work proceeds slowly. On a background of dark blue, garnet or green and even black, large designs are worked in linen or cotton. They are fleur de lys, idealized roses, or red, violet, blue and yellow tulips. The designs are combined in crosses, rosaces, zigzags, in solid broad ornaments, that remind one of the sumptuousness and the violent coloring of the ancient Spanish tissues. They are sub-divided into horizontal bands. The design is sometimes spread over the surface, sometimes it is framed by rays. Such designs, standing out against the background, maintain the character of a coat of arms. The tulip, one of the four flowers dear to the decoration of the East, which has been known in this country ever since prehistoric times, appears there as an emblem. These *žiurstai* are worn everywhere, but they all of them come from Suvalkai, the district of

1/n [Errata: should be tendency. cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, cat. 116, --- Analyst]

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Mariampolé and of Kalvarija. At Klaipéda their decoration consists 531
of several finely embroidered horizontal strips. They are not only or- 286
naments, but also symbols of virtue. In some villages it is considered im- [183]
proper to be seen without an apron. Once, at a market, a woman was asked to sell her apron and she considered herself outraged.

The other parts of the dress of a peasant woman are: a linen shirt with 291
wide plaited sleeves, trimmed with small embroidered designs, a very ample woollen skirt, sometimes dark and plain and sometimes striped or of a Scottish pattern, gathered at the waist and a sleeveless vest, the "*kiklikas*", a kind of corslet often made of valuable brocade, which made its first appearance in the early 19th century. According to Mr. Galauné, the first specimens were perhaps imported by the soldiers of Napoleon's "Grande Armée", on their retreat from Russia. In the neighbourhood of Klaipéda, the *kiklikai* are of dark velvet. Necklets of coral and especi- 301
ally of amber are worn on the neck. Their beads, either raw or cut in facets with a knife, have not only the value of gems, but are endowed with magic qualities, they belong to times gone by and to legend. These fossil drops of resin, which have been described by Tacitus and were sold by Ligurian traders who imported them into the countries of the Mediterranean and Black Sea area, where they were deemed to be more precious than gold and who therefore jealously kept the secret of their origin, often contained imprisoned insects and other mementoes of olden times.

Young girls wear on their heads a band of tissue held at the back by a 291
flow of colored ribbons, married women wear instead "*nuometas*", a sort of white veil several meters long, which is of Eastern origin, but was also adopted in the West, and Tertullian recommended its use. At first this fashion found but few followers and was later abandoned, but it became the rule for married women from 1300 until 1500. During that time a large number of themes of sculptural models were imported into Lithuania, the survivals of which have been described above. It is possible that this fashion followed the same route. And do not certain weavers, with their dour yet finely cut profiles encircled in white, resemble some statues of the Middle Ages? The veil with its folds and its ritual knots is sacred, it bestows upon such as have taken it a certain measure of authority and of office. With their head-dress resembling that of the Saints of the Church, these peasant women would seem to belong to a religious order.

ooo

Such are the principal aspects of this art, in their diversity and in their constancy. Shapes have been preserved in it by the permanence of both material and technique, and by patient tenacity. Wood resists Time like granite. Nothing is more difficult to change than the course of linen thread. The tool used forces the hand which holds it to repeat the same movements indefinitely. Prehistory persists in the architecture of houses, in the curves and angles of the decoration of pottery, in the solar circles of the crosses, in the geometric dreams of the weaving maid. Some of the designs belong to a vocabulary of primitive mankind which was in use in many countries and has been similary preserved there, yet they are rooted in the earth of this country, they are bound to it inseparably and are resurrected simultaneously with it.

A whole forgotten world comes down to us intact. It develops, but remains faithful to its principles even in its changes. Witnesses of past eras crowd in it. The great styles are not unknown to it. Gothic art, Baroque, Classicism, modern elements and the East enfold it, penetrate it and are reborn in it. Shapes grown obsolete elsewhere persist in this fixed and unchanging world. They are part of its cycle of survival.

The Middle Ages here find spontaneously their most ancient aspects and persist in spite of the new waves which might have submerged them. Later eras too have left their mark, and even in our days their successive contributions have not disappeared. A simple jug may be a witness of a century long evolution. In the forest chapels, figures dwell which have come from far away, but are encompassed by the same idea. Ornaments belonging to the most different cultures are mingled on the same carved board. Chronology is upset. Sheltered by the Ages, popular art embraces them all. This diversity of sources however, does not disturb its unity. Having access to all inheritances it grows richer without betraying itself. Acquired elements are reconstructed, they bear impressed upon them the mark of its spirit, as does the soil which feeds it.

Jurgis Baltrušaitis

78

1/1 [Errata! should be which might. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, cat. 116. --- Analyst]

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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10-Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

IN TEXT

1. "Namai" of Žemaičiai - 2.—3. Porches - 4.—7. Windows and Doors - 8.—14. Iron Door Mountings - 15.—21. Gable Ornaments and Windows - 22. Dwelling-House, District of Alytus - 23. Dwelling-House, District of Stalupėnai - 24. Fisherman's Dwelling at Nida - 25. Dwelling-House, District of Pagėgiai - 26.—27. "Prieklėtis" of the Storehouse - 28. "Klėtis", Storehouse, District of Kedainiai - 29. "Klėtis", Storehouse, District of Biržai - 30.—31. "Klėtis", Storehouse, District of Biržai and Vilnius - 32. Wooden Church at Rumšiškės - 33. Wooden Church at Verpena - 34. Wooden Church at Gruzdžiai - 35. Wooden Church at Salantai - 36. Wooden Church at Kedainiai - 37. Wooden Church at Ukmergė - 38. Bell-Tower at Varputėnai - 39. Bell-Tower at Degučiai - 40. Bell-Tower at Pasvalis - 41. Bell-Tower at Rozalimas - 42.—44. Iron Heads of Crosses - 45. Bell-Tower at Tryškiai - 46. Bell-Tower at Šaukėnai - 47. Synagogue at Valkininkai - 48. Synagogue at Šaukėnai - 49.—98. Crosses and Chapels - 99. Votive Chapel near Kremala - 100. Votive Chapel near Skiemoniai - 101. Votive Chapel near Jučiūnai - 102. Votive Chapel, Forest of Šilėnai - 103.—107. Votive Chapels - 108.—125. Crosses and Chapels - 126.—152. Iron Heads of Crosses - 153. „Rūpintojėlis", wood-cut, 18th cent. - 154. The Crucifixion, wood-cut - 155. The Holy Family, wood-cut - 156. Carved Distaves - 157.—174. Decorated Eggs

IN APPENDIX

1. "Klėtis", Storehouse - 2. Porch of an old Farmhouse - 3. Wooden Church at Lioliai - 4. Wooden Church and Bell-Tower at Šaukėnai - 5. Interior of a wooden Church - 6. Bell-Tower - 7.—15. Wooden Crosses - 16. Wooden Chapel - 17.—18. Wooden Crosses - 19. St. Casimir, wooden sculpture - 20. St. Anton[1] wooden sculpture - 21. St. John Nepomuk, wooden sculpture - 22.—24. "Rūpintojėliai", wooden sculptures - 25. Pieta, wooden sculpture - 26. St. George and the Dragon, wooden sculpture - 27. St. Anton, painting on wood - 28. St. Barbara, painting - 29. Pieta, painting on wood - 30. St. John Nepomuk, wood-cut - 31. The Trinity, wood-cut - 32. St. John Nepomuk, St. Ignace, St. Joseph, St. Barbara and St. Apolonia, wood-cut - 33. Virgin from Loretto,[2] wood-cut - 34. St. Catherine, wood-cut - 35. St. Anna, wood-cut - 36. St. George and the Dragon, wood-cut - 37.—42. Carved Distaves - 43. A carved Wash-Falling - 44. An old Salt-Box, wood-carved - 45. A carved Distaff - 46.—47. Old Towel-Racks, wood-carved - 48.—51. Painted Hope-Chests - 52. to 55. Clay-Jugs and Waterpot - 56. Various Clay Workings[3] 57. Painted Clay Pitchers and Plate - 58.—61. Gloves - 62. Socks - 63. Carpet Design - 64. Various Towel Patterns - 65. Tablecloths - 66. Bed Coverings - 67.—68. Borders of Bed-Sheets - 69.—73. Belts - 74. Aprons - 75.—82. Apron Designs

1 [Errata: Should be St. Anthony, cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, cat. 116. --- Analyst]

2 [Errata: Should be Virgin of Loreto. cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, cat. 116. --- Analyst]

3 [Errata: Should be Various Clay Products. cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, cat. 116 --- Analyst]

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

ILLUSTRATIONS

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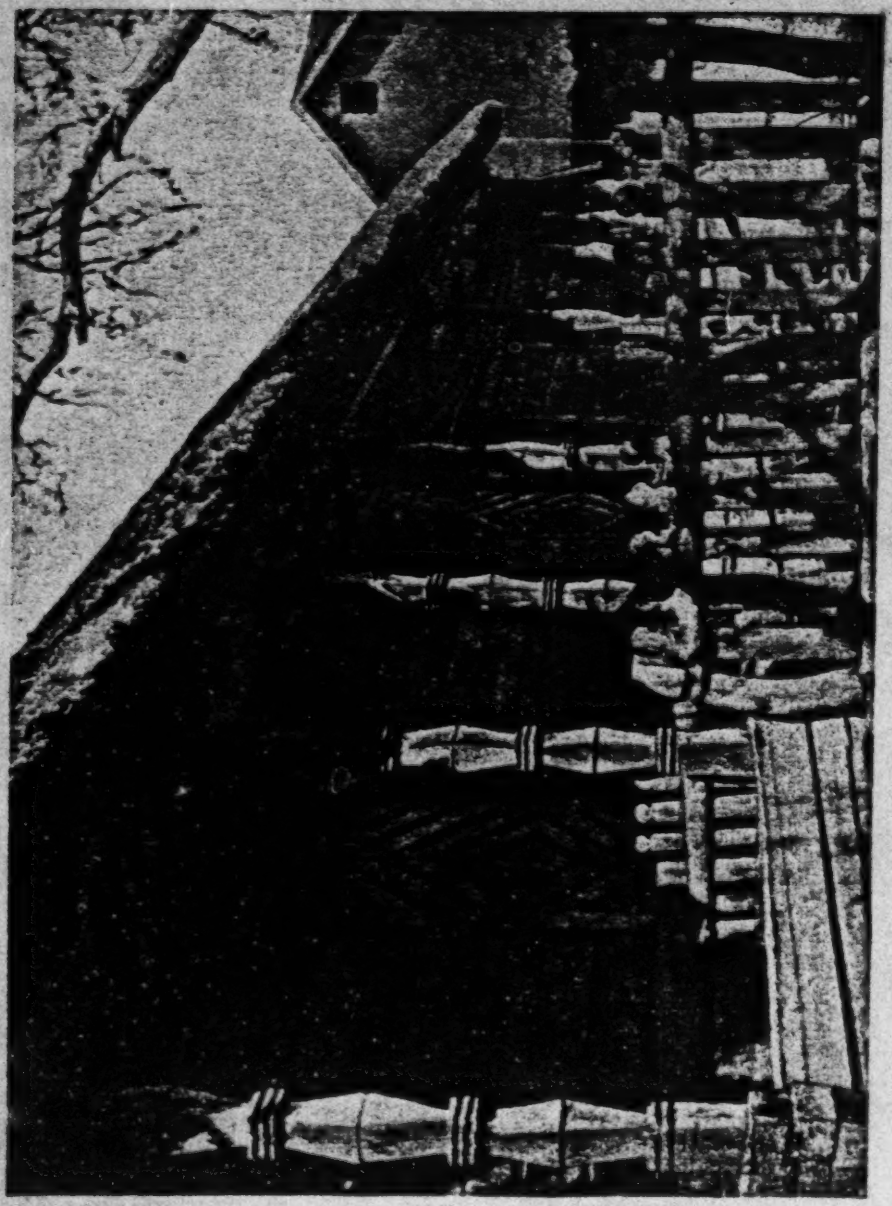
Photographs by E. Anker, B. Buračas, D. Čibas, M. K. Čiurlionis Gallery and Ethnographic Museum in Kaunas, J. Gimbutas, A. Ingelevičius, A. Rūkštelė, A. Tamolaitis, A. Varnas and others

[Errata: should be graphic. cf. Errata Sheet, p. 204, cat. 116 --- Analyst]

343



I. "Klėtis", Storehouse
District of Biržai

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1. Porch of an old Farmhouse
District of Utena

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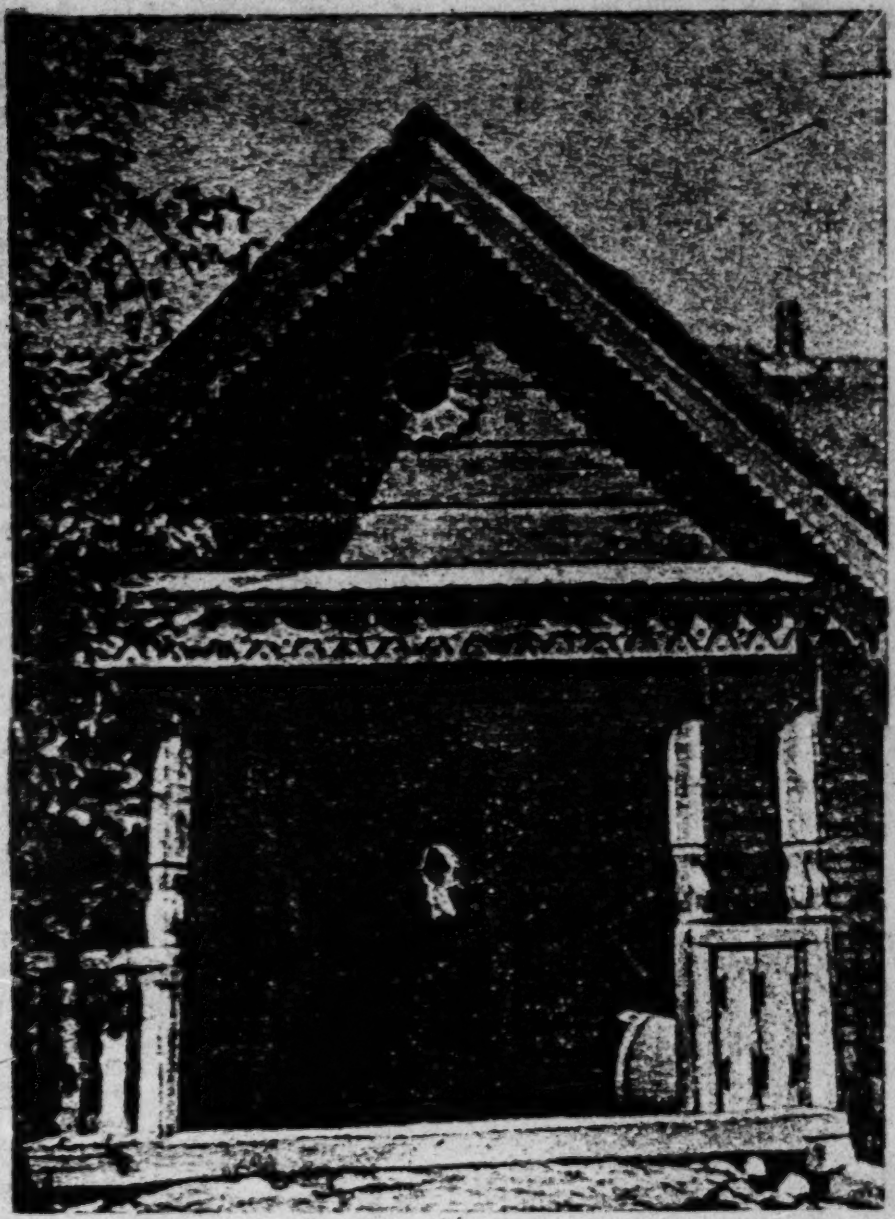

2. Porch of an Old Farmhouse
District of Utena

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3. Wooden Church at Lioliai
District of Raseiniai, 16th cent.

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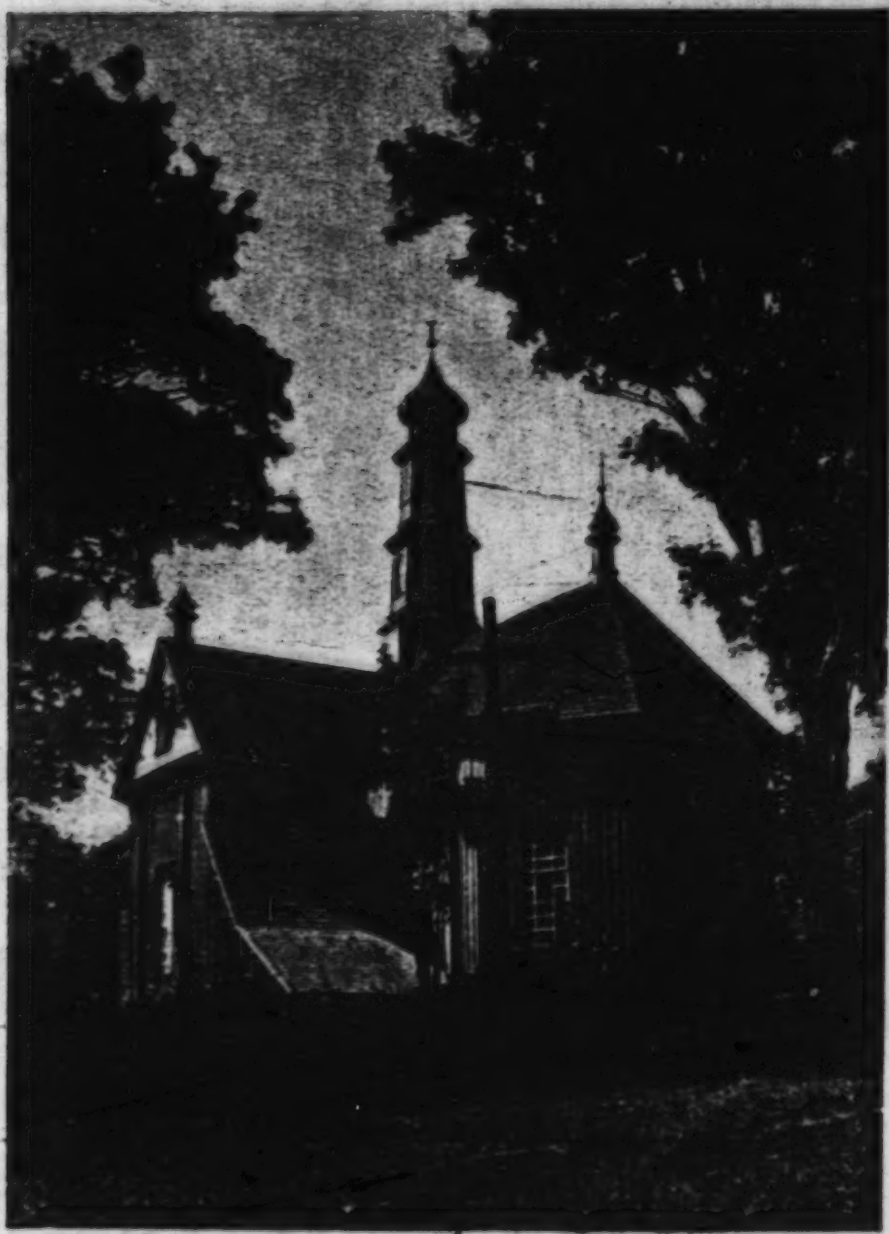
346



3: Wooden Church at Noliai
District of Raseinial, 16th Cent.

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4. Wooden Church and Bell-Tower at Šaukėnai
District of Šiauliai

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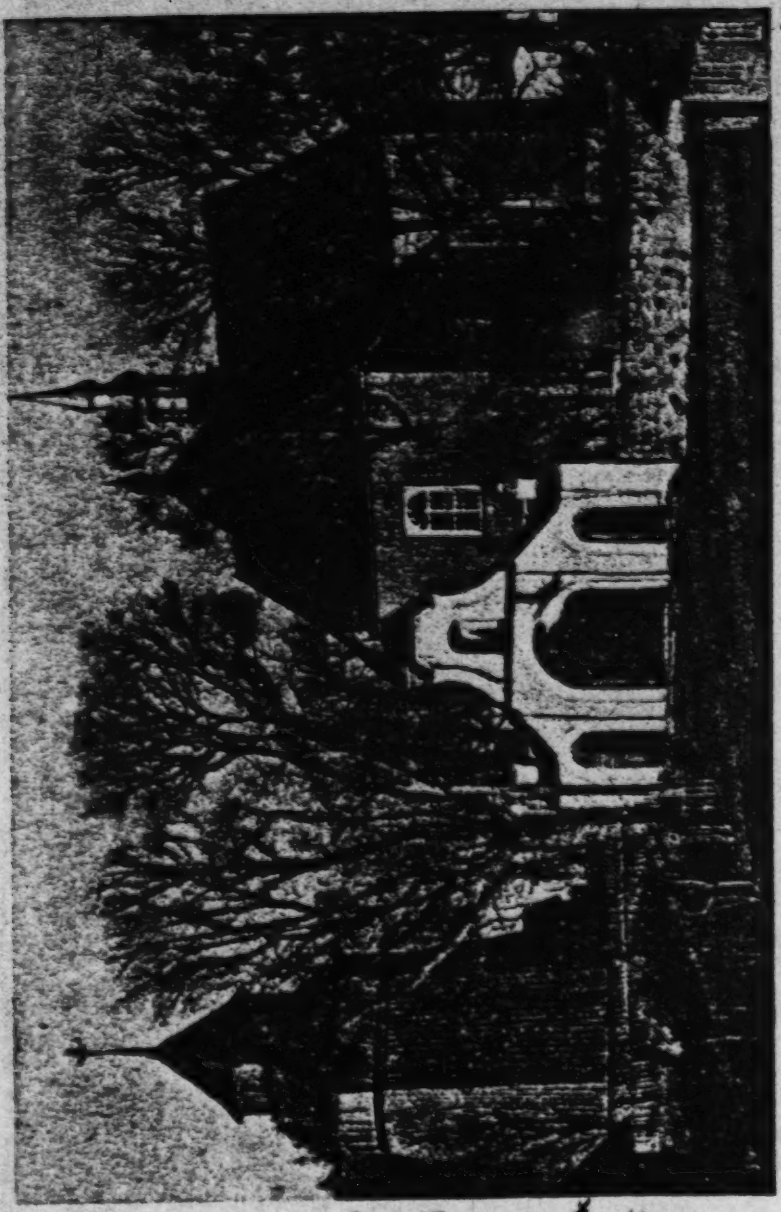
346



4: Wooden Church and Bell-Tower at Šaukėnai
District of Šiauliai

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5. Interior of a wooden Church

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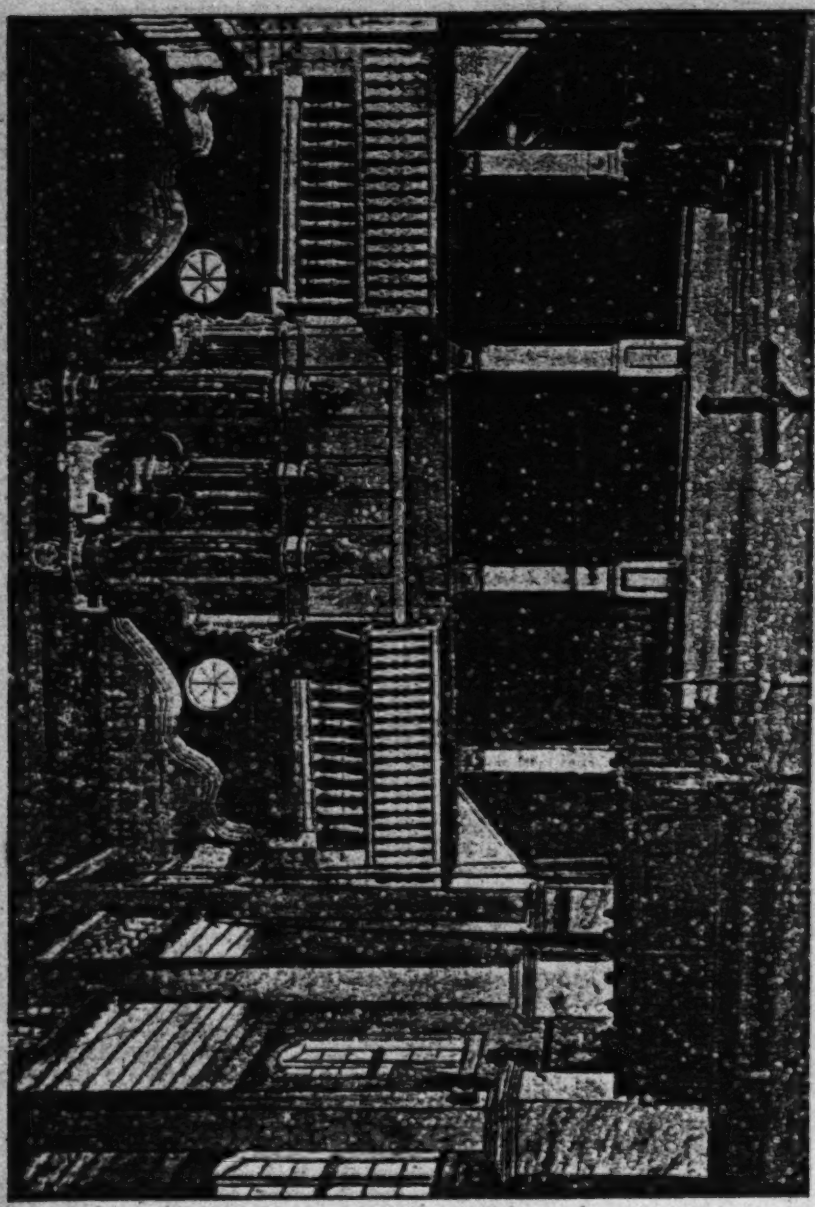

5: Interior of a wooden Church

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6. Bell-Tower
In Žemaitija

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346

6. Bell-Tower
In Žemaitija

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7. Wooden Cross
District of Zarasai

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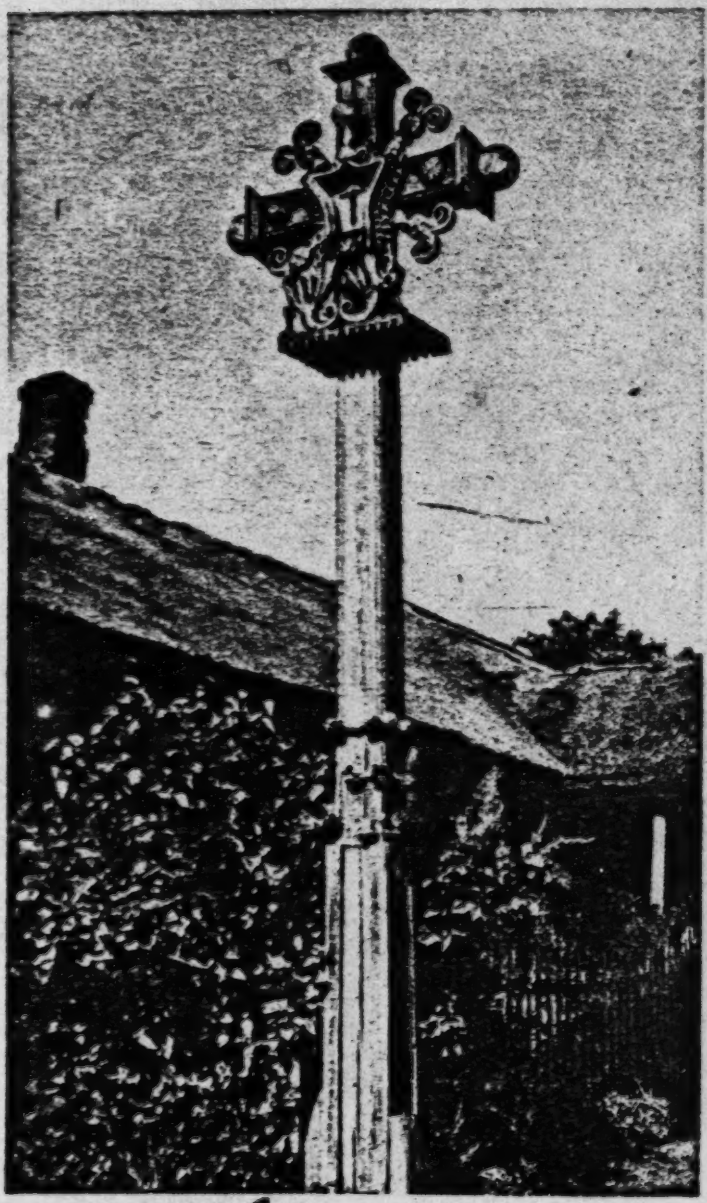

7. Wooden Cross
District of Zarasai

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8. Wooden Cross

District of Zarasai

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8. Wooden Cross
District of Zarasai

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9.-11. Wooden Crosses
District of Kedainiai

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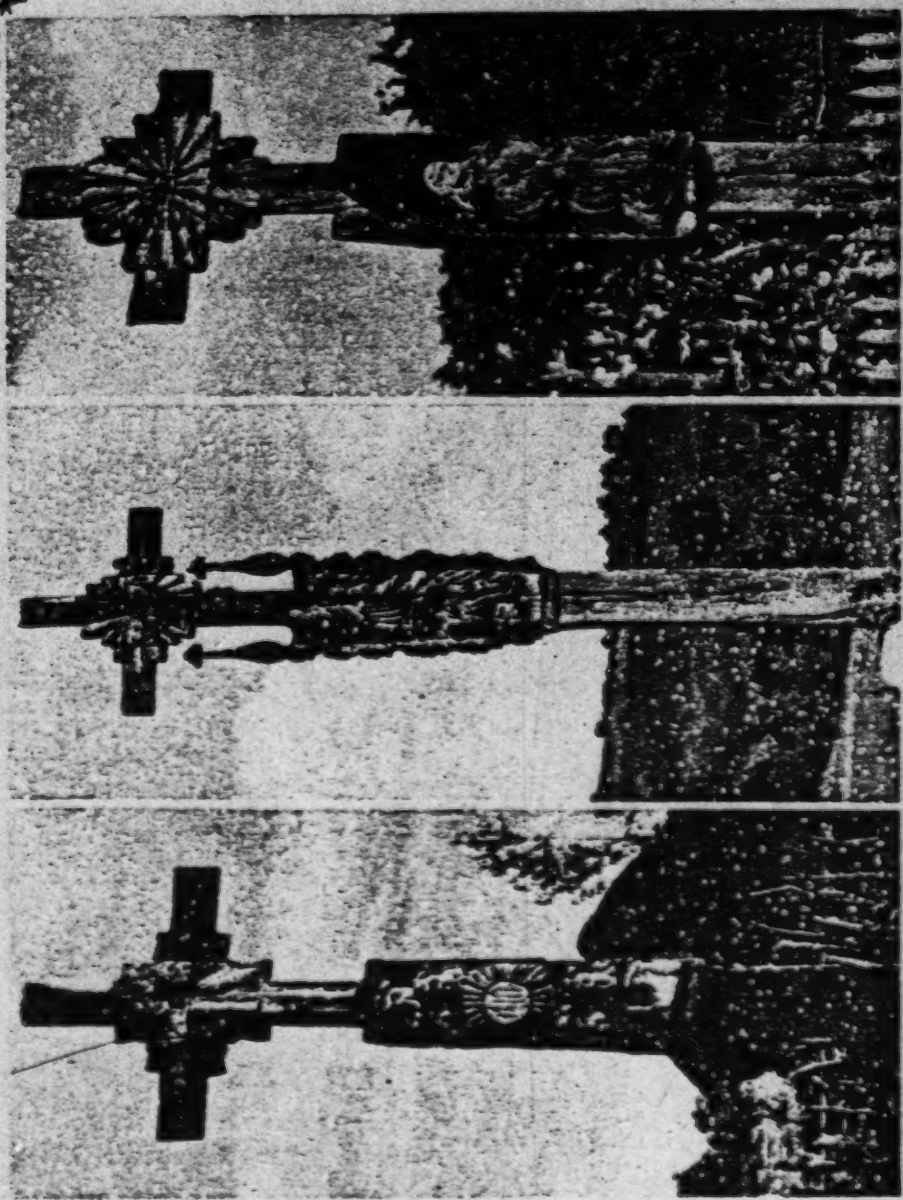

9.-11. Wooden Crosses
District of Kedainiai

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11. Wooden Cross
District of Utena

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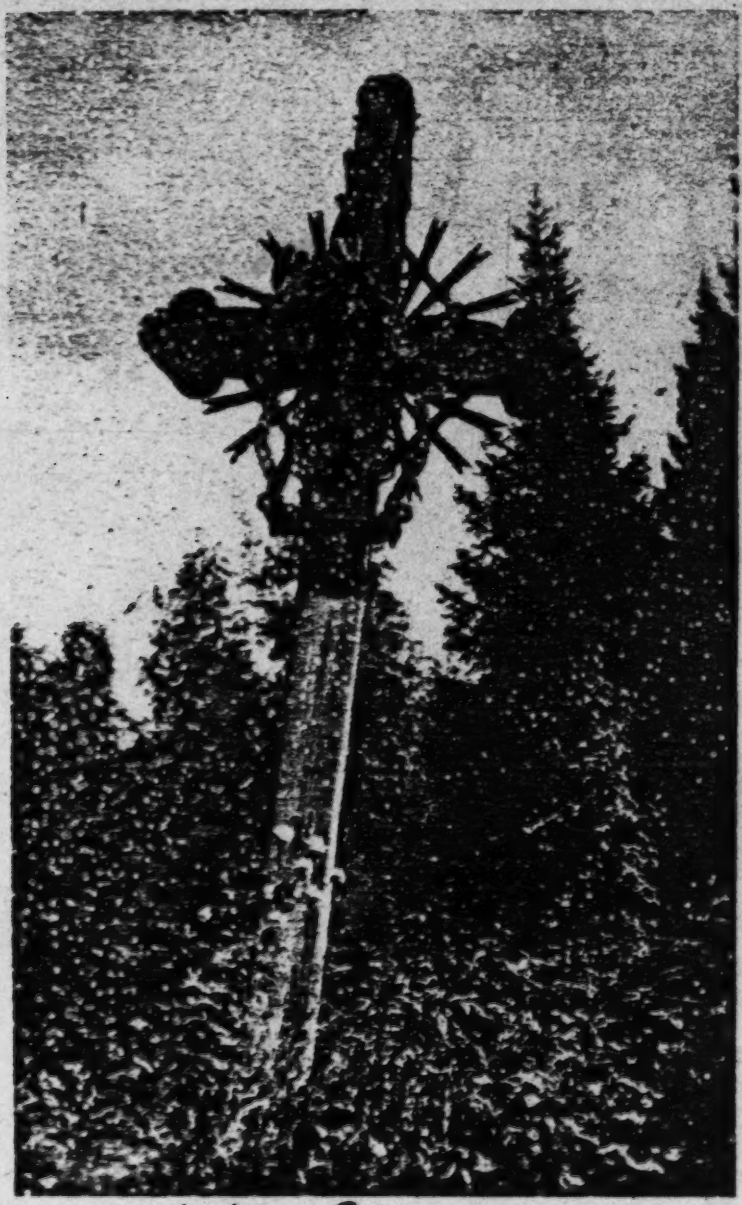

12. Wooden Cross
District of Utena

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13. Wooden Cross
District of Kaunas

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13. Wooden Cross
District of Kaunas

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14. Wooden Cross
District of Kakillin

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14. Wooden Cross
District of Rokiškis

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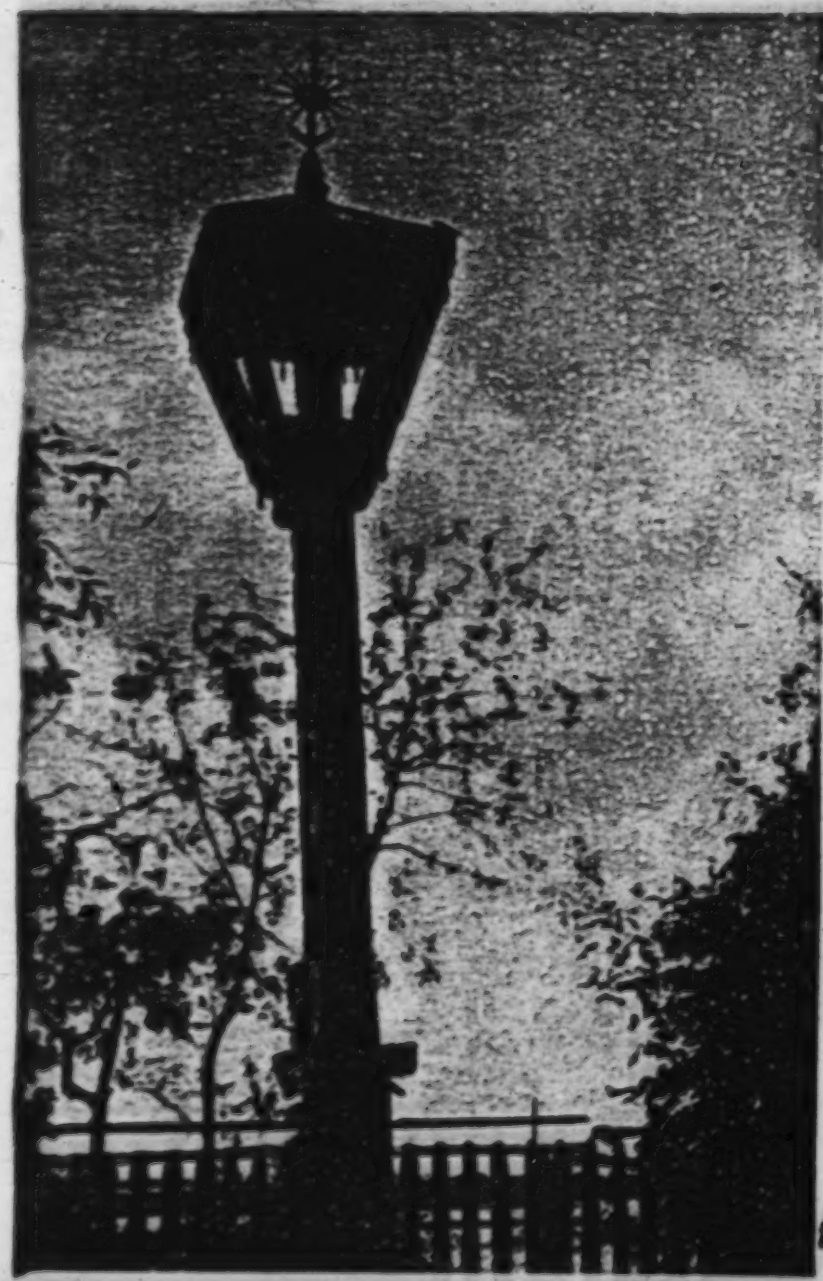

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15. Wooden Cross
District of Šventšiovys

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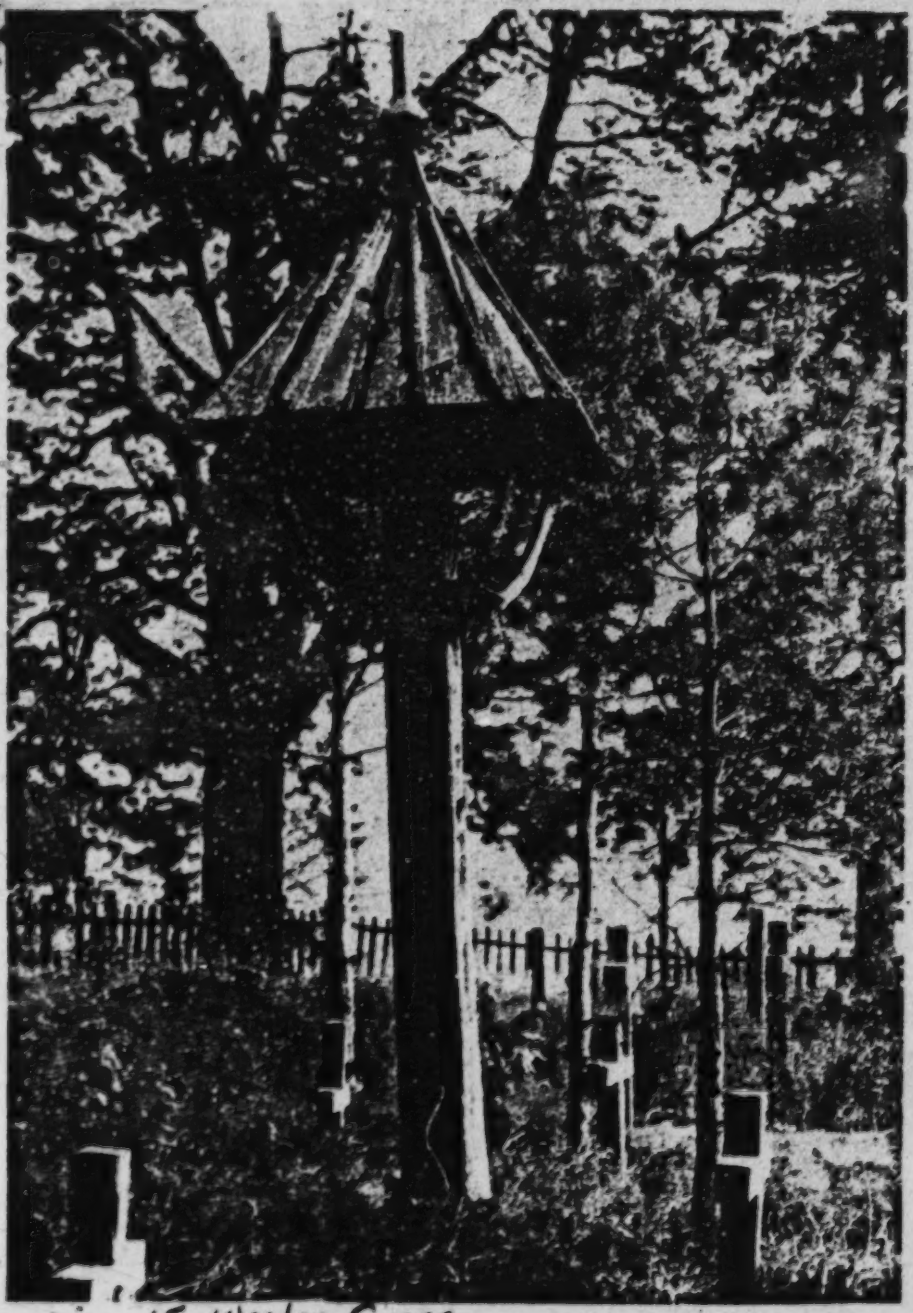

15. Wooden Cross
District of Švenčionys

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16. Wooden Chapel
District of Rokiškis

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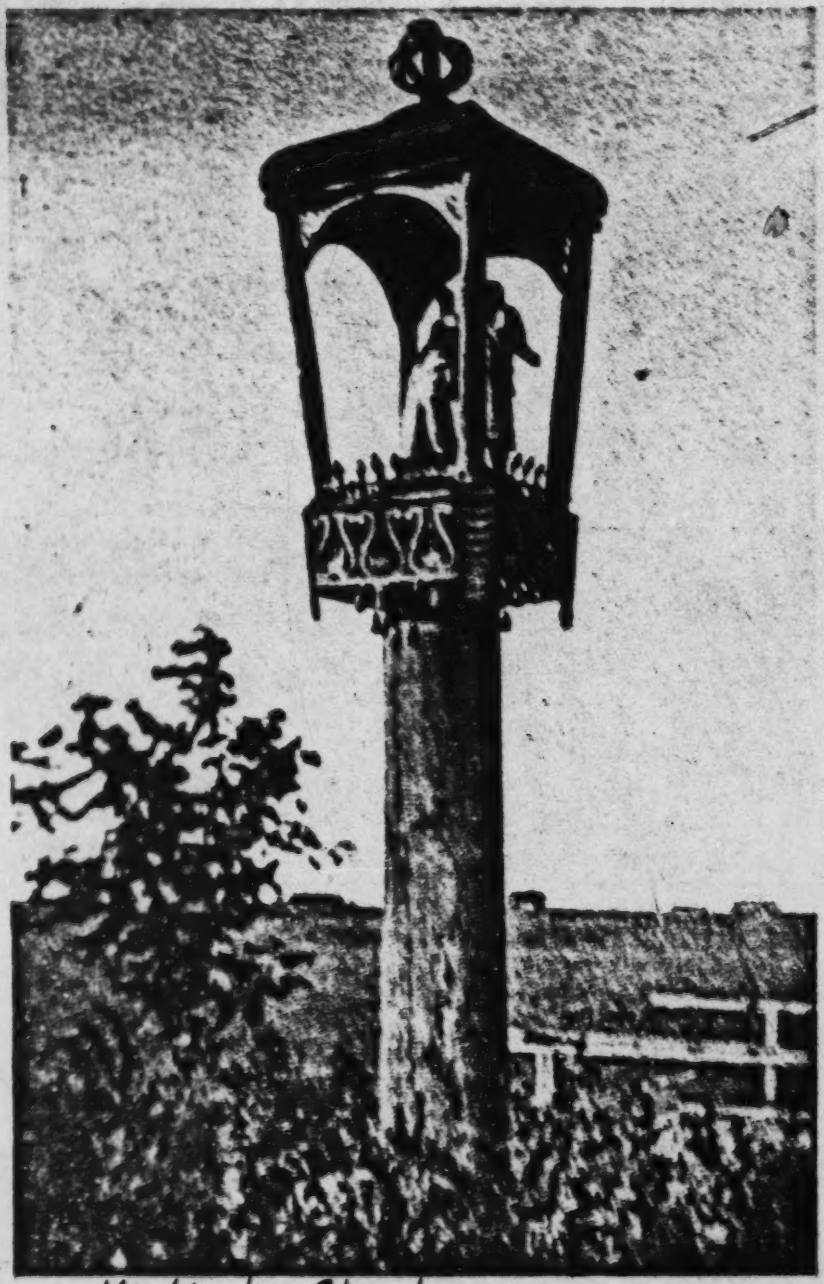

16. Wooden Chapel
District of Rokiškis

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17. Wooden Cross
District of Taurage

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17. Wooden Cross
District of Tauragė

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18. Wooden Cross

Reconstructed from an old model

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18, Wooden Cross
Reconstructed from an old model

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19. St. Casimir

Wooden sculpture

113

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19. St. Casimir
Wooden sculpture

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20. St. Anton
Wooden sculpture

115

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20, St. Anton
Wooden Sculpture

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21. St. John Nepomuk
Wooden sculpture

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21. St. John Nepomunk
Wooden Sculpture

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22. "Rūpintojėlis"
Wooden sculpture

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22. "Rūpintojėlis"

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23. "Rūpintojėlis"
Wooden sculpture

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23. "Rupintojelis"
Wooden Sculpture

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24. "Rūpintojėlis"
Wooden sculpture

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24. Kupiškis
Wooden sculpture

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25. Pieta
Wooden sculpture

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-32*

25. Pieta
Wooden sculpture

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26. St. George and the Dragon
Wooden sculpture

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26. St. George and the Dragon
Wooden sculpture

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128

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

27. St. Anton
Painting on wood

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27. St. Anton
Painting on wood

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28. St. Barbara
Painting

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28. St. Barbara
Painting

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

29. Pieta

Painting on wood

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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29. Pieta
Painting on wood

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30. St. John Nepomuk

Wood-cut, 18th cent.

135

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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30. St. John Nepomuk
Wood-cut, 18th cent.

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31. The Trinity
Wood-cut, 18th cent.

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31. The Trinity
Wood-cut, 18th cent.

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32. St. John Nepomuk, St. Ignace, St. Joseph, St.
and St. Apolonia
Wood-cut

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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32. St. John Nepomuk, St. Ignace, St. Joseph, St. Barbara and St. Apolonia

Wood-cut

10-Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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33. Virgin from Loretto
Wood-cut, 18th cent.

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33. Virgin from Loretto
Wood-cut, 18th cent.

Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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34. St. Catherine
Wood-cut, 18th cent.

143

16;Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuaniana RB5

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34. St. Catherine
Wood-cut, 18th cent.

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35. St. Anna
Wood-cut, 18th cent.

145

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

532

35. St. Anna
Wood-cut, 18th cent.

10: Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

OCO

16. St. George and the Dragon
Wood-cut

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

532

36. St. George and the Dragon
Wood-cut

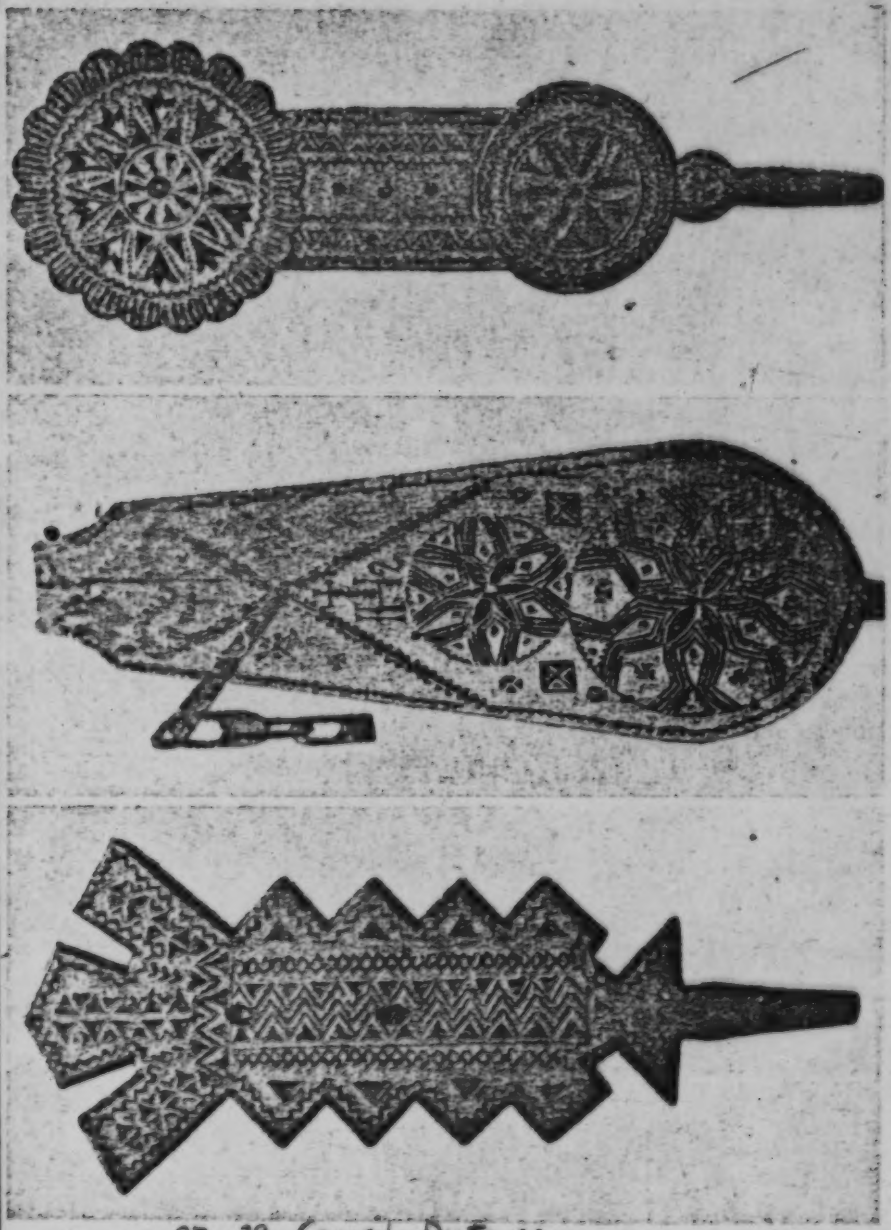
147A

'0:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

ooo

37-39. Carved Distaves
Used on a spinning-wheel

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5



37-39. Carved Distaves
Used on a spinning wheel

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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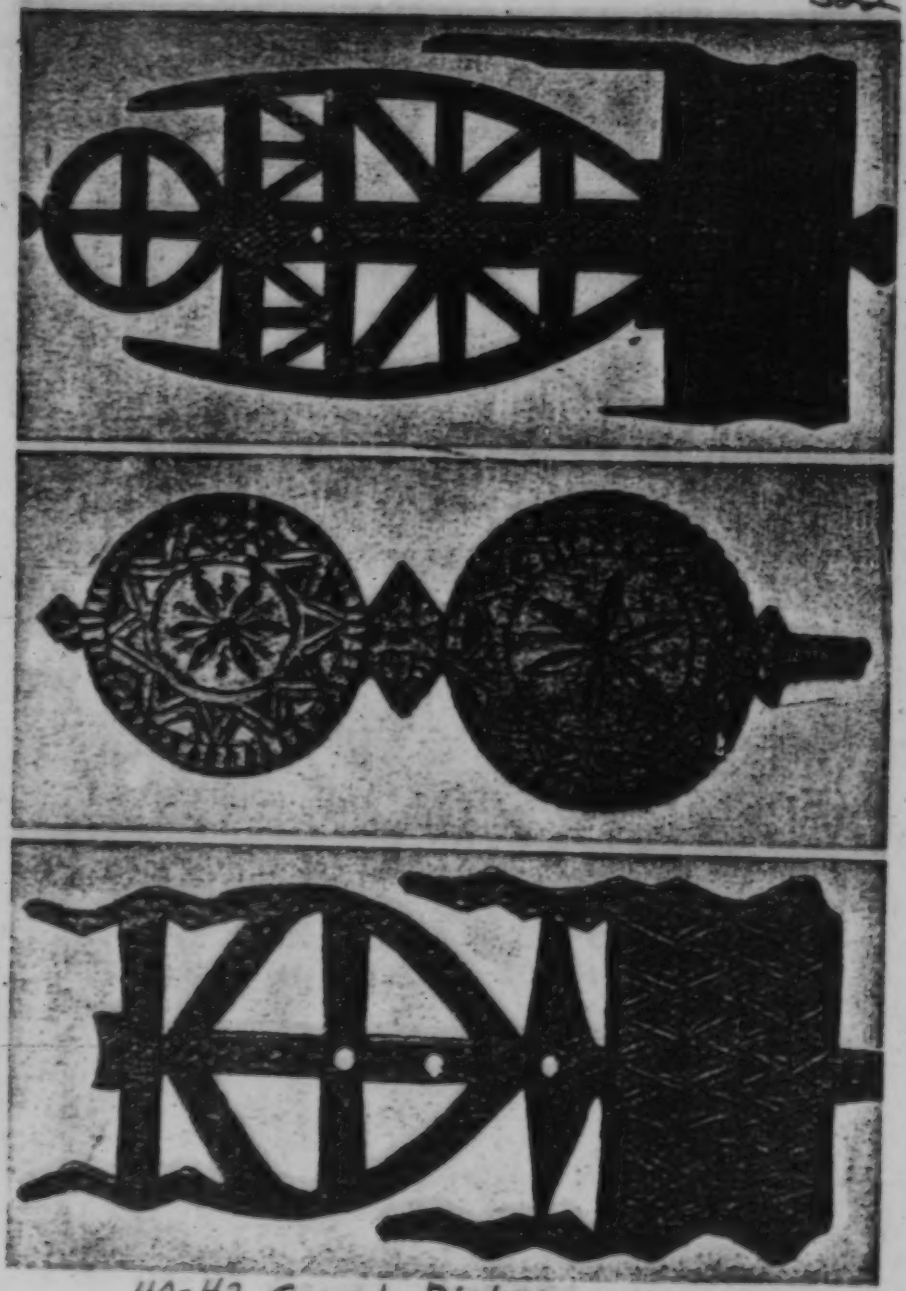
40.-41. Carved Distaves

Used on a spinning-wheel

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

531X
322



40-42 Carved Distaves
Used on a spinning wheel

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

ooo

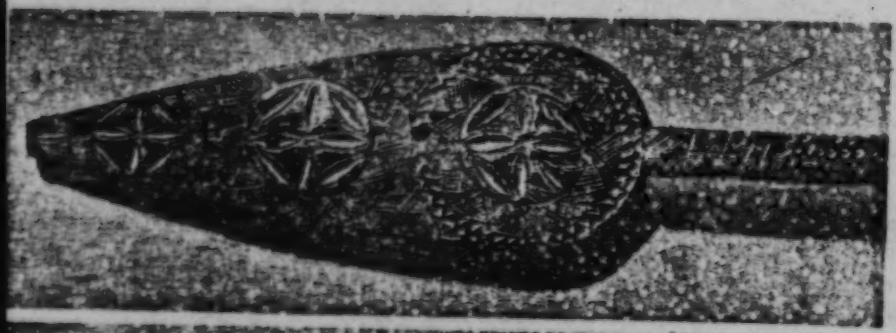
43. A carved Wash-Fulling
(Left picture)

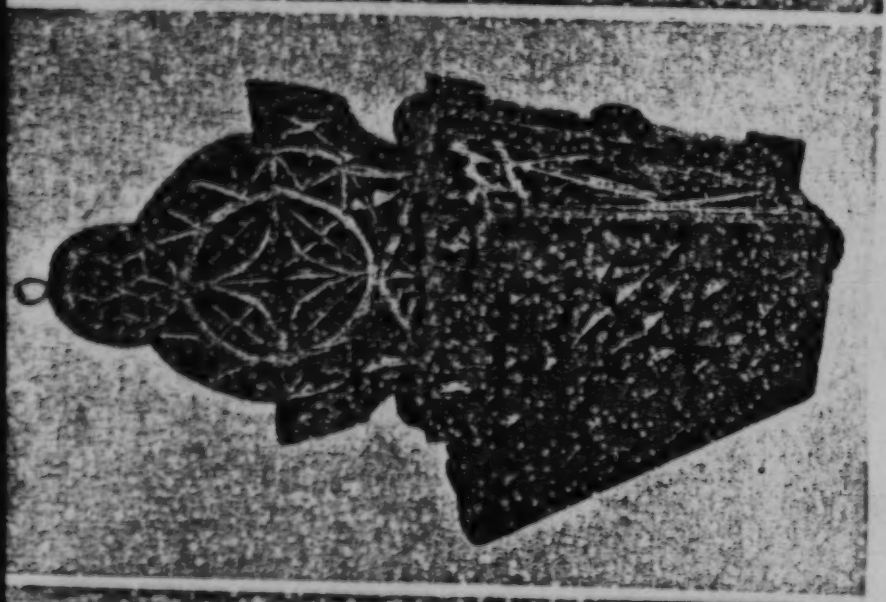
44. An old Salt-Box
Wood-carved

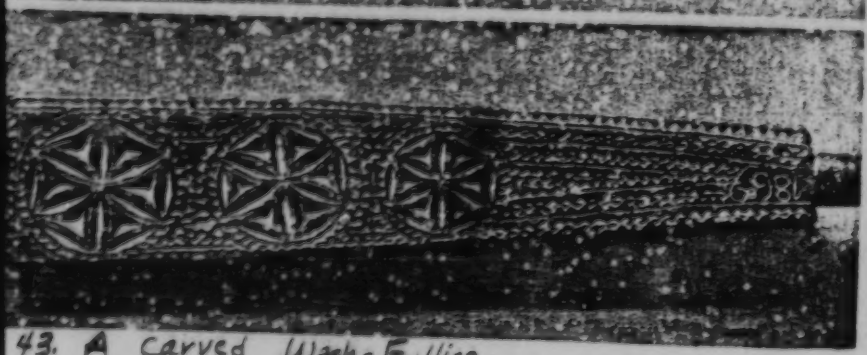
45. A carved Distaff
(Right picture)

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

531*
322







43. A Carved Wash-Fulling (Left picture)
44. An old Salt-Box Wood-carved
45. A carved Distaff (Right Picture)

153

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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46.-47. Old Towel-Racks
Wood-carved

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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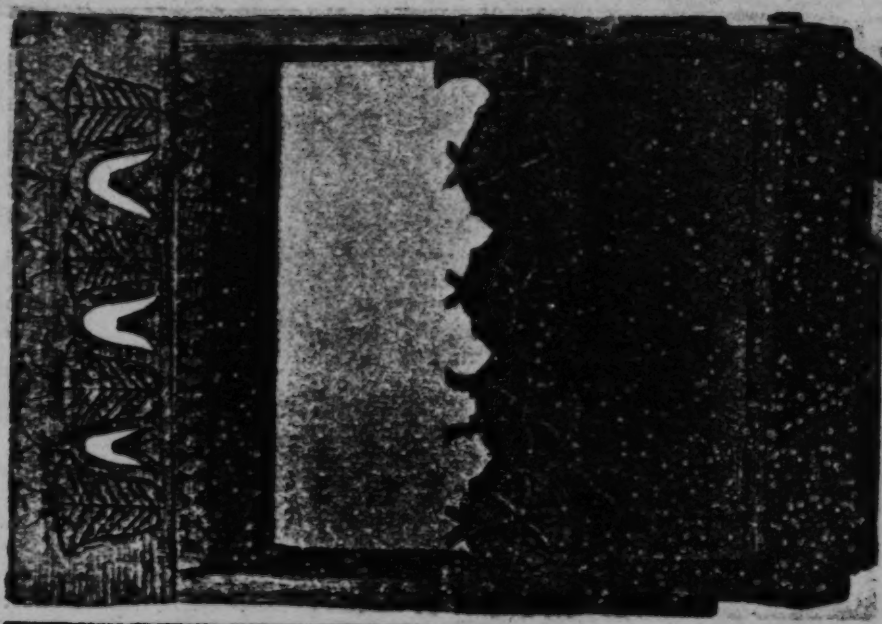
322



46.-47. Old Towel-Racks
Wood-carved

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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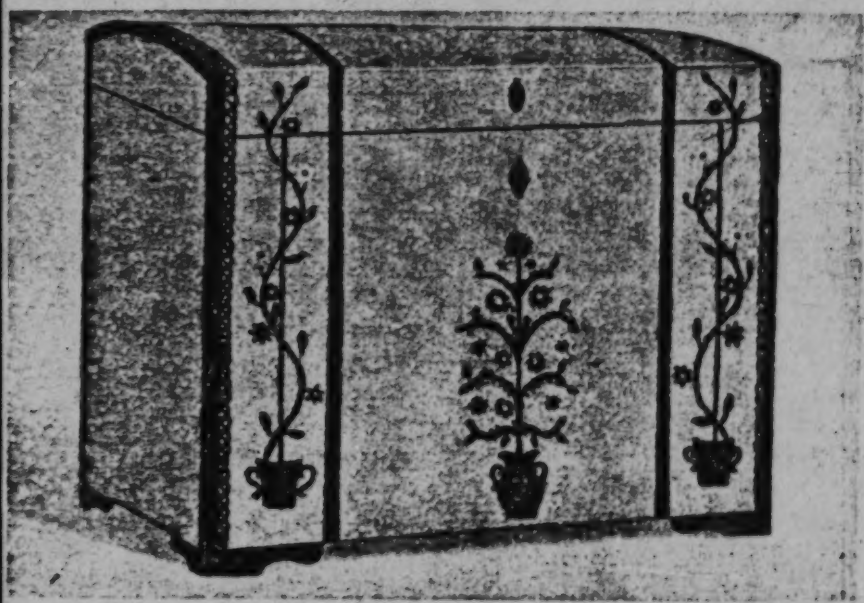
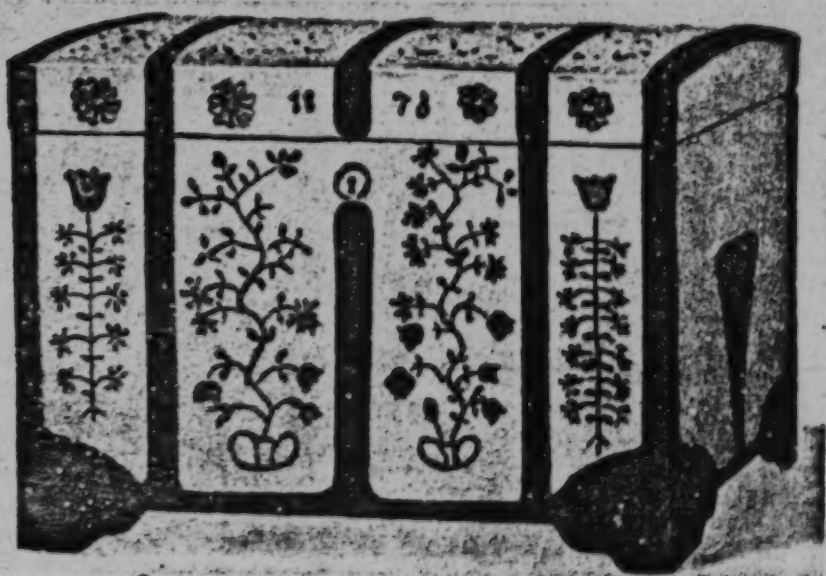
48-49. Painted Hope-Chests
District of Utena

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

531*
352





48.-49. Painted Hope-Chests
District of Utena

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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50.-51. Painted Hope-Chests
District of Utena and Raseiniai

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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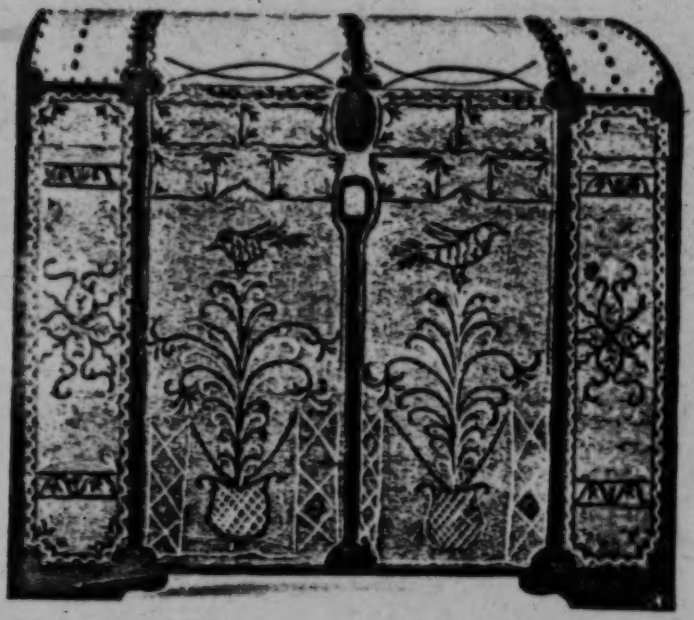
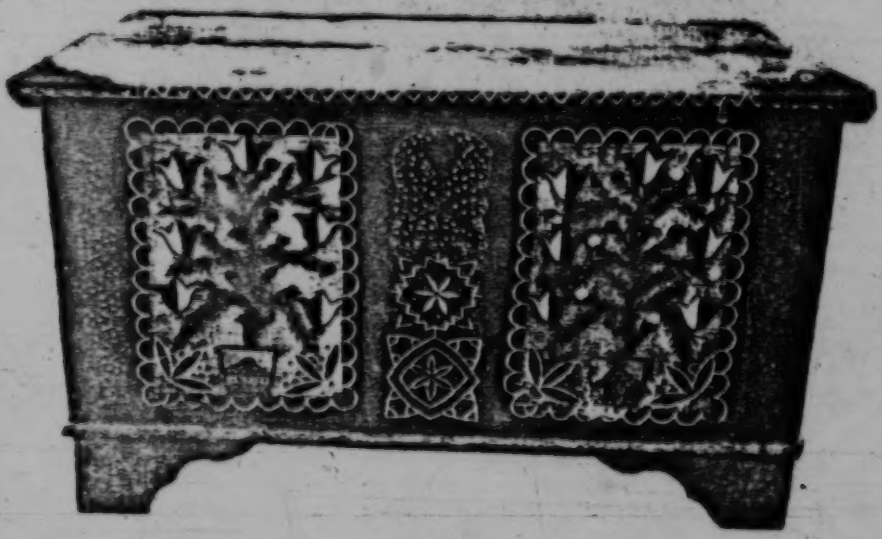
531
352





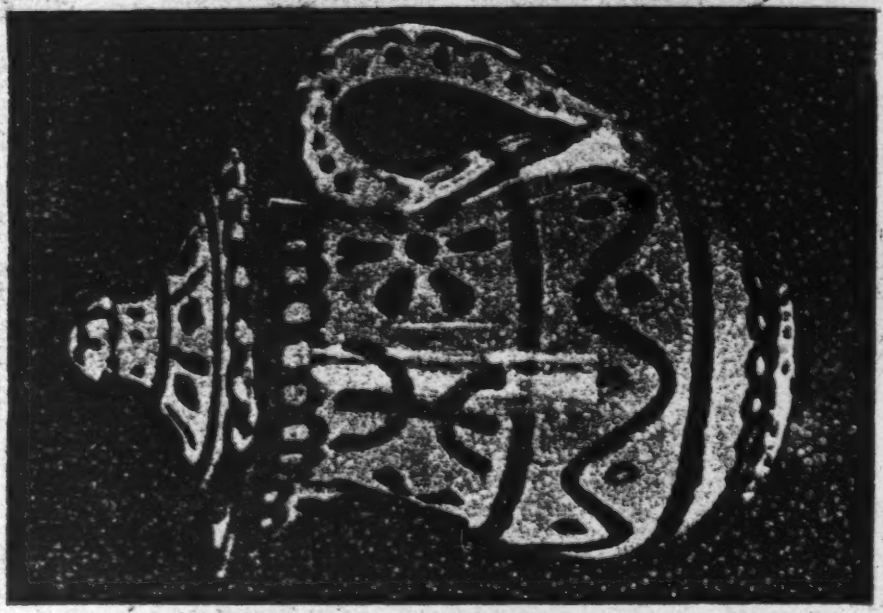
50.-51. Painted Hope-Chests
District of Utena and Raseiniai

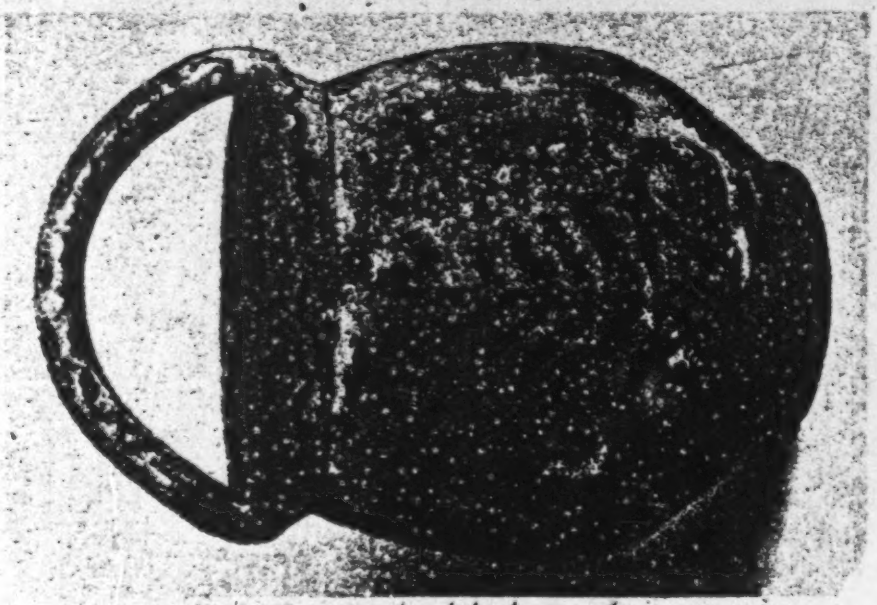
10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

52.-53. Clay-Jug and Waterpot
District of Šiauliai and Ukmergė

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

531 x
323





52.-53. Clay-Jug and Waterpot
District of Šiauliai and Ukmergė

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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54.-55. Clay-Jugs
District of Birlai

10:Baltrusaitis, R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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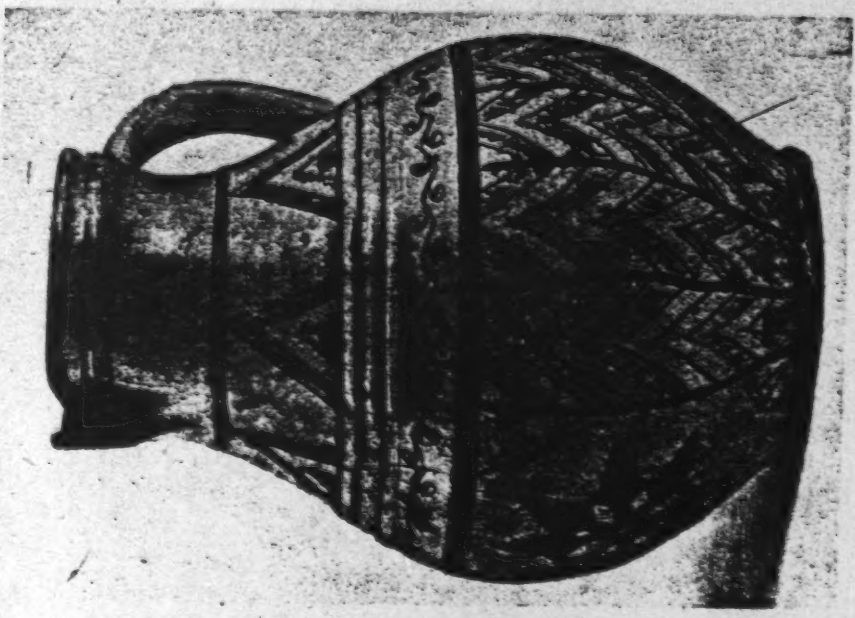
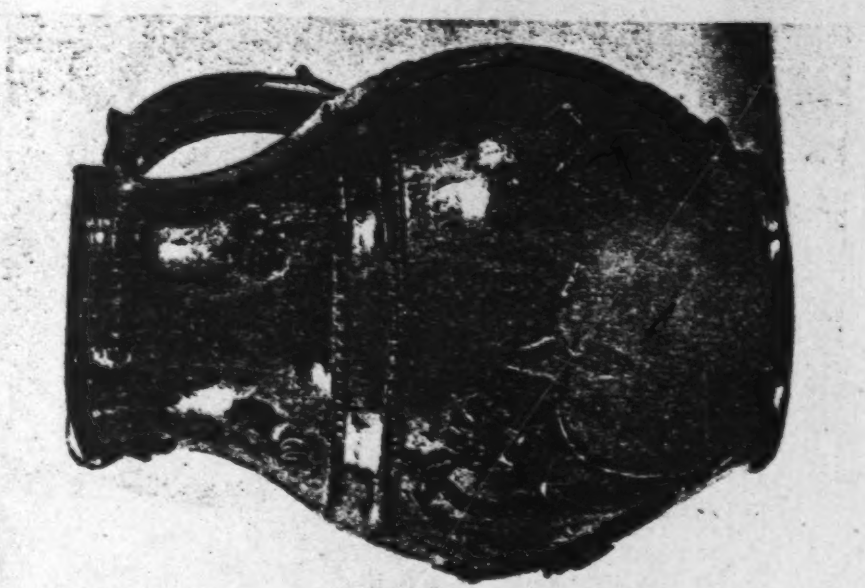
323





54-55. Clay-Jugs
District of Biržai

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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56. Various Clay Workings

57. Painted Clay Pitchers and Plate

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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323

56. Various Clay Workings
57. Painted Clay Pitchers and Plate

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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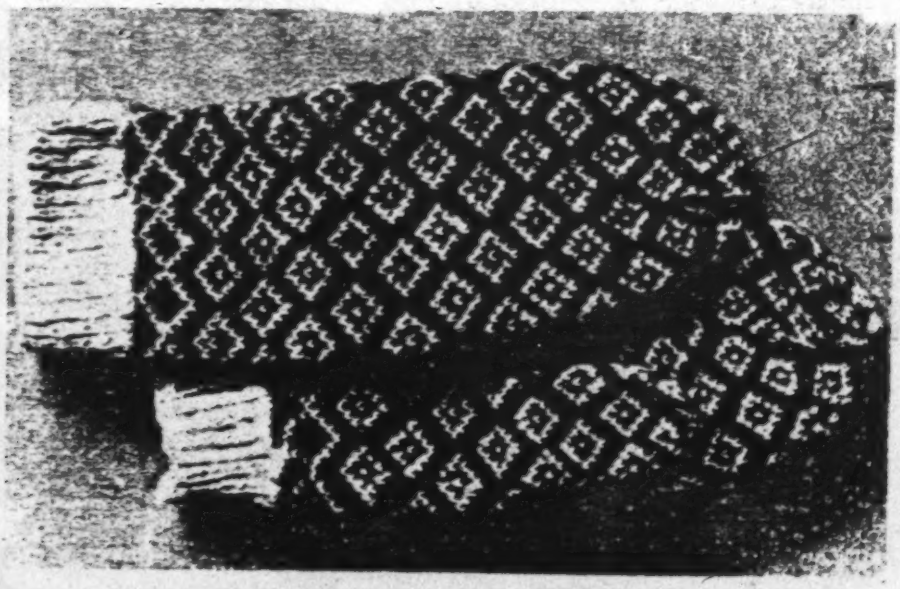
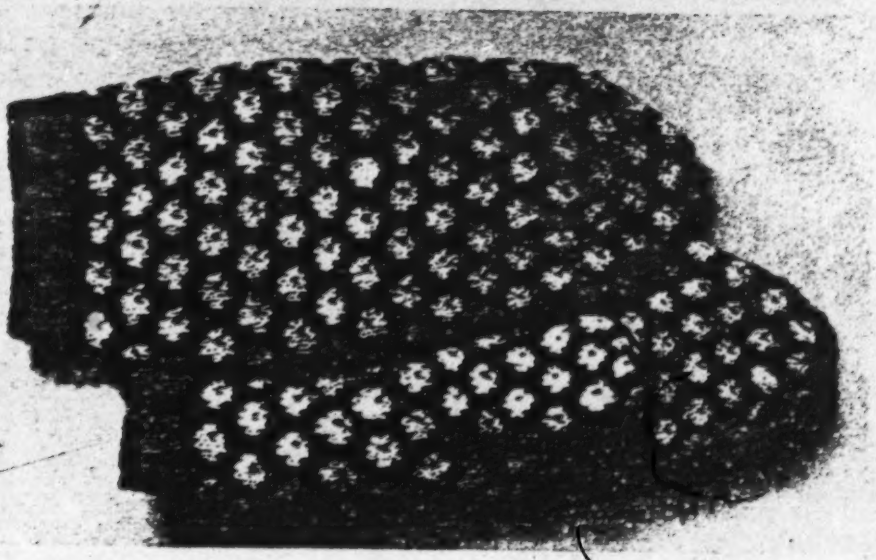
58.-59. Gloves
District of Telliai

166

531
291
286





58.-59. Gloves
District of Telšiai

.0:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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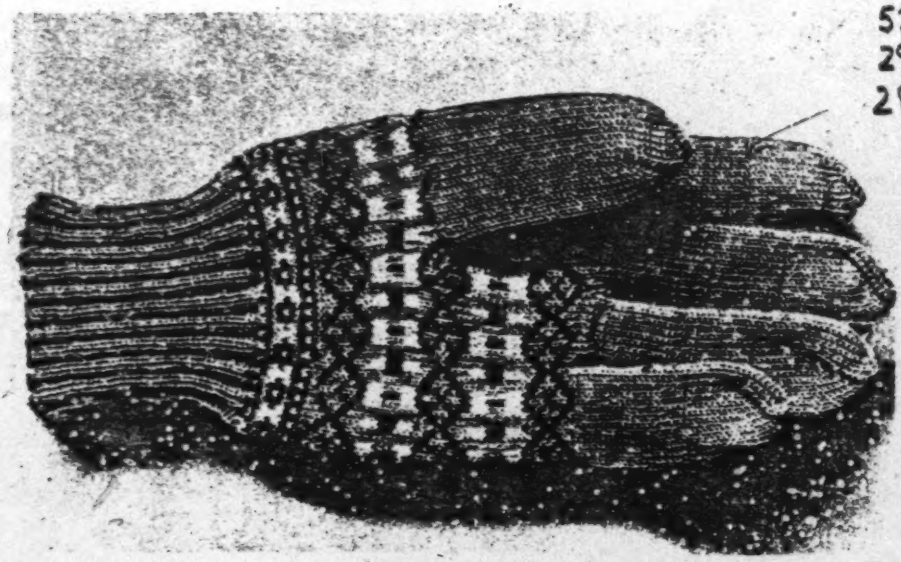
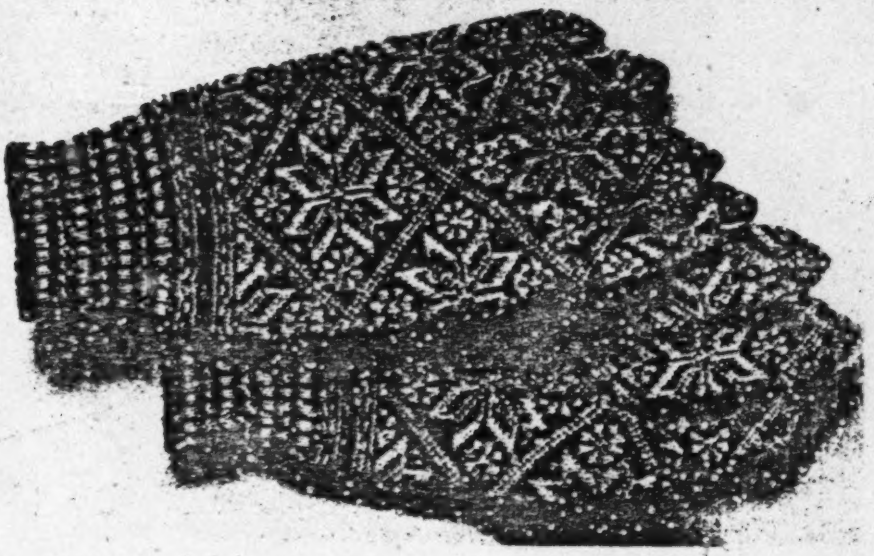
60.-61. Gloves
District of Telliai and Klaipeda

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

531*
291
286





60.-61. Gloves
District of Telšiai and Klaipeda

ir. Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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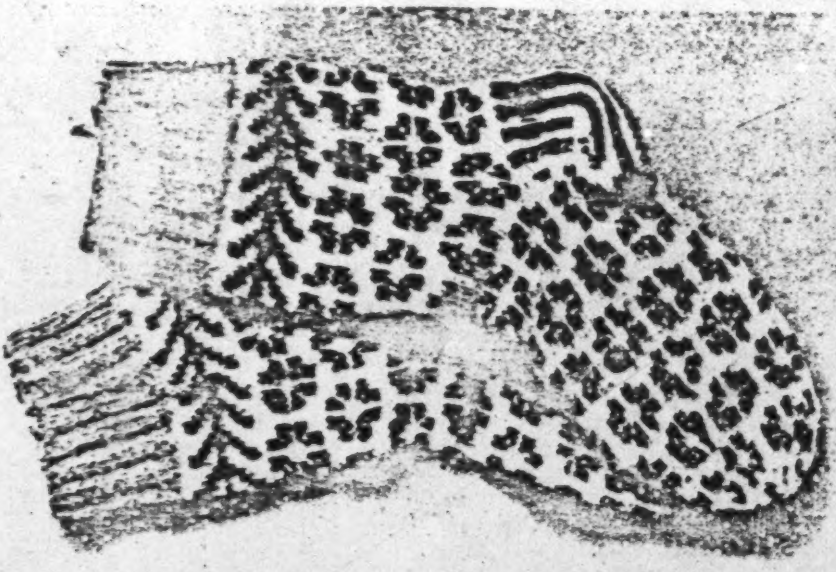
62. Socks

District of Kretinga

63. Carpet Design

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB

531*
286
291



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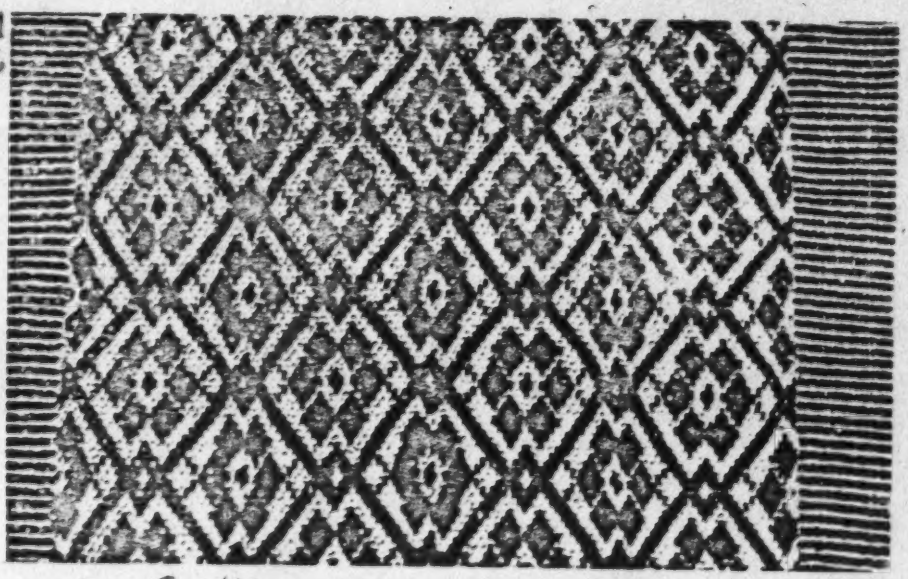

62. Socks
District of Kretinga

63. Carpet Design

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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64. Various Towel Patterns

531*
286

64. Various Towel Patterns

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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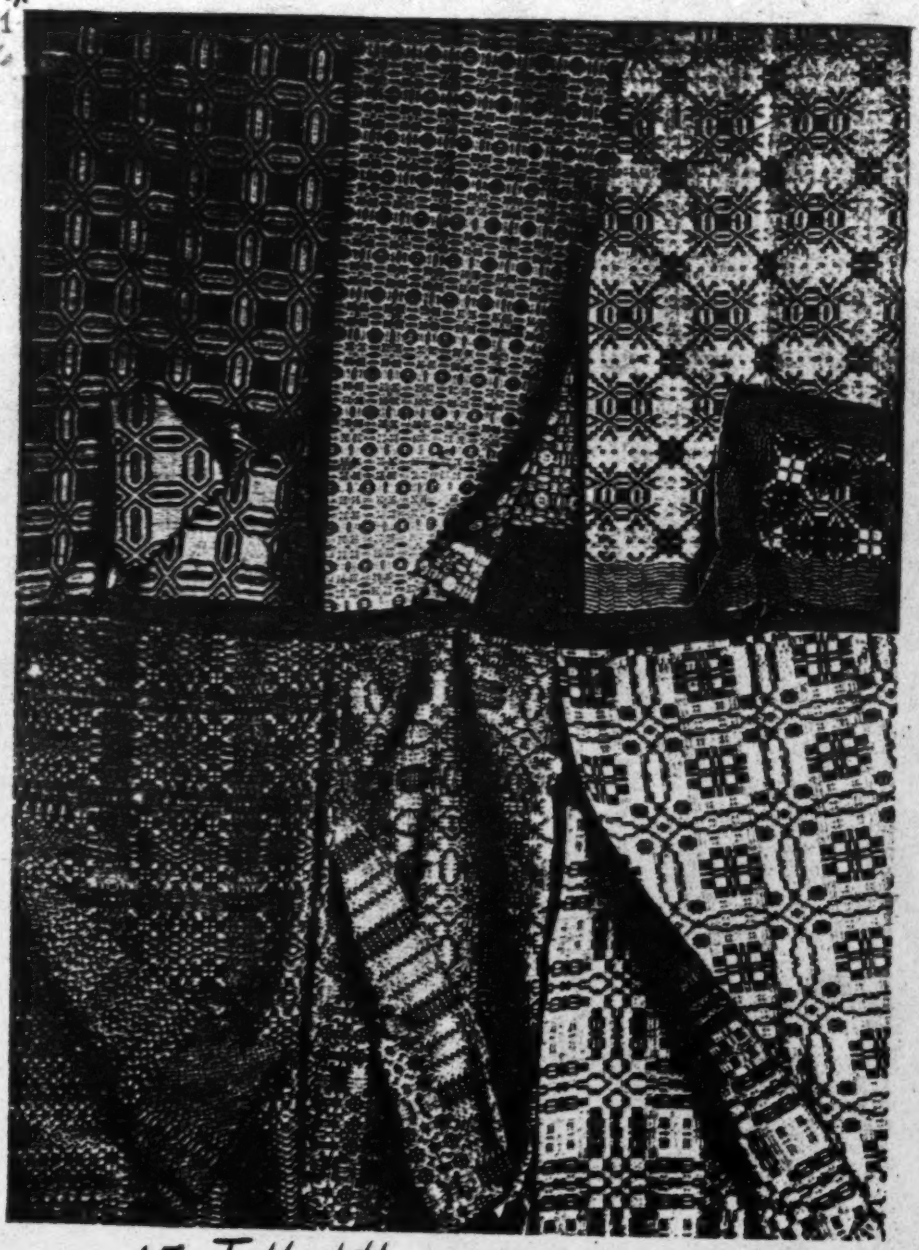
65. Tablecloths

174

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

531*
286



65. Tablecloths

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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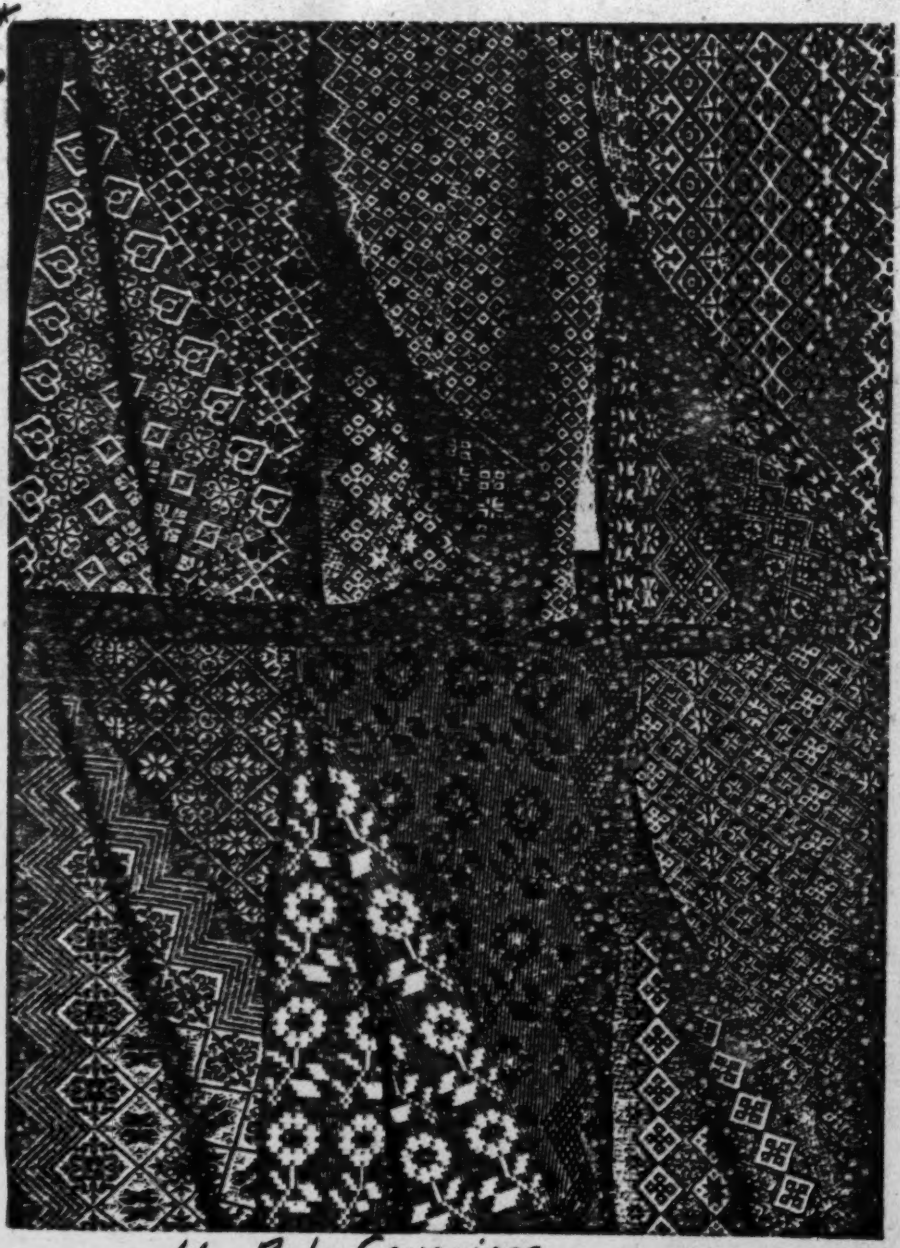
66. Bed Coverings

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RF5

531*
286



66. Bed Coverings

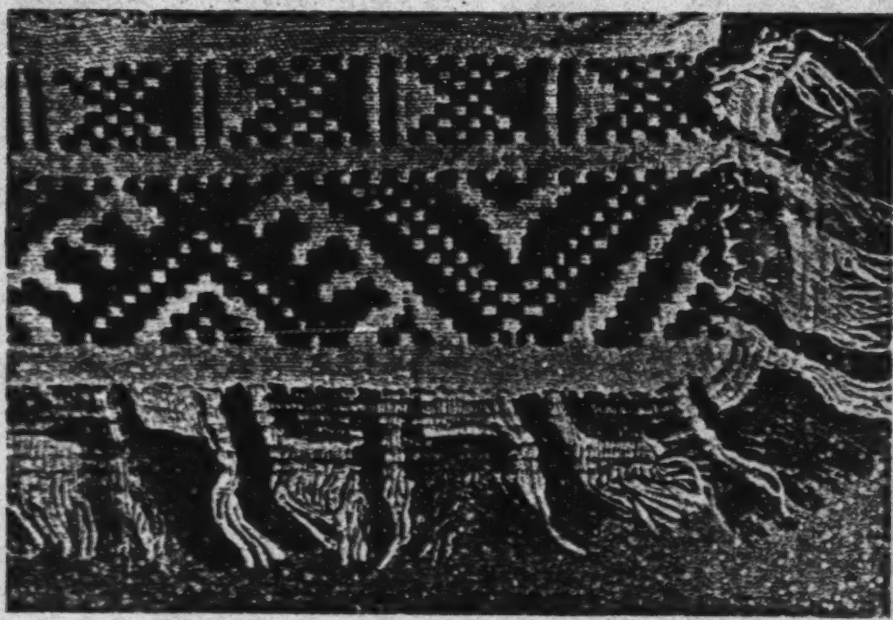
10;Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

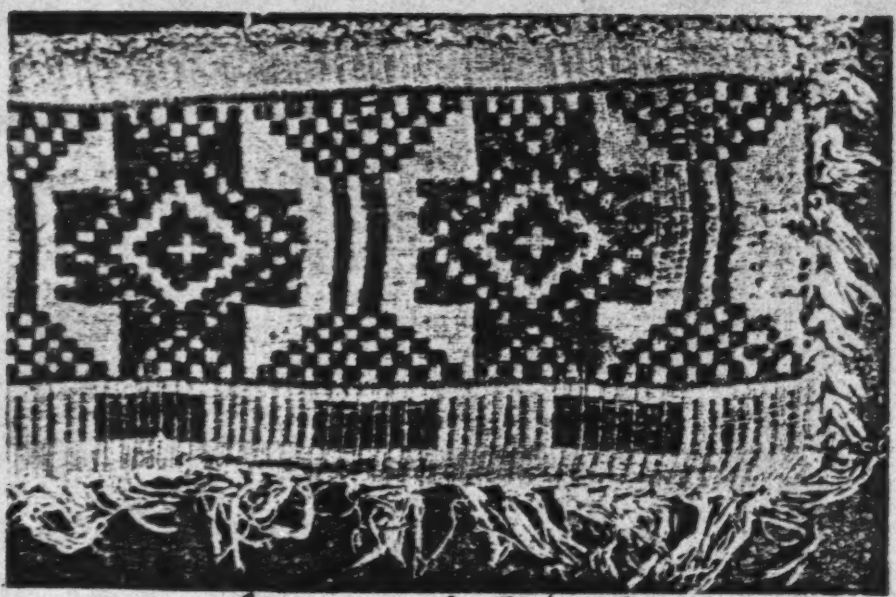
ooo

67.-68. Borders of Bed-Sheets

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

531
286





67,-68, Borders of Bed-Sheets

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

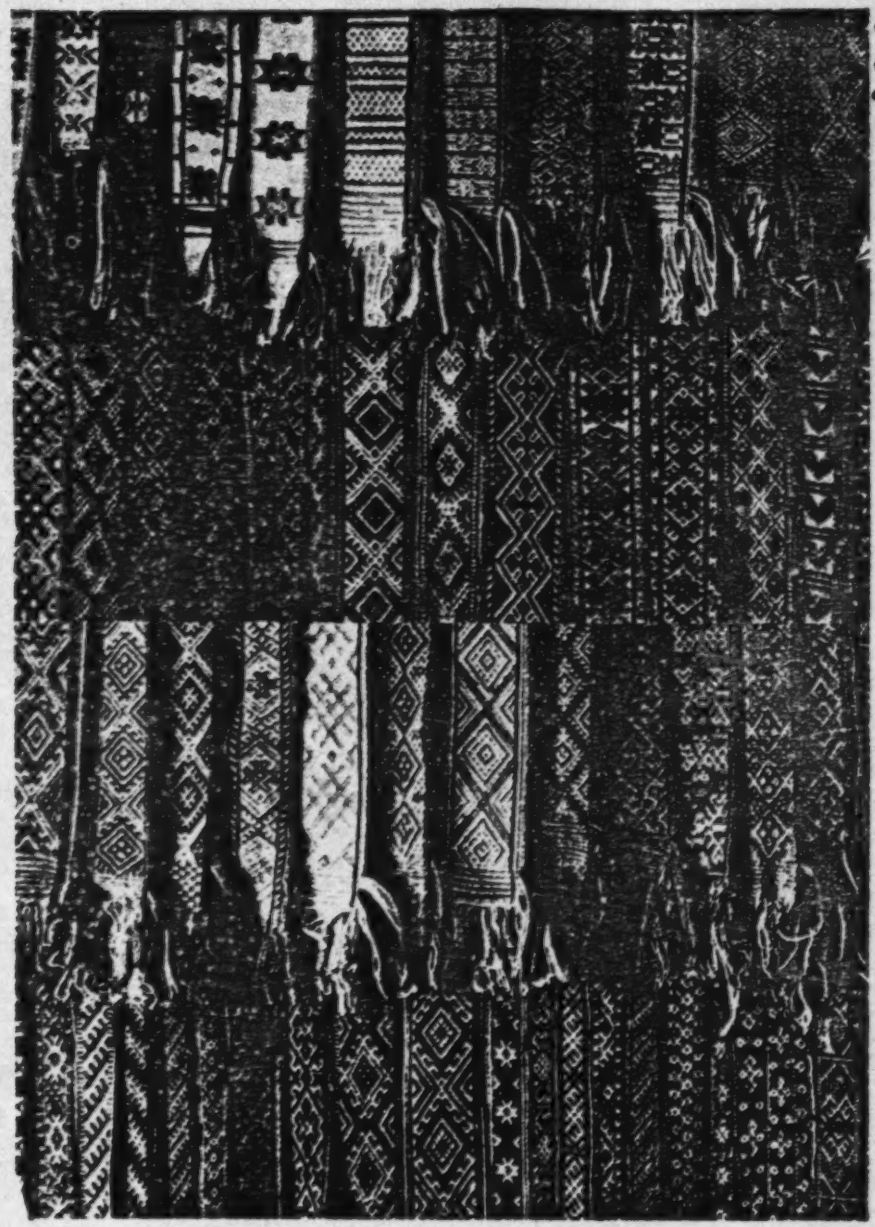
000

69. Belts

180

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

53
291
286



69. Belts

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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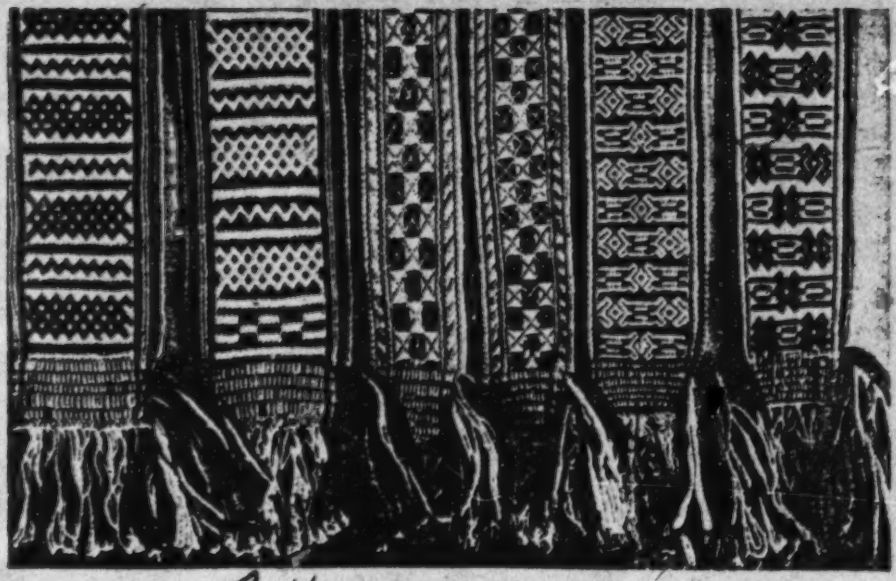
70.-71. Belts

182

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

531*
291
286



70.-71. Belts

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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72.-73. Belts

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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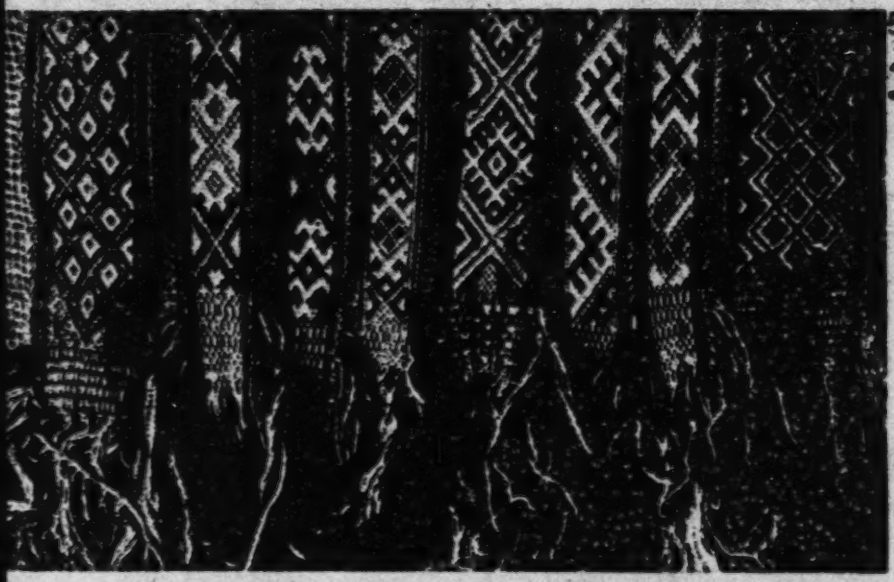

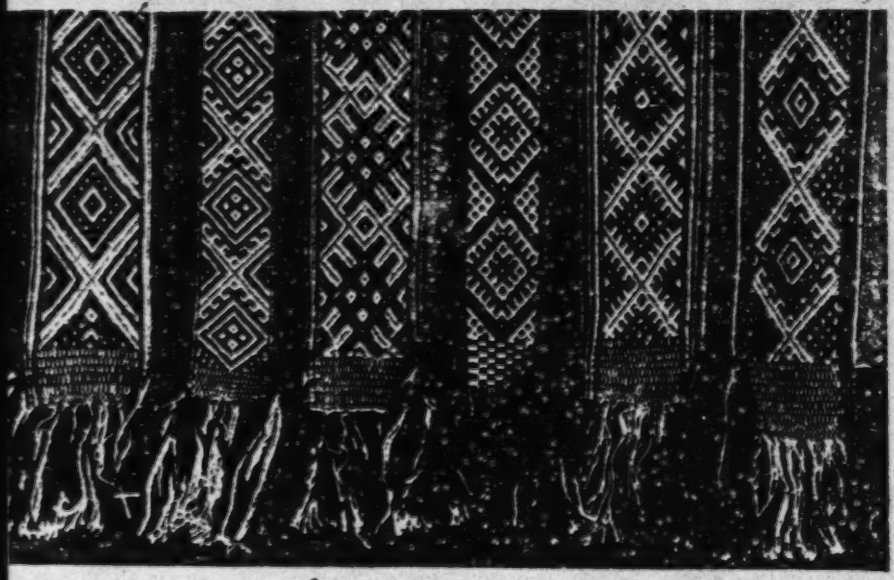

72.-73. Belts

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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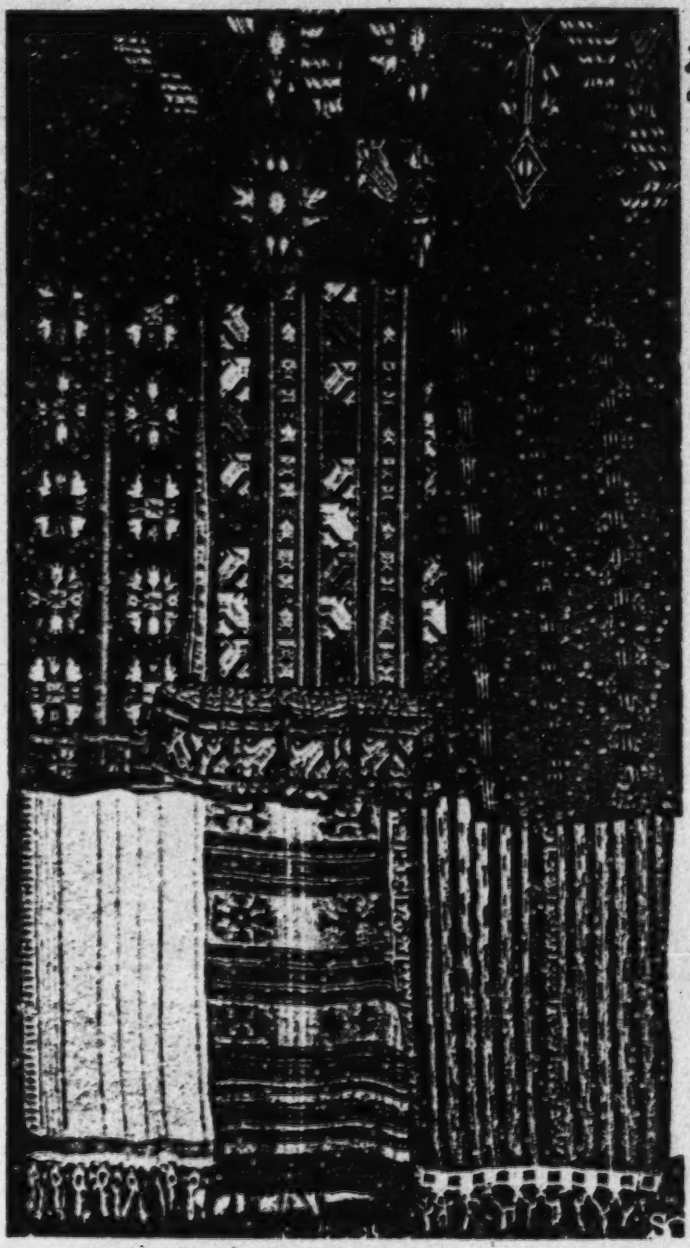
74- Aprons

186

10: Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

531*
291
286



74. Aprons

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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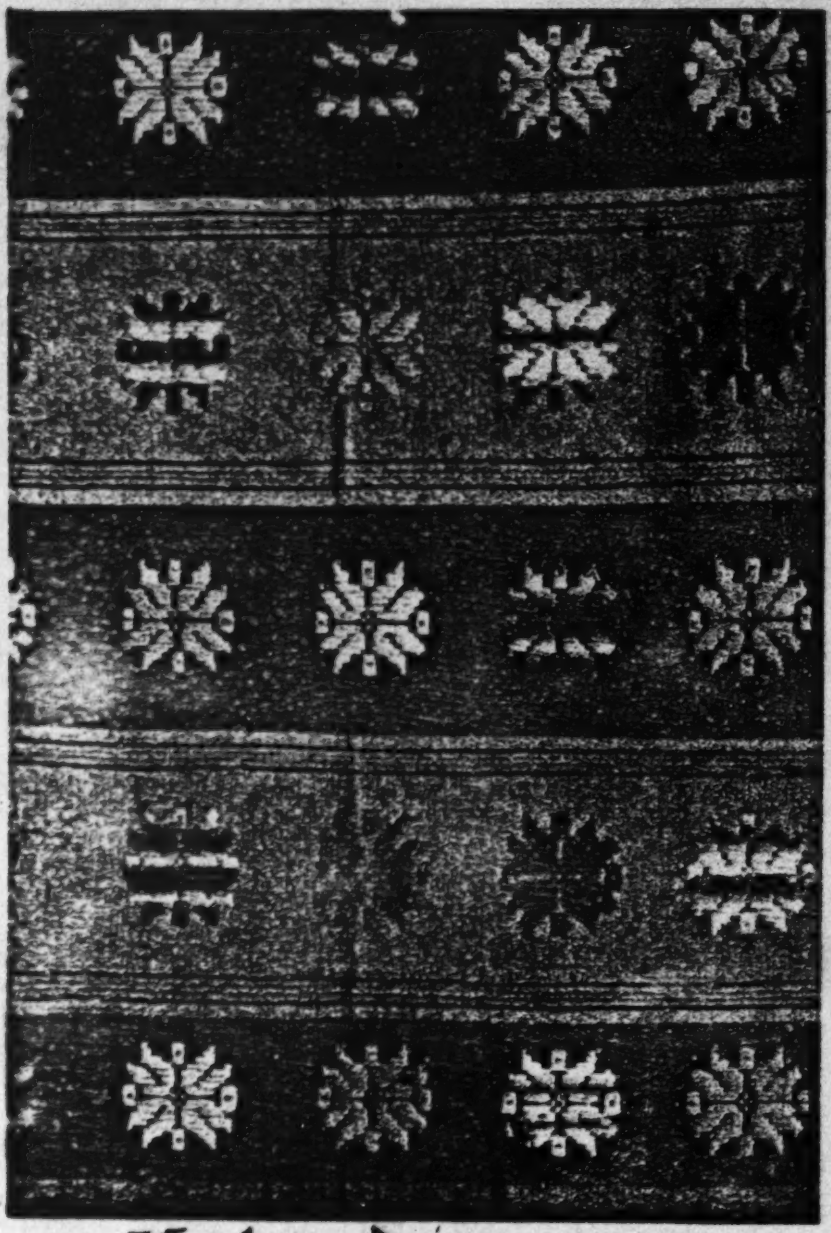
75. Apron-Design

188

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians R.

531
286



75. Apron-Design

189

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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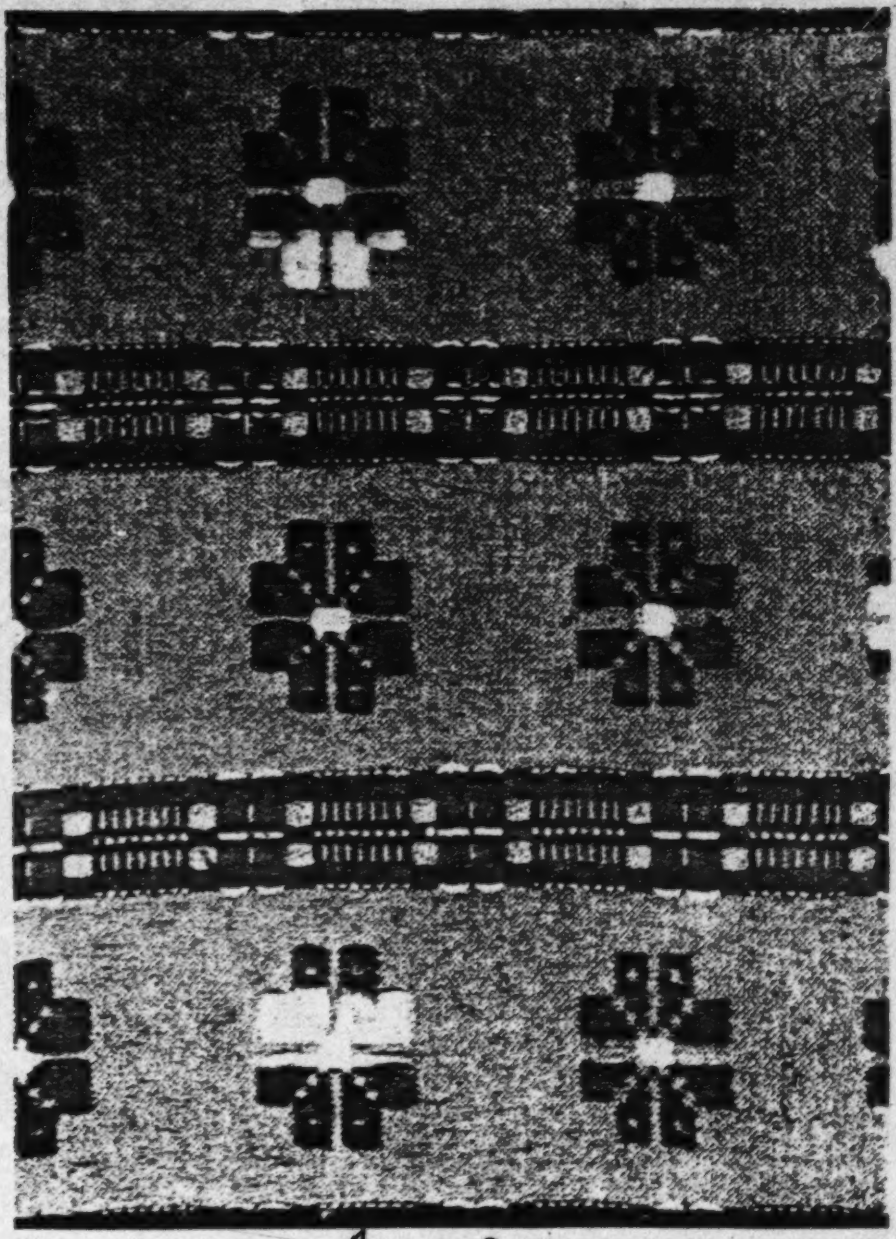
76. Apron-Design

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

531
286



76. Apron-Design

:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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77. Apron-Design

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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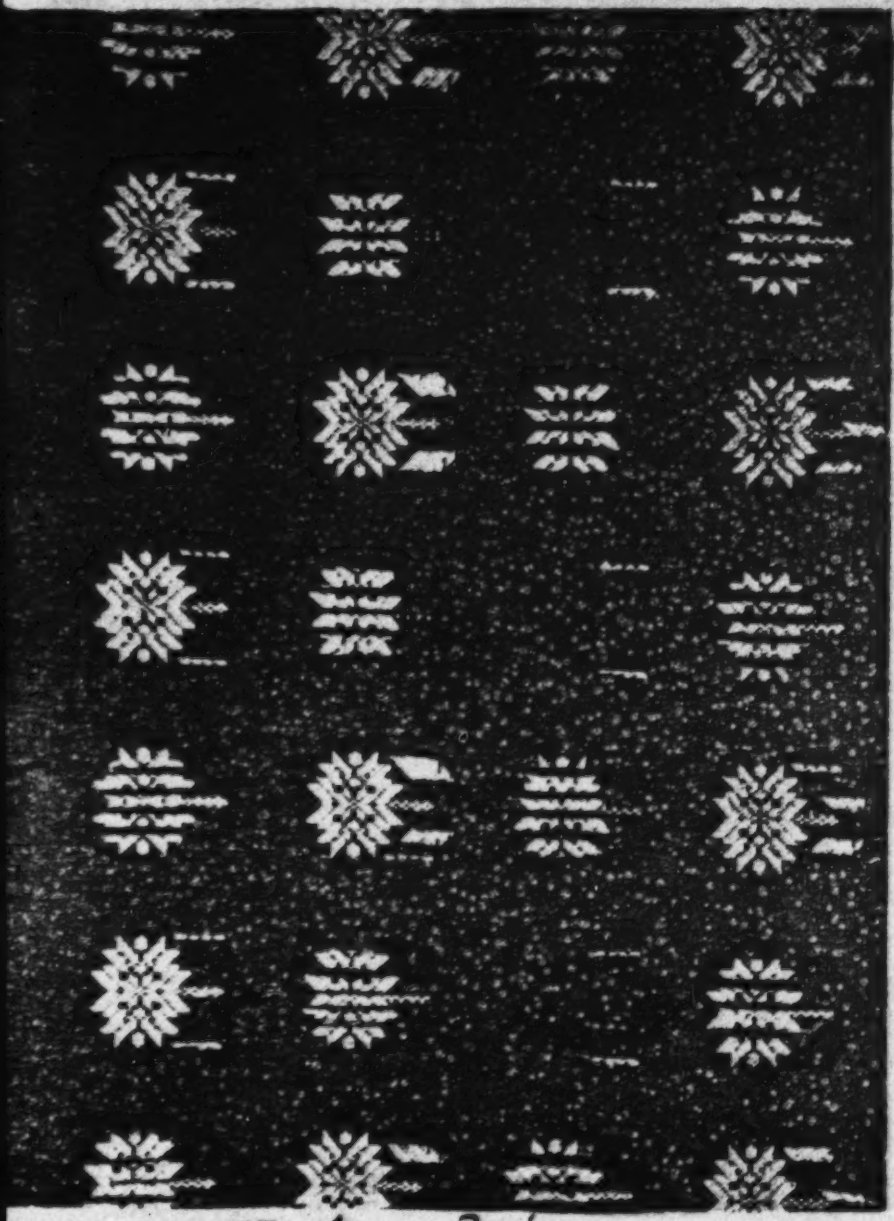

77. Apron-Design

10:Baltrusaitis R-4,5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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78. Apron-Design

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 194o RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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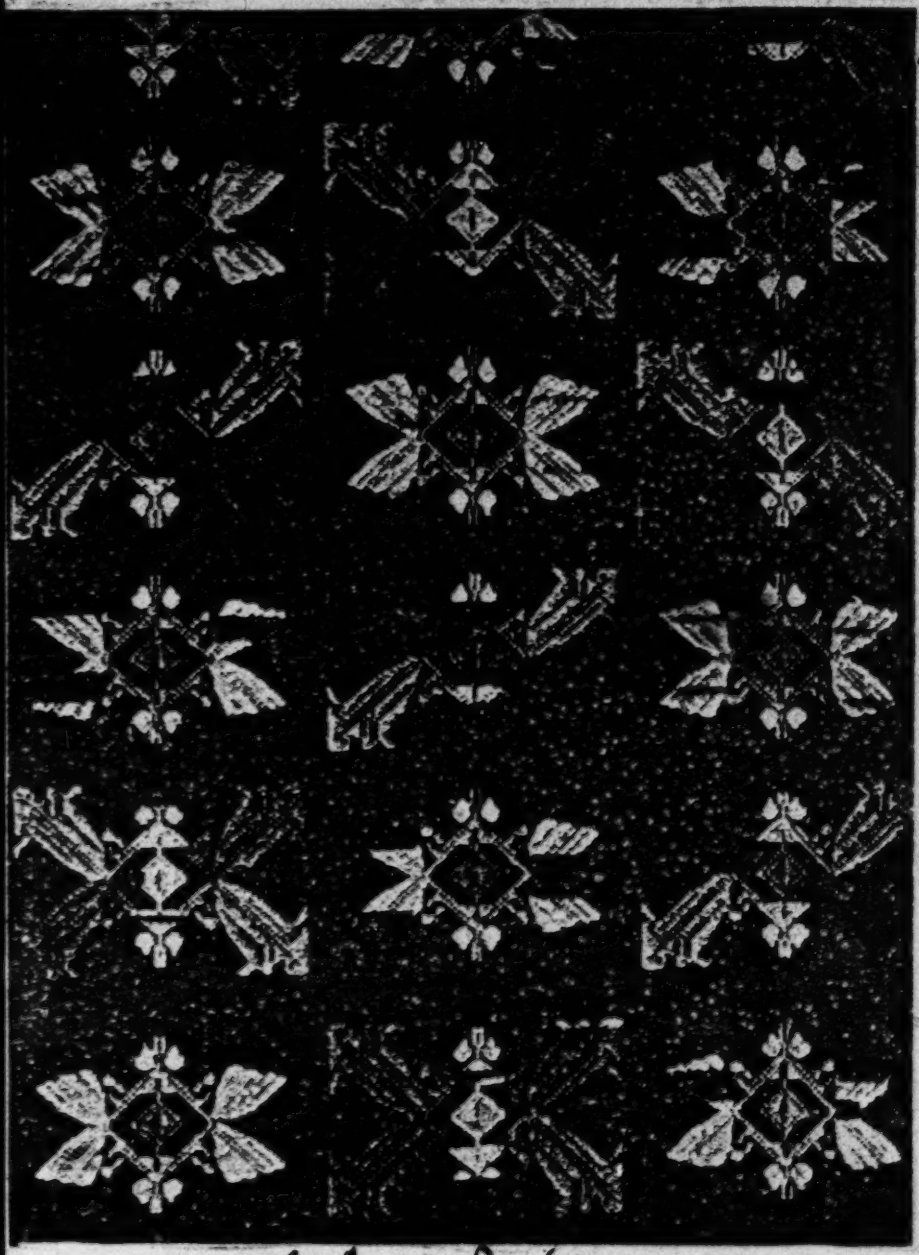

78. Apron-Design

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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79. Apron-Design

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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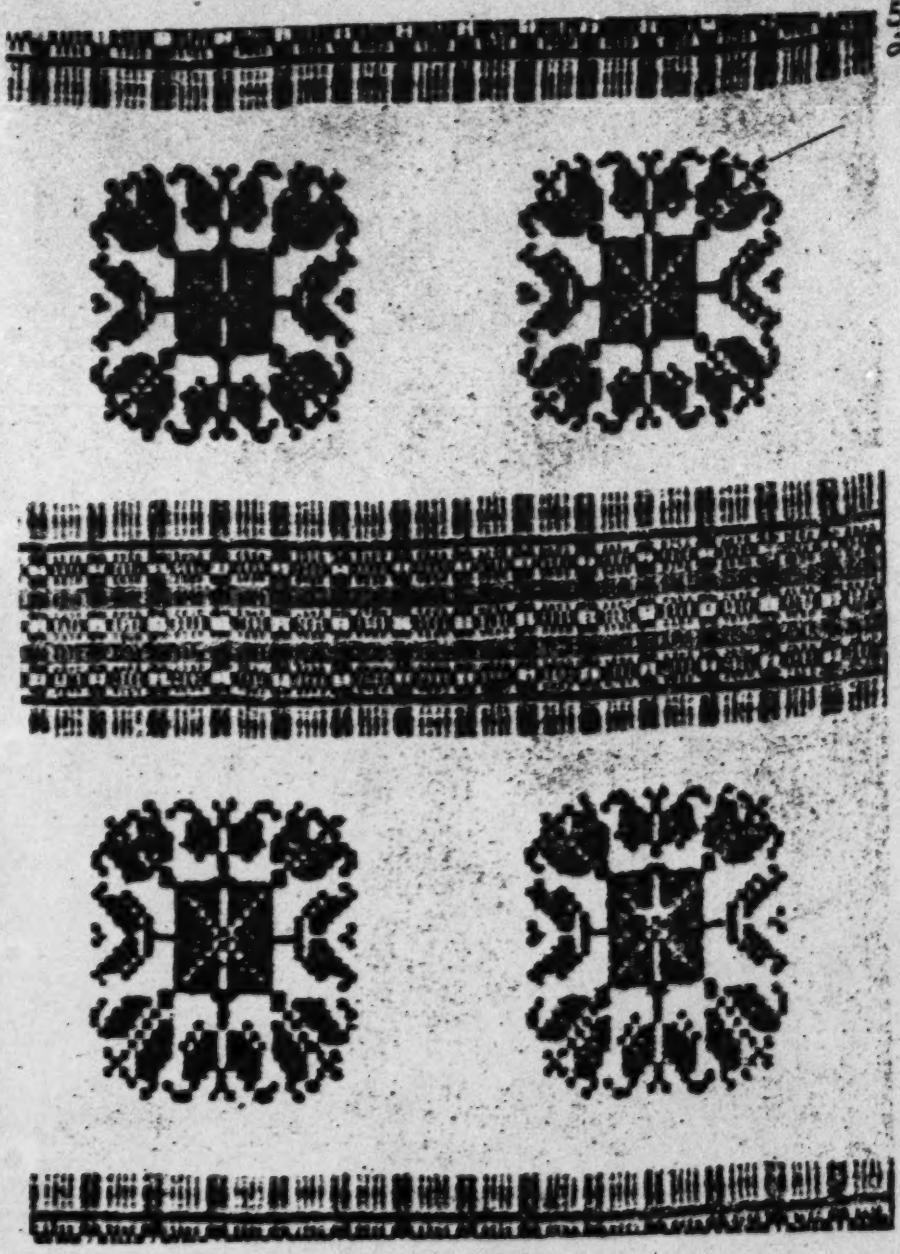

79. Apron- Design

197

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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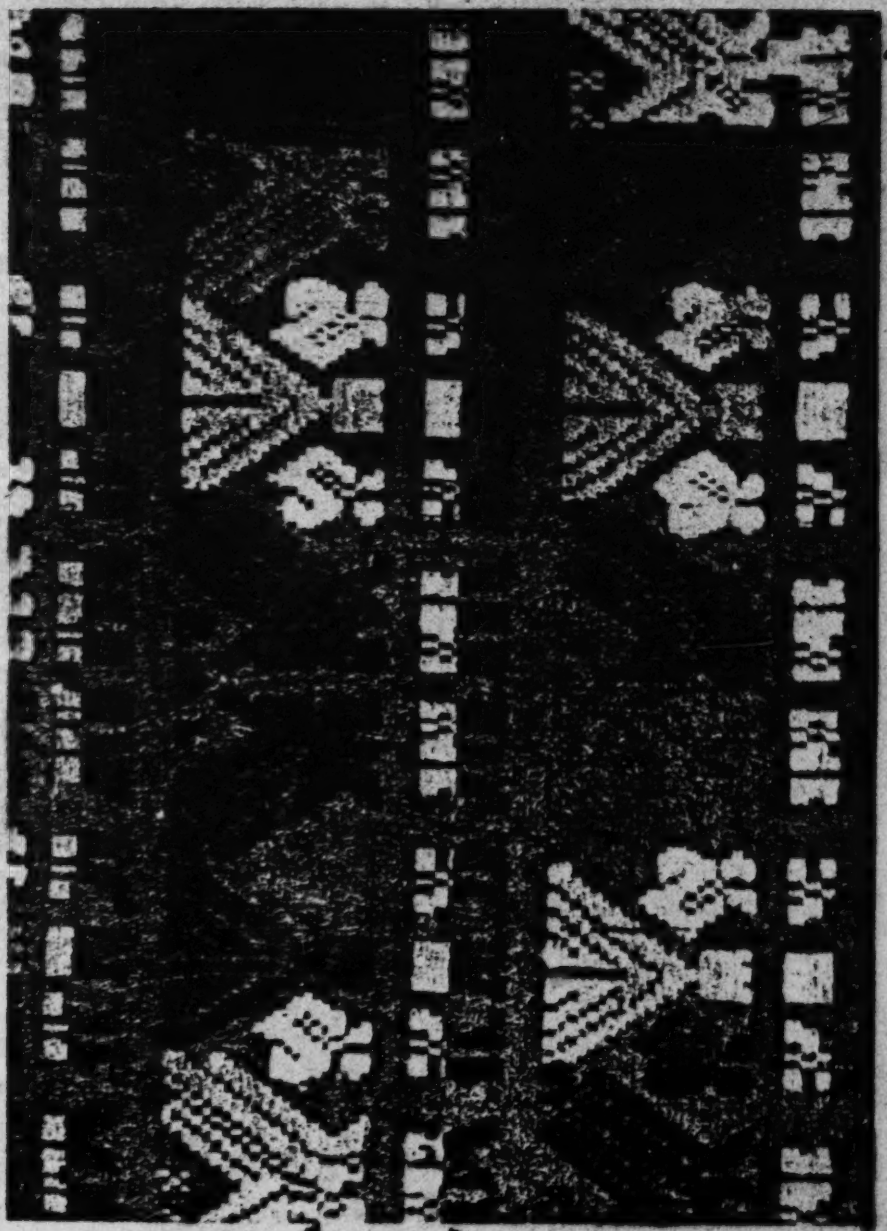
8c. Apron-Design

198

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

531
286



80. Apron- Design

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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81. Apron-Design

200

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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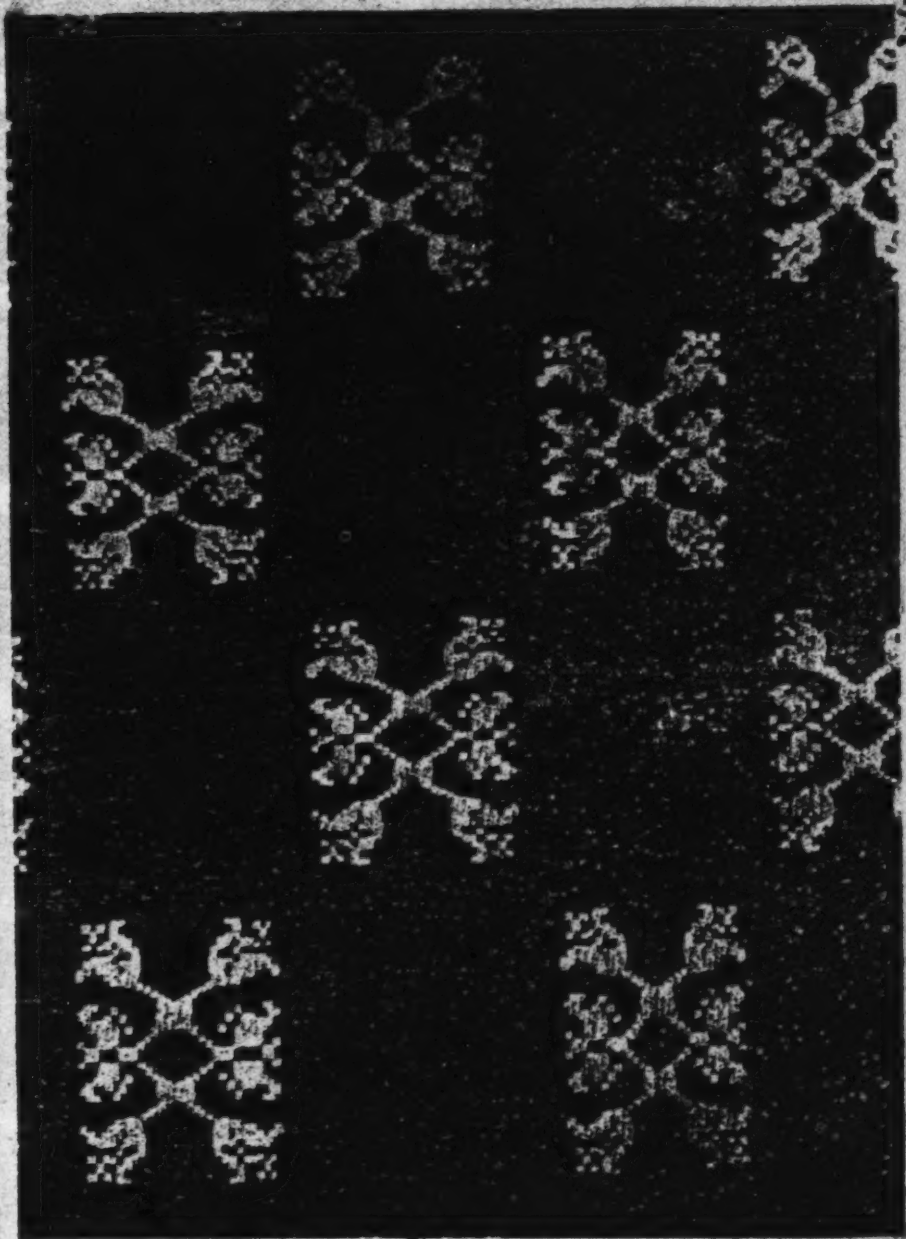

81. Apron-Design

201

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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82. Apron-Design

202

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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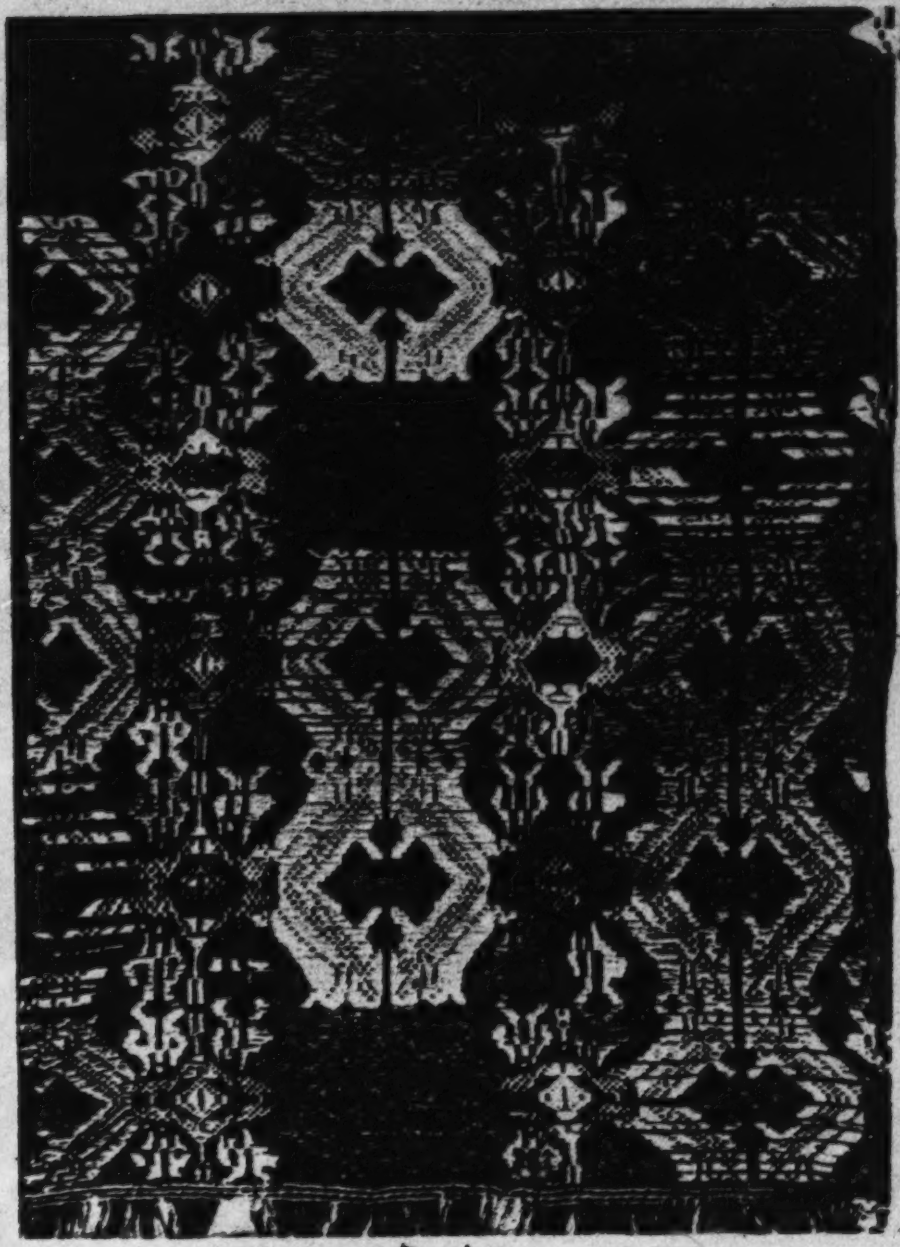
286



82. Apron- Design

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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204

ERRATA

Instead of	Page	Line	Read
overlook	6	6	overlook
On one hand	9	3	On the one hand
The road of amber	10	12	The Amber-road
Queen Hedwig	11	30	the Polish Queen Hedwig
successive division	11	36	successive divisions
country from	12	9	country at
other arimals	16	7	other animals
Dwelling-House	20	3	Dwelling-House
kind a	22	1	kind of
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Virgin from Loretto	80	28	Virgin of Loreto
Various Clay Workings	80	32	Various Clay Products
graphik	81	3	graphic

10: Baltrušaitis
532

RB5 Lithuanians RB5

[For additional examples of representative art, appended to the text, see category 116, pages 113-148.]

10: Baltrušaitis
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RB5 Lithuanians RB5

[For additional examples of decorative art, appended to the text, see pages 94-113, pages 148-203, category 116.]

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LEAGUE OF NATIONS

EUROPEAN CONFERENCE ON RURAL LIFE 1939

National Monographs drawn up by Governments

LITHUANIA

p 1

Series of League of Nations Publications

EUROPEAN CONFERENCE ON RURAL LIFE 12

286

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11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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CONTENTS

		Page
	INTRODUCTION	5
I.	DEMOGRAPHIC DATA	12
II.	LAND TENURE AND AGRARIAN REFORM	13
III.	SOIL IMPROVEMENT AND AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS	16
IV.	ORGANISATION OF MARKETS	19
V.	CO-OPERATION	21
VI.	AGRICULTURAL CREDIT AND AGRICULTURAL INSURANCE	25
VII.	EDUCATION — GENERAL, AGRICULTURAL AND HOUSECRAFT	28
	(1) Higher Education.	
	(2) Middle-grade Education.	
	(3) Elementary Education.	
	(4) Other Forms.	
VIII.	THE RÔLE OF LITHUANIAN WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE	33
IX.	PEASANT ART AND FOLKLORE. ORGANISATION OF LEISURE	38
X.	MEDICO-SOCIAL POLICY	42
XI.	RURAL NUTRITION	43
XII.	RURAL PLANNING	44

p 3

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11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

MONOGRAPH OF LITHUANIA

INTRODUCTION

175
101 The Lithuania of to-day is situated between East Prussia, Poland and Latvia. In the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Lithuania was an independent State which, having conquered vast stretches of White Russia and Ukraine, extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea; her civilisation was that of Western Europe. At the close of the fourteenth century, Lithuania established with Poland a personal union, which was subsequently converted into a real union. For centuries, the conditions governing her existence were the same as for Poland. With the partition of 1795, practically the whole of ethnographical Lithuania was annexed by Russia, which ruled the territory until 1915.

A vast region inhabited by a population of Lithuanian origin and extending westwards almost as far as Marienburg had been conquered by the Germans in the tenth and twelfth centuries.

175
181 As long as Lithuania remained under the dominion of Russia, her economic and cultural level was conditioned by

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11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

175 this circumstance and remained inferior to that of the more
181 progressive countries of Western Europe. Most of her peasant farmers, who were not released from serfdom until 1862-1865, were still living under the same conditions as in the Middle Ages. They owned narrow strips of land, practised the old three-year crop rotation, had common grazing land in a very neglected condition, bred only native stock and relied almost exclusively on cereal crops. Farming methods were thus very primitive and the farmer's income very small, while the houses were almost entirely of wood with thatched or wooden roofs.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, intellectuals, who were still few in number, began to take an interest in rural life : they cut up part of the communal land to form separate farms, organised more paying forms of activity, carried on active propaganda for the improvement of rural dwellings and encouraged the introduction of more rational methods of work. Their efforts met invariably with systematic opposition from the Russian Government.

During the world war, Lithuania was for many months the scene of hostilities. From 1915 to the end of 1918, the Germans occupied the country, which was the victim of requisitions of all kinds and lost much of its wealth.

The Proclamation of Lithuanian independence was followed by a strong movement of national renaissance and rural reconstruction. The Government's task was a difficult one. Tremendous efforts were made to build up a country which was just emerging from war ; farming methods were improved and land reform was instituted. Communal land was redistributed, undeveloped estates were broken up, new branches of agriculture were developed — dairying, pig-breeding, poultry-farming ; numerous schools of agriculture were founded, such roads as existed were rebuilt, and new means of communication were opened. In a word, the farmer's life was to be reorganised on modern lines. True, not all these ideals have proved capable of fulfilment in so short a time ; but great strides have been made, and present day agriculture in Lithuania differs profoundly from the pre-war conditions obtaining in that country.

* * *

423 Lithuania now consists in the main of small and medium-
311 sized rural properties. A farm of 5 or 6 hectares provides an adequate livelihood for an average working farmer's family. An estate of 80 or 100 hectares is also regarded as a working peasant's farm, as it is generally run by the owner in person. Farms ranging from 5 to 100 hectares account for over 90 % of the agricultural land. Miniature farms up to 2 hectares represent only 0.44 % of the area under cultivation, which is all

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1339 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

423 to the good, as such farms generally contribute nothing towards
311 agricultural production and are far from being a social asset. There are no latifundia in Lithuania. The largest estate comprises about 1,000 hectares, and the larger properties exceeding 100 hectares number only 1602, or 0.56% of the total farms.

162 The proportion of men and women in the rural population is about equal. The country people do not go to the towns in search of work, as urban and country dwellers carry on different trades and their lives are quite separate.

An old barn.

134 The soil is of average fertility. In the east and south-east, there is a small area which is sandy and not very fertile, while, in the north again, a small area consists of very fertile land. The vast plains of Lithuania are covered with clay — more or less light — deposited during the Ice Age and subjected to centuries of erosion and impoverishment.

[132] The rainfall is fairly heavy, so that much of this low-lying
242 land necessitates drainage works. The State makes itself
[654] responsible for the large-scale regularisation of rivers and watercourses and the cutting of drainage channels. The farmers are responsible, with the help of Government subsidies, for ditching and drain-laying on water-logged land. By no means all of the land is satisfactorily drained. The yield cannot

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

242 therefore hope as yet to equal that of the more progressive countries of Western Europe, but it does exceed the average figure for Eastern Europe. The yield per hectare is 13-14 quintals for wheat and 12-13 quintals for barley and rye; the figure for oats is slightly below the figure for barley, owing to the havoc caused in recent years by rust.

241 Lithuania produces large quantities of cereals and pulse, a large part of which is, however, required for fodder. Forage is also obtained from wide areas of clover, meadowland and [233] pasture. Stock-breeding constitutes the principal agricultural activity: cattle, pigs, poultry. Lithuania used to be famous for her horses, which were exported in large numbers to Western Europe; now, however, there is very little export trade, and almost all the farm-work is done with horses.

Work in the fields generally begins in the second half of April and ends in about mid-November. The winter is long and farm work is concentrated in a relatively short period. The fact that the country is broken up into small farms, in conjunction with the low purchasing-power of the farmer, has prevented the mechanisation of agriculture on any very extensive scale. Cereals and pulse are generally machine-threshed, but most of the field-work is done by animal-drawn implements or by hand. There are a fair number of reapers, binders, seeders, hoers and other types of agricultural machinery, but these are employed only for part of the work; not all the peasant farmers are fortunate enough to possess them, so that a great deal must depend on human labour. This fact and the comparative shortness of the season means that the call for labour is greatest during the summer. Accordingly, a relatively large number of the population lives in the country and is intensively occupied during the season of work in the fields.

* * *

439 The economic structure of Lithuania has determined the character of her trade with Germany. Lithuania disposes of her surplus agricultural production on the international market (in 1938, 40% of her exports were absorbed by the United Kingdom, 26.8% by Germany, 5.7% by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 4.5% by Belgium, etc.). Her imports consist mainly of manufactured products, including 33% from the United Kingdom, 24.4% from Germany, 6.7% from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 4.7% from the Netherlands and 3.8% from Belgium.

In 1938, exports totalled 233 million litai and imports 223 millions. One half of the exports consisted of foodstuffs (122 million litai: including butter 48 millions, bacon 24 millions,

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

fresh meat and poultry 13 millions, cereals about 20 millions 439
and eggs 7.8 millions).

The total value of exports of raw materials and half-finished goods was 73.4 million litai. Exports of hemp and tow accounted for 25 million litai, cellulose for 12.7 millions and timber for 21 millions.

Among imports, manufactured products head the list (133 million litai, comprising machinery and tools, automobiles, chemical products, textiles and yarns, etc.), followed by raw materials and half-finished goods totalling 78.7 million litai (gilt metals, cement, chemical fertilisers, coal, naphtha and petroleum, cotton, etc.).

As long as the territory of Klaipéda (Memel) belonged to [504]
Lithuania, the foreign trade of the country passed almost exclusively through the Port of Klaipéda (Memel). Under the treaty concluded in March 1939 with Germany, Lithuania retains a free port at Klaipéda.

* * *

There has been a fairly big increase in population; rural 462
families tend to be large. The women, though very fully occupied with their children and domestic duties, find time to look after the animals and work in the fields. This type of work is, however, more often left to women who have no children or domestic duties to attend to — that is, to girls or women whose children are older. Lithuanian women are, as a rule, fit and healthy; nevertheless, they are sometimes forced to neglect their homes, owing to the claims of agriculture and the rearing of children. They are naturally clean and orderly, and like to have a little garden of their own; in winter, they devote themselves to home industries — spinning, knitting, embroidery and sometimes weaving. The artistic value of a great deal of the handwork done in the country is of exhibition standard and has been shown both in Lithuania and abroad — for example, in 1937, at the Paris International Exhibition and, in 1938, at the Berlin International Exhibition of Arts and Crafts.

The Lithuanian peasant is somewhat deliberate in cha- 156
racter; he is long-suffering and is prepared when necessary to go through difficult times without complaint. This was proved during the war, when, notwithstanding intense suffering, the popular songs and jokes dear to the peasant heart were never forgotten.

The rural population used formerly to wear homespun 291
woollen and linen clothing — the production of flax is relatively greater in Lithuania than in any other European country. Of recent years, this type of clothing has disappeared, its place being taken by ready-made factory goods.

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

292 The national costume, though little worn on ordinary occasions, is much in evidence on holidays and on festive occasions, particularly among the women.

Since the redistribution of the communal lands, the farms 342 have all been scattered over the vast plain, at some distance 241 from one another. Most of the buildings are of wood, as timber costs far less than masonry; the roofs are generally of thatch or wood, though quite often of iron or tiled. Most of the houses are fairly roomy, and even small peasant farmers have three or four rooms. The Lithuanian peasant does not live in a house under the same roof as the stables or other farm buildings, as is so often the case in Western and Southern Europe; he regards such an arrangement as inconvenient and unhealthy. There is generally a little orchard and vegetable garden near the house. The Lithuanian peasants do not plant orchards for commercial purposes; they grow fruit for their own requirements and very few of them sell their fruit on the home markets or for export.

184 The country being comparatively small in area, no great differences are noticeable between the types of farm or the peasants in different regions. Of recent years, the various means of communication, particularly motor-bus services, have improved, and this tends very largely to eliminate such differences as did exist between the various regions. Practically all the peasantry is Roman Catholic. Though dialects exist, peasants [212] from all parts of the country understand one another. For some years now, over half of them have been able to read the newspapers and to become familiar with the literary language; farming papers alone have a circulation of over 150,000, though the total number of farms does not exceed 290,000. From the point of view of nationality also, the Lithuanian peasantry constitutes a homogeneous mass. Lithuania does possess national minorities (about 18% of the population) but these consist mainly of urban dwellers, whereas the rural districts are populated almost exclusively by persons of Lithuanian race.

∴

000 The Lithuanians have full confidence in the future. Always supposing that no restrictions are placed on their activities and that their territory is not once again turned into a battlefield, the exploitation of the natural riches of the country should proceed rapidly and on a comprehensive scale, while the living conditions of the rural population will improve correspondingly. This confidence in the future is justified by the very considerable progress already achieved during the brief period since Lithuania recovered her independence, progress which is explained by the attachment of country dwellers to the land and by their hard-working, intelligent and long-suffering character, and, lastly,

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

by the fertile nature of their soil. The Lithuanian peasant does not expect and does not wish for help from abroad, knowing, as he does, that he is himself strong enough for any effort that the future may demand of him. He fears only one thing, the horrors of war and foreign invasion.

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

I. DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

162 Lithuania is essentially an agricultural country : the 1923 census showed that 76.7% of the inhabitants live in the rural areas and are occupied in agriculture. According to estimates [161] based on the most recent statistics, the total population on January 1st, 1938, was 2,549,668.

At the time of the agricultural census of 1930, the total [423] area (including forest and land not under cultivation) of the agricultural undertakings (287,380) with an area of over 1 hectare was 4,318,514 hectares. As no more recent data are available, it is impossible to calculate the exact density of the rural population or the extent of migration from the country to the [166] towns since 1923. It is, however, clear that, as a result of industrial developments, many landless agricultural labourers have settled in the towns in recent years.

342

A Lithuanian house.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

II. LAND TENURE AND AGRARIAN REFORM

When the Lithuanian State was revived in 1918, two-thirds 241
of the land under peasant ownership consisted of holdings split up 423
into a large number of separate strips and plots. (Detailed plans of villages before and after the subdivision of village lands into self-contained holdings are to be found in M. V. Balčiūnas' work *Lietuvos kaimų žemės tvarkymas istorijos, ūkio ir statistikos šviesoj*, published by the Central Land Office of the Ministry of Agriculture, Kaunas, 1938, pages 156 to 158.) At that time, moreover, almost every village had common pasture-land and much of the land was subject to servitudes in the form of pasture and forest rights. The peasants were entitled to pasture their stock on land belonging to the great landed estates and to receive a given quantity of wood from their forests.

In the early years of the country's independence, the 423
Government took steps with a view to the consolidation of 425
holdings, a process which entailed the subdivision of village lands into self-contained undertakings and the abolition of common pasture-lands and servitudes. Subdivision was required

241

Farm established in pursuance of agrarian reform.

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

423 in some 9,600 villages with a total area of 1,974,000 hectares.
425 By 1938, 6,096 villages, with a total area of 1,491,475 hectares, had actually been subdivided into 139,551 self-contained undertakings. Thus, 3,500 villages, with a total area of 516,500 hectares, have still to be subdivided, and it is expected that the process will be completed in from four to five years. In all the villages subdivided, the common pasture-lands have been abolished. Furthermore, servitudes have been done away with in regard to a total area of approximately 100,000 hectares; the owners of pasture rights received compensation in land and the owners of forest rights were compensated in land, trees or cash.

241 This consolidation of holdings freed the peasants of villages that had been subdivided from the necessity for a common system of crop rotation for the entire village, and more particularly the system of three-shift rotation, with its well-known drawbacks; this has greatly facilitated cultivation and other agricultural work, and has brought about a state of things more conducive to agricultural improvements, etc.

423 The consolidation of holdings was one of the two most important aspects of agrarian reform in Lithuania, the other being the provision, out of the big estates, of land for peasants who previously had none, and for small landowners who required more.

In the early days of independence, the distribution of the land as between the various types of agricultural undertaking was anomalous. While from a third to half of all the land in the country was in the hands of large landowners, many of the peasants, being unprovided, or insufficiently provided, with land, had no outlet for their activities and lacked a regular means of livelihood. According to the data collected in 1919 preparatory to the introduction of agrarian reform, there were, in round figures, 60,000 landless peasants and 40,000 smallholders who had applied for land. At the same time, the large estates could no longer be kept up, particularly in consequence of the serious losses suffered by their owners during the war, and were fated to give way to small and medium-sized undertakings (see the International Institute of Agriculture's publication, *La Réforme Agraire*, I, Rome, 1930, pages 58 and 59).

In pursuance of the agrarian reforms, some 35,000 new undertakings with a total area of 350,000 hectares were created out of the land belonging to the big estates and some 90,000 hectares were distributed among approximately 26,000 smallholders. (Land was also given to schools, various cultural and social organisations, etc.)

As a result, large numbers of agricultural labourers were raised from economic conditions which were truly deplorable to a position of independence in the country's economic life. In

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

addition, the restoration of social peace in the rural areas brought about general conditions more conducive to an improvement in the rural population's standard of living. 423

It should further be mentioned that the Ministry of Agriculture has drafted a law regulating the ownership of land. The draft provides for certain minimum limits beyond which the subdivision of agricultural undertakings may not be carried (6 hectares of first-grade land, 9 hectares of second-grade land, 12 hectares of third-grade land and 18 hectares of fourth-grade land). The purpose of this measure is to prevent the unrestricted partition (on succession) and the alienation piecemeal of the small agricultural holdings of the rational type created on the occasion of the agrarian reform (creation of new undertakings and subdivision of village lands into self-contained holdings), so as to prevent the formation of enclaves, the subsequent elimination of which would be impossible.

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 ! ithuanians RB5

III. SOIL IMPROVEMENT AND AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS

647 The Ministry of Agriculture controls the organisation for the encouragement of technical progress in agriculture, the aim 242 of which is to improve the conditions of existence of the 433 agricultural classes. The Ministry is responsible for carrying out agrarian reform and agricultural improvements, schools of agriculture, the organisation and improvement of veterinary work and supervision of the export of agricultural produce, etc.

In addition to the Ministry, the Chamber of Agriculture (founded in 1927) is also active in agricultural development. It is in charge of all the forms of agricultural training not under the authority of the Ministry, including the agricultural intelligence service; it supervises and co-ordinates the activities of the stock-breeders' associations, the flax-growers' association, the sugar-beet-growers' association and other similar organisations; it also subsidises various agricultural organisations and individual agriculturists with a view to the promotion or improvement of some particular branch of agriculture, and organises agricultural shows, etc.

474 Working in conjunction with the Ministry of Agriculture are various central organisations concerned with the processing 242 of agricultural produce, and its marketing abroad and at home, 433 and with supplying to agriculturists all such goods as they may require. These organisations are: "Lietuvos Žemės Ūkio Kooperatyvų Sąjunga" ("Lithuanian Union of Agricultural Co-operative Societies"), abbreviated to "Lietūkis", "Centralinė Lietuvos Pieno Perdirbimo Bendrovių Sąjunga" ("Lithuanian Central Union of Dairymen's Co-operative Societies"), abbreviated to "Pienocentras", and the "Maistas" and "Lietuvos Cukrus" joint-stock companies.

The chief measures taken with a view to the improvement of agricultural production are the consolidation of holdings (see above), land drainage, the development of agricultural training (see under V) and agricultural research.

312 Systematic work on the drainage of agricultural land could not be begun until 1921. The Ministry of Agriculture is proceeding with the regularisation of the beds of streams and the cutting of dykes which enable agriculturists to drain waterlogged land completely by means of open ditches or drainage pipes. The total area of the land drained by means of dykes from 1921 to 1937 (inclusive) is approximately 416,000 hectares, or more than 10% of all the land used for agricultural purposes.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

As regards *agricultural research*, the Institute of Agricultural Research (founded in 1927) is in charge of experimental work in the field of agriculture throughout the country, with the exception of the work conducted by the Agricultural Academy at Dotnuva. It has at present under its control seven experimental stations dealing with various matters relating to the cultivation of crops, an experimental fruit-growing station (in process of organisation), a crop improvement station (at Dotnuva), a crop protection station (at Dotnuva) and a station for research on the breeding of pigs for bacon. Proposals are under consideration for the foundation of an agricultural machinery testing station and of stations for research into cattle- and sheep-breeding respectively. 242

In consequence of these measures, and particularly the activities of the agricultural intelligence service, agriculturists have begun to introduce a more rational system of crop rotation, to prepare the soil more carefully and fertilise it more rationally (the progress of stock-breeding increases the quantities of manure available), to use better quality seed, to improve meadow- and pasture-land, to make more extensive use of agricultural machinery (through the foundation of co-operative societies for the joint use of machinery), etc. The results have been a decrease in the area of land left fallow and a corresponding increase in the area sown from an average of 2,079,000 hectares for the years 1928 to 1930 to 2,312,000 hectares for the period 1935 to 1937, the increase chiefly affecting the land under the more intensively cultivated crops (wheat, sugar-beet, mangel-wurzels). There has also been an increase in the yield per hectare of all the principal crops (wheat, rye, barley, oats, peas and potatoes), the yield from 1933 to 1937 being almost half as great again as during the years 1901 to 1910. It is worthy of note that, whilst the cultivation of sugar-beet was entirely unknown in the country before the war, the refineries now pay out almost 6½ million litai to the growers each year. The productivity of meadow- and pasture-land has increased to an even greater extent than that of arable land. 311 241 433

This latter circumstance has permitted the development of stock-breeding and the number of farm animals has risen considerably (in the case of cattle, for example, from 766,000 in 1913 to 1,172,000 in 1937). As a result of the organisation of milk control societies, breeding centres, the keeping of stud books, etc., the productivity of stock has also increased very considerably. 233 433

Progress has been particularly noteworthy in the case of cattle (which, in Lithuania, are mainly bred for the production of milk). In 1922, with a view to the transformation of surplus milk into exportable produce, chiefly butter, dairymen's co-operative societies were founded with the financial support 234 474 433

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

234 of the Government. Since then, the dairy industry and the manufacture of butter have made rapid progress. In 1937, the
474 193 dairymen's co-operative societies, all of which are equipped
433 with the most up-to-date machinery, supplied 420 million kilogrammes of milk — including that delivered to the 2,052 cream-separating centres — and produced 16.9 million kilogrammes of butter. Though, since the war, the population has increased by some 300,000 inhabitants, the consumption of dairy products per head is at present greater than before the war, and butter exports, which were formerly negligible, amounted in 1924 to 524 metric tons and in 1936/37 to 15,000 tons approximately.

231 Hand in hand with the development of the dairy industries
433 has gone the development of pig-breeding (skim-milk is used for the fattening of young pigs). Not only has the number of pigs considerably increased (from 450,000 in 1913 to 1,192,000 in 1937), but the quality of the pigs (for the manufacture of bacon)
439 has greatly improved. With the Government's financial
231 support, a bacon export industry has been rapidly built up. In 1928, bacon exports amounted to 150 metric tons; in 1932, to
433 more than 25,000 metric tons, and, in 1936/37 (being affected by the introduction of bacon import quotas in England), to more than 10,000 metric tons. These figures, together with those for the export of live pigs (in 1932, 34,000, and, in 1936/37, 125,000 approximately) and the number of pigs kept are proof of the progress made.

235 Poultry-keeping also has made considerable headway; more
433 pure-bred poultry are being raised, and feeding and poultry-keeping technique have become more efficient. Horse-breeding likewise has improved, thus facilitating the sale of Lithuanian horses in foreign markets.

433 Such are the methods whereby the Ministry of Agriculture, the Chamber of Agriculture and the organisations working in conjunction with the latter are striving to improve the production both of crops and live-stock and to foster agricultural industries (dairy industries and the manufacture of bacon). Since 1931, the Chamber of Agriculture has also been endeavouring, with the co-operation of the Union of Young Farmers' Clubs, to rationalise and modernise home industries (weaving, knitting, fur-dressing, felt-making, pottery, furniture, etc.) and to improve the artistic qualities of the articles produced. Products of the home industries are thus enabled to compete with factory-produced goods.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanian RB5

IV. ORGANISATION OF MARKETS

The action of the Government and of the central agricultural organisations with a view to the organisation of markets and the standardisation of agricultural products may be briefly summarised as follows :

To enable the small agricultural undertakings (which predominate in the country) to produce standardised agricultural products for foreign (and home) markets and to export in large quantities, the Government, even before the world depression, had taken steps to combine the small agriculturists into big central organisations (dealing both with production and marketing). The following three organisations were founded : (1) " Lietuvos Žemės Kooperatyvų Sąjunga " (Lithuanian Union of Agricultural Co-operative Societies). abbreviated to " Lietūkis ", which now centralises all cereal exports ; (2) " Centralinė Lietuvos Pienos Perdirbimo Bendrovių Sąjunga " (Lithuanian Central Union of Dairymen's Co-operative Societies), abbreviated to " Pienocentras ", which now centralises the production of butter for export and the export of butter and eggs ; (3) the " Maistas " joint-stock company (the shareholders being the State and the pig-breeders), which at present centralises the production of bacon and other meat preparations for export and also the export of the meat preparations, animals for slaughter and poultry. In 1930, a joint-stock company

Chamber of Agriculture at Kaunas.

11 League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RBG Lithuanians RBG

473 known as "Lietuvos Cukrus" was founded (the shareholders being the State and sugar-beet-growers), and this centralises all sugar manufacture.

439 To improve the quality of agricultural produce for export, the Government controls the export of meat (since 1925), butter (since 1927), eggs (since 1927), linseed (since 1925) and flax (since 1926, the control having been further tightened up in 1934). The centralisation of exports of agricultural produce greatly facilitates export control and increases its efficacy.

435 At the time of the fall in the prices of agricultural produce on foreign markets, the Government, to stimulate supplies for export, fixed minimum prices for the pigs bought by the "Maistas" company, the milk supplied to the dairymen's co-operative societies and cream-separating centres (all the dairymen's co-operative societies in the country are affiliated to the "Pienocentras"), the eggs bought by the "Pienocentras" and the cereals bought by the "Lietūkis". In this way, agricultural prices have been maintained with the co-operation of the three central organisations.

651 Various measures have been adopted with a view to the reduction of costs of production. As long ago as 1933, the rate of interest on mortgage loans was lowered; the total of the land taxes payable by agriculturists during the years 1935 and 1936 was reduced by 10%. Agriculturists leaving their villages and settling on self-contained undertakings are exempt from Government land taxes for a period of one year (this privilege is enjoyed by all agriculturists who have taken over separate undertakings since 1932). Agriculturists who, having taken over separate undertakings since 1932, are obliged to change their place of residence (and such is the case with more than half of those concerned) receive from the Ministry of Agriculture a stated
435 quantity of wood at 20% of the normal sale price. Under the price-control system introduced in 1935, maximum prices have been fixed for chemical fertilisers, bran, feeding-cakes, petroleum and certain other articles which are of particular importance to agriculture. For the 1938 autumn sowings, the Government (in conjunction with the "Lietūkis") has reduced the price of chemical fertilisers by itself paying the cost of railway transport.

000 In conclusion, it may be said that, in spite of the agricultural depression which made its appearance some five or six years ago and which has not yet entirely ceased, the Lithuanian agriculturist is at present in a better position than he was before the war; he is better fed and better clothed and has more money to spare for his cultural needs.[1]

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[1] A detailed description of the progress made in this sphere and of the activities of the institutions and organisations for the promotion of agriculture is to be found in the work entitled *Agriculture in Lithuania*, by Professor J. Krikščiūnas, published by the Chamber of Agriculture, Kaunas, 1938.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

V. CO-OPERATION[1]

Co-operative thrift and loan societies of the modern type began to be organised in 1873 and, since their foundation, have greatly contributed to the increase of rural prosperity. 474 452

1. The importance of credit in rural life is well known. In the event of loss through fire, sickness among live-stock or bad crops, or on the partition of property between the various members of a family in case of succession, etc., the peasant was obliged to apply to a moneylender in the nearest market town — often the innkeeper — who would lend only on highly unfavourable terms, at a rate of interest rising in some cases to 300% represented by periodic payments in kind (grain, animals, etc.). Furthermore, the moneylender reserved to himself the exclusive right of purchasing his debtor's produce, so that the prices paid to the peasant were extremely low. As a result of these abuses, peasants frequently became insolvent and were evicted from their farms.

The creation of rural credit establishments permits of the organisation of agricultural credit on a fairer basis and in a manner more in keeping with agricultural requirements. The rate of interest is much lower. The peasant can dispose of his produce as he thinks fit and has less hesitation in borrowing for the improvement of his farm — *e.g.*, by purchasing up-to-date equipment, chemical fertilisers, better quality seed, breeding-stock, etc. The creation of rural credit co-operative societies also fosters his native thrift by encouraging him to invest his savings.

2. The peasants' trading co-operative societies — rural consumers' co-operative societies and purchasing and selling societies — which have grown up in Lithuania since 1880 and, above all, since the beginning of the twentieth century, have accustomed the peasants to the management of co-operative undertakings and have thus brought about great and beneficial changes in rural trading through the elimination of short weight, adulterated and low quality goods and, most important of all, by regularising prices. It used to be difficult for the peasants to obtain the articles necessary for the improvement of agricultural production — *e.g.*, chemical fertilisers, which were frequently adulterated by private dealers, better quality seeds, 474

[1] See the article on "La coopération agricole en Lithuanie" in the *Bulletin mensuel de renseignements économiques et sociaux*, No. 10, 1933, of the International Institute of Agriculture.

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

474 agricultural machinery, etc. Without the co-operative societies, the acquisition of these indispensable articles would have been almost impossible. Machinery to facilitate the various processes of farming and tools by which the land could be more efficiently prepared were shown to peasants at exhibitions, conferences and practical demonstrations organised by the rural co-operative societies.

474 242 3. Before the war, when Lithuania was still part of Russia, it was only towards 1911 or 1912 that action to encourage technical progress in agriculture could be developed on anything like a wide scale. Before that date, and particularly since 1906, much had been done in this sphere by the co-operative organisations — agricultural societies and farmers' clubs. At the meetings held by these organisations, many questions relating to the improvement of agricultural production were discussed. Exhibitions, courses of instruction and lectures were regularly held and visits were organised to model farms, experimental stations and demonstrations of agricultural instruments; schools of agriculture were founded and journals were published. General questions of importance to agriculturists were also discussed — *e.g.*, the flight from the land, the problem of agricultural labour, means of transport, hygiene and social insurance.

4. Since the end of the nineteenth century, propaganda has been conducted for the development of stock-breeding, particularly for the purposes of the dairy industries, as a substitute for the corn-growing to which Lithuanian agriculturists used largely to confine themselves. This propaganda was directed, in the first instance, to the owners of large agricultural estates and was subsequently extended to the owners of medium and small holdings also.

474 [727] The valuable activities of the co-operative societies in this sphere were interrupted by the war, during which Lithuanian agriculture suffered greatly : there was a fall of 38% in the number of horses, 47% in cattle, 44% in pigs and 30% in sheep; approximately 35% of the arable land was lying fallow and 1,200 villages with 14,270 agricultural undertakings, 2,000 separate undertakings and fifty townships, comprising a total of 57,080 buildings, were destroyed. The independent State of Lithuania was raised from the ruins without any compensation being received for the losses suffered. The co-operative societies applied themselves to the revival of rural life. Henceforward, their activities were better organised, as they were allowed to form unions and were able to concern themselves with the most varied branches of rural life.

In 1918, only 10% of the co-operative societies in being before the war still remained, so that the network of societies had to be extended. In consequence, many new societies of

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

the most varied types were founded. To the functions they 474
already performed — provision of credit for agriculturists, supplying of consumption goods and agricultural requirements, encouragement of the use of selected seeds and pure-bred stock, co-operative manufacture of milk products — they added the purchase of agricultural produce and the organisation of its sale in foreign markets. Cereals, vegetables, potatoes, linseed, eggs, flax and other agricultural products were previously inadequately prepared both for home and for foreign markets, with the result that the prices received by the peasant were low. The co-operative societies have improved the marketing of agricultural produce; standards have been laid down

Co-operative dairy.

and are rigorously adhered to. The Government has also helped to regulate this aspect of rural life by the enactment of laws on the control of agricultural produce, the texts of which were prepared by the co-operative organisations themselves. These organisations have also given proof of initiative in organising and developing the export of cattle and pigs. At a time when [475]
the export of bacon and live animals could only be handled with difficulty by private enterprise, the unions of co-operative societies acquired a very extensive undertaking for the export of live-stock, developed it and subsequently made it over to the "Maistas" joint-stock company. This rendered possible the efficient export of meat and, more particularly, bacon and poultry.

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

474 poultry. The same is true of the export of eggs, which has been taken over by a co-operative organisation ("Pienocentras") and is increasing yearly.

Similarly, without the activities of co-operative organisations, the efforts of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Chamber of Agriculture to increase rural prosperity would not have been so rich in results.

The co-operative societies create more favourable conditions for the agriculturists' activities; they facilitate rational production and enable agriculturists to obtain the necessary supplies on more favourable terms. In consequence, the income of the agricultural classes has been increased and their cultural level raised.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

VI. AGRICULTURAL CREDIT AND AGRICULTURAL INSURANCE

Agricultural credit may be divided as follows, according to the term of the loan and the conditions of payment : 452

1. Indebtedness to the Ministry of Agriculture for land obtained from the Agrarian Fund, timber purchased, agricultural improvements and the reintegration of land. These are long-term debts ; in some cases, no interest is charged ; in others, interest at 3% per annum. [652]

2. Loans on mortgage are granted to agriculturists almost exclusively by the Agrarian (Land) Bank. Up to 1934, the Bank granted mortgage loans in cash only ; since that year, it has granted mortgage bonds, of variable duration, up to twenty-eight years. The rate of interest is from 3.6% to 4.5%. On January 3rd, 1938, mortgage bonds (4%) were quoted on the Kaunas Exchange at 92.9.

3. Loans granted by the credit co-operatives. The term varies from six to eighteen months ; the loans may be extended for a single period of six months. The maximum loan that may be granted to agriculturists is 5,000 litai. The interest is from 6% to 8%. The credit co-operatives sometimes grant loans against promissory notes, but more usually against recognisances, two or more agriculturists being required to stand surety. The recognisance differs from the promissory note in the following respects : It is exempt from stamp duty ; the duration of the loan may be extended without the necessity for a new recognisance, simply by means of a note on the original recognisance. If the loan is not paid on the due date, there is no need for a protest ; it is recovered by the police, in accordance with a simplified procedure.

4. Loans granted by short-term credit establishments organised as joint-stock companies or mutual credit societies. These credit establishments serve the needs of commerce and industry ; agriculturists only occasionally apply to them for loans. They grant loans to farmers for three to six months at 8%.

The following table shows the indebtedness of Lithuanian farmers at January 1st, 1938 :

		Number of loans	Amount of loans in litai (1 litas = $ 0.592 on September 30th, 1938)
I.	Ministry of Agriculture . . .	122,994	71,239,000
II.	Loans on mortgage	28,818	114,530,000
III.	Credit co-operatives	82,713	55,052,600
IV.	Commercial banks	9,727	6,847,000
		244,252	247,658,600

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

452 The number of loans granted by credit establishments (groups 2-4) is 121,258. Many agriculturists have obtained loans from the three groups of establishments. The number of agriculturists who have obtained loans is therefore less than the actual number of loans. Only 30% of the Lithuanian agriculturists have contracted loans with credit establishments. The area of land mortgaged to the Agrarian Bank is 607,000 hectares. It is usually the larger landowners who apply for loans to the Agrarian Bank.

426 Doubtless farmers have also contracted debts with private individuals, but there is no statistical record of these. According to custom, the eldest son pays over a portion to each of his brothers and sisters and keeps the farm himself. As a rule, the farmer has no ready money and undertakes to pay these portions by fixed instalments; the farm thus becomes heavily encumbered.

During the economic depression, the farmers were unable to meet their obligations, owing to the drop in agricultural prices; the Government therefore came to their assistance.

In 1932, a list was drawn up of non-distrainable live-stock belonging to landowners. Farmers were protected from the forced sale of their farms by auction on account of debts contracted before February 1st, 1934, with private credit establishments or individuals. Where debts did not exceed 90% of the value of the agricultural immovable property, they had the right to apply to the competent court to suspend forced sale by auction. The court could do so for a year and a-half, to enable the debtor to come to an agreement with his creditors. Farmers were given facilities for repaying their debts to private persons in the form of mortgage bonds repayable by the Agrarian Bank at their nominal value. With this object, the Agrarian Bank issued a series of bonds, quoted at a fairly low rate on the Kaunas Exchange (78). Farmers could thus not only apply to the Agrarian Bank for loans in the form of mortgage bonds but also could purchase mortgage bonds on the market at a low rate, with which they were able to repay their debts to private individuals (but not their debts to the State or to credit establishments).

According to the provisions now in force, the courts may also decide as to the extension of the time-limit for the repayment of farmers' promissory notes.

Farms may only be sold by auction provided the highest bid is not less than 50% of their value. The value of the farm is assessed by the "viršaitis" (chairman of the executive of the municipality) or by the bailiff, in cases of forced sale.

Where the farmer has to pay over shares under the terms of a will or donation, he need only pay 60% in cash if the obligation arose before January 1st, 1931, or 70% if it arose prior to the period December 31st, 1930, to December 31st, 1932.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

From 1921 to 1923, insurance of farms against fire was compulsory; this system was never generally accepted, and efforts are now being made to promote voluntary insurance. Those insuring are granted as favourable rates as possible. Fire insurance in rural areas is almost entirely in the hands of the State insurance establishment and the " Kooperacija ", the central insurance union. With a view to extending fire insurance in rural districts, steps are being taken to organise mutual insurance societies. 456

Under the Law of March 30th, 1938, the Ministry of the Interior was assigned a fund for grants in compensation for damage caused by natural disasters; 4% of the revenue from the Government land tax is earmarked each year for this fund.

The following grants are made out of the fund to victims of disasters:

(*a*) For damage caused to crops by hail, a sum proportionate to the damage, less 30% (which is regarded as the farmer's own risk);

(*b*) For damage caused by storms, 70% of the value of the buildings destroyed, provided these are necessary for the work of the farm;

(*c*) 70% of the value of live-stock killed by lightning or by the collapse of buildings, payable to the farmer.

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

VII. EDUCATION — GENERAL, AGRICULTURAL AND HOUSECRAFT

872 Compulsory elementary education was gradually introduced between 1928 and 1931.

At present, elementary schools are divided into two grades. The first grade, which consists of four standards, is compulsory for children from 7 to 13 years of age. The second grade, consisting of two standards, is intended for children between the ages of 14 and 15 who have passed through the first grade; attendance is not as yet compulsory.

(In the Klaipéda territory attendance for six years at an elementary school is obligatory.)

To meet the needs of peasants on isolated farms, schools consist, as a rule, of only one or two class-rooms; those in the chief towns have from four to six rooms. The network of schools is organised in such a way that no child ever has to go more than 4 kilometres to get to school.

[875] The teachers are trained at the training colleges and at the Pedagogic Institute. Qualified students of the training colleges may proceed to higher educational establishments (the university). The Pedagogic Institute has a two-years course for students who have completed the grammar school or training college curriculum. The teachers are officials, paid by the State. The municipalities provide them lodging, heating and lighting or a cash equivalent.

The progress in elementary education since before the war is illustrated by the increase in the number of schools and of pupils. In 1913, there were 875 elementary schools in Lithuania, with 51,221 pupils; in 1919, there were 1,036 schools, with 45,540 pupils, and in 1938, 2,319 schools, with 283,773 pupils and 5,110 teachers. During the early years of Lithuanian independence, when the Government set about organising education on lines in keeping with the national aspirations, there was a shortage of qualified teachers and of school-buildings. In 1913, out of the 875 elementary schools in existence in the territory which now constitutes Lithuania, only 360 had their own premises, and some of these buildings were destroyed during the war.

874 Adult education is provided by the people's universities and by evening classes held at the elementary schools.

212 There is a steady decline in the number of illiterate persons in rural districts, and there are practically no illiterate young people.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Agricultural education and agricultural domestic education may be subdivided as follows : 874

(1) Higher education : (*a*) The Agricultural Academy at Dotnuva, with three sections : husbandry, agricultural domestic economy and forestry; (*b*) The Veterinary Academy;

(2) Middle-grade education : special agricultural middle-grade schools;

(3) Elementary education : agricultural elementary schools (mixed schools, agricultural domestic economy schools for girls), agricultural winter schools;

(4) Other forms of educational activity : young farmers' clubs, courses and lectures for adults, Press propaganda.

The Agricultural Academy at Dotnuva trains teachers qualifying for posts in agricultural schools, directors of agricultural experimental stations and experts for the Central Administration and external services of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Chamber of Agriculture.

The middle-grade schools provide technical staff for agriculture : zootechnicians (one school), dairy experts (one school), surveyors and agricultural improvement experts (one school), forestry experts (one school); horticulturists are trained at an elementary school of horticulture.

The aim of the agricultural elementary schools is to turn out efficient farmers and housewives. They accept boys and girls of 15 or over, who must have completed the elementary school course (four standards). The agricultural course lasts two years. The theoretical instruction given in the school is supplemented by practical work in the laboratories and on the attached farms. Girls work in the kitchen, laundry, cowsheds, etc. At present, there are ten agricultural elementary schools (nine mixed and one for boys only), and eight private agricultural domestic economy schools for girls, subsidised by the Ministry of Agriculture. During the school year 1937/38, the number of pupils in these agricultural elementary schools was 1,129 (516 boys and 613 girls), the figure for agricultural domestic economy schools being 375.

Agricultural winter schools are organised for young farmers who are already running a farm or intend to do so when they have completed their training. The teaching covers the rudiments of agriculture. It lasts from November 1st to April 1st, when work in the fields is suspended. Those applying must be not less than 17 years of age and be able to read and write. In 1937, there were twenty winter agricultural schools — *i.e.*,

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

874 fourteen run by the Chamber of Agriculture and six by private persons in receipt of grants from the Chamber. From 1928 to 1937 — the first schools of this kind having been established in 1927 — 2,471 male and female students attended these winter schools, which have become centres for the propagation of agricultural knowledge. They are provided with small agricultural libraries and a supply of agricultural machinery and tools. They also give advice and instruction to farmers, etc.

From 1924 to 1933, agricultural classes were organised at the elementary schools (first by the Ministry of Agriculture, and after 1928 by the Chamber of Agriculture). The instruction was given in premises belonging to the schools, in the afternoons during the winter months, the classes being attended, not only by young people, but also by adult farmers. The teaching was in the hands of elementary-school teachers who had followed special agricultural courses. The 1,175 agricultural classes held during this period were attended by 10,281 persons.

874 In 1930, the first young farmers' clubs were organised on the lines of the American "4-H Clubs", with the object of 883 encouraging a liking for agriculture among young people, teaching them how to apply agricultural science on their farms, imbuing them with a desire to work and to co-operate with each other, encouraging thrift, and exalting a love of their fellow citizens, their native land and liberty.

By a law of 1936, these young farmers' clubs were formed into a Union, under the patronage of the President of the Republic. They keep in close touch with the Chamber of Agriculture and are assisted by the latter's agricultural experts. Close relations are also maintained with the Ministry of Education. The clubs generally meet at the elementary schools, and most of them are run by the teachers. They receive financial assistance from the Government and from private organisations, particularly the co-operatives.

Boys and girls between the ages of 12 and 20 are admitted as members of these clubs. They are given various jobs to do — looking after poultry or pigs, growing vegetables, planting and attending to fruit-trees, etc. When the work is completed, the clubs organise exhibitions of the products, and prizes are awarded. Various competitions are also organised — for the best plantations of trees, small gardens, flowers, housewifery, cleanliness, etc.

In winter, the members attend agricultural and domestic economy courses, do manual work, etc. The clubs organise entertainments and excursions. Of recent years, they have paid more attention to physical culture and sport. They have small libraries.

At present, there are 1,087 of these clubs, with a membership of 36,020 (20,406 boys and 15,614 girls).

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

The popularisation of agriculture by means of adult courses and lectures plays an important part in the scheme of agricultural and domestic education. Until 1927, the courses and lectures were organised and subsidised by the Ministry of Agriculture; since that date, they have been taken over by the Chamber of Agriculture. Between 1928 and 1937, the Chamber organised 19,459 lectures on various agricultural questions in 12,824 towns and villages, attended by 379,700 agriculturists; 1,117 lectures on various agricultural questions, organised for farmers' sons serving with the forces, were attended by 170,000 men. Between 1928 and 1937, 4,198 courses, lasting from three to six days and attended by 853,600 agriculturists, were given by agricultural experts, doctors, veterinary surgeons, forestry experts, etc. A large number of courses are organised on the feeding and care of live-stock, milking, flax-scotching and the secondary branches of agriculture (poultry-keeping, bee-keeping, horticulture). 874

Altogether, approximately one and a-half million agriculturists have passed through the agricultural schools up to date or attended courses or lectures. Out of the 300,000 farms, there is not one from which several inmates have not gone to an agricultural school or attended courses or lectures. In addition, agricultural lectures are broadcast regularly.

Since 1928, the Chamber of Agriculture has organised lectures and domestic economy courses for farmers' wives and peasant girls, given for the most part by the agricultural domestic economy advisers attached to the Chamber. There are general and special courses. The former last either from one to three months or from two to three weeks. The following subjects are included: preparation of food, housewifery, laundry, hygiene and the care of children. The courses lasting from one to three months also include sewing, manual work, horticulture, bee-keeping, poultry-keeping, care of live-stock, co-operation, etc. At the special courses (from three to fifteen days), instruction is given in one of these subjects, according to the time of year and local circumstances. No charge is made for the courses, which are held at the farms or in the elementary schools. Between 1928 and 1937, upwards of 75,000 farmers' wives and peasant girls attended housewifery courses. Lectures on household management are also broadcast from time to time.

The Chamber of Agriculture organises domestic economy exhibitions and excursions to enable farmers' wives to visit model farms, interesting undertakings, etc.

The agricultural Press plays an important part in popularising agriculture. The Chamber of Commerce issues a weekly review, *Ūkininko Patarėjas* (*The Peasant's Adviser*), with two supplements: *Jaunasis Ūkininkas* (the organ of the Union of Young Farmers' Clubs) and *Šeimininkė* (for farmers' wives). 874 204

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

[204] This review has a circulation of about 80,000. There are also three weekly reviews for agriculturists : *Lietuvos Ūkininkas*, *Ūkininkas* and *Mūsų Laikraštis*, all with a large circulation.

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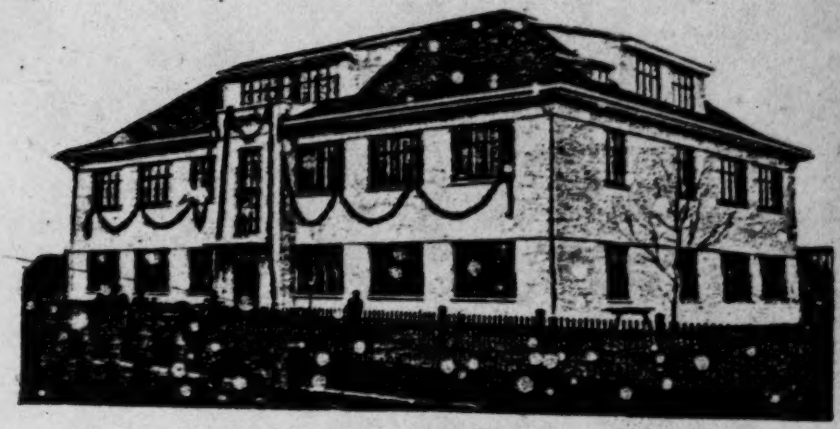
Lastly, agricultural experts and other technicians in the service of the Chamber of Agriculture give farmers and their wives advice and practical instruction in all branches of agriculture and agricultural domestic economy (including the care of children).



Primary school at Kvédarna.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

VIII. THE ROLE OF LITHUANIAN WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE

Women play an important part in Lithuanian agriculture both economically and intellectually. A farm without a woman is considered as extraordinary; the first thing a young peasant does when he comes into property is to marry, and a widower soon marries again. 462

From time immemorial, the peasant woman has taken her full share of responsibility in rural work. Though not on such a big scale as at present, she always made butter and cheese, collected eggs and occasionally fattened a pig for the market and sold a few geese. The more skilled even contrived to sell a little honey, dried fruits, poppy-heads and onions, and used to take to the fair in the neighbouring town their homespun linen or cloth. The woman's modest earnings were independent of the revenue from the farm; they covered the housekeeping expenditure and enabled her to put a little aside and even to help her husband on occasion.

In a number of districts, the ancient custom still prevails whereby a girl could reject a suitor who did not promise to confer on her, as mistress of his house, the right to manage the whole financial side of the farm.

Legally, women are treated in Lithuania to-day on a footing of equality with men. They have the right to own and administer land or other immovable property whether married or not. After the parents' death, brothers and sisters inherit the land in equal shares; the widow or widower inherits 25% of the estate. No statistics are available of the number of women landowners, but they are known to be less numerous than the men. The principal reason for this is the desire to avoid breaking up estates. One very widespread custom in many districts is for the peasant to leave his land to his eldest son, requiring him at the same time to pay over to his sisters and younger brothers in cash or in stock the shares devolving on them. When a girl marries, the share accruing to her is often registered in her husband's name. Before the war, under the law of the Russian Empire, girls in the Province of Kaunas inherited only one-fourteenth of the immovable property. These various factors have all tended to reduce the area owned by women. It is among the owners of large estates that women constitute the highest percentage, but these estates are few in number. 562 428

When an agricultural census was taken in 1930, women were found to constitute 50.69% and men 49.31% of the total adult 162

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

162 workers permanently employed in farming. Despite the fairly considerable increase in population, the number of rural inhabitants shows a downward tendency, the drop in the case of women being greater than in that of men. The figures for men and women engaged in farmwork in 1923 and 1930 respectively were as followed.

	Women	Men
1923	594,479	535,392
1930	489,566	501,489

462 Women are making energetic efforts to obtain employment in industry, being more attracted than men by urban life. 464 Those who are prepared to spend their life in domestic occupations remain on the farms, while the daughters of landless parents and large families count on finding less strenuous work in the towns. They enlist in industry or domestic service or in other branches. This circumstance, together with the fact that agricultural undertakings in Lithuania consist mainly of average-sized and small farms worked by the owners themselves, explains the exceptionally low percentage of hired female labour found 464 in agriculture. The figures for male wage-earners are slightly higher, but men too are attracted by the easier methods of 162 earning a livelihood in other branches. The agricultural censu of 1930 gave the following figures for workers permanently employed in farming :

	Women	%	Men	%
Members of farmers' families	418,010	42.17	419,509	42.32
Wage-earners	71,556	7.22	82,208	8.29

Thus, 85 % of the population employed in farming consists of members of the family and only 15 % of wage-earners. Both categories include a certain number over fifteen years of age. In 1930, these constituted 12.29 % of the total number of agricultural workers, the percentages being as follows :

	Boys %	Girls %
Members of the family	39.81	31.42
Wage-earners	20.06	8.71

464 The introduction of six standards in the elementary schools and the increase in the number of agricultural and domestic economy schools are responsible for a big drop in the number of children in receipt of wages. For the most part, they work only in summer on their parents' farms.

The small number of girls in receipt of wages in large families — which are more common than not — in the country is

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

worthy of note. The explanation is that the elder daughters have to help their mothers in the house. Moreover, there is more demand for boys on the smaller farms; an adult paid hand would cost too much. 464

The distribution of women's work according to the size of the farm is as follows: on the smaller farms — under 15 hectares — there are more adult women than men working who are members of the family; on farms ranging from 15 to 30 hectares paid labour is generally found consisting of adult women and boys, the number of women members of the family working being about the same as that of the men. The number of children working as members of the family is in inverse ratio to the size of the farm, the figures for boys declining rather more sharply than those for girls. In farms of 50 hectares, the percentage of women in receipt of wages becomes equal to the percentage of women belonging to the family, whereas in larger farms the former percentage is the greater. In farms of over 50 hectares, the proportion of women among the wage-earners declines in inverse ratio to the size of the farm. 462 464

Wage-earning female agricultural workers are recruited from among the landless proletariat, which is not very numerous in the rural districts, and more particularly from among families of small landowners and settlers. Many of them are engaged only in seasonal day-labour and live at home.

A woman's work on the farm is very varied. In addition to her usual domestic duties, she has to feed the fowls, milk and often feed the cows and work in the kitchen garden — all tasks for which men as a rule show little inclination. She has, besides, to toss the hay, load the carts, bind the sheaves, pick the flax, etc. Sugar-beet cultivation and other hoed crops require much female labour. With the modernisation of agriculture, dairying, pig-breeding and poultry are tending to constitute more important branches of agriculture, and practically the whole of the export trade in eggs, butter and bacon represents the outcome of women's work. 462

The life of the peasant woman is becoming increasingly difficult, for even though her labour raises the standard of well-being of her own family and of the country as a whole, she is gradually losing part of her economic independence. The income she derived before the war from her eggs, cheese and butter is passing out of her keeping and her husband now receives, through the intermediary of the co-operative dairies, pig-marketing boards and centres for the purchase of flax and eggs, ten times the sum she once earned, this income forming the mainstay of the whole farm budget. A thrifty hard-working housewife who has to be constantly begging her husband for money for minor household expenses is criticied for extravagance. 562

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

286 With so much other work to do, the farmer's wife has little time nowadays for spinning and weaving. This is indeed how 462 her artistic sense, cultivated for centuries, finds expression. There is a special material for every purpose and a special design for every material — for bed-linen and personal linen, pure linen weave; for towels and table linen, linen and cotton mixed, with hundreds of combinations of grey and white checks; for carpets and blankets, linen and woollen materials in brighter colours and bolder designs; for men's suits, woollen materials. The women's traditional costumes are still found in many districts, and attempts have recently been made to extend the use of national costumes in general. Every corner of Lithuania has its own traditions, designs and combinations of colours. The designs of the costumes bear witness to an original taste in art, while the choice of colours is remarkably 522 finely conceived. Again, a great variety of exquisite detailed designs is found in the Easter eggs. Only the son of a Lithuanian woman who had grown up in an atmosphere of mystic legends could have created the Lithuanian "Smūtkelis", the saints in the little chapels standing by the roadside, the amazing Samogitian crosses.

To recall the situation of the country before the war is to realise the importance of the humble peasant woman's rôle. During foreign domination when there were practically no books written in the national language and no Lithuanian schools, the peasant woman was the guardian of the Lithuanian language, customs and art and the inspirer of the national conscience when her sons returned home for the holidays after studying at schools which offered them only the foreign culture of the country's oppressors. The Lithuanian woman's personal beliefs and convictions revealed her integrity and sense of justice. A gentle poetry and original philosophy of life imbued the songs and tales and proverbs which she transmitted to her children. The lore she handed down to her daughters, her simple replies to their questions, reflected an exquisite beauty of character and the finest intelligence. Her bearing was marked by nobility, by a consciousness of her dignity, far above what might be regarded as corresponding to her station in life; in her relations with different classes of society, she exhibited remarkable tact and a keen sense of diplomacy.

The Lithuanian peasant woman has preserved this natural dignity notwithstanding the profound transformation of the whole life of the country. The school with its army of teachers — about 60% are women — the Lithuanian book, the national Press adapted to the requirements of the various social classes, officials and private economic and cultural activities, the agrarian reform, the breaking-up of communal lands into individual

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

farms, improved means of communication, the wireless — all 562
these factors have completely revolutionised the physiognomy of the country and the mentality of its inhabitants.

The rôle of the intellectual woman in agriculture is no less 462
important. As a member of the Chamber of Agriculture or of the many associations which aim at promoting the technical advancement of agriculture, as the owner and manager of well-run farms, she takes an active part in the solution of various problems relating to agriculture. Like men, she is found in the service of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Chamber of Agriculture. But it is in the sphere of agricultural instruction that she plays the most important part. Girls have opportunities of studying agronomic science at the Agricultural Academy at Dotnuva, and agricultural domestic economy is taught in the domestic science section of that institution. On completing their studies, they spread the knowledge they have acquired by enrolling as teachers in domestic economy and other agricultural schools; they visit the peasant women in their own homes, in their capacity as agricultural domestic advisers under the Chamber of Agriculture; they give them advice and practical instruction; they organise lectures and courses on questions of interest to farming women, competitions, excursions and local exhibitions; they run young peasants' clubs and play an important part in organisations for the education of rural youth; they contribute to the periodicals for farmers' wives and daughters — "Šeimininkė" (with about 80,000 subscribers), "Jaunasis Ūkininkas" (also with about 80,000 subscribers) and "Moteris" (15,000 subscribers). They prepare lectures, etc., for the half-hour wireless talk for countrywomen.

The recently founded Society of Lithuanian Peasant Women 562
looks after the interests of peasant women. Its object is to 575
group all Lithuanian peasant women, including those working on farms, with a view to joint economic action designed to create a new type not concerned solely with their own individual calling but prepared to interest themselves also in the well-being of the nation as a whole. The Society of Lithuanian Peasant Women has an hour's talk on the radio every Sunday, devoted exclusively to the affairs of women in rural areas.

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

IX. PEASANT ART AND FOLKLORE. ORGANISATION OF LEISURE

532 From time immemorial, the villagers have been fond of manual work. By the roadside, religious monuments decorated with original designs may be seen, such as crosses and chapels; in the villages, wooden churches and belfries and attractive wooden buildings, with original carvings, have been erected.

[415] In the houses themselves, the equipment and the domestic utensils are also made by hand. Furniture, spindles, linen-beaters, towel-pegs, nut-crackers are characteristic objects of peasant art. The girls were always fond of spinning, weaving and [288] knitting. When they married, they brought with them from their home a generous supply of cloth, towels, table-cloths, bed-covers, gaily coloured dresses, etc. At weddings, in particular, it was the custom to make presents of belts, towels, cloth, etc.

Crucifix.

After the world war, when Lithuania became independent, the cultural level rose; the old articles of peasant art, with their primitive forms, no longer fulfilled modern requirements. The Chamber of Agriculture, in collaboration with the Union of Young Farmers' Clubs, accordingly endeavoured to encourage cottage handicrafts, adapting them to modern conditions.

A series of courses was organised for peasant craftsmen, to teach them new methods and familiarise them with modern tools, better raw materials and modern shapes (for which artists prepared designs based on the traditional peasant styles.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

The Chamber of Agriculture is conducting systematic propaganda to disseminate the new peasant art among the population; books and articles are published, talks broadcast, exhibitions organised, sample designs popularised, etc. The chief publications of the Chamber of Agriculture are the *Sodžiaus Menas* (peasant art) series, six volumes of which (5,000 copies each) have been published up to date, containing descriptions of peasant art with illustrations, and the *Sodžiaus Pramonė* (peasant industries) series, three volumes of which have appeared containing descriptions and examples of new peasant work. 532

Thanks to these measures, the wearing of the national dress and the tendency to give an original national character to house interiors has become more widespread and there has been a real revival of national peasant art.

* * *

The folklore is rich and varied. The popular songs (" Dainos ") have lost none of their freshness. It is over a century since special interest was first taken in them and steps were taken to collect them; about 150,000 variants of these popular songs have now been collected. 533

The genre most frequently found is the ballad, a simple, sincere and artless recital about a youth and a maiden; the relations between the members of the family are depicted with real delicacy and feeling — the daily joys and sorrows and conflicts of parents and children, brother and sister, husband and wife. Among the ceremonial songs, nuptial songs are very frequent. Wedding celebrations, which used to last a week, formerly followed an elaborate ceremonial, including songs, speeches, laments and dramatic dialogues. In all these songs, the difference is stressed between the life of the unmarried girl and that of the married woman, the former being described as happy and carefree, while the latter is depicted in more sombre colours. Working songs are also numerous; some are primitive, as regards both the words and the air. The songs about the rye harvest and the " harvest home " also occupy an important place. Part-songs *(sularlinės)* are sung by two, three or four women's voices; one begins, and another joins in with the same or a related melody. This original and popular form of singing, of very ancient origin, is now dying out.

The ancient popular instrumental music, played on the " kanklės " (a kind of cither) and on the " skudučiai " (pipe), was very much on the lines of the part-singing.

The latter was accompanied by dancing. The traditional dances and games were not performed in couples but in groups, in the form of slow walks accompanied by singing but not music.

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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Harvest festival.

533 A number of songs are characterised by their dramatic quality; ballads in which the love element predominates are commonly preferred to those dealing with violent and terrible happenings.

The melodies of these popular songs — except when influenced by individual art — are simple and sincere; their gaiety is subdued, their melancholy marked by tenderness. The rhythm is seldom lively and the expression of feeling is never violent. Both music and poetry reflect a peaceful state of mind.

538 There is a wealth of tales and legends influenced mainly by Eastern Europe; some contain authentic Scandinavian elements. The most popular legends are those about the dead, fairies, the devil and witches; short interpolations of song are often found.

The love of fairies and the supernatural persists, though the belief in them has died out. The number of anecdotes, proverbs and riddles found bears witness to an ingenious turn of mind and a sense of humour.

The popular games contain all the elements of natural and healthy sport, and an endeavour is now being made to adapt them to modern requirements.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

There are large peasant youth organisations such as "Jaunoji Lietuva", the Rifle Association, "Pavasaris", etc. The Chamber of Physical Culture has drawn up a programme of physical culture and sport for the peasant youth, which also takes account of their less material needs. The programme is divided into two parts, one for winter and one for summer. It includes games, exercises in self-defence, light exercise, popular dances and community games, running, jumping, throwing, ball games, more strenuous competitions, wrestling, riding, hiking, swimming and winter sports. 883 526

The Chamber of Physical Culture has introduced a national physical culture badge, which is conferred on young people in the camps held by the different organisations, after they have had adequate time to train for it.

A sculptor of religious statuettes.

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

X. MEDICO-SOCIAL POLICY

744 Sanitary conditions in the towns and rural administrative areas are under the supervision of the competent district medical 657 officer, who also inspects sales of foodstuffs. He is responsible 758 for measures for the prevention of infectious diseases and for seeing that all persons suffering from venereal disease receive treatment.

It has not yet been possible to apply all the recommendations of the 1931 European Conference on Rural Hygiene. Health centres had already been set up (different from those recommended by the Conference) in 1929, before the Conference met. They are staffed by doctors, nurses and midwives, and advise pregnant women and mothers. The responsibility for establishing them rests with the Department of Labour and Social Insurance (Ministry of the Interior), which acts through the Union of Maternity and Child Welfare Organisations. There are at present twenty-two such health centres.

In 1938, 210 health stations were opened, each serving an area with an average of 10,000 inhabitants. Every health station has a medical officer and a midwife, the former being responsible for giving medical assistance to the inhabitants and for supervising the health of school-children. The stations are maintained jointly by the Ministry of the Interior and the municipalities. The doctors and midwives are paid a small fixed salary, and also receive reduced rate fees from their patients. Indigent persons are given free medical and obstetrical assistance. Persons suffering from venereal disease are treated free of charge by the doctor attached to the health station.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

XI. RURAL NUTRITION

According to researches carried out by Professor Vl. Lašas, 146
of the Institute of Physiology at Kaunas University, the peasant's diet is made up as follows (see table).

Vegetable proteins constitute 65% and animal proteins 35% of the total proteins consumed by the peasant. The sources of these proteins are: cereals 47%, potatoes 16%, vegetables and fruits 2%, meat 14% and dairy produce 21%.

Animal fats form 85% and vegetable fats 15% of the peasant's daily fat ration; 48% of the fat content of the food consumed is derived from meat, 37% from dairy produce, 13% from cereals and 2% from potatoes, vegetables and fruits.

Carbohydrates are almost entirely of vegetable origin (96%); 60% of the carbohydrate content of the food consumed is derived from cereals, 32% from potatoes, 2% from vegetables and fruits, 2.6% from sugar and honey and 3.4% from milk.

Of the calorie content of the food consumed, 13.6% is derived from proteins, 16.4% from fats and 70% from carbohydrates. The sources, according to the foodstuffs from which the calories are derived, are: cereals 50%, potatoes 25%, vegetables and fruits 1.5%, sugar 2%, meat 10%, dairy produce 11.5%.

The peasant consumes 127.6 grammes of proteins daily, an amount which is adequate.

His daily caloric ration is also adequate — *i.e.*, 3,861 gross or 3,479 net. His diet contains 657.8 grammes of carbohydrates and 68.7 grammes of fats — *i.e.*, a proportion of 9.5 to 1. In view of climatic and labour conditions, the proportion might with advantage be slightly modified, so as to increase the fat ration.

As the peasant sells fats in the form of milk, butter and pigs, he does not consume them, so that his intake of fat-soluble vitamins is very small.

The peasant's daily intake of vitamin D (anti-rachitic) is 2.38 milligrammes; of vitamin A (anti-xerophthalmic), 5,990 international units; of vitamin C (anti-scorbutic), 129 milligrammes; and of vitamin B (anti-neuritic), 1,051 international units. His daily ration is therefore quite adequate so far as vitamins B, C, and A are concerned, but his vitamin-D intake is insufficient.

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

XII. RURAL PLANNING

491 Before the war, only rudimentary means of communication existed. During the hostilities, transport conditions became even worse : the main roads were broken up and the by-roads suffered serious damage. When Lithuania became independent, all the existing roads had to be rebuilt and new means of communication to be provided. Between 1918 and 1937, over 1,000 kilometres of main roads were repaired and over 200 kilometres built. In 1937, there were 1,950 kilometres of main roads. Adding by-roads of the first category (4,365 kilometres) and of the second category (9,300 kilometres), there is a total of 15,000 kilometres of roads — that is, roughly 270 kilometres per 1,000 square kilometres and 60 kilometres per 10,000 inhabitants. The farmer, in addition to the main roads and the by-roads of the first and second categories, can use the by-roads of the third category, connecting villages and isolated farms, so that he usually has adequate means of communication and can always take his produce to the nearest markets. Motor-bus services (a means of communication which is rapidly spreading) make travelling fairly easy. The Government proposes to build 700 kilometres of main roads in the next ten years and to develop and improve the system of by-roads.

621 As regards other questions connected with rural planning, it may be noted that the villages are divided up into separate isolated farms (see II), and that, in four or five years time, built-up villages areas will have ceased to exist. Agriculturists who have left their villages to take up farming on these separate undertakings have to dig wells, but this does not, as a rule, present great difficulties, as drinking-water is found nearly 377 everywhere. Electrification has only just started : at present, regional electric power stations are being set up (the source of energy being peat), and the construction of a large central hydro-electric power station is under consideration. It is possible that the problem of the electrification of the countryside may become a matter of pressing concern in the near future : the drawbacks attaching to the system of scattered and isolated farms will then become apparent.

369 For these isolated farms, the school and church, representing the economic and ideological aspects of organised farming interests, serve as cultural and social centres. Together with the Press and the wireless, they correct such dangers as isolated members of the rural community might otherwise be exposed to from a cultural and social point of view.

1. A land reform program divided former common pasture land into separate farms.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

The farm consists of the following separate buildings: the farm-house, a byre or stable, a barn, a loft, a bath-house (at some distance from the house), and a cellar, with a small orchard, a kitchen-garden and a little flower-garden. 342 343

The house, usually of wood, includes a large kitchen, which is also the living-room (grįčia), a large guest-room (seklyčia), one or two small bedrooms, a storeroom, a hall (with one room on either side), and a porch. In the loft (where grain, flour, etc., are stored), one or two bedrooms are often fitted up during the summer. In some districts, a special kitchen is constructed for the summer.

The rooms are about 3 metres high; the air circulates freely through the windows and wooden partitions. The inner walls are whitewashed and the floor is generally of boards. The house is warmed by means of stoves, which are often unpractical, particularly in the older houses.

Nearly every farm has a well, which is kept covered for sanitary reasons.

The privies are generally of a primitive kind, situated at a fair distance from the house.

The animals are kept in byres or stables at some distance from the house, with portions divided off for the smaller farmyard animals; the latter are occasionally housed separately.

A special loft is used to store grain, flour, etc. Cereals and forage are kept in a separate barn, while vegetables and other particularly perishable products are stored in a separate cellar, or in a special cellar under the house.

The farm-houses and out-buildings do as yet not compare with those of farmers in Western Europe. Under the former Russian Government, agriculture remained at a standstill, and rural recovery was precluded. During the war, all the farmers' savings disappeared, and a large number of farms — some 16,000 — were destroyed. These had to be rebuilt, while many new buildings were required in connection with the agrarian reform, thereby adding to the difficulties of rural administration. The development of agriculture and the improvement in rural standards of living make it a matter of urgent necessity that buildings better adapted to the farmers' needs should be erected without delay.

The Government and the agricultural organisations are taking energetic measures to improve rural building: Active propaganda is carried on, farmers are taught how to plan their buildings, so that they may be put to better use, grants are made for the erection of model buildings, prizes are awarded for farms run on rational lines, etc. Quite recently, at the instance of the Government in collaboration with the Chamber of Agriculture, the Lithuanian Society of Engineers and Architects and other institutions and organisations, a long-term plan

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

342 was framed to encourage the use of brick and stone for building
343 purposes, as Lithuania is not rich in timber. The plan includes the erection of stone houses for farmers and agricultural labourers and stables and byres, and provision is made for long-term credits to be granted to farmers for the purpose, at reduced rates. Care will be taken, when the plan is carried out, to see that the buildings are rationally constructed, in accordance with economic and sanitary requirements; æsthetic considerations will also be borne in mind.

183

Lithuanian landscape.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

262
146

AVERAGE DIET (PER DAY) OF THE LITHUANIAN PEASANT (male adult)

Order	Foodstuff	Amounts consumed: Grammes	Proteins (grammes)	Fats (grammes)	Carbohydrates (grammes)	Calories (gross)	Amounts absorbed: Calories (net)
1.	Rye bread	548.7	35.67	5.49	279.84	1,344.31	1,152.27
2.	Wheat bread	3.1	0.28	0.03	1.43	7.25	6.51
3.	White bread	3.5	0.24	0.02	2.—	9.31	8.4
4.	Wheaten flour	16.—	1.83	0.24	11.36	56.64	48.8
5.	Barley flour	4.8	0.48	0.11	3.5	17.38	14.4
6.	Flour for pancakes	85.4	12.75	1.28	58.21	303.02	267.07
7.	"Kisielius" (a kind of oatmeal)	5.—	0.28	0.16	1.3	8.3	7.2
8.	Barley gruel	28.4	2.84	0.65	20.76	102.81	85.2
9.	Wheat gruel	0.9	0.1	0.01	0.07	3.28	2.7
10.	Thick gruel	10.2	0.57	0.31	2.86	16.83	16.32
11	"Vedarai" (intestine filled with grated potato, gruel and blood)	1.5	0.11	0.16	0.57	4.19	3.75
12.	Ground groats	0.8	0.09	0.01	0.61	2.52	2.4
13.	Dried peas	20.—	4.6	0.4	10.4	65.2	58.—
14.	Potatoes	1,010.8	21.23	1.01	212.27	970.37	909.7[illegible]
15.	Cabbage	54.7	0.55	0.27	3.50	15.86	8.[illegible]
16.	Beetroot (soup)	27.8	0.28	—	1.95	9.17	8
17.	Beetroot	16.3	0.16	—	1.11	5.38	4.[illegible]
18.	Leaf-stalks of beetroot	1.8	0.02	—	0.13	0.36	—
19.	Beetroot leaves	5.9	0.06	—	0.41	1.18	—
20.	Carrots	3.8	0.04	—	0.26	1.56	0.95
21.	Salad	0.9	0.01	traces	0.02	0.11	0.07
22.	Radishes	5.9	0.05	—	0.24	1.18	1.12
23.	Cucumbers	34.7	0.21	—	0.35	2.43	—
24.	Onions	2.5	0.03	—	0.23	1.03	—
25.	Poppy	0.4	0.08	0.16	0.07	1.74	1.21
26.	Mushrooms	7.1	0.36	0.01	0.21	0.41	1.99
27.	"Kisielius" made of cranberry	0.6	0.001	0.0001	0.1	0.42	0.36
28.	Red whortleberry jam	0.6	0.01	—	0.37	1.45	1.42
29.	Strawberry jam	1.2	0.01	—	0.73	2.9	2.84
30.	Apples	9.7	0.01	—	1.36	5.72	3.88
31.	Plums	4.—	0.03	—	0.68	2.92	1.—
32.	Sugar	16.3	—	—	10.29	40.68	40.17
33.	Honey	8.8	0.03	—	7.04	26.4	26.4
34.	Pork (half-lean)	31.2	5.62	6.55	—	83.93	79.56
35.	Pork (lean)	3.2	0.67	0.22	—	4.83	4.48
36.	"Kisielius" (a kind of jelly)	1.6	0.34	0.11	—	2.42	2.24
37.	Pork, mutton, hare	10.2	2.04	0.99	—	17.44	16.49
38.	Blood soup	7.2	0.61	0.02	0.01	2.66	2.38
39.	Mutton	1.2	0.23	0.08	—	1.69	1.62
40.	Sucking pig	5.6	1.18	0.39	—	8.46	7.84
41.	Ham	4.5	1.13	1.62	—	19.67	18.9
42.	Sausage	0.2	0.06	0.1	—	1.12	1.06
43.	"Skilandis" (the stomach of a pig filled with minced pork)	2.3	0.55	1.06	—	12.1	11.5
44.	Bacon	21.6	3.02	11.02	—	114.48	110.16
45.	Fat	10.3	0.01	10.25	—	95.38	94.76
46.	Linseed oil	0.03	—	0.03	—	0.28	0.28
47.	Fish	11.9	1.19	0.04	—	4.76	4.16
48.	Herrings	4.1	0.57	0.49	—	6.89	6.35
49.	Eggs	2.—	0.28	0.22	0.01	3.24	3.—
50.	Fresh milk	240.2	8.17	8.17	11.29	156.13	151.33
51.	Skim-milk	48.7	1.66	0.05	2.29	16.56	14.61
52.	Curdled milk	193.1	6.37	5.21	5.69	110.07	104.27
53.	Buttermilk	7.6	0.26	0.04	0.36	2.89	2.51
54.	Cream	23.3	0.79	2.33	0.93	28.66	27.96
55.	Butter	10.9	0.06	9.05	0.05	84.67	84.24
56.	Curds	30.3	5.76	0.18	0.7	28.46	25.76
57.	Cream cheese	10.5	3.99	0.21	0.32	19.53	17.53
	Total		127.67	68.7	657.8	3,861.—	3,479.—

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

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Lithuanian S.S.R. Constitution

CONSTITUTION

(FUNDAMENTAL LAW)

of the

LITHUANIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

of August 25, 1940

As Amended Through April 7, 1948

April 1950 50¢

American Russian Institute

58 Park Avenue New York 16, New York

p. i

1Z: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

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C O N S T I T U T I O N

(Fundamental Law)

of the

LITHUANIAN

SOVIET SOCIALIST

REPUBLIC

of August 25, 1940

As amended through April 7, 1948

CONTENTS

		Page
Chapter I.	The Social Structure	1
Chapter II.	The State Structure	2
Chapter III.	The Higher Organs of State Power of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic	4
Chapter IV.	The Organs of State Administration of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic	6
Chapter V.	The Local Organs of State Power	8
Chapter VI.	The Budget of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic	10
Chapter VII.	The Courts and the Procurator's Office	11
Chapter VIII.	Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens	12
Chapter IX.	The Electoral System	14
Chapter X.	Arms, Flag, Capital	15
Chapter XI.	Procedure for Amending the Constitution	15

p. ii

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

C O N S T I T U T I O N

(Fundamental Law)

of the

LITHUANIAN

SOVIET SOCIALIST

REPUBLIC

of August 25, 1940

As amended through April 7, 1948

Chapter I. The Social Structure

642 Art. 1. The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic is a socialist state of workers and peasants.

Art. 2. The political foundation of the Lithuanian SSR is the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, firmly established as a result of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and the capitalists and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Art. 3. All power in the Lithuanian SSR belongs to the working people of town and country as represented by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

471 Art. 4. The economic foundation of the Lithuanian SSR is the socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production, firmly established as the result of the liquidation of the capitalist system of economy, the abolition of private ownership of the instruments and means of production in large industrial enterprises, and the nationalization of such enterprises, banks, transport and means of communication with a view to the complete abolition of the exploitation of man by man and the construction of a socialist system of society.

421 Art. 5. Socialist property in the Lithuanian SSR exists either in the form of state property (belonging to the whole people) or in the form of co-operative property.

Art. 6. The land, its mineral wealth, waters, forests, mills, factories, mines, rail, water and air transport, banks, communications, large state-organized agricultural enterprises (state farms, machine and tractor stations and the like), as well as municipal enterprises and large dwelling houses in the cities and industrial localities, are state property, that is, belong to the whole people.

474 Art. 7. The common enterprises of co-operative organizations, with their
421 livestock and implements, the products of co-operative organizations, as well as their common buildings, constitute the common, socialist property of the co-operative organizations.

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

472 Art. 8. Alongside the socialist system of economy in the Lithuanian SSR the law permits the small private economy of individual peasants, artisans and handicraftsmen and small private industrial and trading enterprises.

423 Art. 9. The land occupied by peasant holdings as provided by law is secured for their use free of charge and for an unlimited time.

421 Art. 10. The personal property right of citizens in their incomes and savings from work, in their dwelling houses and subsidiary home enterprises, in articles of domestic economy and use and articles of personal use and convenience, as well as the right of citizens to inherit personal property, is protected by law.

471 185 Art. 11. The economic life of the Lithuanian SSR is determined and directed by the state national-economic plan, with the aim of increasing the public wealth, of steadily raising the material and cultural standards of the working people, of consolidating the independence of the USSR and strengthening its defensive capacity.

461 Art. 12. Work in the Lithuanian SSR is a duty and a matter of honour for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat."

The principle applied in the Lithuanian SSR is that of socialism: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

Chapter II. The State Structure

642 Art. 13. For the purpose of mutual assistance among the Union Republics along economic and political lines, as well as along the line of defence, the Lithuanian SSR voluntarily united with the other equal Soviet Socialist Republics, namely:

The Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic,
The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic and
The Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic

in a federal state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Proceeding from the aforesaid, the Lithuanian SSR ensures to the USSR, as represented by its higher organs of state power and organs of state administration, the rights defined in Art. 14 of the Constitution of the USSR.

Outside of the spheres set forth in Art. 14 of the Constitution of the USSR, the Lithuanian SSR exercises state authority independently, retaining its sovereign rights in full.

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

[642] Art. 14. The Lithuanian SSR consists of the districts of Alitus, Anikshchyai, Birzhai, Varena, Vilkovishkis, Vilnyus, Zarasai, Ionishkis, Kaishyadoris, [639] Kaunas, Kedainyai, Kelmena, Klaipeda, Krotinga, Kupishkis, Kurshenai, Lazdiyai, Mazheikyai, Mariyampolo, Pagegyai, Prienoshis, Pasvalis, Plungo, Prenai, Radvilishkis, Raseinyai, Rokishkis, Taurage, Telshai, Traknl, Ukmerge, Utyana, Shakyai, Shvenchonis, Shiluto, Shyaulyai, Yurbarkas; and of the cities of Vilnius, Kaunas, Klaipeda, Shyaulyai and Panevezhis which do not form part of districts.

Art. 15. The Lithuanian SSR reserves the right freely to secede from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Art. 16. The territory of the Lithuanian SSR may not be altered without its consent.

[701] Art. 16a. The Lithuanian SSR has its own Republican military formations.

[648] Art. 16b. The Lithuanian SSR has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states and to conclude agreements and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives with them.

Art. 17. The laws of the USSR are binding within the territory of the Lithuanian SSR.

[641] Art. 18. Every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR is a citizen of the USSR. Citizens of all other Union Republics enjoy on the territory of the Lithuanian SSR equal rights with citizens of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 19. The jurisdiction of the Lithuanian SSR, as represented by its higher organs of state power and organs of state administration, embraces:

a) Adoption of the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR and control over its observance;

b) Establishment of the administrative-territorial divisions of the Lithuanian SSR and of the boundaries of districts and volosts;

c) Legislation of the Lithuanian SSR;

d) Maintenance of public order and safeguarding the rights of citizens;

e) Approval of the national-economic plan of the Lithuanian SSR;

f) Approval of the state budget of the Lithuanian SSR and of the report on its fulfilment;

g) Determination of state and local taxes, imposts and non-tax revenues in conformity with the laws of the USSR, as well as direction of the fulfilment of local budgets;

h) Direction of insurance and savings;

i) Administration of the banks, industrial, agricultural and trading enterprises and organizations subordinate to the Republic, as well as direction of local industry;

j) Control and superintendence of the condition and administration of enterprises subordinate to the Union;

k) Establishment of the procedure governing the use of land, mineral wealth, forests and waters;

l) Direction of dwelling-houses and the municipal economy, dwelling house construction and the modernization of cities and other inhabited places;

m) Road Building; direction of local transport and communications;

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

[Lithuanian constitution as of April 7, 1948]

642 n) Labor legislation; legislation concerning marriage and the family;

o) Direction of public health;

p) Direction of social maintenance;

q) Direction of elementary, secondary and higher education;

r) Direction of the cultural, educational and scientific organizations and institutions of the Lithuanian SSR, and administration of the cultural, educational and scientific organizations and institutions of all-Republican importance;

s) Direction and organization of physical culture and sports;

t) Organization of the judicial organs of the Lithuanian SSR;

u) Granting the rights of citizenship of the Lithuanian SSR;

v) Amnesty and pardon of citizens convicted by judicial organs of the Lithuanian SSR;

w) Establishment of the representation of the Lithuanian SSR in international relations;

x) Organization of the military formations of the Lithuanian SSR.

Chapter III. The Higher Organs of State Power of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic

644 Art. 20. The Highest organ of state power in the Lithuanian SSR is the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 21. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR is elected for a term of four years by the citizens of the Lithuanian SSR voting by election districts on the basis of one deputy for every 15,000 of the population.

Art. 22. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR exercises all rights vested in the Lithuanian SSR in accordance with articles 13 and 19 of the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR, in so far as they do not by virtue of the Constitution, come within the jurisdiction of organs of the Lithuanian SSR that are accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, that is, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR, and the Ministries of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 23. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR is the sole legislative organ of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 24. A law is considered adopted if passed by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR by a simple majority vote.

643 Art. 25. Laws passed by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR are published in the Lithuanian and Russian languages over the signatures of the President and Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 26. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR elects a Chairman of the Supreme Soviet and two Vice-Chairmen.

Art. 27. The Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR presides at the sittings of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR and has charge of the conduct of its business and proceedings.

643 646 Art. 28. Sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR twice a year.

I2: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 - RB5 Lithuania RB5

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

643 644 Extraordinary sessions are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR at its discretion or on the demand of one-third of the deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 29. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR elects the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, consisting of a President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary of the Presidium and eleven members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 30. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR is accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR for all its activities.

643 Art. 31. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR:

a) Convenes the sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR;

b) Issues decrees;

c) Gives interpretations of the laws of the Lithuanian SSR in operation;

d) Conducts nation-wide polls (referendums);

645 e) Annuls decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR, and likewise decisions and orders of the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies, if they do not conform to law;

f) In the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, releases and appoints Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR, on the recommendation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR, subject to subsequent confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR;

g) Confers titles of honour of the Lithuanian SSR;

h) Exercises the right of pardoning citizens convicted by judicial organs of the Lithuanian SSR;

i) Appoints and recalls diplomatic representatives of the Lithuanian SSR to foreign states;

j) Receives the letters of credence and recall of diplomatic representatives accredited to it by foreign states.

646 Art. 32. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR elects a Credentials Committee to verify the credentials of the members of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

On the report of the Credentials Committee, the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR decides whether to recognize the credentials of deputies or to annul their election.

Art. 33. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, when it deems necessary, appoints commissions of investigation and audit in any matter.

It is the duty of all institutions and officials to comply with the demands of such commissions and to submit to them all necessary materials and documents.

Art. 34. A member of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR may not be prosecuted or arrested without the consent of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, or, when the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR is not in session, without the consent of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

643 Art. 35. On the expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of
644 the Lithuanian SSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR orders new elections to be held within a period not exceeding two months from the date of expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 36. On the expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR retains its powers until the newly-elected Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR shall have formed a new Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 37. The newly-elected Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR is convened by the outgoing Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR not later than three months after the elections.

645 Art. 38. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR appoints the Government
[644] of the Lithuanian SSR, namely, the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR.

Chapter IV. The Organs of State Administration of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic

Art. 39. The highest executive and administrative organ of state power of the Lithuanian SSR is the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 40. The Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR is responsible and accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, or, in the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 41. The Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR issues decisions and orders on the basis and in pursuance of the laws in operation of the USSR and the Lithuanian SSR, and of the decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and verifies their execution.

Art. 42. Decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR are binding throughout the territory of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 43. The Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR:

a) Coordinates and directs the work of Republican and Union-Republican Ministries of the Lithuanian SSR and of other institutions under its jurisdiction; coordinates and directs the work of the authorised representatives of all-Union Ministries;

b) Prepares the national-economic plan of the Lithuanian SSR, transmits it to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR for its approval and adopts measures to carry it out;

c) Prepares the state budget of the Lithuanian SSR and draws up the local budgets of the Lithuanian SSR; transmits the state budget to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR for its approval and adopts measures for the fulfilment of the state and local budgets of the Lithuanian SSR;

d) Adopts measures for the maintenance of public order, for the protection of the interests of the state, and for the safeguarding of the rights of citizens;

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

645

e) Directs and verifies the work of the Executive Committees of the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies;

f) Sets up, whenever necessary, special Committees and Central Administrations under the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR for economic and cultural affairs;

g) Exercises guidance in the sphere of the relations of the Lithuanian SSR with foreign states, on the basis of the general procedure established by the USSR governing the relations of Union Republics with foreign states;

h) Directs the organization of the military formations of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 44. The Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR has the right to annul orders and instructions of the Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR, decisions and orders of Executive Committees of district and city Soviets of Working People's Deputies and likewise to suspend decisions and orders of district and city Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 45. The Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR is appointed by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR and consists of:

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR;

The Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR;

The Chairman of the State Planning Commission of the Lithuanian SSR;

The Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR;

The Chief of the Arts Administration;

The Chairman of the Committee on Cultural and Educational Institutions.

Art. 46. The Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR direct the branches of state administration which come within the jurisdiction of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 47. The Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR, within the limits of the jurisdiction of their respective Ministries, issue orders and instructions on the basis and in pursuance of the laws in operation of the USSR and the Lithuanian SSR, of the decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR and of the orders and instructions of the Union-Republican Ministries of the USSR, and verify their execution.

Art. 48. The Ministries of the Lithuanian SSR are either Union-Republican or Republican Ministries.

The following Ministries of the Lithuanian SSR are Union-Republican:

The Ministry of Internal Affairs
The Ministry of the Armed Forces
The Ministry of State Security
The Ministry of State Control
The Ministry of Public Health
The Ministry of Foreign Affairs
The Ministry of Cinematography
The Ministry of Light Industry
The Ministry of the Timber Industry
The Ministry of Forestry
The Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry
The Ministry of the Food Industry

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

645

The Ministry of the Building Materials Industry
The Ministry of the Fish Industry
The Ministry of Agriculture
The Ministry of State Farms
The Ministry of Trade
The Ministry of Finance
The Ministry of Justice;

The following Ministries of the Lithuanian SSR are Republican:

The Ministry of the Municipal Economy
The Ministry of Local Industry
The Ministry of Construction
The Ministry of Education
The Ministry of Social Maintenance.

Art. 49. Each Union-Republican Ministry of the Lithuanian SSR directs the branch of state administration of the Lithuanian SSR entrusted to it, with the exception of only a limited number of enterprises, according to a list confirmed by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and is subordinate both to the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR and the corresponding Union-Republican Ministry of the USSR.

Art. 50. Each Republican Ministry of the Lithuanian SSR directs the branch of state administration entrusted to it and is directly subordinate to the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 51. The Government of the Lithuanian SSR or a Minister of the Lithuanian SSR to whom a question of a member of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR is addressed must give a verbal or written reply in the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR within a period not exceeding three days.

Chapter V. The Local Organs of State Power

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Art. 52. The organs of state power in districts, cities, volosts, small towns and apilinki are the Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 53. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies of districts, cities, volosts, small towns and apilinki are elected by the working people of the respective districts, cities, volosts, small towns and apilinki for a term of two years.

Art. 54. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies of districts, cities, volosts, small towns and apilinki direct cultural, political and economic affairs on their territory, draw up the local budgets, direct the work of the organs of administration subordinate to them, ensure the maintenance of public order, assist in strengthening the defensive capacity of the country and ensure the observance of the laws and the protection of the rights of citizens.

Art. 55. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies adopt decisions and issue orders within the limits of the powers vested in them by the laws of the USSR and the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 56. The executive and administrative organ of the Soviet of Working People's Deputies of districts, cities, volosts, small towns and apilinki is the Executive Committee elected by it, consisting of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman a Secretary and members.

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

631 Art. 57. The executive and administrative organ of the Soviet of Working
[623] People's Deputies in small localities is the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman and the Secretary elected by the Soviet of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 58. The Executive Committees of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies exercise guidance in cultural, political and economic affairs within their territory on the basis of decisions taken by the corresponding Soviets of Working People's Deputies and superior state organs.

Art. 59. Sessions of district Soviets of Working People's Deputies are convened by their Executive Committees not less than four times a year.

Art. 60. Sessions of volost Soviets of Working People's Deputies are convened by their respective Executive Committees not less than six times a year.

[624] Art. 61. Sessions of Soviets of Working People's Deputies of cities, small towns and apilinki are convened by their respective executive organs not less than once a month.

Art. 62. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies each elect a Chairman and a Secretary for the duration of their sessions to conduct the sittings of the sessions.

Art. 63. The executive organs of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies are directly accountable both to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies which elected them and to the executive organs of the respective superior Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 64. The superior Executive Committees of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies have the right to annul decisions and orders of inferior Executive Committees and to suspend decisions and orders of inferior Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 65. The superior Soviets of Working People's Deputies have the right to annul decisions and orders of inferior Soviets of Working People's Deputies and of their Executive Committees.

632 Art. 66. The district Soviets of Working People's Deputies set up the following Departments of their Executive Committees:

- a Department of Roads
- a Department of Public Health
- a Department of the Municipal Economy
- a Department of Cultural and Educational Work
- a Department of Public Education
- a General Department
- a Department of Agriculture
- a Department of Social Maintenance
- a Department of Trade
- a Department of Finance
- a Planning Commission
- a Cadres Sector

under the Chairman of the Executive Committees. In addition, in accordance with the specific features of the economy of the district, the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies may set up other Departments or Administrations subject to confirmation by the corresponding Ministries.

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

[625] Art. 67. The all-Union Ministries, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Lithuanian SSR and the Ministry of State Security of the Lithuanian SSR set up
632 their Administrations under the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies in accordance with the conditions of the district and on the basis of the laws of the USSR and of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 68. The Departments and Administrations of the Executive Committees of the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Ministries of the Lithuanian SSR.

635 Art. 69. The city Soviets of Working People's Deputies set up the following Departments of their Executive Committees:

- a Department of Public Health
- a Department of the Municipal Economy
- a Department of Cultural and Educational Work
- a Department of Public Education
- a General Department
- a Department of Social Maintenance
- a Department of Trade
- a Department of Finance
- a Planning Commission
- a Cadres Sector

under the Chairman of the Executive Committee and, in addition, in accordance with the specific features of the city's industry and its suburban and municipal economy,

- a Department of Local Industry and
- a Department of Agriculture.

Art. 70. The Departments of the Executive Committees of the city Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the respective city Soviets of Working People's Deputies and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Departments of the Executive Committees of the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 71. The Departments of the Executive Committees of the Vilnius, Kaunas, Klaipeda, Shyaulyai and Panevezhis city Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of these cities and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Ministry of the Lithuanian SSR directly.

631 Art. 72. On the expiration of the terms of office of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, their executive and administrative organs retain their powers until the newly elected Soviets shall have formed new executive and administrative organs.

Chapter VI. The Budget of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic

64 Art. 73. The state budget of the Lithuanian SSR is drawn up by the Council
652 of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR and submitted by it to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR for its approval.

[645] Upon its approval by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR the state budget of the Lithuanian SSR is published for general information.

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

646 Art. 74. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR elects a Budget Commission,
652 which reports its conclusions on the state budget of the Lithuanian SSR to the Supreme Soviet.

Art. 75. The report on the fulfilment of the state budget of the Lithuanian SSR is approved by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR and published for general information.

631 Art. 76. The budgets of the district, city, volost, small town and apilinki
652 Soviets include the revenues from the local economy, deductions from the state revenues collected within their territory and likewise receipts from local taxes and imposts in amounts fixed by the laws of the USSR and the Lithuanian SSR.

Chapter VII. The Courts and the Procurator's Office

692 Art. 77. In the Lithuanian SSR justice is administered by the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR, the District and People's Courts, the Special Courts of the USSR established by decision of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

[693] Art. 78. In all Courts cases are tried with the participation of people's assessors, except in cases specially provided for by law.

Art. 79. The Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR is the highest judicial organ of the Lithuanian SSR. The Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR is charged with the supervision of the judicial activities of all the judicial organs of the Lithuanian SSR.

[646] Art. 80. The Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR is elected by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR for a term of five years.

Art. 81. District Courts are elected by the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies for a term of five years.

Art. 82. People's Courts are elected by the citizens of the cities and volosts on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage by secret ballot for a term of three years.

695 Art. 83. Judicial proceedings in the Lithuanian SSR are conducted in the
[563] Lithuanian and Russian languages, persons not knowing these languages being guaranteed the opportunity of fully acquainting themselves with the material of the case through an interpreter and likewise the right to use their own language in court.

Art. 84. In all Courts of the Lithuanian SSR cases are heard in public, unless otherwise provided for by law, and the accused is guaranteed the right to defence.

693 Art. 85. Judges are independent and subject only to the law.

Art. 86. Supreme supervisory power to ensure the strict observance of law by all Ministries and institutions subordinated to them, as well as by officials and citizens within the territory of the Lithuanian SSR generally, is exercised by the Procurator-General of the USSR directly and also through the Procurator of the Lithuanian SSR.

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

683 Art. 87. The Procurator of the Lithuanian SSR is appointed by the Procurator-General of the USSR for a term of five years.

Art. 88. District and city procurators are appointed by the Procurator of the Lithuanian SSR subject to the approval of the Procurator-General of the USSR for a term of five years.

Art. 89. The organs of the Procurator's Office perform their functions independently of any local organs whatsoever, being subordinate solely to the Procurator-General of the USSR.

Chapter VIII. Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens

641 Art. 90. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to work, that is,
461 the right to guaranteed employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.

The right to work is ensured by the socialist organization of the national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the elimination of the possibility of economic crises and the abolition of unemployment.

Art. 91. The citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to rest and leisure.

[466] The right to rest and leisure is ensured by the establishment of an eight-hour day for factory and office workers, the reduction of the working day to seven or six hours for arduous trades and to four hours in shops where conditions of work are particularly arduous, by the institution of annual vacations with full pay for factory and office workers, and by the provision of a wide network of sanatoria, rest homes and clubs for the accommodation of the working people.

[65] Art. 92. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to maintenance in old
641 age and also in case of sickness or disability.

This right is ensured by the extensive development of social insurance of factory and office workers at state expense, free medical service for working people, and the provision of a wide network of health resorts for the use of the working people.

871 Art. 93. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to education.

This right is ensured by universal and compulsory elementary education; by free education up to and including the seventh grade; by a system of state stipends for students of higher educational establishments who excel in their studies; by instruction in schools being conducted in the native language, and by the organization in the factories, state farms and machine and tractor stations of free vocational, technical and agronomic training for the working people.

[512] Art. 94. Women in the Lithuanian SSR are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, government, cultural, political and other public activity.

The possibility of exercising these rights is ensured by women being accorded an equal right with men to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education, by state protection of the interests of mother and child, state aid to mothers of large families and unmarried mothers, maternity leave with full pay, and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens.

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

644 Art. 95. Equality of rights of citizens of the Lithuanian SSR, irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, government, cultural, political and other public activity, is an indefeasible law.

Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or, conversely, the establishment of any direct or indirect privileges for, citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, is punishable by law.

[659] Art. 96. In order to ensure the citizens freedom of conscience, the church in the Lithuanian SSR is separated from the state, and the school from the church. Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognised for all citizens.

Art. 97. In conformity with the interests of the working people, and in order to strengthen the socialist system, the citizens of the Lithuanian SSR are guaranteed by law:

a) freedom of speech;
b) freedom of press;
c) freedom of assembly, including the holding of mass meetings;
d) freedom of street processions and demonstrations.

These civil rights are ensured by placing at the disposal of the working people and their organizations printing presses, stocks of paper, public buildings, the streets, communications facilities and other material requisites for the exercise of these rights.

[575] Art. 98. In conformity with the interests of the working people, and in order to develop the organizational initiative and political activity of the masses of the people, citizens of the Lithuanian SSR are guaranteed the right to unite in public organizations: trade unions, cooperative societies, youth organizations, sport and defence organizations, cultural, technical and scientific societies; and the most active and politically-conscious citizens in the ranks of the working class and other sections of the working people unite in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), which is the vanguard of the working people in their struggle to strengthen and develop the socialist system and is the leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and state.

Art. 99. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR are guaranteed inviolability of the person. No person may be placed under arrest except by decision of a court or with the sanction of a procurator.

Art. 100. The inviolability of the homes of citizens and privacy of correspondence are protected by law.

Art. 101. The Lithuanian SSR affords the right of asylum to foreign citizens persecuted for defending the interests of the working people, or for scientific activities, or for struggling for national liberation.

Art. 102. It is the duty of every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR to abide by the Constitution of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, to observe the laws, to maintain labour discipline, honestly to perform public duties, and to respect the rules of socialist intercourse.

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

[44] Art. 103. It is the duty of every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR to safe-
[667] guard and fortify public, socialist property as the sacred and inviolable foun-
ation of the Soviet system, as the source of the wealth and might of the coun-
[421] try, as the source of the prosperity and culture of all the working people.

Persons committing offences against public, socialist property are enemies of the people.

Art. 104. Universal military service is law.

Military service in the Armed Forces of the USSR is an honourable duty of the citizens of the Lithuanian SSR.

[667] Art. 105. To defend the country is the sacred duty of every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR. Treason to the motherland - violation of the oath of allegiance, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military power of the state, espionage - is punishable with all the severity of the law as the most heinous of crimes.

Chapter IX. The Electoral System

666 Art. 106. Members of all Soviets of Working People's Deputies - of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR and of the district, city, volost, small town and apilinki Soviets of Working People's Deputies - are chosen by the electors on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

Art. 107. Elections of deputies are universal: all citizens of the Lithuanian SSR who have reached the age of eighteen, irrespective of race or nationality, sex, religion, education, domicile, social origin, property status or past activities, have the right to vote in the election of deputies and to be elected, with the exception of insane persons and persons who have been convicted by a court of law and whose sentences include deprivation of electoral rights.

[644] Every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR who has reached the age of twenty-one is eligible for election to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, irrespective of race, nationality, sex, religion, education, domicile, social origin, property status or past activities.

Art. 108. Elections of deputies are equal: each citizen has one vote; all citizens participate in elections on an equal footing.

[542] Art. 109. Women have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with men.

Art. 110. Citizens serving in the Armed Forces of the USSR have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with all other citizens.

Art. 111. Elections of deputies are direct: all Soviets of Working People's Deputies, from apilinki, volost and city Soviets of Working People's Deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR are elected by the citizens by a direct vote.

Art. 112. Voting at elections of deputies is secret.

Art. 113. Candidates are nominated by election districts.

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 3, 1948]

666 The right to nominate candidates is secured to public organizations and societies of the working people: Communist Party organizations, trade unions, cooperatives, youth organizations and cultural societies.

Art. 114. It is the duty of every deputy to report to his electors on his work and on the work of his Soviet of Working People's Deputies, and he may be recalled at any time upon decision of a majority of the electors in the manner established by law.

Art. 115. Elections to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of the Lithuanian SSR are held by election districts on the bases of representation fixed by the Ordinance Concerning Elections to Soviets of Working People's Deputies of the Lithuanian SSR.

Chapter X. Arms, Flag, Capital

18 Art. 116. The state arms of the Lithuanian SSR are a sickle and hammer of gold on a white background in the rays of the rising sun surrounded by ears of grain and oak leaves and with inscriptions in the Lithuanian and Russian languages: "Workers of All Countries, Unite!"

In the upper part of the arms is a five-pointed star and in the lower part, the letters "LTSR".

Art. 117. The state flag of the Lithuanian SSR is of red cloth with a gold sickle and hammer and the gold letters "Lietuvos TSR" in the upper corner near the staff. The ratio of width to length is 1:2.

Art. 118. The capital of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic is the City of Vilnius.

Chapter XI. Procedure for Amending the Constitution

642 Art. 119. The Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR may be amended only by
646 decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR adopted by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes of the Supreme Soviet.

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000 Note: The Russian text from which this translation was made was a typed copy authenticated on June 24, 1948 by Mr. S. Pupeikis, Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

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12: American Russian Institute RB5 Lithuania RB5
642

[For the complete text of the Constitution of the Lithuania Soviet Socialist Republic of August 25, 1940 as amended through April 7, 1948, see category 116, entire source.]

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

PREFACE

121 The purpose of this study is to contribute to an understanding of all the phases of economic reconstruction of one of the
178 Baltic republics, Lithuania. The subject assumes greater interest when it is taken into consideration that Lithuania was impoverished during the World War, that even its few small industries had been destroyed during the hostilities, and that Lithuania had no natural resources such as gold, silver, iron, and coal. In the comparatively short period of her independence—twenty-two years—Lithuania improved her agriculture, developed her foreign trade, and made very substantial progress in every branch of her economic life. Before the Soviet Russian occupation in June, 1940, Lithuanian agricultural products reached the farthest corners of the world and were known for their excellent quality. Yet most of the valuable enterprises that enabled Lithuania to participate in the world market did not exist before the World War, when Lithuania was part of Russia.

000 The author gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to Dr. Michael T. Florinsky of Columbia University for his generous criticism during the preparation of this volume; to Jonas Budrys, Consul General of Lithuania at New York, for his encouragement and for the use of his library; and to Joseph A. Boley for his courteous assistance in shaping the final form of the manuscript.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

PREFACE

121

Originally this work was completed in 1940 and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University, but since then it has been revised and brought up to date.

ANICETAS SIMUTIS

New York, N.Y.
January, 1942

121 The following Report of the Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Crafts pursues the purpose of a concise and clear review of the history of the development of Lithuanian economy during the last ten years. With the exception of agriculture, it deals with all spheres of economics, i. e. industry, foreign and home trade, goods transport, the State finances, and credit conditions.

433 The synthesis of the dynamic of separate economic branches establishes the conclusion that Lithuanian political economy during the past ten years has achieved great progress. Although under the influence of the world economic crisis in the years 1932—1935 it suffered reverses or was at any rate hindered in its growth, the total balance of the ten years on an average shows a doubling of the real volume. Especially the years 1930—1931 and 1936—1937 were signalized by vigorous promotion and expansion periods. Whereas world economy in the autumn of 1937 once more revealed symptoms of a recession, in Lithuania the rising tendency continued.

The greatest successes were achieved in the domain of industry; its production grew uninterruptedly also during the crisis and has on an average increased two and a half times. The liquidation of Free Trade and the confinement of separate politico-economic spheres within their national boundaries under the operation of the world economic crisis, as in other agrarian countries so also in Lithuania have contributed to intensification of the development of home industry.

439 The Lithuanian foreign trade turnover has suffered loss during the crisis as a result of the fall of prices. Its volume nevertheless remained even during the crisis years above the level of 1929. The introduction of the licence system facilitated the maintenance of the active general trade balance in the crisis years and regulation of the trade balance with individual countries.

438 In the domain of home trade, the growth of cooperative trade must above all be premised. Private trade is developing unequally; for while intermediary wholesale trade is receding,

LITHUANIA
THE COUNTENANCE OF A PEOPLE

by Victor Jungfer

/5/ Preface

The knowledge of peoples concerning each other exhausts itself in a series of misunderstandings. There are of course books for orientation. But books on foreign countries are written the more easily the less one knows about the subject matter. The difficulties increase with knowledge. What on cursory observation appears as a fascinating contrast that could be set against conditions at home in a clever antithesis dissolves on closer inspection into a quantity of parallel phenomena. Things that at first appear completely strange suddenly show familiar faces behind their outer skin. What appear problems to the hasty observer disappear, but on the other hand others emerge which are difficult to explore and even the detailed presentation of which does not give the author the certainty that their meaning and essence will be understood by the readers. Thus, too, hasty visits to foreign countries--consider here a large section of the literature on Russia--lead more to a deepening of existing errors than to their removal, for even the educated observer will be more easily inclined to find in foreign countries that which he already knows, than to learn that which he does not yet know. In these reasons the present book finds its justification.

121 /6/ Our literature on the so-called "Border States" exhausts itself for the older period almost exclusively in philologic presentations, and for the modern period in political and economic ones. If here for the first time the attempt is made to investigate the spiritual characteristics of the life of one of these peoples and to

●/2/ explain these characteristics on the basis of their own developmental tendencies, the endeavor to communicate as much information of a purely objective nature on the fundamental areas of the spiritual and cultural life as is absolutely necessary for the critical examination of a people had to be decisive above all else. At the center of the presentation stands the idea of cultural development. Thus the first question became: what is there in the way of original cultural foundations? -- language, folk poetry, folk art, etc. -- and the second question: in what direction is the cultural development moving and what influences have affected it? -- where again art in its manifold forms of expression, as painting, architecture, music, and poetry, was taken as a criterion and assembled into a single field of observation. Thus the fact that the detailed presentations given here, of the language, the folklore, or the development of Lithuanian literature, for example, should not be conceived as an end in themselves will readily be understood by the reader who observes the broader frame within which all these themes are included.

The technical explanations have largely been relegated to the bibliographical references. Let it be added that among the books mentioned, the literature in the German language was treated along with the Lithuanian literature with something approaching completeness. For the pronunciation of the Lithuanian as well as for the spelling of proper names I refer to what is said in the notes on Chapter I.

/7/ The translations of both prose pieces and verses are my own with a few exceptions, which are noted.

○○○ Although the present book has resulted from detailed studies and a knowledge of the country extending over many years, I have not been able to do without the help of experts in

369 the military, and liberal professions, opened up
162 to the younger peasant generation. An initially
565 favorable economic development encouraged this
563 influx, which again completely changed the face of the city: the city of Kaunas alone doubled its population in a few years. In all areas a lively activity is being unfolded; along with material problems intellectual ones, literature, art, music, theater, science, are suddenly factors in the life of the people.

341 Knowledge of the development sketched here*
121 is essential for the understanding of what follows. It might seem, that is, as if a presentation of the cultural elements of the Lithuanian people would have to be restricted solely to this most recent period of time, insofar as the city is concerned. /147/ The historic architecture of the city would then be excluded from our treatment, since it does not bear the stamp of the same racial type. This is perhaps also the reason why until today there is hardly a single Lithuanian presentation of the historic structures of the country.

341 Nevertheless the present work must consider the architecture of the Lithuanian city for various reasons: first of all it was the Lithuanian Grand Dukes, the high nobility, and the clergy who ordered the construction of churches and castles. Furthermore--we may think for example of classicism--the great artistic epochs are more or less international; and third, the baroque, the most important building style for Lithuania, exercised unquestionable influence on the Lithuanian folk art.

346 There are probably no foreigners visiting
177 the country to whom the great religious structures, especially in Kaunas, would not be objects of attention and deliberation. The face of these buildings is clearly turned toward the West and not toward the Russian East. From the west came the Roman-Catholic faith, proclaimed by Benedictines, Dominicans, Cistercians, and other orders in the

* [see cat. 116, pp. 162-165 -- Analyst]

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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Lithuania is situated on the southeastern shore of the Baltic Sea between 53°35′ and 56°27′ north latitude and between 20°57.5′ and east longitude. The two other Baltic states, Latvia and Estonia, are farther north. 131

The surface of Lithuania is for the most part level, with none of her hills measuring more than 767 feet (234 meters) above sea level. In size, the nation has less than six percent of the territory of Europe, its area being 21,489 square miles. This figure, however, does not include all the territory of ethnographic Lithuania, which is about 33,937 square miles, divided as follows: [133]

	SQ. MI.	SQ. KM.
Lithuania Major	20,389	52,820
Klaipeda (Memel) Territory	1,100	2,850
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TOTAL	33,937	87,920

According to the Mutual Assistance Treaty between Lithuania and Soviet Russia, concluded October 10, 1939, part of the Vilnius region, about 2,569 square miles (6,656 square kilometers), was returned to Lithuania. However, all figures of economic activity used in this monograph refer to the territory of 21,489 square miles (55,670 square kilometers) that was under the sovereignty of Lithuania from January, 1923, to March 22, 1939. 648 131

Lithuania uses a larger percentage of its land for intensive agricultural purposes than its neighboring Baltic states. This may be seen from the comparative figures given in Table 4. 311

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11: Scheffer O-4, 5 (ca. 1660) 1704
EP4 Lapps
Letts R84
Lithuanians R85

Le 635 728 698

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The *Poles* also remain to this Day possess'd of some inconsiderable Places of the *South* side of the River *Dwina* or *Dune*, among which *Dunaburgh* is the only Place worth taking notice of.

Li 103 133 131 504 712 175 727

The Dutchy of *Memel* is likewise a part of the *Southern Livonia*: Its Capital City bearing the same Name, is Situate upon, and encompass'd by, the River *Tanger*, which not far from thence exonerates it self into the Sea, in the Gulph call'd the Lake of *Courland*, and affords a very Commodious Harbour to this little but pleasant Town: Its Castle is very well Fortified; it was *An.* 1250. built by the Master of the Order of *Livonia*, and in 1328. sold by them to the Master of the *Prussian* Knights. In the Truce made in the Year 1635, betwixt the *Poles* and *Swedes*, it was Stipulated, that the said City and Dukedom should be surrendred to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who ever since remains in possession of it.

CHAP. II.

Of the Antient Inhabitants of Livonia, *and their Superstitions and Customs.*

Le 175

IT is beyond all dispute, that *Livonia* remain'd for a long time involved in the Darkness of Paganism and Idolatry, this Country being quite unknown in these Parts, till in the Year 1158, a Merchant Ship of *Bremen* (or as some will have it of *Lubeck*) being forced by a Tempest into the Gulph of *Riga*, made the first

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB1

TABLE 5

POPULATION DENSITY IN THE BALTIC STATES

L 161 BC 161

	AREA (*Sq. mi.*)	POPULATION	INHABITANTS PER SQ. MI.
Lithuania until March 22, 1939	21,489	2,575,363	117.6
Lithuania after loss of Klaipeda (Memel) Territory	20,389	2,421,570	118.6
Lithuania after the return of Vilnius	22,958	2,879,070	125.4
Latvia (in 1938)	25,395 [a]	1,971,000	78.7 [c]
Estonia (in 1938)	18,354 [b]	1,131,000	61.6 [d]

[a] 65,791 sq. km.
[b] 47,549 sq. km.
[c] 30 per sq. km.
[d] 23.8 per sq. km.

L 135

Lithuania has rich deposits of chalk which prove satisfactory for the making of cement, lime, and alabaster, but this industry is still undeveloped. Clay, suited for the ceramic industry, is to be found all over the country, while the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea has been known since ancient times for its amber, "northern gold."

CLIMATE

L 132

The climate of Lithuania is of the modified humid continental type. The average temperature is 6.5° Celsius (43.7° Fahrenheit), the warmest month being July, with an average temperature 18.3° Celsius (64.9° F.), and the coldest, January, with an average temperature of 4.8° Celsius below zero (23.4° F.). The ground is frozen for about four months.[21]

[21] C.S.B., S. Biul. 10, 1938, pp. 5–12.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

● 132 In general, the climate of Lithuania is not so favorable for the cultivating of grain crops as it is for the breeding of livestock. An effort has been made in recent years, under the guidance and encouragement of the country's leading economists, to concentrate on livestock breeding and to reduce grain crop culture. The winters in Lithuania are long, although not cold enough to affect winter crops, which are grown in substantial quantities. Heavy rainfall in the au-
[311] tumn aids in the germination of the winter crops. In 1935, 1,258,085 acres (509,140 hectares), or 18.98 percent of all arable land, were used for the growing of winter rye, while 8,723 acres (3,530 hectares) about 0.12 percent of the arable land, were used for spring rye. Because of the long winters and the concentration on grain culture, a great amount of man power is kept comparatively inactive for several months of the year.

133 Neringa* presents a remarkable natural wonder. It is a long strip of earth stretching several tens of kilometers to the south, separating the Baltic Sea from Kurshiu Marios (Courland Spit). It is covered in places by young woodland or low pines, and in some places magnificent sand dunes rise, which around the hamlet of Nida are the highest in Europe. Lithuania's largest river is the Nemunas (Neman). It is navigable from the Alytus. Its most important tributaries inside Lithuania are the Neris (which in turn has its tributaries Shventoiya* and Nevezys), and also the Dubysa and the Sheshupe.

The lowest parts of Lithuania are swampy. There are especially many swamps in the Siauliai area and to the west from the middle of the Nemunas.

137 Wooded surface comprised before the Second World War, 19 percent of the whole Republic. About two-thirds of the woods are coniferous, and about one-third is deciduous. Among the coniferous varieties fir trees and pines predominate. Among the deciduous varieties the ash, the birch, the aspen, and, less often, the alder and oak predominate. The meadows are covered with dense, mellow grass. The natural pastures, and also fodder grass, are the basis for the development of animal husbandry.

132 Owing to the proximity of the sea, the climate is damp and mild. There are no severe winters and no dry winds. The average annual temperature is from plus 6.5° to 7° C.; the average temperature in /5/ January is from minus 2.5° to minus 4.7°; in July it is from plus 17° to 18.6°.

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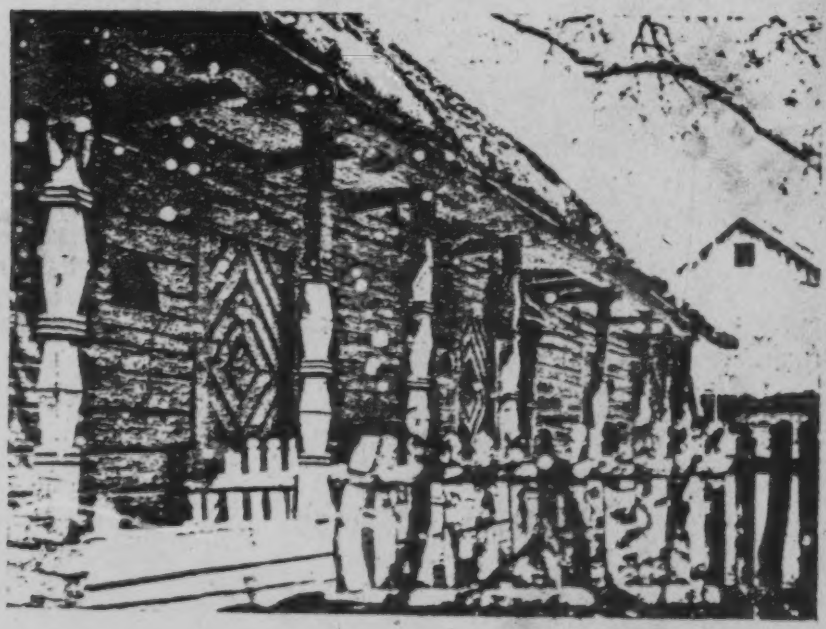
423 to the good, as such farms generally contribute nothing towards agricultural production and are far from being a social asset. 311 There are no latifundia in Lithuania. The largest estate comprises about 1,000 hectares, and the larger properties exceeding 100 hectares number only 1602, or 0.56% of the total farms.

162 The proportion of men and women in the rural population is about equal. The country people do not go to the towns in search of work, as urban and country dwellers carry on different trades and their lives are quite separate.



An old barn.

134 The soil is of average fertility. In the east and south-east, there is a small area which is sandy and not very fertile, while, in the north again, a small area consists of very fertile land. The vast plains of Lithuania are covered with clay — more or less light — deposited during the Ice Age and subjected to centuries of erosion and impoverishment.

132 The rainfall is fairly heavy, so that much of this low-lying 242 land necessitates drainage works. The State makes itself [654] responsible for the large-scale regularisation of rivers and watercourses and the cutting of drainage channels. The farmers are responsible, with the help of Government subsidies, for ditching and drain-laying on water-logged land. By no means all of the land is satisfactorily drained. The yield cannot

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342 was framed to encourage the use of brick and stone for building
343 purposes, as Lithuania is not rich in timber. The plan includes the erection of stone houses for farmers and agricultural labourers and stables and byres, and provision is made for long-term credits to be granted to farmers for the purpose, at reduced rates. Care will be taken, when the plan is carried out, to see that the buildings are rationally constructed, in accordance with economic and sanitary requirements; æsthetic considerations will also be borne in mind.

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Lithuanian landscape.

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even the bishops. The high lords did not like 538
him, for he was accustomed to saying the truth to
their face, reproached them with their unjust treat-
ment of their peasants, and spoke only Lithuanian
with the latter. The /215/ priests were angry
with him because of his odd interpretation of
clerical freedom: he founded a family and made
no secret of it. Many began to doubt whether he
still had the right to be a priest, and even tried
to force him to a written explanation. The people,
however, the serfs, regarded him as one of their
own, who had risen from their own class and was
their advocate. They forgave him his weaknesses,
and up to the present day he has remained unfor-
gotten, although a hundred years have already
passed since his death. This love of the people 538
was based not only on the reports of the old 533
people concerning his person,1 but also on his songs,
which became popular among the people. (22) In

22. Ibid., p. 75. Žilevičius writes con- [133]
cerning the importance of Strazdas for the
Lithuanian church songs in his essay
"Aušra ir lietuviškoji muzika" (The Aušra
and Lithuanian Music), Židinys, 1935, Vol.
XXI, p. 286.

these songs, which are still sung today, lives a
whole world--the peasant, his field, his house-
hold tasks, the farmhand and the maid, the lord
and the priest (he never disparages them), the
travelling Jewish merchant and the beggar. Often
the poet chides his peasants for their vices,
their drunkenness, hypocrisy, and laziness. Thus
in the center of these songs, which all exhibit
characteristics of the genuine folk songs, stands
man himself with his joys and sorrows, his vir-
tues and his faults. And as in the folk songs,
all the images and figures here, too, are closely
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1 [Antanas Strazdas, poet, see cat. 116, p. 245-46--Analyst]

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[32] The rainfall is fairly heavy, so that much of this low-lying
242 land necessitates drainage works. The State makes itself
[654] responsible for the large-scale regularisation of rivers and watercourses and the cutting of drainage channels. The farmers are responsible, with the help of Government subsidies, for ditching and drain-laying on water-logged land. By no means all of the land is satisfactorily drained. The yield cannot

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB2

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TABLE 4

LAND USE IN THE BALTIC STATES

TYPE OF LAND	LITHUANIA		LATVIA		ESTONIA	
	Thousands of Acres	*Per-cent*	*Thousands of Acres*	*Per-cent*	*Thousands of Acres*	*Per-cent*
Arable land	6,667	48.5	5,243	32.2	2,671	23.9
Meadows and pasture land	2,817	20.5	4,094	25.2	4,305	38.5
Forests	2,599	18.9	4,317	26.6	2,315	20.7
All others	1,673	12.1	2,602	16.0	1,885	16.9
TOTAL	13,756 [a]	100.0	16,256 [b]	100.0	11,176 [c]	100.0

[a] 5,567,000 hectares.
[b] 6,579,000 hectares.
[c] 4,523,000 hectares.

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To enable the reader to gain a better understanding and judgment of statistics about the Baltic states given elsewhere in this work, some comparative figures are given in Table 5 regarding the territory and population of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

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Lithuania is lacking in natural resources that are necessary to a well-rounded economic life. One of the country's most serious deficiencies is the absence of its own fuel supply. There is no coal in Lithuania. In 1923 Lithuania imported 5,367,100 litas worth of coal and liquid fuel. By 1928 this figure had almost tripled, imports that year amounting to 14,905,700 litas. The only form of domestic fuel is peat, of which there are 162,221 acres (65,650 hectares). The possibilities of peat have not yet been fully explored, but if peat were made to supplant coal, it is estimated that Lithuania would possess fuel reserves for 132 years.[20]

[20] A. K. Kubilius, *Lietuvos Ukio Perspektyvos* (The Prospects of the National Economy of Lithuania), Kaunas, 1930, p. 190.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB1

TABLE 5

POPULATION DENSITY IN THE BALTIC STATES

L 161 BC 161

	AREA (*Sq. mi.*)	POPULATION	INHABITANTS PER SQ. MI.
Lithuania until March 22, 1939	21,489	2,575,363	117.6
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Latvia (in 1938)	25,395 [a]	1,971,000	78.7 [c]
Estonia (in 1938)	18,354 [b]	1,131,000	61.6 [d]

[a] 65,791 sq. km.
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L 135

Lithuania has rich deposits of chalk which prove satisfactory for the making of cement, lime, and alabaster, but this industry is still undeveloped. Clay, suited for the ceramic industry, is to be found all over the country, while the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea has been known since ancient times for its amber, "northern gold."

CLIMATE

L 132

The climate of Lithuania is of the modified humid continental type. The average temperature is 6.5° Celsius (43.7° Fahrenheit), the warmest month being July, with an average temperature 18.3° Celsius (64.9° F.), and the coldest, January, with an average temperature of 4.8° Celsius below zero (23.4° F.). The ground is frozen for about four months.[21]

[21] C.S.B., S. Biul. 10, 1938, pp. 5–12.

133 Neringa* presents a remarkable natural wonder. It is a long strip of earth stretching several tens of kilometers to the south, separating the Baltic Sea from Kurshiu Marios (Courland Spit). It is covered in places by young woodland or low pines, and in some places magnificent sand dunes rise, which around the hamlet of Nida are the highest in Europe. Lithuania's largest river is the Nemunas (Neman). It is navigable from the Alytus. Its most important tributaries inside Lithuania are the Neris (which in turn has its tributaries Shventoiya* and Nevezys), and also the Dubysa and the Sheshupe.

The lowest parts of Lithuania are swampy. There are especially many swamps in the Siauliai area and to the west from the middle of the Nemunas.

137 Wooded surface comprised before the Second World War. 19 percent of the whole Republic. About two-thirds of the woods are coniferous, and about one-third is deciduous. Among the coniferous varieties fir trees and pines predominate. Among the deciduous varieties the ash, the birch, the aspen, and, less often, the alder and oak predominate. The meadows are covered with dense, mellow grass. The natural pastures, and also fodder grass, are the basis for the development of animal husbandry.

132 Owing to the proximity of the sea, the climate is damp and mild. There are no severe winters and no dry winds. The average annual temperature is from plus 6.5° to 7° C.; the average temperature in /5/ January is from minus 2.5° to minus 4.7°; in July it is from plus 17° to 18.6°.

162 The population of Soviet Lithuania (according to the statistics of 1940) is 3,150,000. The bulk of the population consists of Lithuanians (80 per cent). In addition there are Russians, Poles, White Russians, Jews, and Latvians.

631 Administratively Soviet Lithuania is divided into 41 uyezds, 320 volosts, and 2,774 apilinks (selsoviets).

361 The capital of the Republic is Vilnius. The city of Vilnius was founded in the tenth century and has been the capital since 1323. It is situated at the junction of the rivers Vilnele (Vileika) and Neris, on the shores of both rivers.

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1: Karutz--26 E-4 (no date) 1925 E1 Europe
Lithuanians RB5
Letts RB4

Le
113 der Letten /Wooden buildings and tools of the Letts/ (St. Petersburg, 1907) Part I and (1918) Part II.

/29: Illustrations./

/30/ The Lithuanians

I.

000 1. Bathroom, roof construction. 2. Peat drying under sheets of bark. 3. Dwelling on a foundation of field boulders. 4. Dwelling with a porch-like construction before the door. 5. Hand-operated mill. 6.-8. Musical instruments. 9. A granary transformed into a dwelling. 10. Zoche (hand plow with forked share). 11. Beehive made out of a hollow tree stem. 12, 17, 21. Types of wayside crosses. 13. Granary with roof arcade and large roof ridge. 14. Stringed zither made of an osier switch. 15. Shephard's trumpet made of wood, bark, and reed. 16. Holder for a burning pinewood splinter. 18. Wayside cross with shrines. 19. Farmyard surrounded by a wall, with wayside cross. 20. Cross with shrines in a graveyard.[1]

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181 The forests, with their many lakes and swamps, between the Baltic and the middle Dvina, from the upper Neman to Daugavpils, are accessible only with great difficulty and removed from the large communication routes. As a result they have preserved, in greater purity than is the case anywhere else, the culture and the language of a very ancient member of the European race. They are as little understood by the Germans as by the Slavs; they are as different from the Finns and their magically conditioned powers of the will as they are from the Germanic peoples and their restless thirst for conquest of the physical world. On the other hand, in their religious organization they
Li 144 are clearly oriented towards the western part of our continent. In all these characteristics the Lithuanians manifest themselves as the remnant of a pre-Germanic racial group that grew up in Europe. At one time it migrated from the west to its present-day territory, but it has been settled there for thousands of years already. They may be the
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ccc sized, slender figures. They are industrious, peace-loving, and

[1] [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 26a--Analyst]

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Lithuanians RB5
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11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

XI. RURAL NUTRITION

According to researches carried out by Professor Vl. Lašas, 146
of the Institute of Physiology at Kaunas University, the peasant's diet is made up as follows (see table).

Vegetable proteins constitute 65% and animal proteins 35% of the total proteins consumed by the peasant. The sources of these proteins are: cereals 47%, potatoes 16%, vegetables and fruits 2%, meat 14% and dairy produce 21%.

Animal fats form 85% and vegetable fats 15% of the peasant's daily fat ration; 48% of the fat content of the food consumed is derived from meat, 37% from dairy produce, 13% from cereals and 2% from potatoes, vegetables and fruits.

Carbohydrates are almost entirely of vegetable origin (96%); 60% of the carbohydrate content of the food consumed is derived from cereals, 32% from potatoes, 2% from vegetables and fruits, 2.6% from sugar and honey and 3.4% from milk.

Of the calorie content of the food consumed, 13.6% is derived from proteins, 16.4% from fats and 70% from carbohydrates. The sources, according to the foodstuffs from which the calories are derived, are: cereals 50%, potatoes 25%, vegetables and fruits 1.5%, sugar 2%, meat 10%, dairy produce 11.5%.

The peasant consumes 127.6 grammes of proteins daily, an amount which is adequate.

His daily caloric ration is also adequate — *i.e.*, 3,861 gross or 3,479 net. His diet contains 657.8 grammes of carbohydrates and 68.7 grammes of fats — *i.e.*, a proportion of 9.5 to 1. In view of climatic and labour conditions, the proportion might with advantage be slightly modified, so as to increase the fat ration.

As the peasant sells fats in the form of milk, butter and pigs, he does not consume them, so that his intake of fat-soluble vitamins is very small.

The peasant's daily intake of vitamin D (anti-rachitic) is 2.38 milligrammes; of vitamin A (anti-xerophthalmic), 5,990 international units; of vitamin C (anti-scorbutic), 129 milligrammes; and of vitamin B (anti-neuritic), 1,051 international units. His daily ration is therefore quite adequate so far as vitamins B, C, and A are concerned, but his vitamin-D intake is insufficient.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

262
146

AVERAGE DIET (PER DAY) OF THE LITHUANIAN PEASANT (male adult)

Order	Foodstuff	Amounts consumed: Grammes	Proteins (grammes)	Fats (grammes)	Carbohydrates (grammes)	Calories (gross)	Amounts absorbed: Calories (net)
1.	Rye bread	548.7	25.67	5.49	279.84	1,344.31	1,152.27
2.	Wheat bread	3.1	0.28	0.03	1.43	7.25	6.51
3.	White bread	3.5	0.24	0.02	2.—	9.31	8.4
4.	Wheaten flour	16.—	1.89	0.24	11.36	56.64	48.8
5.	Barley flour	4.8	0.48	0.11	3.5	17.38	14.4
6.	Flour for pancakes	85.4	12.75	1.28	58.21	303.02	267.07
7.	"Kisielius" (a kind of oatmeal)	5.—	0.28	0.16	1.3	8.3	7.2
8.	Barley gruel	28.4	2.84	0.65	20.76	102.81	86.2
9.	Wheat gruel	0.9	0.1	0.01	0.07	3.98	2.7
10.	Thick gruel	10.2	0.57	0.31	2.86	16.83	16.32
11	"Vedarai" (intestine filled with grated potato, gruel and blood)	1.5	0.11	0.16	0.57	4.19	3.75
12.	Ground groats	0.8	0.09	0.01	0.61	2.92	2.4
13.	Dried peas	20.—	4.6	0.4	10.4	65.2	58.—
14.	Potatoes	1,010.8	21.23	1.01	212.27	970.37	909.7
15.	Cabbage	54.7	0.55	0.27	3.58	15.86	8.[illegible]
16.	Beetroot (soup)	27.8	0.28	—	1.95	9.17	8.[illegible]
17.	Beetroot	16.3	0.16	—	1.14	5.38	4.[illegible]
18.	Leaf-stalks of beetroot	1.8	0.02	—	0.13	0.36	—
19.	Beetroot leaves	5.9	0.06	—	0.41	1.18	—
20.	Carrots	3.8	0.04	—	0.34	1.56	0.95
21.	Salad	0.9	0.01	traces	0.02	0.11	0.07
22.	Radishes	5.9	0.06	—	0.24	1.18	1.12
23.	Cucumbers	34.7	0.21	—	0.35	2.43	—
24.	Onions	9.7	0.03	—	0.23	1.03	—
25.	Poppy	0.4	0.08	0.16	0.07	1.74	1.21
26.	Mushrooms	7.1	0.36	0.01	0.21	0.41	1.99
27.	"Kisielius" made of cranberry	0.6	0.001	0.0001	0.1	0.42	0.36
28.	Red whortleberry jam	0.6	0.01	—	0.37	1.45	1.42
29.	Strawberry jam	1.2	0.01	—	0.73	2.9	2.84
30.	Apples	8.7	0.01	—	1.36	5.72	3.88
31.	Plums	4.—	0.03	—	0.68	2.92	1.—
32.	Sugar	10.3	—	—	10.29	40.68	40.17
33.	Honey	8.8	0.03	—	7.04	26.4	26.4
34.	Pork (half lean)	31.2	5.62	6.55	—	83.93	79.56
35.	Pork (lean)	3.2	0.67	0.22	—	4.83	4.46
36.	"Kisielius" (a kind of jelly)	1.6	0.34	0.11	—	2.42	2.24
37.	Pork, mutton, hare	10.2	2.04	0.39	—	17.44	16.49
38.	Mixed soup	7.2	0.61	0.02	0.01	2.66	2.38
39.	Mutton	1.2	0.23	0.08	—	1.69	1.62
40.	Sucking pig	5.6	1.18	0.39	—	8.46	7.84
41.	Ham	4.5	1.13	1.62	—	19.67	18.9
42.	Sausage	0.2	0.06	0.1	—	1.12	1.06
43.	"Skilandis" (the stomach of a pig filled with minced pork)	2.2	0.55	1.06	—	12.1	11.5
44.	Bacon	21.6	3.02	11.02	—	114.48	110.16
45.	Fat	10.3	0.01	10.25	—	95.38	94.76
46.	Linseed oil	0.03	—	0.03	—	0.28	0.28
47.	Fish	11.9	1.19	0.04	—	4.76	4.16
48.	Herrings	4.1	0.57	0.49	—	6.89	6.35
49.	Eggs	2.—	0.28	0.22	0.01	3.24	3.—
50.	Fresh milk	240.2	8.17	8.17	11.29	156.13	151.33
51.	Skim-milk	48.7	1.66	0.05	2.29	16.56	14.61
52.	Curdled milk	193.1	6.37	5.21	5.69	110.07	104.27
53.	Buttermilk	7.6	0.26	0.04	0.36	2.89	2.51
54.	Cream	23.3	0.79	2.33	0.93	28.66	27.96
55.	Butter	10.8	0.06	9.05	0.05	84.67	84.24
56.	Curds	30.3	5.76	0.18	0.7	28.48	25.76
57.	Cream cheese	10.5	3.99	0.21	0.32	19.53	17.53
	Total		127.67	69.7	657.8	3,861.—	3,479.—

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

fresh meat and poultry 13 millions, cereals about 20 millions and eggs 7.8 millions). 439

The total value of exports of raw materials and half-finished goods was 73.4 million litai. Exports of hemp and tow accounted for 25 million litai, cellulose for 12.7 millions and timber for 21 millions.

Among imports, manufactured products head the list (133 million litai, comprising machinery and tools, automobiles, chemical products, textiles and yarns, etc.), followed by raw materials and half-finished goods totalling 78.7 million litai (gilt metals, cement, chemical fertilisers, coal, naphtha and petroleum, cotton, etc.).

As long as the territory of Klaipėda (Memel) belonged to Lithuania, the foreign trade of the country passed almost exclusively through the Port of Klaipėda (Memel). Under the treaty concluded in March 1939 with Germany, Lithuania retains a free port at Klaipėda. [504]

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There has been a fairly big increase in population; rural families tend to be large. The women, though very fully occupied with their children and domestic duties, find time to look after the animals and work in the fields. This type of work is, however, more often left to women who have no children or domestic duties to attend to — that is, to girls or women whose children are older. Lithuanian women are, as a rule, fit and healthy; nevertheless, they are sometimes forced to neglect their homes, owing to the claims of agriculture and the rearing of children. They are naturally clean and orderly, and like to have a little garden of their own; in winter, they devote themselves to home industries — spinning, knitting, embroidery and sometimes weaving. The artistic value of a great deal of the handwork done in the country is of exhibition standard and has been shown both in Lithuania and abroad — for example, in 1937, at the Paris International Exhibition and, in 1938, at the Berlin International Exhibition of Arts and Crafts. 462

The Lithuanian peasant is somewhat deliberate in character; he is long-suffering and is prepared when necessary to go through difficult times without complaint. This was proved during the war, when, notwithstanding intense suffering, the popular songs and jokes dear to the peasant heart were never forgotten. 156

The rural population used formerly to wear homespun woollen and linen clothing — the production of flax is relatively greater in Lithuania than in any other European country. Of recent years, this type of clothing has disappeared, its place being taken by ready-made factory goods. 291

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

161 According to the census of September 17, 1923, Lithuania had 2,170,616 inhabitants. This number, it was estimated, had increased to 2,575,363 by 1939. However, about 153,-793 were lost by the forced cession to Germany of Klaipeda (Memel) Territory in March, 1939, and about 457,500 were regained through the return of a portion of the Vilnius region in October, 1939. Thus, Lithuania at the end of 1939 had about 2,879,070 inhabitants.[18] But since then still further changes occurred. After the occupation in June, 1940, [697] Soviet Russia started the Sovietization of Lithuania. Those [167] suspected as "enemies of the people" were arrested and deported to the interior of Russia, mostly to Siberia. Conservative estimates put the number of persons so deported at 70,000. In addition, by an agreement concluded between Russian and German governments, about 60,000 persons were "repatriated" by Germany as persons of German extraction. When Germany started the attack on Soviet Russia on June 22, a part of Jewish population fled with the Red Army. Therefore, it is estimated that Lithuania as a consequence of Soviet Russian and German occupation lost about 150,000 inhabitants.

162 About 76.7 percent of the inhabitants live on farms and villages, while the remaining 23.3 percent live in the towns. The towns are not numerous and in most cases are small. The larger and more important are Vilnius, the capital, with 210,000 inhabitants; Kaunas, with about 130,000 inhabitants; Klaipeda, the Baltic port, with 58,000 inhabitants; Siauliai, an important center of communications and the center of the leather industry, with about 30,000 inhabitants; and Panevezys, an old commercial and administrative center, with 25,000 inhabitants. The average density of the popula-

[18] Centralinis Statistikos Biuras, *Statistikos Biuletenis* (Bulletin of Statistics), Nr. 10., Kaunas, Oct. 1939, p. 1. (Hereafter referred to as S. Biul. 10.)

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

The average density of the population of Lithuania is estimated at 118.6 per square mile. The western and southwestern parts of Lithuania are more densely inhabited, the county of Vilkaviskis having an average population of 147.6 per square mile and the county of Marijampole, 116.8. The southern, northern, and northeastern parts of the country are less densely inhabited than the western. For example, the counties of Seinai, Telsiai, and Zarasai have only 78 inhabitants per square mile.[19] 161

According to nationality, the inhabitants of Lithuania are divided as in Table 1. The religions are shown in Table 2 and occupations in Table 3. 162

TABLE 1

NATIONALITIES IN LITHUANIA

NATIONALITY	NUMBER	PERCENT OF TOTAL
Lithuanians	1,739,489	80.60
Jews	154,321	7.15
Germans	88,568	4.10
Poles	65,628	3.04
Russians	50,727	2.34
Latvians	14,930	.69
White Russians	4,421	.21
All others	40,075	1.86

TABLE 2

RELIGIONS

RELIGION	NUMBER	PERCENT
Roman Catholic	1,129,870	80.33
Lutheran (Evangelist)	207,118	9.56
Russian Orthodox	55,122	2.62
All other Christian	1,889	.08
Hebrew	157,527	7.30
All other non-Christian	1,640	.07

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[19] C.S.B., *La Lithuanie en chiffres 1918–1928*, Kaunas, 1929, p. 2.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB2

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L 135

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CLIMATE

L 132

The climate of Lithuania is of the modified humid continental type. The average temperature is 6.5° Celsius (43.7° Fahrenheit), the warmest month being July, with an average temperature 18.3° Celsius (64.9° F.), and the coldest, January, with an average temperature of 4.8° Celsius below zero (23.4° F.). The ground is frozen for about four months.[21]

[21] C.S.B., S. Biul. 10, 1938, pp. 5–12.

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

I. DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

162 Lithuania is essentially an agricultural country : the 1923 census showed that 76.7% of the inhabitants live in the rural areas and are occupied in agriculture. According to estimates [161] based on the most recent statistics, the total population on January 1st, 1938, was 2,549,668.

At the time of the agricultural census of 1930, the total [423] area (including forest and land not under cultivation) of the agricultural undertakings (287,380) with an area of over 1 hectare was 4,318,514 hectares. As no more recent data are available, it is impossible to calculate the exact density of the rural population or the extent of migration from the country to the towns since 1923. It is, however, clear that, as a result of [166] industrial developments, many landless agricultural labourers have settled in the towns in recent years.

342

A Lithuanian house.

1zAnonymous U-; (no date)1949 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

000 "For three years we have listened to ravings regarding the paradise which would follow the Five Year Plan. Yet the situation gets worse every month. Selling our last overcoat, we buy food for our children. We work long hours to earn one tenth of what is needed to fight hunger. Our children no longer know what sugar, butter, or meat look like. After a hard day's work we must go to the *agitpunkt* to listen to what Stalin had said regarding life after five years. We go home at night with clubs in hand lest militiamen or soldiers should attack and disrobe us. A great many lives have been lost because of a well-worn overcoat. The silhouette of an approaching human figure causes us to make a wide detour. The militia "check our papers" at night—in other words, we are robbed by the representatives of "law and order." If one complains, he is accused of being a "counterrevolutionary" by drunken militiamen.

"There is very little electricity. Fences, window sills and partitions were burned for fuel. Roofs are holed. Only ten percent of our production remains in the country, the rest is moved to Russia—to the paradise where father and teacher Stalin feeds everyone with milk and honey, where orange factories are producing in three shifts, where bolognas are mined and where working people live in salons. The communists now tell us that our beautiful structures erected in 1935 and earlier were built by the working people as part of the 5 Year Plan. Should one evince the slightest doubt—he is exiled to Siberia for 10 to 15 years. Lavishly furnished shops for communists sell at black market prices. These are not for us: our one month's earnings are not enough to buy one day's needed supplies. Officially, we are all equal but—communists live extravagantly in sumptuous apartments while in the grace of their masters. They eat in separate restaurants and buy in special stores. Those who earn their bread in sweat—are hungry and ragged.

"Under armed guard we are forced to march in "the demonstrations of joy." The bayonets of the MVD troops prod us to "hail" when passing the reviewing stand. Nevertheless, our heads sag or turn away. . . .

"We are very much surprised at the timidity of the Vatican broadcasts. Why be afraid? We are not afraid to die for our Faith, for our Homeland and for Civilization! Fear not to lift your voice in loud protest! Harbor no fears for us—*nothing could possibly be worse*. We are dying, but in dying we want to know that there are people in the free part of the world who do not fear to raise their voice in behalf of the oppressed. Do not be afraid to drop the atomic bomb which our oppressors fear so greatly—we are prepared to pay this price for Freedom!"

Religion

162 According to the *Statistical Annual of Lithuania for* 1940, Lithuania—including part of the Vilnius District but excluding the Klaipėda Area—at the end of 1940 counted a population of 3,052,863, distributed by nationalities as follows:

Lithuanians	80.60%	Russians	2.35%
Jews	7.15%	Latvians	0.69%
Germans	4.10%	Whiteruthenes	0.21%
Poles	3.04%	Others	1.86%

1;Anonymous U- (no date)1949 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

162 The population's distribution by religion (1923):

Roman Catholics ..	80.48%	Greek Orthodox ...	2.54%
Protestants	9.54%	Other Christians ...	0.09%
Israelites	7.26%	Other non-Christians	0.09%

167 The situation has undergone a radical change in consequence of the Hitler-Stalin Pacts of 1939-1941, when "exchanges of population" and "repatriation" were applied: nearly all Lithuanian Protestants were "repatriated" to Germany as alleged members of the Germanic race, even though a great many of them had never had any German blood connections. During the German occupation, nearly all—except some 20,000—Lithuanian Jews were either exterminated by the Nazis or deported to Western Europe. The new Russian settlers had fled with the Red Army and the NKVD in 1941, speeded by the Lithuanian insurgents. Repatriates of true Teutonic ancestry had come back with the German troops and again retreated with the Nazis. Some 160,000 Poles were repatriated to Poland by Stalin's orders in 1945 and 1946.

Therefore, when the Russian regime established itself in Lithuania, the invader had to deal with an *exclusively Lithuanian Roman Catholic population*—and the imported Russian and Asiatic hordes of "masters."

795 When the Russians occupied the country in June 1940, the Church of Lithuania was organized into an Archdiocese of Vilnius (under Archbishops Romuald Jałbrzykowski and Mečys Reinys), the Metropolitan Archdiocese of Kaunas (under Archbishop Juozas Skvireckas and Auxiliary Bishop Vincas Brizgys), the Bishopric of Kaišiadorys (under Bishop Juozas Kukta), the Bishopric of Panevėžys (under Bishop Kazys Paltarokas), the Bishopric of Telšiai and the Prelacy of Klaipėda-Memel (under Bishop Justinas Staugaitis and Auxiliary Bishop Vincas Borisevičius), the Bishopric of Vilkaviškis (under Bishop Antanas Karosas and Auxiliary Bishop Vincas Padolskis), and the Bishopric for the Armed Forces with Bishop Teofilius Matulionis as the Chief Chaplain. In addition, Archbishop Emeritus Pranciškus Karevičius and Bishop Petras Pranas Bučys of the Byzantine rite resident in Rome, were in Lithuania. Archbishop O'Rourke of Danzig, former Bishop of Vilnius, had settled in Lithuania since the German annexation of Danzig. Altogether, Lithuania had 13 Bishops and 1 refugee Bishop.

During the war, Bishop Bučys lived in Rome. Bishop Staugaitis of Telšiai died in 1943 and Bishop Pranciškus Ramanauskas was consecrated for that See. Bishop Kukta died in 1942 and Bishop Matulionis assumed the See of Kaišiadorys. The retreating Germans deported Archbishop Skvireckas and Bishops Brizgys and Padolskis to Germany. *Eight Bishops remained* in the country when the Russians again came in 1944.

Thereafter—Archbishop Jałbrzykowski was repatriated to Poland to administer the southern, Polish part of the Archdiocese of Vilnius (with the See at Białystok), Archbishop Karevičius died 30 May 1945 at Marijampolė, and the nonagenarian Bishop Karosas died 7 July 1947 at Marijampolė. Archbishop Reinys "vanished" in June 1947, soon after an alleged "interview" with *Tass*, and Bishops Borisevičius, Ramanauskas and Matulionis were either killed or exiled to

723 "latent enemies of the people." Mobilization exercises
722 are periodically staged, to test the apparatus. Speakers addressing mass meetings denounce American and British "imperialists" and "warmongering aggressors." War morale permeates the administrative apparatus, the Party and army circles. Workers are urged to strain every effort for the "defense of the Soviet motherland" and to increase the output.

[207] Radio listening sets are still in existence. Their number is considerably smaller than before the war, inasmuch as permits are required. Such permits are given by the authorities to "loyal citizens" and every applicant would automatically place himself under suspicion. "Radio points" are installed in KP/b clubs, "Red Corners," and loudspeakers blare out the broadcasts from Vilnius and Moscow.

Nevertheless, several hundred unregistered radio receiving sets are owned illegally, and foreign broadcasts are heard.

Population and Minorities

● 162 Lithuania presently has roughly 2,300,000 inhabitants—a loss of 200,000 within the single year 1948. However, over 200,000 Soviet nationals—armed forces, MGB, MVD, and settlers—replaced the natives. The colonists settled where the long arm of the guerrillas cannot reach them—in large cities and in the areas where there were Russian settlements prior to 1940: in Zarasai county, and at Jonava and Kruonis. Russians are also settled in the Klaipėda District and in the western areas (Samagitia) which were largely depopulated by the retreating Germans and several "operations" of the MVD-MGB. Few Russians settled along the Polish-Lithuanian frontier and some 20,000 Lithuanians "repatriated" from Poland were moved there. East Prussia—in both the Russian and Polish-annexed sections—is settled predominantly by Whiteruthenes (Byelorussians), presumably in an attempt to erect a Whiteruthenian "wedge toward the sea" which would finally cut off Lithuania from the Baltic.

Kaunas has a population of 150,000, of whom 60% are Lithuanians. Vilnius has a population of about 160,000, of whom 37% are Lithuanians, 23% are Poles, 40% are Russians and others. There is no longer a separate Polish underground since the "repatriation" of Poles.

There are practically no native Germans left, but there are thousands of German vagrants, mostly women and children who seek food and work on farms. Some Tatars, Karaims and Gypsies survived.

563 About 3,000 native Jews stayed in the country and some 15,000 other Jews arrived from Russia. The Jews settled in the cities and occupy the more important posts in the administration. Their children attend Russian schools exclusively. For these reasons, the natives distrust Jews. Even those Jews whom the Lithuanians had saved from extermination during the Nazi occupation at great personal risk, avoid helping those who aided them. In fact, when now approached for aid to save their benefactors from deportation, they complain that "food had been bad" when they were hiding on Lithuanian farms.

In Butrimonys, where some 100 Jewish families lived before the war, only several families survived. One of the surviving Jews was especially ungrateful toward the farmer who had saved him at great per-

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

161 According to the census of September 17, 1923, Lithuania had 2,170,616 inhabitants. This number, it was estimated, had increased to 2,575,363 by 1939. However, about 153,793 were lost by the forced cession to Germany of Klaipeda (Memel) Territory in March, 1939, and about 457,500 were regained through the return of a portion of the Vilnius region in October, 1939. Thus, Lithuania at the end of 1939 had about 2,879,070 inhabitants.[18] But since then still further changes occurred. After the occupation in June, 1940, [697] Soviet Russia started the Sovietization of Lithuania. Those [167] suspected as "enemies of the people" were arrested and deported to the interior of Russia, mostly to Siberia. Conservative estimates put the number of persons so deported at 70,000. In addition, by an agreement concluded between Russian and German governments, about 60,000 persons were "repatriated" by Germany as persons of German extraction. When Germany started the attack on Soviet Russia on June 22, a part of Jewish population fled with the Red Army. Therefore, it is estimated that Lithuania as a consequence of Soviet Russian and German occupation lost about 150,000 inhabitants.

162 About 76.7 percent of the inhabitants live on farms and villages, while the remaining 23.3 percent live in the towns. The towns are not numerous and in most cases are small. The larger and more important are Vilnius, the capital, with 210,000 inhabitants; Kaunas, with about 130,000 inhabitants; Klaipeda, the Baltic port, with 58,000 inhabitants; Siauliai, an important center of communications and the center of the leather industry, with about 30,000 inhabitants; and Panevezys, an old commercial and administrative center, with 25,000 inhabitants. The average density of the popula-

[18] Centralinis Statistikos Biuras, *Statistikos Biuletenis* (Bulletin of Statistics), Nr. 10., Kaunas, Oct. 1939, p. 1. (Hereafter referred to as S. Biul. 10.)

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

The average density of the population of Lithuania is estimated at 118.6 per square mile. The western and southwestern parts of Lithuania are more densely inhabited, the county of Vilkaviskis having an average population of 147.6 per square mile and the county of Marijampole, 116.8. The southern, northern, and northeastern parts of the country are less densely inhabited than the western. For example, the counties of Seinai, Telsiai, and Zarasai have only 78 inhabitants per square mile.[19] 161

According to nationality, the inhabitants of Lithuania are divided as in Table 1. The religions are shown in Table 2 and occupations in Table 3. 162

TABLE 1

NATIONALITIES IN LITHUANIA

NATIONALITY	NUMBER	PERCENT OF TOTAL
Lithuanians	1,739,489	80.60
Jews	154,321	7.15
Germans	88,568	4.10
Poles	65,628	3.04
Russians	50,727	2.34
Latvians	14,930	.69
White Russians	4,421	.21
All others	40,075	1.86

TABLE 2

RELIGIONS

RELIGION	NUMBER	PERCENT
Roman Catholic	1,129,870	80.33
Lutheran (Evangelist)	207,118	9.56
Russian Orthodox	55,122	2.62
All other Christian	1,889	.08
Hebrew	157,527	7.30
All other non-Christian	1,640	.07

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[19] C.S.B., *La Lithuanie en chiffres 1918–1928*, Kaunas, 1929, p. 2.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 3

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OCCUPATIONS

OCCUPATION	NUMBER	PERCENT
Agriculture	1,129,870	76.71
Industry and handicraft	94,731	6.43
Transportation and communication	15,585	1.06
Commerce and credit	37,268	2.53
Civil service and professionals	47,408	3.22
Other occupations	148,083	10.05

From the figures in these tables, it can be seen that Lithuania has comparatively small minorities and is predominantly an agricultural country, with more than 76 percent of the population engaged in farming. The percentage of minorities may have been increased somewhat by the changing conditions. The percentage of Jews, no doubt, has risen with the return of Vilnius, which has a large Jewish population. The total percentage of Poles and White Russians will also be somewhat higher than it was when these figures were compiled.

The figures of the German minority, of course, have been completely altered since 1939. After Klaipeda Territory was seized by Germany the percentage of Germans in Lithuania amounted to not more than one and one-half percent of the entire population. With the subsequent repatriation of all Germans from Lithuania in 1941, this minority has wholly disappeared.

565 Lithuania has no distinctive social classes. Peasants reestablished Lithuania in 1918, and the sons of peasants were running the state affairs until Soviet Russia's occupation on June 15, 1940.

000pletely foreign.

162 Lithuanian is spoken today by about three
191 million people, half of whom understand only their native language. Since a detailed description of the Lithuanian language area would extend considerably beyond the limits of this presentation, only the following may be said briefly on the subject: Lithuanian is the native language of the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the Lithuanian state. Beyond this /16/ a large section of the Lithuanian language area is found today under Polish rule (the Vilna area). Furthermore, the area of the Lithuanian language projects on the one hand into Latvia and on the other into East
[167] Prussia. Finally, there are in the United States large, close-knit Lithuanian communities which may include a total of about half a million people. In Chicago alone 70,000 Lithuanians have been counted. These people are emigrants and their descendants. Large Lithuanian colonies have also arisen in South America, especially in recent times.

197 In spite of its relatively small size we
184 find within the enclosure of the Lithuanian language area a large number of dialectal differences. The principal dialects are High Lithuanian and Low Lithuanian (Samogitian), of which the latter is related to the former in about the same way as Low German is to High German. In addition to its vocabulary, Samogitian is distinguished from High Lithuanian by its accentuation, its drawled pronunciation, and its loss of fully pronounced endings. It is divided in turn into the dialects of Raseiniai and Telšiai, which are distinguished from each other principally by transposition of the vowels of the diphthongs. In the writings of the poetess Žemaitė, Low Lithuanian stands out sharply in syntax and vocabulary.

The High Lithuanian dialect group is divided into an eastern and a western subgroup. Western High Lithuanian in turn consists of two dialects, whose border is formed approximately by

181 that we have here a rounded-off and self-contained culture. Such a culture never originates through a random accumulation of human beings, but always through a nation. In our case this culture was a typical peasant culture.

369 565 162 563 A combination of the most varied historical circumstances, which cannot be gone into in this context, led to the result that the Lithuanian settling in villages and individual farms has found his way to the city only in most recent times and is beginning to imprint his own stamp on it.

The cultural upper class which determined the face of the Lithuanian city in the past centuries has changed in the course of time. Little is known concerning the city's earliest inhabitants.(1)

[113] 1. A. Bezzenberger, "Der Werdegang des litauischen Volkes," Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 1915, Vol. XIII, No. 1, p. 26. "Cities existed only sparsely and, like Vilna, founded in 1321, has probably more foreign than Lithuanian inhabitants."

In the fourteenth century Grand Duke Gediminas summoned German artisans and tradesmen into the country. (2) There followed the Hanse, which had

[113] 2. On the history of the Hanse in Lithuania cf. Walther Stein, "Vom deutschen Kontor in Kowno," Hansische Geschichtsblätter, 1916, Vol. XXII, Nos. 1 and 2, as well as the references given there.

an office in Kaunas. About the same time the Jews made their entrance and completely changed the city picture. Confined to the border provinces by Russian legislation in later centuries they also /146/ gave their stamp to the Lithuanian provincial cities before the first World War. Accord-

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[113]

ing to Ljubawski and Lithuanian cities of the sixteenth century were already overcrowded with Jews (3)

3. Cf. on this point Ljubawski, Oblastnoe dielenie i miestnoe upravlenie Litovski-Russkago gosydarstva ko vremeni izdaniia pervago Litovskago statuta (Districting and Local Administration of the Lithuanian-Russian State at the Time of the Issuance of the First Lithuanian Statute), as well as S. A. Berschadski, Litovski evrei (The Lithuanian Jews) (1883). In recent times the history of Judaism experienced a detailed presentation in Prof. A. Janulaitis, Žydai Lietuvoje (The Jews in Lithuania) (Kaunas, 1923).

The third city element, however, the Poles--as the upper class--at first assimilated the Lithuanian country population which moved in. Even in the nineteenth century a Lithuanian upper class still could not be formed in the cities of the country, since Russian legislation forbade the Lithuanians to occupy any official positions in their own country. Thus--by the irony of history--the first nucleus of an educated Lithuanian bourgeoisie arose in the cities of inner Russia, where the prohibition did not apply. In place of its own officialdom the land received Russian officials and garrisons, whose religious edification was taken care of by the state in this Roman Catholic country with the erection of Orthodox churches.

The World War finally ended this development through the founding of the Lithuanian state. All at once there is a city class educated abroad and now back home, which, though, not numerous, includes all professions, even artists and scholars. In addition a strong immigration from the countryside set in, for suddenly numerous possibilities to make a living in the cities, in officialdom, in

369 the military, and liberal professions, opened up
162 to the younger peasant generation. An initially
565 favorable economic development encouraged this
563 influx, which again completely changed the face of the city: the city of Kaunas alone doubled its population in a few years. In all areas a lively activity is being unfolded; along with material problems intellectual ones, literature, art, music, theater, science, are suddenly factors in the life of the people.

341 Knowledge of the development sketched here*
121 is essential for the understanding of what follows. It might seem, that is, as if a presentation of the cultural elements of the Lithuanian people would have to be restricted solely to this most recent period of time, insofar as the city is concerned. /147/ The historic architecture of the city would then be excluded from our treatment, since it does not bear the stamp of the same racial type. This is perhaps also the reason why until today there is hardly a single Lithuanian presentation of the historic structures of the country.

341 Nevertheless the present work must consider the architecture of the Lithuanian city for various reasons: first of all it was the Lithuanian Grand Dukes, the high nobility, and the clergy who ordered the construction of churches and castle Furthermore--we may think for example of classicism the great artistic epochs are more or less international; and third, the baroque, the most important building style for Lithuania, exercised unquestionable influence on the Lithuanian folk art

346 There are probably no foreigners visiting
177 the country to whom the great religious structures, especially in Kaunas, would not be objects of attention and deliberation. The face of these buildings is clearly turned toward the West and not toward the Russian East. From the west came the Roman-Catholic faith, proclaimed by Benedictines, Dominicans, Cistercians, and other orders in the

* [see cat. 116, pp. 162-165 -- Analyst]

133 Neringa* presents a remarkable natural wonder. It is a long strip of earth stretching several tens of kilometers to the south, separating the Baltic Sea from Kurshiu Marios (Courland Spit). It is covered in places by young woodland or low pines, and in some places magnificent sand dunes rise, which around the hamlet of Nida are the highest in Europe. Lithuania's largest river is the Nemunas (Neman). It is navigable from the Alytus. Its most important tributaries inside Lithuania are the Neris (which in turn has its tributaries Shventoiya* and Nevezys), and also the Dubysa and the Sheshupe.

The lowest parts of Lithuania are swampy. There are especially many swamps in the Siauliai area and to the west from the middle of the Nemunas.

137 Wooded surface comprised before the Second World War, 19 percent of the whole Republic. About two-thirds of the woods are coniferous, and about one-third is deciduous. Among the coniferous varieties fir trees and pines predominate. Among the deciduous varieties the ash, the birch, the aspen, and, less often, the alder and oak predominate. The meadows are covered with dense, mellow grass. The natural pastures, and also fodder grass, are the basis for the development of animal husbandry.

132 Owing to the proximity of the sea, the climate is damp and mild. There are no severe winters and no dry winds. The average annual temperature is from plus 6.5° to 7° C.; the average temperature in /5/ January is from minus 2.5° to minus 4.7°; in July it is from plus 17° to 18.6°.

162 The population of Soviet Lithuania (according to the statistics of 1940) is 3,150,000. The bulk of the population consists of Lithuanians (80 per cent). In addition there are Russians, Poles, White Russians, Jews, and Latvians.

631 Administratively Soviet Lithuania is divided into 41 uyezds, 320 volosts, and 2,774 apilinks (selsoviets).

361 The capital of the Republic is Vilnius. The city of Vilnius was founded in the tenth century and has been the capital since 1323. It is situated at the junction of the rivers Vilnele (Vileika) and Neris, on the shores of both rivers.

The largest cities of the Republic are Kaunas, Klaipeda, Siauliai, Paniveshis.

135 In the Republic there are rich resources in water power, of peat and mineral construction material.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

423 311 to the good, as such farms generally contribute nothing towards agricultural production and are far from being a social asset. There are no latifundia in Lithuania. The largest estate comprises about 1,000 hectares, and the larger properties exceeding 100 hectares number only 1602, or 0.56% of the total farms.

162 The proportion of men and women in the rural population is about equal. The country people do not go to the towns in search of work, as urban and country dwellers carry on different trades and their lives are quite separate.

An old barn.

134 The soil is of average fertility. In the east and south-east, there is a small area which is sandy and not very fertile, while, in the north again, a small area consists of very fertile land. The vast plains of Lithuania are covered with clay — more or less light — deposited during the Ice Age and subjected to centuries of erosion and impoverishment.

132] 242 654] The rainfall is fairly heavy, so that much of this low-lying land necessitates drainage works. The State makes itself responsible for the large-scale regularisation of rivers and watercourses and the cutting of drainage channels. The farmers are responsible, with the help of Government subsidies, for ditching and drain-laying on water-logged land. By no means all of the land is satisfactorily drained.. The yield cannot

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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A Lithuanian house.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

VIII. THE ROLE OF LITHUANIAN WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE

Women play an important part in Lithuanian agriculture both economically and intellectually. A farm without a woman is considered as extraordinary; the first thing a young peasant does when he comes into property is to marry, and a widower soon marries again. 462

From time immemorial, the peasant woman has taken her full share of responsibility in rural work. Though not on such a big scale as at present, she always made butter and cheese, collected eggs and occasionally fattened a pig for the market and sold a few geese. The more skilled even contrived to sell a little honey, dried fruits, poppy-heads and onions, and used to take to the fair in the neighbouring town their homespun linen or cloth. The woman's modest earnings were independent of the revenue from the farm; they covered the housekeeping expenditure and enabled her to put a little aside and even to help her husband on occasion.

In a number of districts, the ancient custom still prevails whereby a girl could reject a suitor who did not promise to confer on her, as mistress of his house, the right to manage the whole financial side of the farm.

Legally, women are treated in Lithuania to-day on a footing of equality with men. They have the right to own and administer land or other immovable property whether married or not. After the parents' death, brothers and sisters inherit the land in equal shares; the widow or widower inherits 25% of the estate. No statistics are available of the number of women landowners, but they are known to be less numerous than the men. The principal reason for this is the desire to avoid breaking up estates. One very widespread custom in many districts is for the peasant to leave his land to his eldest son, requiring him, at the same time to pay over to his sisters and younger brothers in cash or in stock the shares devolving on them. When a girl marries, the share accruing to her is often registered in her husband's name. Before the war, under the law of the Russian Empire, girls in the Province of Kaunas inherited only one-fourteenth of the immovable property. These various factors have all tended to reduce the area owned by women. It is among the owners of large estates that women constitute the highest percentage, but these estates are few in number. 562 428

When an agricultural census was taken in 1930, women were found to constitute 50.69% and men 49.31% of the total adult 162

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

162 workers permanently employed in farming. Despite the fairly considerable increase in population, the number of rural inhabitants shows a downward tendency, the drop in the case of women being greater than in that of men. The figures for men and women engaged in farmwork in 1923 and 1930 respectively were as followed.

	Women	Men
1923	594,479	535,392
1930	489,566	501,489

462 Women are making energetic efforts to obtain employment in industry, being more attracted than men by urban life. 464 Those who are prepared to spend their life in domestic occupations remain on the farms, while the daughters of landless parents and large families count on finding less strenuous work in the towns. They enlist in industry or domestic service or in other branches. This circumstance, together with the fact that agricultural undertakings in Lithuania consist mainly of average-sized and small farms worked by the owners themselves, explains the exceptionally low percentage of hired female labour found 464 in agriculture. The figures for male wage-earners are slightly higher, but men too are attracted by the easier methods of 162 earning a livelihood in other branches. The agricultural census of 1930 gave the following figures for workers permanently employed in farming :

	Women	%	Men	%
Members of farmers' families	418,010	42.17	419,509	42.32
Wage-earners	71,556	7.22	82,208	8.29

Thus, 85 % of the population employed in farming consists of members of the family and only 15 % of wage-earners. Both categories include a certain number over fifteen years of age. In 1930, these constituted 12.29 % of the total number of agricultural workers, the percentages being as follows :

	Boys %	Girls %
Members of the family	39.81	31.42
Wage-earners	20.06	8.71

464 The introduction of six standards in the elementary schools and the increase in the number of agricultural and domestic economy schools are responsible for a big drop in the number of children in receipt of wages. For the most part, they work only in summer on their parents' farms.

The small number of girls in receipt of wages in large families — which are more common than not — in the country is

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Lithuanians RBS

Soviet Government allocated to Lithuania the city and district of Vilna, and thereafter the Russian attitude never wavered in its opposition to the Polish annexation of the Vilna area. Li. 648 361

Lithuania also never recognized the loss of her capital and gratefully acknowledged the Soviet attitude in a question in which the entire Lithuanian national prestige was engaged. Lithuania therefore refused to join any anti-Soviet coalition. As early as 1923 she reacted favourably to a Russian offer of a guarantee pact, and in 1926 the Soviet-Lithuanian Guarantee Treaty was signed, the first to be concluded by Russia with one of her western neighbours. In October 1939, Russia having, in co-operation with Germany, liquidated the Polish Republic, handed over to Lithuania the long-coveted Vilna district. According to Polish statistics the territory which had been added to the Lithuanian Republic had over 500,000 inhabitants, of whom 11·3 per cent were Lithuanians, 3·3 per cent Jews, 2·5 per cent Byelorussians and 69·2 per cent Poles. In the town of Vilna itself at the time of the Polish census in 1931, only 1 per cent of all inhabitants gave Lithuanian as their mother tongue; and even as late as 1943 Lithuanians accounted for only 21·7 per cent of Vilna's population. By giving Vilna to Lithuania the Soviet Government made a present which cost them nothing. Indeed, Vilna turned out to be a present given by Russia to Russia. Nine months after the incorporation of Vilna into Lithuania the Soviet Union not only recovered that city but annexed the whole of Lithuania through its transformation into a Soviet Republic. A popular Lithuanian saying gives the whole situation in a nut-shell:'Vilnius is ours, but Lithuania is Russia's'. Li. [162]

Not only the Soviet occupation as such but also the shifting of the capital from Kaunas (Kovno) to Vilna, is detrimental to the interests of the Lithuanian people. While Kaunas, the emergency capital of the inter-war period, was located in the very centre of the Lithuanian 'living-space', Vilna is situated at the ethnical border between Lithuanians and Byelorussians, and is thus strongly exposed to Slav influence. Li. 361 17736

From the Russian point of view Lithuanian national aspirations not only represented a useful pretext for pressing Poland back to the west, but they also helped towards the establishment of the 'unity of the Njeman valley'. The Njeman – called Memel by the Germans and Nemunas by the Lithuanians – has its source in Byelorussia and is an important means of communication for the Russian timber export trade. Up to 1945 Russia had never controlled the entire course of the river. In Czarist times the mouth of the Njeman was in German hands. In the inter-war period its middle course belonged to Poland, while its mouth had a dramatic history. In January 1923 Lithuania occupied the river mouth together with the port and district of Memel (Klaipeda in Lithuanian), a territory with 150,000 inhabitants, most of them German- SU 728 487

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

I. DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

162 Lithuania is essentially an agricultural country : the 1923 census showed that 76.7% of the inhabitants live in the rural areas and are occupied in agriculture. According to estimates [161] based on the most recent statistics, the total population on January 1st, 1938, was 2,549,668.

At the time of the agricultural census of 1930, the total [423] area (including forest and land not under cultivation) of the agricultural undertakings (287,380) with an area of over 1 hectare was 4,318,514 hectares. As no more recent data are available, it is impossible to calculate the exact density of the rural population or the extent of migration from the country to the towns since 1923. It is, however, clear that, as a result of [166] industrial developments, many landless agricultural labourers have settled in the towns in recent years.

342

A Lithuanian house.

162 The population's distribution by religion (1923):

Roman Catholics ..	80.48%	Greek Orthodox ...	2.54%
Protestants	9.54%	Other Christians ...	0.09%
Israelites	7.26%	Other non-Christians	0.09%

167 The situation has undergone a radical change in consequence of the Hitler-Stalin Pacts of 1939-1941, when "exchanges of population" and "repatriation" were applied: nearly all Lithuanian Protestants were "repatriated" to Germany as alleged members of the Germanic race, even though a great many of them had never had any German blood connections. During the German occupation, nearly all—except some 20,000—Lithuanian Jews were either exterminated by the Nazis or deported to Western Europe. The new Russian settlers had fled with the Red Army and the NKVD in 1941, speeded by the Lithuanian insurgents. Repatriates of true Teutonic ancestry had come back with the German troops and again retreated with the Nazis. Some 160,000 Poles were repatriated to Poland by Stalin's orders in 1945 and 1946.

Therefore, when the Russian regime established itself in Lithuania, the invader had to deal with an *exclusively Lithuanian Roman Catholic population*—and the imported Russian and Asiatic hordes of "masters."

795 When the Russians occupied the country in June 1940, the Church of Lithuania was organized into an Archdiocese of Vilnius (under Archbishops Romuald Jałbrzykowski and Mečys Reinys), the Metropolitan Archdiocese of Kaunas (under Archbishop Juozas Skvireckas and Auxiliary Bishop Vincas Brizgys), the Bishopric of Kaišiadorys (under Bishop Juozas Kukta), the Bishopric of Panevėžys (under Bishop Kazys Paltarokas), the Bishopric of Telšiai and the Prelacy of Klaipėda-Memel (under Bishop Justinas Staugaitis and Auxiliary Bishop Vincas Borisevičius), the Bishopric of Vilkaviškis (under Bishop Antanas Karosas and Auxiliary Bishop Vincas Padolskis), and the Bishopric for the Armed Forces with Bishop Teofilius Matulionis as the Chief Chaplain. In addition, Archbishop Emeritus Pranciškus Karevičius and Bishop Petras Pranas Bučys of the Byzantine rite resident in Rome, were in Lithuania. Archbishop O'Rourke of Danzig, former Bishop of Vilnius, had settled in Lithuania since the German annexation of Danzig. Altogether, Lithuania had 13 Bishops and 1 refugee Bishop.

During the war, Bishop Bučys lived in Rome. Bishop Staugaitis of Telšiai died in 1943 and Bishop Pranciškus Ramanauskas was consecrated for that See. Bishop Kukta died in 1942 and Bishop Matulionis assumed the See of Kaišiadorys. The retreating Germans deported Archbishop Skvireckas and Bishops Brizgys and Padolskis to Germany. *Eight Bishops remained* in the country when the Russians again came in 1944.

Thereafter—Archbishop Jałbrzykowski was repatriated to Poland to administer the southern, Polish part of the Archdiocese of Vilnius (with the See at Białystok), Archbishop Karevičius died 30 May 1945 at Marijampolė, and the nonagenarian Bishop Karosas died 7 July 1947 at Marijampolė. Archbishop Reinys "vanished" in June 1947, soon after an alleged "interview" with *Tass*, and Bishops Borisevičius, Ramanauskas and Matulionis were either killed or exiled to

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

161 According to the census of September 17, 1923, Lithuania had 2,170,616 inhabitants. This number, it was estimated, had increased to 2,575,363 by 1939. However, about 153,-793 were lost by the forced cession to Germany of Klaipeda (Memel) Territory in March, 1939, and about 457,500 were regained through the return of a portion of the Vilnius region in October, 1939. Thus, Lithuania at the end of 1939 had about 2,879,070 inhabitants.[18] But since then still further changes occurred. After the occupation in June, 1940, [697] Soviet Russia started the Sovietization of Lithuania. Those [167] suspected as "enemies of the people" were arrested and deported to the interior of Russia, mostly to Siberia. Conservative estimates put the number of persons so deported at 70,000. In addition, by an agreement concluded between Russian and German governments, about 60,000 persons were "repatriated" by Germany as persons of German extraction. When Germany started the attack on Soviet Russia on June 22, a part of Jewish population fled with the Red Army. Therefore, it is estimated that Lithuania as a consequence of Soviet Russian and German occupation lost about 150,000 inhabitants.

162 About 76.7 percent of the inhabitants live on farms and villages, while the remaining 23.3 percent live in the towns. The towns are not numerous and in most cases are small. The larger and more important are Vilnius, the capital, with 210,000 inhabitants; Kaunas, with about 130,000 inhabitants; Klaipeda, the Baltic port, with 58,000 inhabitants; Siauliai, an important center of communications and the center of the leather industry, with about 30,000 inhabitants; and Panevezys, an old commercial and administrative center, ooo with 25,000 inhabitants. The average density of the popula-

[18] Centralinis Statistikos Biuras, *Statistikos Biuletenis* (Bulletin of Statistics), Nr. 10., Kaunas, Oct. 1939, p. 1. (Hereafter referred to as S. Biul. 10.)

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 48

453
436

THE ISSUE ACTIVITIES OF LIETUVOS BANKAS
1928–39

YEAR ENDING DEC. 31	BANK NOTES IN CIRCULATION (*Million litas*)	GOLD RESERVE (*Million litas*)	FOREIGN BILLS (*Million litas*)	PERCENTAGE OF COVERAGE IN GOLD AND FOREIGN BILLS
1928	84.77	34.27	43.62	91.9
1929	94.83	35.08	78.48	119.8
1930	117.16	39.39	86.32	107.3
1931	108.95	50.14	33.17	76.5
1932	96.21	49.07	15.96	67.6
1933	89.92	52.00	15.34	76.8
1934	88.24	52.14	8.38	68.6
1935	103.50	36.14	9.91	44.5
1936	110.35	73.10	4.08	69.9
1937	116.56	79.04	1.87	69.4
1938	141.70	64.75	4.83	49.1
1939	165.93	57.71	2.50	37.1

and foreign bills was comparatively high, being 49.1 percent.

436 The highest number of notes in circulation and the lowest coverage were reached in November, 1939. This situation was largely due to the disturbed economic conditions in Lithuania in that year. It will be recalled that in March, 1939, Lithuania was forced to give up her only port, Klaipeda. This transaction was executed in great haste, under the pressure of the German war machine, as a result of which it became necessary to support and furnish with food, shelter, and work about 15,000 refugees.

[167] A few months later over 100,000 refugees from Poland poured into Lithuania, as a result of the war between Germany and Poland. Undoubtedly this circumstance caused a great drain on gold and foreign exchange reserves.

000pletely foreign.

162 Lithuanian is spoken today by about three
191 million people, half of whom understand only their native language. Since a detailed description of the Lithuanian language area would extend considerably beyond the limits of this presentation, only the following may be said briefly on the subject: Lithuanian is the native language of the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the Lithuanian state. Beyond this /16/ a large section of the Lithuanian language area is found today under Polish rule (the Vilna area). Furthermore, the area of the Lithuanian language projects on the one hand into Latvia and on the other into East
[167] Prussia. Finally, there are in the United States large, close-knit Lithuanian communities which may include a total of about half a million people. In Chicago alone 70,000 Lithuanians have been counted. These people are emigrants and their descendants. Large Lithuanian colonies have also arisen in South America, especially in recent times.

197 In spite of its relatively small size we
184 find within the enclosure of the Lithuanian language area a large number of dialectal differences. The principal dialects are High Lithuanian and Low Lithuanian (Samogitian), of which the latter is related to the former in about the same way as Low German is to High German. In addition to its vocabulary, Samogitian is distinguished from High Lithuanian by its accentuation, its drawled pronunciation, and its loss of fully pronounced endings. It is divided in turn into the dialects of Raseiniai and Telšiai, which are distinguished from each other principally by transposition of the vowels of the diphthongs. In the writings of the poetess Žemaitė, Low Lithuanian stands out sharply in syntax and vocabulary.

The High Lithuanian dialect group is divided into an eastern and a western subgroup. Western High Lithuanian in turn consists of two dialects, whose border is formed approximately by

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oggen), 1844; Naumiestis (Neustadt), 1845; Priienai, 1847; Šiauliai (Schaulen), 1851. A new period of Evangelical church construction began with the immigration in the 60's --Raseiniai (Rossieny), 1862; Vištitis (Wischtyten), 1864; Švekšniai (Schwekschny), 1867; Vilkaviškis (Wilkowischki), 1868; Garliava (Godlewo), 1870; -- and at the end of the 70's: Šakiai, 1877; Virbalis (Wirballen), 1878; Batokiai, 1885; Jurbarkas (Georgenburg), 1892. From the most recent period, finally date the churches of Sudargiai, 1914, and Pilviškis, 1926. The Evangelical congregations themselves, however, are much older.

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/160/ Finally, a brief glance may be directed at the secular buildings of the baroque period, of which two in Kaunas are worthy of attention, the so-called Maironis house on the market place at the city hall (named after the poet Maironis) and the city hall of Kaunas itself.

The Maironis house originated as the city palace of a magnate. Its builder was Christopher Paz, the master builder of Pažaislis. Noteworthy in this building is the graded [gebrochene] roof and the high facade which does not face the market place at the city hall. The city hall was built in its present form in 1771. It is a single-storied, quadrangular building with a rustica, on the front side of which there is a terrace which leads around the tower. The tower itself is of great beauty and elegance. It tapers steadily as it rises, and gains special grace and lightness throug the octagonal form which is resolved into a square from the third story on. In addition we find still a few other baroque buildings, such as the house of the Evangelical consistory, stemming from the seventeenth century.

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Few castles in the baroque style have been

000 between the surface and the underground layers change according to surroundings, background and era. Sometimes they tighten, at other times they have no balanced relationship. They seldom coalesce. Each stratum has its own measure of motion and time.

[101] 175 [172] A branch of the Indo-European family which to-day speaks one of Europe's oldest languages, the Lithuanians, settled away from the great travelled routes, were spared for a long period from revolutionary changes. The Iron Age was prolonged until the 12th century of our era. For all that, it was not an archaic culture. The objects found in graves are of an advanced type. Textile industry, metal objects, ceramics, fortifications are testimony of a clearly defined social structure and a political organization. According to the Ancients these populations were industrious and peaceful and devoted to a rustic life. The road of amber[1] from the deposits along the banks of their rivers, connected them with the Mediterranean world Gradually exchanges became more frequent. The pressure of the Goths did not directly affect these homes, but nevertheless, its repercussions were felt. In the period of migration the frontiers and the interior positions became more precise. The first strongholds called "*piliakalniai*" — were erected at strategic points. Soon Scandinavians and Russians appeared upon the scene. King Olaf of Sweden attacked the city of Apulia, — the Apuolé of to-day — Kiev menaced the people of Nemunas (Niemen), but later became a goal of Lithuanian conquests. In the West, Rimbert, a monk of Corbie, was one of the first in the IXth century to report on a township called Apuolé.

These different movements did not destroy the unity of development, but on the contrary strengthened it. Subsistence of faiths and practices continued. Entrance into history proper did not put an end to their existence. It was not a rupture, but a new phase. The prehistoric gods were not dead. For a long period adoration of the forces of nature, the stars, the thunder and all the genii of field and forest persisted. Princes were baptized in the 13th and 14th centuries, but the people's religion remained unimpaired. Penetrating the country, Christianity had to face the local myths. Frequently it mixed with them: Christ and "*Perkûnas*", the Thunderer, had the same worshippers. It was the same favor which was transferred from the one to the other. This fidelity did not mean retrogression. Lithuania had her historic mission. She marks the limit of the barbarian

1 [Errata: Should be The Amber-road. Cf. Errata Sheet, p. 204, cat. 116 --- Analyst]

197 most closely related Slavic languages as is played by Gothic in a comparative presentation of the Germanic languages. Schleicher explains the antiquity of Lithuanian by the seclusion of the Lithuanian country folk from historical movements, and draws a parallel with Icelandic. (12) One of the

[113] 12. Schleicher, Vergleichende Sprachgeschichte (1848) (cf. here the chapter on the "Zetazismus der litauischen Sprache"); and Die Sprachen Europas (1850).

best modern experts on the Lithuanian language, Prof. Bezzenberger, expresses himself similarly: "If one asks, however, whence it comes that Lithuanian has preserved until today such splendid features of antiquity. . .while all other Indo-European languages have in contrast long gone about [12] in an unusually strong conservative trait in the Lithuanians." (13) Although for the

197 174 13. Bezzenberger's reply to L. Brenner's essay, "Litauer und Preussen," Königsberger Hartungsche Zeitung, February 10, 1918. Cf. on this point in the same newspaper, on October 24, 1918, the reply of Dr. Herbert Krüger, "Griechen und Litauer": "Whether the division of the Indo-European languages into centum and satem languages, based on phonetic differences, also forms a good standard for the degree of relationship of the peoples concerned will be contested from many sides. It must be left to the work of specialists to decide whether only the general Indo-European relationship exists between the Lithuanians and the Greeks, or a somewhat closer relationship, which Herr Geheimrat Bezzenberger disputes. Before the assumed division there must have existed at one time a unified original people, and if, as even Herr Geheimrat Bezzenberger does, we no longer

197 174 place the original home of this primitive people in far-off Asia, but in Europe on the shore of the Baltic Sea, the ancestors of the Greeks must have emigrated to the south from their northern homeland, separating themselves from the original people either before or after the Lithuanians."

197 193 Although for the linguist it is naturally just as essential to determine in what ways Lithuanian differs from the old languages of the Latins and Greeks, it is still not without fascination to examine the great antiquity of the Lithuanian language on the basis of the existing similarities. For the declension cases of Latin and Lithuanian the example "man" (Latin vir, Lithuanian vyras) may be given:

/19/

	Latin	Lithuanian	Latin	Lithuanian
	Singular		Plural	
Nom.	vir	vyras	viri	vyrai
Gen.	viri	vyro	virorum	vyrų
Dat.	viro	vyrui	viris	vyrams
Acc.	virum	vyrą	viros	vyrus
Voc.	vir	vyre	viri	vyrai

While Latin knows for vir only an ablative with an instrumental and locative function (viro--viris), Lithuanian has at its disposal both a locative (vyre--vyruose) and an instrumental (vyru--vyrais). In addition to these cases there are in Lithuanian three more that are formed by attaching suffixes: girion "toward the forest" (giria "forest") dievopi "to God" (dievas "God"), and dieviep "with God."

197 192 Word similarities are especially striking:

"god"	deus	dievas
"tooth"	dens	dantis

175, 113

RB5 Lithuania

[For the history of the relations between Lithuania and Russia from 1340-1569, see 7: Bregy and Obolensky, RD1 Ukraine, category 116, pp. 53-63.]

113, 175

Lithuania RB5

[For historical data on Lithuanian-Ukrainian relations see:
4: Allen RD1 Ukraine, cat. 116, pp. 41-52; 56-58;--Analyst]

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

101 *Preussen;* Latin *Borusi*), Latvians (Lithuanian *latviai;* German *Letten*), and Lithuanians (Lithuanian *lietuviai;* German *Litauer*). The main distinction among these three groups was that they spoke different dialects of the Lithuanian language.

[175] The Prussians were conquered by the Teutonic Order in the thirteenth century. Castles were built in the conquered regions, and around them German colonists settled. Within fifty years (by 1280) the Prussians had virtually come under German control, although they defended themselves vigorously. In 1243 and again in 1260 there were big uprisings. In the course of years the Prussians were partly exterminated, while those remaining were assimilated and eventually adopted the German language.[2] But as late as the eighteenth century Lithuanian was the dominating language of the population in the region stretching from Königsberg north and east to the Lithuanian-German border.

The Latvians (Letts) were divided into several tribes, namely, Kursiai, Zemgaliai, and Latgaliai. Another, wholly distinct, group called Livs (Latin *Libii*) lived in the basin of the Dauguva. This group belonged to the Ugro-Finnic family of nations, to which the Estonians, Finns, and Hungarians belong. When German merchants and missionaries began to visit the natives of the basin of the Dauguva, they first met the Liv tribes, and thereafter they referred to all of that country as Livonia. In this way the Teutonic Knights of that part of the country came to be known as the Livonian Order (*Fratres Militiae Christi* or Livonian Order of
186 Swordbearers). Despite over six centuries of subjugation to
101 the Germans and later to Russian rule and influence, the

[2] A. E. Ewald, *Die Eroberung Preussens durch den Deutschen* (The Robbery of Prussians by Germans), 1884, Vols. I–IV; M. Oeler, *Geschichte des deutschen Ritter Ordens* (The History of the Teutonic Knights), 1908.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Latvians have preserved their language and their national spirit. After the World War Latvia declared her independence and dropped the name of Livonia.[3]

The Lithuanians are considered to be the main division of the Aestii. They themselves were divided into Zemaiciai (Samogitians), Sudavai, Jotvingiai, and Aukstaiciai (Highlanders). At the end of the twelfth century the Lithuanians began to form a state, because continual wars with the Teutonic Order in the west (Prussia) and in the north (Livonia) forced them to unite. The first crowned king of Lithuania was Mindaugas (Mindow, Mendog), who conquered all the other chieftains, in 1251 adopted Christianity, which had been brought by the Teutonic Knights, and in 1253 was crowned.[4]

At the same time the Samogitians, who continued to fight the Knights of the Livonian Order, succeeded in checking them from making further inroads into the Lithuanian territories. In their effort to conquer the Samogitians, the Teutonic Knights in 1252 built a castle in the vicinity of Klaipeda, to which they gave the German name Memel.

Soon after the death of Mindaugas, Christianity disappeared almost completely in Lithuania.

In the period of 1295–1316 Lithuania was ruled by Vytenis (Witen), who was succeeded by Gediminas (Gedimin), 1316–41. So many Russian territories were incorporated in the latter's state that the new lands greatly exceeded in size ethnographic Lithuania. The title of the ruler in the documents was therefore *Rex Lithuanorum et Multorum Ruthenorum.*[5]

[3] Sapoka, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
[4] J. Totoraitis, *Die Litauer unter dem Koenig Mindowe* (The Lithuanians under King Mindowe), 1905.
[5] Sapoka, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

175 Gediminas left seven sons, of whom Algirdas (Olgird) was made grand duke of Lithuania, and Kestutis, whose seal bore the inscription *Sigillum Kynstutte Dux de Tracken*, was made grand duke of western Lithuania. They both carried on negotiations with the Teutonic Knights for the Christianizing of Lithuania, imposing as their chief condition that all the territories inhabited by Lithuanian tribes should be returned to them.

Algirdas at the time of his death (1377) appointed as his successor one of his sons, Jogaila (Jagello), who was supposed to rule Lithuania in coöperation with, and on the advice of, his uncle, Kestutis. However, after Kestutis's death Jogaila did not want to grant even any heritage rights to Kestutis's son Vytautas (Witold, Vitovt; his Great Seal was inscribed *Sigillum Alexandri Alias Witowdi Dei Gratia Ducis Lithuaniae*).

In 1384 a delegation of the Polish nobility offered to Jogaila in marriage the hand of the heiress to the Polish crown, Jadwiga, and in 1385 an agreement in the matter was reached. Close collaboration was established between the two sovereign states, Lithuania and Poland, an association from which Poland benefited.

Lithuania reached the peak of her greatness under Vytautas (1392–1430). During his reign, Lithuania extended from the Baltic Sea at Palanga to the Black Sea between the Dnieper and Dniester rivers. In 1410 he successfully led the Lithuanian armies in the battle of Grünwald at Tannenberg, now East Prussia, in which the joint Lithuanian and Polish forces defeated the Teuton, thereby bringing about the collapse of the powerful Teutonic Order. It is to be noted that this battle was led by two great Lithuanians—Vytautas, as

3; Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

grand duke of Lithuania, and his cousin Jogaila (Jagello-Wladislaw), as king of Poland. 175

Near the end of his reign (1429) Vytautas decided to have himself crowned king of Lithuania. But the Polish noblemen and politicians, wishing to keep Lithuania a grand duchy under the crown of the Polish kingdom, opposed Vytautas's assumption of the crown. The most ardent foes of the creation of a separate kingdom of Lithuania were the Polish clergy under the leadership of Bishop Zbignev Olesnicki. Through the intrigues of Polish politicians the coronation was delayed, and Vytautas died uncrowned on October 27, 1430.

With the death of Vytautas the state began to disintegrate. No one of his successors was capable of ruling that big state so that its harmony and unity would be preserved. Besides, Poles and later Russians knew how to promote dissension among the various peoples residing within its borders.

The Union signed at the Lublin *Seimas* (diet), composed of Polish and Lithuanian representatives, in 1569 was the final act of Lithuania as a separate state. By this agreement a great part of the territory of the grand duchy of Lithuania was given to Poland. The feeling against the Union was intense. Katkewicz, a representative of the grand duchy of Lithuania, with tears in his eyes pleaded with the diet, the Lublin *Seimas*, against the signing of the agreement. The Lithuanian delegates went down on their knees in their entreaty to prevent the action. But in spite of their opposition, the will of the King and the Polish representatives prevailed and the Union was signed.[6]

In the years that followed this unhappy Union, the grand duchy of Lithuania experienced one misfortune after another.

[6] Sapoka, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

3: Simutis 8-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

175 Her greatest disaster came in 1795 when, together with Poland, she was partitioned between Russia and Prussia. The greater part of ethnographic Lithuania was given to Russia and the lesser part, to Prussia.

Even though the Lithuanian-Polish state collapsed, the Lithuanian nation continued to exist, although it was badly impaired and its size diminished by more than two thirds.

642 Lithuanians were under the stern rule of Czarist Russia
648 for 123 years until, on the 16th of February, 1918, the National Council in Vilnius (Vilna) declared Lithuania an independent state, with ancient Vilnius as its capital.[7] On July 12, 1920, during the war between the Soviets and the Poles, Lithuania signed in Moscow with the Soviet government a peace treaty by which the city of Vilnius with the region about it was assigned to Lithuania.[8]

726 But the old Polish scheme began to manifest itself again.
648 After defeating the Soviet troops near Warsaw, the Poles appeared on the southern Lithuanian frontier and precipitated fighting with the Lithuanians. Finding the going more difficult than they expected, the Poles started negotiations which were carried on under the supervision of the League of Nations and resulted in the conclusion of the Treaty of Suvalkai[9] on October 7, 1920.[10] Two days later, however, the special Polish army, commanded by General Zeligowski, took the Lithuanians completely by surprise and occupied the city of Vilnius and the Vilnius region, comprising almost one
648 third of ethnographic Lithuania. This treacherous act re-

[7] See Appendix A for the text of the Declaration of Independence.

[8] Pranas Dailide, *Lietuvos Sutartys su Svetimomis Valstybemis*, Uzsieniu Reikalu Ministerijos leidinys, Tomas I, 1919–29. Recueil des traites conclus par la Lithuanie avec les pays étrangers, Publie par le Ministère des Affaires Étrangeres. I (1919–29), 30–52. See Appendix B for the extract from the text of the peace treaty with Russia.

[9] Dailide, *op. cit.*, pp. 58–61.

[10] See Appendix C for the text of the Treaty of Suvalkai.

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[101] 175 [172] A branch of the Indo-European family which to-day speaks one of Europe's oldest languages, the Lithuanians, settled away from the great travelled routes, were spared for a long period from revolutionary changes. The Iron Age was prolonged until the 12th century of our era. For all that, it was not an archaic culture. The objects found in graves are of an advanced type. Textile industry, metal objects, ceramics, fortifications are testimony of a clearly defined social structure and a political organization. According to the Ancients these populations were industrious and peaceful and devoted to a rustic life. The road of amber[1] from the deposits along the banks of their rivers, connected them with the Mediterranean world Gradually exchanges became more frequent. The pressure of the Goths did not directly affect these homes, but nevertheless, its repercussions were felt. In the period of migration the frontiers and the interior positions became more precise. The first strongholds called *"piliakalniai"* — were erected at strategic points. Soon Scandinavians and Russians appeared upon the scene. King Olaf of Sweden attacked the city of Apulia, — the Apuolé of to-day — Kiev menaced the people of Nemunas (Niemen), but later became a goal of Lithuanian conquests. In the West, Rimbert, a monk of Corbie, was one of the first in the IXth century to report on a township called Apuolé.

These different movements did not destroy the unity of development, but on the contrary strengthened it. Subsistence of faiths and practices continued. Entrance into history proper did not put an end to their existence. It was not a rupture, but a new phase. The prehistoric gods were not dead. For a long period adoration of the forces of nature, the stars, the thunder and all the genii of field and forest persisted. Princes were baptized in the 13th and 14th centuries, but the people's religion remained unimpaired. Penetrating the country, Christianity had to face the local myths. Frequently it mixed with them: Christ and *"Perkúnas"*, the Thunderer, had the same worshippers. It was the same favor which was transferred from the one to the other. This fidelity did not mean retrogression. Lithuania had her historic mission. She marks the limit of the barbarian

1 [Errata: Should be The Amber-road. Cf. Errata Sheet, p. 204, cat. 116--- Analyst]

175

invasion; she is the principal obstacle against Teutonic hegemony. In 1239 Mindaugas had taken possession of Smolenak. He consolidated his positions in the South-East and dared to oppose the Order of Chivalry which was already master of Courland and East Prussia. In order to disarm his enemies he became a convert in 1251. The knights accompanied by the Bishop of Culm, brought him the grand ducal crown. But only a short time later the struggle was resumed and Mindaugas relapsed to his old faith.

The country was invaded. Gediminas freed it in 1320. But this striking success gave rise to new dangers. A coalition was forming against the victorious Lithuanians; Germans, French, Spaniards, Czechs and Danes prepared to attack the pagans. But at that moment the *"kunigaikstis"*, the Grand Duke had himself baptized. Secure in the North he turned again to the South East towards Kiev, thus laying the foundation of the Lithuanian empire. In 1341 he was killed by the knights of the Teutonic Order. After a period of troubles his two sons, Algirdas and Keistutis, divided the power between themselves. Under the reign of Keistutis' son, Vytautas the Great, Lithuania reached the apex of power. By the Treaty of Vilnius (Vilna) in 1401, Vytautas was recognized as Grand Duke. Within a few years he re-established and enlarged the empire, which now stretched from the Black Sea to the Baltic. A Lithuanian governor was established in Kiev. Lithuanian strongholds were erected along the course of the Dnieper and the Bug protecting the route from Palanga to Odessa. The Grand Duke intervened even in the elections of the Khans of Tartary. In Vilnius he played the part of a great European sovereign. In 1410, allied with the Poles, the Lithuanians crushed the Teutonic Order of Knighthood at Tannenberg and the Order never recovered from this defeat.

In the course of the 15th century the relations with Poland became still more close. A number of alliances were negotiated, which culminated in the Treaty of Lublin. The Grand Duke Jagellon married Queen Hedwig[1] of Anjou. The two countries were united under the same sceptre, but each of them retained its government and its institutions. In 1569 the union of the two states was realized. Lithuania preserved an autonomous administration, but from that date on she shared the fate of her neighbour. The Grand Duchy is still to be found on some maps of the 18th century, but after the successive division[2] of Poland, it fell into the hands of the Russians.

[1] [Errata: should be the Polish Queen Hedwig. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, cat. 116---Analyst]

[2] [Errata: should be successive divisions, Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, cat. 116---Analyst]

175 During this period the social conflicts rooted in the past gradually grew more serious. The mass of the peasantry and the provincial nobility separated from each other and became two antagonistic worlds. The one became absorbed in itself and remained true to its secular traditions. The other, influenced by Poland, endeavoured to take an ever increasing part in the intellectual life of the West.

Under Russian domination an era of decay began, which was marked by revolts, repressions and disasters. The Great Army appeared as a liberator, and Napoleon proclaimed the independence of the country from Vilnius. Lithuanian regiments joined his troops. But this was only an episode of the struggle. Further insurrections took place in 1831 and 1863. They were followed by deportations to Siberia and a mass emigration to the United States. More than a million, one third of the Lithuanians, found shelter and a new home in the latter country. The treasures of art which were collected by the nobility were dispersed and destroyed. In 1865 a decree was issued prohibiting publications in the Lithuanian language. Centres of resistance however were successfully established in the Russian universities, as also in Königsberg, in London and in America. Students and smugglers clandestinely introduced prohibited books, periodicals and calendars. Theatrical performances were held in barns. The folklore, the ancient folk songs served as a rallying sign. But it was only after World War I, after having suffered a long German occupation, that the country recovered its independence. Twenty years of fervent and pious work showed what a small but free nation is able to accomplish. The country was happy at last, — World War II destroyed this. Renewed occupations and deportations, a new exodus, destruction by fire and iron, subjugation by neighbouring nations succeeded one another without interruption. Few peoples have had so tragic a fate, even in war-ravaged Europe. But Lithuania will not be subdued. She believes in the power of justice.

000 Such is the outline of the history of Lithuania. All through the tempest of the ages the people continued to perform its tasks. But it did not remain insensible to the vicissitudes of the changing eras. New forms of life are grafted on secular traditions. Sun and thunder worship gives way to medieval Christianity, but still survives in the "*dainos*". The currents of Western art succeed each other and leave deep traces. Contacts with

1 [Errata: should be country at. Cf. Errata Sheet p. 204, Cat. 116. --- Analyst]

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

MONOGRAPH OF LITHUANIA

INTRODUCTION

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The Lithuania of to-day is situated between East Prussia, Poland and Latvia. In the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Lithuania was an independent State which, having conquered vast stretches of White Russia and Ukraine, extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea; her civilisation was that of Western Europe. At the close of the fourteenth century, Lithuania established with Poland a personal union, which was subsequently converted into a real union. For centuries, the conditions governing her existence were the same as for Poland. With the partition of 1795, practically the whole of ethnographical Lithuania was annexed by Russia, which ruled the territory until 1915.

A vast region inhabited by a population of Lithuanian origin and extending westwards almost as far as Marienburg had been conquered by the Germans in the tenth and twelfth centuries.

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As long as Lithuania remained under the dominion of Russia, her economic and cultural level was conditioned by

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175 181 this circumstance and remained inferior to that of the more progressive countries of Western Europe. Most of her peasant farmers, who were not released from serfdom until 1862-1865, were still living under the same conditions as in the Middle Ages. They owned narrow strips of land, practised the old three-year crop rotation, had common grazing land in a very neglected condition, bred only native stock and relied almost exclusively on cereal crops. Farming methods were thus very primitive and the farmer's income very small, while the houses were almost entirely of wood with thatched or wooden roofs.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, intellectuals, who were still few in number, began to take an interest in rural life : they cut up part of the communal land to form separate farms, organised more paying forms of activity, carried on active propaganda for the improvement of rural dwellings and encouraged the introduction of more rational methods of work. Their efforts met invariably with systematic opposition from the Russian Government.

During the world war, Lithuania was for many months the scene of hostilities. From 1915 to the end of 1918, the Germans occupied the country, which was the victim of requisitions of all kinds and lost much of its wealth.

The Proclamation of Lithuanian independence was followed by a strong movement of national renaissance and rural reconstruction. The Government's task was a difficult one. Tremendous efforts were made to build up a country which was just emerging from war ; farming methods were improved and land reform was instituted. Communal land was redistributed, undeveloped estates were broken up, new branches of agriculture were developed — dairying, pig-breeding, poultry-farming ; numerous schools of agriculture were founded, such roads as existed were rebuilt, and new means of communication were opened. In a word, the farmer's life was to be reorganised on modern lines. True, not all these ideals have proved capable of fulfilment in so short a time ; but great strides have been made, and present day agriculture in Lithuania differs profoundly from the pre-war conditions obtaining in that country.

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423 311 Lithuania now consists in the main of small and medium-sized rural properties. A farm of 5 or 6 hectares provides an adequate livelihood for an average working farmer's family. An estate of 80 or 100 hectares is also regarded as a working peasant's farm, as it is generally run by the owner in person. Farms ranging from 5 to 100 hectares account for over 90% of the agricultural land. Miniature farms up to 2 hectares represent only 0.44% of the area under cultivation, which is all

11: Scheffer O-4, 5 (ca. 1660) 1704
EP4 Lapps
Letts R84
Lithuanians R85

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to submit under the Protection of *Sigismund Augustus* King of *Poland*, who made *Courland* a Dukedom, and gave it to *Goddard Kettler* of *Nesselrath*, the last Master of the *Teutonick* Order in *Livonia*, to hold it as a Fief of the Crown of *Poland*. But *William* the youngest Son of this *Goddard*, who succeeded his elder Brother in the Government, was dispossessed of his Dominions by *Sigismund* III. King of *Poland*, and lived in Exile till 1619, when he was restored to the Dukedom, whose Posterity enjoy it to this Day.

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The *Poles* also remain to this Day possess'd of some inconsiderable Places of the *South* side of the River *Dwina* or *Dune*, among which *Dunaburgh* is the only Place worth taking notice of.

Li 103 133 131 504 712 175 727

The Dutchy of *Memel* is likewise a part of the *Southern Livonia*: Its Capital City bearing the same Name, is Situate upon, and encompass'd by, the River *Tanger*, which not far from thence exonerates it self into the Sea, in the Gulph call'd the Lake of *Courland*, and affords a very Commodious Harbour to this little but pleasant Town: Its Castle is very well Fortified; it was *An.* 1250. built by the Master of the Order of *Livonia*, and in 1328. sold by them to the Master of the *Prussian* Knights. In the Truce made in the Year 1635, betwixt the *Poles* and *Swedes*, it was Stipulated, that the said City and Dukedom should be surrendred to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who ever since remains in possession of it.

CHAP. II.

Of the Antient Inhabitants of Livonia, *and their Superstitions and Customs.*

Le 175

IT is beyond all dispute, that *Livonia* remain'd for a long time involved in the Darkness of Paganism and Idolatry, this Country being quite unknown in these Parts, till in the Year 1158, a Merchant Ship of *Bremen* (or as some will have it of *Lubeck*) being forced by a Tempest into the Gulph of *Riga*, made the first

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Professor Specht, in the introduction to his Litauische Märchen, seeks the source of these closing sentences in the Russian fairy tale literature, in which they frequently appeared, and stresses quite generally the special difficulty of recognizing the typically Lithuanian elements in this fairy tale world. Since in Lithuania the Eastern European and the Western European cultural areas intersect, the country had from olden times been subjected to numerous foreign spiritual influences. "One never quite knows whether a Lithuanian fairy tale is not simply the reproduction of a Slavic fairy tale, or whether stories from Prussian Lithuania, as a result of the German schooling, are not German fairy tales in the Lithuanian language."

/79/ The stream which has influenced through the centuries the world of fairy tales of the European peoples, and thus also of the Lithuanians, has been fed by many sources. We know today that every popular fairy tale represents a complicated structure that consists of a number of simple motifs pieced together, which travel through the world. Among the motifs each has a firm place in a specific type of fairy tale, from which it is transferred only occasionally into another. It is not the form, therefore, in which a fairy tale is told today that represents something ancient; but its individual parts hark back to gray antiquity. The intricate form, however, in which they are offered to us teaches us the laws of the popular taste and remains essentially the property of the people that created it.

It is a self-evident fact that the Lithuanian popular fairy tale, too, contains a large number of very old motifs. We may think of the brother story, for example, which, stemming from Egyptian antiquity, is probably familiar to all peoples. Its content is about as follows: two brothers wander about in the world. They separate, and

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each promises to come to the help of the other in case of danger. A token may be a plant that withers, a knife that rusts, or--in the Lithuanian tale--a cup that turns around by itself. From the Orient stems the motif of the good advice, which penetrated into the Latinliterature of the Middle Ages and seems from there to have come also to Lithuania; further the famous fairy tale motif of the singing tree and the speaking bird. The tale of the water of life, too, was told tens of centuries ago in Babylon. The ideas of the appearances and the wanderings of souls, connected with the world of dreams, exhibit great similarities among all peoples. In the Lithuanian tale the soul slips out of the mouth of the sleeper as a mouse and experiences that which the person later perceives as a dream. There is also a parallel to the miraculous rescue of Moses. Through a /80/ benevolent fate children escape all dangers and become mighty rulers, as was prophesied to them.

Especially interesting are the connections with the Greek fairy tales. We may remember, for example, the dream story of the lost wife, as told by Apuleius in his Amor and Psyche. The motif of the jealous sisters and the insoluble tasks was also already known to the Greeks. Furthermore, the animal stories with their transformations of men into animals were especially loved in Greece. Such transformations into wolves, bears, eagles, doves, and other animals, too, play a great role in the Lithuanian fairy tales. Also, the tale of lies, which is often found, is of Greek and Roman origin. It was brought to Germany by minstrels in the tenth and eleventh centuries in Latin dress. Often the piling up of impossibilities becomes the introductory formula of the fairy tales, as it is favored in the Hungarian and Turkish fairy tales of today. "Once upon a time there was, or there was not; there was in ancient times; when one still sifted into

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straw; when the camel was still a horse trader, the mouse a barber, the cuckoo a taylor, the donkey a servant, and the turtle a baker; then I was only 15 years old and already rocked my father in the cradle; then it was. . ." (52) etc.,

[113] 52. F. von der Leyen, Das Märchen (Leipzig, 1911), p. 80.

etc. If we compare, for example, this formula with the introduction of the humorous court judgment concerning the matchmaker at the Lithuanian wedding, we find a surprising similarity: "In a year, in that one, in this one, when the cats slew the dogs, the hares beat the drum, the wolves blew the horn, the dogs crowed, the cocks barked, the roe danced with the mouse, the fish flew, the old women sheared the calves, the girls did not want to marry, the boys no longer loved them, when it snowed buns, the children did not sleep the whole night--then a wolf heard this noise. . ."etc. (53) The tale of lies shows us

[113] 53. M. Valančius, Palangos Juzė (Josef of Palanga) (Vilna, 1906), 5th ed., p. 121.

the joy in exaggerations which is often grotesquely elaborated. Closely related to them are the Schwänke and Narrenstreiche [Funny tales and Fool's pranks] which /Unnumbered page with illustration--Sun Cross/ /81/ were eagerly told in the German popular fairy tale of the thirteenth through sixteenth centuries, the stories of Brother Lustig, the wanderings of Christ and his disciples, as well as the countless stories of the swindled devil. Not a few parallels to all these fairy tales are found also in Lithuania; the devil story especially found here a receptive soil and seems to have developed further independently. The medieval heroic stories, too, such as were spread by the court poetry in France

*538 [77] and Germany, had their influence on the Lithuanian popular fairy tale. Here belong primarily the tales of monsters and giants who steal beautiful women, of subterranean palaces, enchanted forests and mountains, and similar motifs. Thus we see that the Lithuanian fairy tale, as it is told today, has been enriched through many centuries by material and motifs taken over from the outside and worked into something of its own--just like the German fairy tale, by which it was in turn often enriched. But although, as we saw, the fairy tale motifs in themselves are not characteristic of the fairy tale world of a people, since it is not difficult to find corresponding parallels, the significance of individual motifs within the whole store of fairytales of particular peoples is undeniably varied. The Lithuanian popular fairy tale is, for example, so strongly ruled by the belief in ghosts and demons that a whole large collection of tales could be put together by Dr. Basanavičius from this angle alone. As, however, no phenomenon of popular life rests on accident, but can always be explained from the history of the people concerned, we must attribute this peculiarity to the belief in the dead and immortality mentioned at the beginning, which for historical reasons has been preserved in Lithuania and found its expression with particular tenacity and has there. Furthermore, we *538 776 probably find everywhere the belief in witches, in good and bad fairies, but in the framework of the Lithuanian world of fairy tales special importance is attached to the laumas /Laumen/. The laumas are mostly evil spirits, who /82/ always show themselves in the form of women. They torture people at night in nightmares, steal or exchange newborn children, play all kinds of tricks, and practice their mischief primarily on Thursday evening. For that reason one may never spin on that evening, for then the laumas spin on during

*538 an egg hatched by a black cock seven years old.
776 The aitvaras does many services for his owner, protecting his cattle, watching over his fields, and bringing him property stolen elsewhere, which he first swallows and then spits out. This stolen property, however, brings no harm, but turns out so well that it arouses the envy of all the neighbors; still today one says of a farmer in Lithuania who has suddenly become rich that he possesses an aitvaras. One can also force the demon /83/ to drop his loot and to burn down the house of his master by letting down one's pants or taking off one's coat and showing him the naked posterior.

*538 For the tale of the aitvaras, too, many
177 parallels can be found among other, primarily Nordic, peoples; in the Slavic store of fairy tales, on the other hand, it plays only a subordinate role. Those numerous fairy tales in which a hunter with a red cap chases behind the devil go back to Lithuanian myth: it is Perkunas, who is well disposed toward people and rewards them when they help him. The ancient Lithuanian serpent cult, on the other hand, which is often attested to from earlier centuries, has influenced the Lithuanian fairy tale only little. To be sure, it appears in one of the most beautiful and colorful tales, of "Eglē, the Queen of the Serpents"; however, Koncewicz has supplied a Russian parallel for it, so that the question of borrowing remains open. (55) The Lithuanian has a special preference

[113] 55. J. Koncewicz, "Die Natter" (Russian Fairy Tales), Mitteilungen der Litauischen litterarischen Gesellschaft, 1885, pp. 260-262.

for animal fairy tales, which are often told in the form of an instructive fable. They betray the same sharp gift for observation of surroundings

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that we are already acquainted with from the dainos. Although it must remain undecided what part of these animal stories may stem from the Panchatantra, from Phaedrus, Aesop, or even La Fontaine, what is borrowed from Germany, and what is to be regarded as primitive Aryan property, nevertheless many of these tales and fables bear an unmistakably Lithuanian coloring. As an outcome of the rural and simple living conditions of the people and the existence of a foreign upper class, peasant life in all its forms plays the principal role in Lithuanian fairy tales. The Jew as a deceived deceiver, the gipsy who trades in horses and in turn deceives the Jew, are the favorite figures of a farcical fairy tale literature. The Polish landlord (ponas), the master of the peasant, is also always pictured as the defeated party; his intrigues miscarry, and often the youth succeeds through cleverness or good fortune in rising himself into this class and /84/ obtaining wealth. Under the outer shell of such tales, which frequently have a very homely form, are often hidden deep, simple truths, the wish for a just settlement of fate and the same longing for the bright and shining that permeates the Lithuanian dainos. Very seldom are spiritual and Christian materials treated in the fairy tales. They form an effective part of the world of the Lithuanian saga.

Fairy tales and sagas frequently run together in Lithuanian folk traditions. If we look at those sagas that are related to one place or one person and tend toward serious realism, we still find many things that live on in the people as independent saga tradition--memories of ancient, glorious times of miracles and of secrets woven about the castled mountains of the land (piliakalnai) and tied to the names of its cities. From such a saga tradition the Lithuanian poet Krēvē-Mickevičius created the material for the heroic

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538 ania two proverbs frequently say exactly the opposite. Furthermore all proverbs cannot lay claim to the same importance. Not a few represent remains of earlier opinions and customs. Others, again, rest on superstitious or magical ideas. "Then, too, one cannot always grasp the real meaning of the proverb or find its origin, since in passing from mouth to mouth, from one generation to another, it frequently becomes distorted."(56)

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56. Yermoloff, Der landwirtschaftliche Volkskalender (Leipzig, 1905), p. 11.

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The question of the origin of the proverbs is probably even more difficult to solve: it is the highly interesting problem of their transition from the vocabulary of one people into that of another. As with the Lithuanian fairy tales, influences from the Slavic as well as the Germanic cultural worlds enter the picture. Thus a whole series of proverbs bear an unmistakenly German tinge. Others, again, may have originated among different peoples indepently, but under similar social conditions, which accounts for their similarity. With the tremendous abundance of material the investigation of these problems, only indicated here, /87/ must be left to specialized scholars. The following proverbs are taken in part from printed collections: (57) in part I.

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57. V. Krėvė-Mickevičius, Patarlės, priežodžiai ir išsireiškimai (858 Proverbs and Sayings), Tauta ir Žodis (Kaunas, 1925), Vol. III. Similarly Patarlės ir priežodžiai (Proverbs and Sayings), so far 3 vols. (Kaunas, 1934-37). (This, up to now largest, collection of proverbs, is alphabetically arranged. Vol. I, 1-7766; Vol. II, 7767-11650; Vol. III, 11651-14177; Vol. III ends with the letter i.) For comparison: F. Seiler, Deutsche Sprichwörterkunde (Munich, 1922).

346 ings of the wooden village churches permeated with elements of baroque style; yet, in contrast to the stone church of the city, this style did not unfold freely but /110/ was changed into primitive forms in the hands of peasant workmen. We see this above all in the decoration of the altars and confessionals. (17)

17. P. Galaunē, op. cit., p. 86.

346 177 Although architecture and interior furnishings of the present-day Lithuanian village church point to numerous foreign influences, the bell tower, which today in most cases maintains its place as an independent building next to the church, preserves in Lithuania very old and characteristic forms. It belongs to the most charming creations of peasant architecture and is still today--even where the primitive wooden church has long given way to stone construction--usually built of wood. Architectonically it does not form any unity with the church standing next to it.

The original significance of these old bell towers does not seem to have been that of the campanile. For this function the turret tower mentioned before would have fully sufficed. We must rather seek the origin of these peculiar towers in warlike purposes. We still find today in Germany and Austria real fortress-like defense churches, erected on the highest and strategically most secure point of the village. "There the tower stood out like a watchtower, attached on the model of the fortress." (18) That in the Ukraine

18. Naumann, Volkskunde, loc. cit., p. 40.

and Poland, too, wooden towers provided the models for the later bell towers is proved by the investigations of Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian art historians like Moklowski, Iwarnicki, and Pawlucki.

346 With the close relationship of Lithuania to these
177 countries they were bound to exert an influence on it, so that Galaunē arrives at the conclusion: "The bell towers of the Ukraine, above all however of Galicia, are known from a much older period (the beginning of the sixteenth century) than ours; several of them differ in their form only little from our bell towers. For this reason, in my opinion one must seek the elements of the wooden fortress in the architecture of the Lithuanian bell towers too." (19)

19. Galaunē, op. cit., p. 92.

346 /111/ If these established points prove that in all probability the Lithuanian bell towers go back in their origin to older models, these towers also contain numerous independent architectonic elements which are to be regarded as purely Lithuanian. The village artist strove for the greatest possible variety within the framework at his disposal. We are always surprised anew by the great richness of form, the diversity of the distribution of the masses, which contain all phases of expression from light enthusiasm to calm seriousness and from simple modesty to complicated expression. Thus each of these wooden bell towers is an individual work of art, deeply rooted in the life of the Lithuanian peasants and indispensable to the picture of the Lithuanian countryside.

B. The Village Art

778 1. The Roofed Crosses

322 If the village artist was bound by the prac-
764 tical purposes of his work in the construction of the farmhouses, village churches, and bell towers, his art could be that much more freely unfolded in those strange, towering crosses which represent the real landmarks of the Lithuanian landscape. The German poet Herbert Eulenberg reproduces the

369 the military, and liberal professions, opened up
162 to the younger peasant generation. An initially
565 favorable economic development encouraged this
563 influx, which again completely changed the face of the city: the city of Kaunas alone doubled its population in a few years. In all areas a lively activity is being unfolded; along with material problems intellectual ones, literature, art, music, theater, science, are suddenly factors in the life of the people.

341 Knowledge of the development sketched here*
121 is essential for the understanding of what follows. It might seem, that is, as if a presentation of the cultural elements of the Lithuanian people would have to be restricted solely to this most recent period of time, insofar as the city is concerned. /147/ The historic architecture of the city would then be excluded from our treatment, since it does not bear the stamp of the same racial type. This is perhaps also the reason why until today there is hardly a single Lithuanian presentation of the historic structures of the country.

341 Nevertheless the present work must consider the architecture of the Lithuanian city for various reasons: first of all it was the Lithuanian Grand Dukes, the high nobility, and the clergy who ordered the construction of churches and castles Furthermore--we may think for example of classicism-the great artistic epochs are more or less international; and third, the baroque, the most important building style for Lithuania, exercised unquestionable influence on the Lithuanian folk art

346 There are probably no foreigners visiting
177 the country to whom the great religious structures, especially in Kaunas, would not be objects of attention and deliberation. The face of these buildings is clearly turned toward the West and not toward the Russian East. From the west came the Roman-Catholic faith, proclaimed by Benedictines, Dominicans, Cistercians, and other orders in the

* [see cat. 116, pp. 162-165 -- Analyst]

346
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Gothic churches of the country. From the west the ideas of Lutheranism were imported, and, during the brief span of a half century, embraced by the high nobility of the country. From the West, finally, penetrated the mighty and imposing movement of the Counter Reformation, which strewed the magnificence of the baroque like precious flowers over the nordic land and won it back forever to the Roman church. Thus the history of the religious culture of the country is sealed within these buildings.

In contrast to the mighty religious witnesses of the Western spirit, what we encounter in Lithuania in the way of evidence of Eastern culture in architecture seems rather insignificant. The few monuments of Russian religious art speak the language of another spiritual world, which stands outside of the historic religious development of the country. /148/ Most of the Russian domed churches still existing today were built after the revolutions of the years 1830 and 1863, when the Russian government dispossessed Catholic monasteries and churches and summoned Russian monastic orders and settlers into the country. Monuments of Russian power politics, they were frequently erected on the most prominent points of the cities; we may think for example of the Russian cathedral in Kaunas, which today has become the Roman-Catholic garrison church. Erected in 1880, and constructed in a purely academic style, it makes up to a truly artistic organization by the massiveness of its forms. To be sure, seen from the mountain, it presents, through its location as the terminal point of the main street, its powerful contours fade in the fog, a picture that is not without its own charm, especially in the evening. For this reason, too, it probably escaped the fate of demolition which a number of the Russian churches in the provinces suffered after the departure of the Russian military and officials.

The cathedral of Kaunas is also characteristic of the rest of the Russian religious structures in the country, to which specific structural regulations applied since the middle of the nineteenth century. Here we meet the main aisle, the large central dome, and the little onion-shaped towers surrounding it (Christ and the four evangelists). There also appears the compact central construction, which, for example, in the church of Ukmergė found an exceptionally good architectonic solution. In general the Russian provincial churches still preserved today, which, when constructed of wood, partially resemble the Lithuanian log churches, lose style or artistic value when built of stone. The same applies to the solitary Mohammedan mosques.(4) On the other hand, among the wooden Jewish

4. The settlement of the Tatars, who have mostly become assimilated, goes back to Vytautas. About 700 Tatars still live today in the district of Alytus. Also in Kaunas they have their own unadorned mosque.

synagogues there are some noteworthy structures, which, primarily through the broken forms in which their roofs rise like pyramids, make a singular impression. The very old synagogue of Šaukėnai may be named here. That the Jewish synagogues have taken over much ornamental decoration from the Lithuanian folk art, is clearly /149/ proved by the synagogue of Jurbarkas (Georgenburg) on the Memel.

The religious structures of Judaism can only be briefly touched upon in this context, since the Jews in Lithuania have led the life of a strictly isolated minority for centuries and have remained without influence on the cultural development of the country. The latter was exclusively controlled by that great spiritual current which the church of the West sent out over the country in an uninterrupted stream since the late Middle Ages.

terrupted stream since the late Middle Ages.

346 2. Gothic
177 Almost the whole artistic energy of the Middle Ages spent itself in mighty religious structures. The Gothic cathedrals of France and Germany speak of freedom and bold, resplendent sublimity. They are symbols of soaring adoration of God in a period whose piety and mystical excitement penetrated all classes of society. But gradually this spirit hardened, and the style which it created also hardened in its strict architectonic constraint. In this period of late Gothic the art of the Middle Ages sent out its last offshoots toward Lithuania.

Measured on the buildings--including the secular buildings--of this period which exist in the Baltic, Lithuania plays a subordinate part, a
797 fact which is again historically conditioned: not until the year 1387 did High Lithuania embrace the Christian faith, and Low Lithuania (Samogitia) not until 1415. Now if we realize that the high period of the Gothic in Germany belonged in the fourteenth century, and the fifteenth century already was the period of the so-called late Gothic, it becomes evident why the influence of the Gothic in Lithuania was of lesser impact than that of later artistic styles. It must be mentioned, to be sure, that in Lithuania, as everywhere in the East, all styles--from Gothic through baroque to classicism--/150/ have held out longer than in the Western countries, so that one can actually speak of a
346 conservatism in Eastern architecture. Thus the Gothic St. Ann church in Vilna, whose charming facade, with its slender, rising pilasters through which the strong keel arch is laced, has often been admired, was not built until after 1500. The church of Simnas in the district of Alytus, too, built in 1520 and reconstructed in the wrong style in the eighteenth century, belongs, together with

341 many gabled houses in the Gothic style, and indeed here and there an old granary, hidden in the maze of twisted courtyards. Often these buildings also are hidden today under the disguise of a later period. Especially the streets behind the steamer landing are still full of old gabled brick structures today. Sometimes the courtyards of these houses, like those in Vilna, have passageways of wood which stem from a later period. How much the whole artistic epoch which is understood under the name of Gothic could be forgotten is proved by the fact that a small house with a late Gothic gable rising freely into the air is today called a "Perkunas temple" in the vernacular. The gable is found across from the city hospital; it shows the typical overly slender pilasters which blossom out in decorative finials and are connected by curved interlinking arches. Possibly this was also a little church, perhaps a secular building. (10)

[113]

10. Cf. A. Thomas "Rombinus," in Mitteilungen der litauischen litterarischen Gesellschaft, 1884, Vol. II, No. 2. In addition see the colored illustration in Vol. IV, No. 4 together with a ground plan according to the record of Kulakowski of the year 1823.

341 3. Renaissance and Baroque
177

Whoever surveys the city from the hill of the Linksmadvaris estate, rising up steeply across from the old section of Kaunas, has an unusually beautiful view of the churches of the old city. The cathedral and the Vytautas church, the Seminary Church and Trinity Church lie at his feet in a harmonious grouping. Between them rise the light towers of the Jesuit church and the slender tower of the city hall. The last three buildings lead us to a new period of style which replaced the Gothic in Lithuania. It began in the middle of the

341 sixteenth century and received strong stimulation
177 through the introduction of the Counter Reformation. The late Renaissance and the baroque are characteristic of this period.

/155/ Concerning the introduction of these new styles Dr. Kairiūkštytė-Jacynienė writes in her detailed monograph on the monastery of Pažaislis: "From the beginning of the sixteenth century on the true Italian Renaissance penetrated into the country by way of Hungary, specifically through the mediation of immigrant Italian artists and artisans, who as early as the year 1502 were summoned to Cracow by King Sigismund the Elder and his wife Bona Sfroza, Duchess of Milan. . .From Cracow the Renaissance style rapidly spread through the whole country. The influx of Italian artists, principally architects, went on uninterruptedly from the sixteenth century on; they kept the leadership for three centuries, since there were no trained native elements . . . Besides the Italians, Dutch architects also worked in Poland and Lithuania from the seventeenth century on. French and German influences were added to the Italian ones, especially in the eighteenth century. All this, together with certain peculiarities of the native, indigenous interpretation of style, produced a mixed style. But the Italian artists continued to be dominant. The Italian baroque created a foundation not only for the construction of churches, but also for secular construction. Today the baroque is still the most common style in the country, and the one which speaks with the greatest force." (11)

[113] 11. Kairiūkštytė-Jacynienė, Pažaislis, ein Barockkloster in Litauen, Zürich dissertation, 1928. Special publication of Tauta ir Žodis (Kaunas, 1928), pp. 1-2.

The transition from Renaissance to baroque

346 The transition from Renaissance to baroque
177 becomes clear, for example, in the cathedral of Seinai, built in 1619. The most important baroque churches of Lithuania, however, stem for the most part from the baroque period proper, between 1650 and 1750, when, in the train of the Jesuits many other Catholic orders also settled in the country and started a lively building activity. The outward incentive for this was given by the fact that after the devastations of the Russian invasion, in 1655, the building of numerous churches and monasteries became necessary.

The new builders brought with them from Italy a completely different interpretation of space. The Gothic main aisle /156/ was now replaced by a ground plan the form of the Greek cross, with a lengthened main nave and deep chapels at both sides. But what has already been said concerning the Gothic applies also to the baroque construction in Lithuania: its architecture is more simplified than in the West, and above all, it does not have the powerful dome vault over the crossing of the nave with the transept, otherwise so typical of the baroque church. There is in Lithuania only one exception to this--the mighty monastery church of Pažaislis, which will be treated later.

346 Along with the new interpretation of space
531 went a different world of forms.[1] The linear Gothic
177 decorative forms disappeared and made way for the "decorative ideas of the Italian late Renaissance and baroque, springing forth plastically and conceived for broad surfaces." (12) In the same way

12. Prof. P. Weber, op. cit., p. 128.

the coloration changed; in place of the red brick color came the white plaster surface which was supposed to simulate the marble of the south. Characteristic of this type of construction is the Jesuit church at the city hall square in Kaunas.

1 [From beginning of 16th century -- Analyst]

346 The high facade with its two towers, between which
531 a richly decorated ornamental gable often rises,
177 became typical for the new interpretation of the
front.

The temporal relationship which existed between the emergence of baroque in Lithuania and the influx of the Jesuits was not accidental, for these buildings express a very specific spiritual attitude and intention, above all in the way these churches are decorated. (13) According to the in-

[113] 13. The Jesuits did not enter Kaunas until 1642. Cf. on this point K. Lerkis, S. J., "Kaip jezuitai isikūrė Kaune?" (How Did the Jesuits Settle in Kaunas?), Židinys, 1934, Vol. XX, pp. 184-192.

tention of the Jesuits, "mankind in the whole world should continually be torn anew from the sphere of everyday interests and should be directed to the divine through splendid churches, resplendent altars, gilded images of saints, statues, confessionals, and through perspective frescoes on the ceilings pointing up toward heaven." (14) How well

[113] 14. René Fülop-Miller, Macht und Geheimnis der Jesuiten (Berlin, 1932), p. 523.

the Catholic church succeeded with this striking architecture in influencing the peasant population of the country, is seen both in Lithuanian folk art and in the fact that the name of Queen /157/ Bona, who transplanted the Italian style to Lithuania, was kept alive through the centuries among the people and gradually took on a legendary ring.

346 Of all the baroque buildings of the city of Kaunas the Dominican church built in 1612 (the so-called student church in the Vilniaus gatvė) is the oldest. In the period of Russification it was

113 also Tarasenka, "Gelgaudų pilis" (The Fortress of Gelgaudai) in Iliustr. Lietuva, 1927, No. 39; for the fortress of Kaunas: Volteris, "Kauno senosios pilies pēdsakai ir palaikai" (Traces and Remains of the Oldest Fortress in Kaunas), ibid., No. 45.

342 The castle in the modern sense, which serves the economically and socially prominent for representation and enjoyment of life, was not built in the open country of Lithuania as of the whole Baltic area before the eighteenth century. (23)

[113] 23. Carl Meissner, Das schöne Kurland (Munich, 1917), p. 101.

Remains of this period, the mighty ruins of the castle of Biržai still tower on high, built by Prince Radvila in the year 1701. Now wars, revolutions, and devastating fires have probably in no country had a more destructive effect than in Lithuania. This is also the reason why most of the present-day manor houses go back to a much more recent time, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Thus we find among the castles of the country not a single one left which would be characteristic of the baroque of the eighteenth cen-
341 tury. The forms of the rococo, too, if we except the interior decoration of a few castles, exerted only a very limited influence in Lithuania. Only separate rococo elements mix here with the late baroque and enliven it. But most of what may have existed once has been destroyed by the storms of the first World War and postwar period.

4. From Classicism to Modernity

341 About 1800 a new style, classicism, was in-
177 troduced into Lithuania with a certain suddenness; this style had gradually spread in Western Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century. It

341 advanced on the one hand from Vilna and owed its
●177 introduction here principally to the activity of the architect and university professor Lauras Gucevičius, who became enthusiastic about the new direction of art during his studies in France. This first Lithuanian architect belongs among the most interesting minds of Lithuanian /162/ art history. Born in 1753, the son of a serf in the district of Ukmergė, he was early destined for the priesthood and attended the school in Panevėžys for five years. Later he succeeded in coming to Vilna. Through his unusual talent he drew to himself the attention of Bishop Massalskis, who took him along on his journeys abroad in 1778. He became acquainted with Königsberg, Danzig, Berlin, and Hamburg (here he had several adventures and was initiated into the mysteries of the Jewish cabala), visited Copenhagen and Stockholm, and later stayed in Paris and Rome. His years of study in Paris were decisive. Having returned to Vilna he obtained the chair of architecture at the university there. The castle of Verkiai as well as the cathedral and the city hall of Vilna show his work. Gucevičius can be considered the founder of classicism in Lithuania, but for the sake of completeness it should be added that even before his activity began, Paul Brzostowski, who also became acquainted with the new trend in art in Western Europe, had classicistic buildings erected on his estate near Vilna. (24)

[113] 24. Paulius Galaune, Vilniaus Meno Mokykla (The Art School of Vilna) 1793-1831 (Kaunas, 1928), pp. 12-45. On Brzotowski of the article in the Lietuviška Enciklopedija.

Courland seems to have been a second starting point for the new artistic trend, above all the city of Mitau. We should not forget that in that period German architects like Leo Klenze came

341 to St. Petersburg, where part of the Baltic nob-
•177 ility was assembled. Thus the impetus which cre-
ated the so-called Alexander style in Mitau and
found its brilliant expression in buildings like
the palace of Medem and the castle of Mesothen
probably came by way of St. Petersburg. With the
close relationship between the Baltic nobility and
the nobility of Lithuania, an influence through
342 this channel, too, is to be assumed. Since the
beginning of the nineteenth century, in any case,
there arose everywhere in Lithuania mansions and
castles in the empire style, whose symmetrical
partitions are characteristic of the feeling for
style of the period. They give a certain char-
acter to the country even today. The center of
these mansions is formed by a front of columns,
which plays an important role in the total aesthe-
tic picture and /163/ organically divides the
long front of the building. This, on the one
hand, creates a passageway; on the other hand,
there is room for a balcony or even a terrace. At
times, as in the castle of Baisogala, a dome built
from the middle of the building dominates the
picture and provides the setting for a representa-
tive entrance hall or a garden room. In general
mansions of middling estates predominate in Lith-
uania. We find in them the classic style permeated
with many Biedermeier elements, so that frequently
a quite comfortable impression is created specifi-
cally where the buildings are executed in wood.

Characteristic of the so-called Neo-Hel-
lenistic style is the splendid castle of Pakrojus,
above which one might actually wish for the blue
sky of Greece. In its classic forms it has from
afar the effect of a Greek temple--it is also
unique in that the same style is repeated in all
the court and farm buildings, so that a rare pic-
torial compactness is attained. The interior
corresponds to the exterior, and the great hall
seems worthy of a Schinkel in its noble, bright

533 instrumentation. Although Čiurlionis uses none of the motifs associated with folk music, much of the soul of his country is contained in his dreamy, mystical, and melancholy music. This also applies to his piano pieces.

Of importance for the further musical development became the spirited Stasys Šimkus, born in 1887, already discussed as a choral conductor and organizer. He wrote a large number of interesting vocal pieces and made himself a name particularly through harmonizations of Lithuanian folk songs. The /192/ choruses directed by him were received with great acclaim everywhere in the country. Šimkus received his first training at the conservatories of Warsaw and St. Petersburg. After the war he studied in Leipzig. In his most recent development the transition to modernity is clearly perceptible, and his later choral creations are characterized by complicated voicing and bold harmonization. But here we have gone ahead of the development, for between these two periods lies an important event which is also decisive for Lithuanian musical life--the first World War.

533 The World War introduced a new period of mus-
177 ical development. Only a few composers were left in the country; most of them spent the war years in the big cities of Russia. It is only natural that they brought the impressions which they had gained there back to the homeland with them after the founding of the state. Thus Lithuanian artistic music came again strongly under the influence of the East in the first years of the young state. But a change was already in preparation, a change which was conditioned by the tighter and tighter sealing-off of Russia from the Western world and which pushed the stimuli coming from the East more and more into the background. Conversely the way was gradually opened for more and more active spiritual ties between Lithuania and the West. Thereby the influence of the West, and especially of Germany,

became stronger and stronger in the realm of music. That applied only to Čiurlionis before the war--the penetration of Western elements into Lithuanian music--now became characteristic of the whole further development. Of importance were above all the influences exerted by the conservatory in Leipzig, where a number of the composers whom we are going to discuss obtained their training.

533 First to be mentioned here is Juozas Gruodis, born in 1884, a musical personality of pronounced originality. He transfers the means of expression of Western music to Lithuanian music and combines the form of the post-romantic sonata with folklore elements that he takes from Lithuanian folk music. He loves bold harmonizations /Unnumbered page with illustration--Lithuanian Landscape by Zmuidzinavičius/ /193/ and dramatic tensions, although a return to greater simplicity is to be noticed in his compositions of the last few years. His best works are a violin sonata, the two-act ballet Juratė and Kastytis, as well as the orchestral piece The Autumn. Besides other large orchestral creations, piano sonatas and other piano pieces as well as adaptations of folk songs should be mentioned. Gruodis is today professor of music at the conservatory, which was under his directorship from 1928-1937.

Next to him are a number of other composers who also obtained their training in Leipzig. Close to impressionism is K. Banaitis, a composer of distinctly Lithuanian character whose lyric compositions exhibit many national elements. His creations are rich in melodies and, in spite of their free form, of strong artistic compactness. Banaitis published a number of piano variations, a cello sonata, as well as songs and adaptations of folk songs. He directs the conservatory today and is also known to wider artistic circles as a music critic.

V. Bacevičius stands apart from those named above; he represents atonal expressionism and, as

*538 and the spirit of romanticism. We find here a close relationship with all the efforts which originated in the newly founded University of Vilna. First of all, we want to give a brief survey of the social structure of the country and the extent which the unchecked, progressive Polonization of the upper class had reached at that time.

C. The Literature of the Nineteenth Century up to the Proclamation of the Prohibition on Printing

1. The University of Vilna and the Period of Romanticism

565 The class structure of Lithuania around the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries can be outlined in a few words. We find two large classes of society: a landowning nobility--as opposed to a peasantry of serfs--between the two there was a very thin layer of free urban burghers, who, however, played a role only in the capital. The small citizenry of the rest of the small cities--even Kaunas had only about 3,000 inhabitants around 1800--offered a racially varied picture and can /206/ in no way be compared as a cultural factor with the compact German or French bourgeoisie of that period.

[177] The Lithuanian nobility--aside from Samogitia, where free Lithuanian landownership had been maintained--was almost completely Polonized, as was the upper class in the cities. Whoever rose from the peasantry thereby stepped almost automatically out of his own nationality and was assimilated to the Polish culture.

565 Through the third Polish partitioning of
177 1795, along with the largest part of Russian Poland the area of the present Lithuanian state, with the exception of a section of Suvalkija, had also fallen to Russia. The common oppression to which Lithuanians and Poles were subjected under the same foreign rule had a more uniting than separating effect, especially since both peoples also belonged to the

565 same Roman Catholic faith. Thus the national opp-
177 osition in the relations between Lithuania and
Poland was not yet felt as such, while the social opposition came unusually strongly to the fore. In his informative book on the early history of Lithuania, Dr. Puzinas portrays the Polish influence in Lithuania at the beginning of the nineteenth century in the following words: "Polish influence is everywhere widespread. The educated class, consisting of scholars, clergymen, higher and lower officials, as well as landowners, is extensively Polonized, although in part of Lithuanian origin. In the cities, on the estates, and in the houses of the clergy the Polish spirit is cultivated and the Polish language dominates. Polish influence already is beginning even to penetrate into the people. But here it cannot take root; the inborn nationality is proving itself stronger. The people in Samogitia, i.e. in the north of the national area put up the strongest resistance; here, turning its back upon the influences of Poland, even the nobility still speaks Lithuanian. At the beginning of the nineteenth century this develops into a lively reaction against the Polish spirit." (10)

[113] 10. Dr. J. Puzinas, Vorgeschichtsforschung und Nationalbewusstsein in Litauen (Kaunas, 1935), p. 11.

/207/ In order to gain historical perspect-
814 ive for the period which follows, we must remember above all the far-reaching intellectual stimulus which proceeded from Bodmer, Herder, and the Grimms, and which everywhere directed attention to the mother tongue, the indigenousness, the antiquity, and the childhood years of peoples. The spiritual life of Lithuania and the University of Vilna came in this period completely under the domination of these romantic ideas, which prepared the soil for

•177 From the attitude of this poet* we clearly recognize that up to the middle of the last century there could be no talk of a political opposition between Lithuanians and Poles. Poland still regarded this country as its original property, its history as its own; and up to the present day something /211/ of the romantic way of looking at things at that period has remained in many Poles.

565 Certainly, as we shall later show, the aboli-
*538 tion of serfdom first signaled the inner break with Polish culture. This had to occur at the moment when the possibility was given to the Lithuanian peasant of rising into that educated class which determines the cultural development of a people. Nevertheless--and this is the further significance of romanticism for Lithuania--there arose in that period, along with poets of the Polish language, those who, although of boyar lineage, spoke to the people in their own language. That the first writers of this trend came from the minor nobility of Samogitia, will be understandable from what was said at the beginning. In contrast to eastern Lithuania, where it was primarily the high nobility which possessed latifundia, in Samogitia the minor Lithuanian nobility was able to maintain itself. Here, as a result, the relations between nobility and peasantry were also closer, which again reflected back on the language. Thus Dionysius Poška (1757-1832), a Lithuanian boyar, was the first to write poems in the Samogitian dia-
* lect, based on historical events in the history of
538 his people. Poška's life itself is highly characteristic of the romantic feeling of that period. He was a zealous collector of antiquities that had to do with the early history of Lithuania. At his order a gigantic oak in his park was felled, sawed up, hollowed out, and each section set up by itself. In these little houses, which he had fitted out with windows and doors, he placed his collections and also his workroom. The oak had at its base a cir-

*[Mickiewicz -- Analyst]

532 all possibilities and takes his inspiration from every quarter. In his art we find traces of the Western Middle Ages, of the Baroque and even of the rustic toys of the present time. ~~Lost in a world~~ far removed from the highways of history, the village sculptor is often in arrear ~~and~~ sometimes successive epochs and fashions reach him simultaneously. Styles which would exclude each other elsewhere meet here. These different contributions arriving simultaneously enrich his choice. But, though a recipient for different techniques and various styles, the sculptor still remains true to himself. He transposes and adapts without betraying his true personality.

The influence of toys is particulary noticeable in groups the units of which are placed side by side like tin soldiers without any common action to link them together. They are displaced or interchanged, although they are incapable of motion. Such groups of articulated dolls are nevertheless touching in their candour. This series comprises a number of animals, St. George's horse is often a fine pied wooden mount. The two oxen fixed to a board and placed before a plough look like gingerbread beasts. Led by an angel they become God's own beasts. The magic objects of the little ones serve for the worship of the adults.

532 177 Among the Western styles which have exercised the strongest and most lasting influence in this field, the baroque elements and classic art should be mentioned in the first place. Following the Counter Reformation the Jesuits triumphed over all the numerous currents of art in Lithuania. The great European currents penetrated everywhere. Five large religious colleges were established between 1565 and 1575, the largest at Vilnius in 1579. There the latest doctrines were taught and tastes refined. A new age of civilisation began, cathedrals and palaces were built and foreign masters called upon to co-operate. Collections were brought together by the nobility and in the churches. Certain miracle performing statues are still venerated. But the influence of this sculpture is limited chiefly to the propagation of a certain number of iconographic types and plastic themes. The carver in wood is not insensible to this statuary, but his work, although inspired by it, lacks its magnificence. The faces are heavier, the gestures are awkward, the proportions become impersonal. The agitated folds and mystic rays have perhaps been assimilated best. But even amid

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

all these luxuriant undulations certain traits seem to be reminiscent of the flamboyant style. There seems to be no doubt that medieval art has exercised the stronger influence. This becomes evident in the very choice of the themes, such as the Passion, the Pietà, the Holy Virgin of the Seven Sorrows, afflicted Christ and in the preference shown for scenes of the childhood of Christ or of the education of St. Mary, in the success of some Saints, such as St. Rochus, the protector against the plague. The cycle of 15th and 16th century subjects is reconstituted. In it we find also the figure of the Devil, with his bat wings, his horns and crooked claws, the demon of Žemaitija hails from the hell of the Middle Ages which classic art did not retain.

532
177

This is a strange survival of a vast ancient repertoire. Nothing interfered with its development. In the churches of the towns hardly any traces of it are at present to be found, but the chapels nailed to the trees or built at the roadside are full of such images. They preserve it as a kind of relic of the first Christians in this country. The witnesses of their baptism have never abandoned the Lithuanians.

We know that the religion of the West was introduced at the exact time when this sculpture flourished. The conversion of certain chieftains, such as Mindaugas in 1251 and Gediminas in 1320, did not affect the beliefs of the people. Only in the 15th century the penetration of Christendom became deeper and broader. At first it had to adapt itself to local traditions, to allow itself to be mixed with local legends, later transforming and renewing the ancient faith. No doubt the wooden Gothic Saints were heartily welcomed in this country of trees. The popular pathos which developed in the last years of the Middle Ages, with its sense for melodrama and its love of anecdotes which go right to the heart of the peasant, has certainly also largely contributed to further the new propagation of these ancient forms.

These have left a profound impression on the sculpture of this country. Even the statues copied from the classic baroque monuments often show a touch of it. Medieval man survived in our makers of images. But this is not only the man of the 15th century, a more archaic and unknown Middle Age also survives in him. The oversized deities and the statues bearing

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

532 clumsy heads are sometimes more akin to the characters of the 12th cen-
177 tury, than to those of the great Gothic altar pieces. They show identical deformations and their movements are the same, angular and rigid. There too the supernatural world of fairytales reigns. Elongated shapes frozen in a trunk, remind one the statue pillar of Chartres. As they do in architectural ornamentation, vertical folds form real streaks. Certain crucifixes show the same violence as the Christ of Perpignan. If a Romanesque sculptor had had to represent a group of the Pietà, he would have done it in the same manner as shown by a group in which a stiff St. Mary holds the body of her child with arms and legs rigid, broken into a rectangle and supported by the massive pedestal formed by the Virgin's knees. The Virgins of Auvergne reappear in certain sitting Virgins. But these insensible idols are but distant relatives of Sainte Foy of Conques, sometimes adorned with necklaces, and they have no historical connection with her. There has been no transmission, but an accidental coincidence of conception.

When carving a Gothic saint from his log, the *dievdirbis* to a certain extent unveils his past. The energetic tool of the peasant rips off the bark formed in the course of years and lays bare the primitive form. Square images issue from opulent statues. The outlines are simplified and schematized. In the suffering features of Christ are expressed the ferocious features of a more ancient god. Movements again become jerky, the bodies stiffen, become shorter or longer and again attain the coarseness and power of bygone days. The rudeness of the means, the necessity of solid construction, the innate taste for geometric forms, coupled with a craving for the strange and the supernatural, bring about the same deformations as we find in the statuary of the 12th century, certain aspects of which also show popular traits. The hermit of the Nemunas river dreams the same dreams as the makers of images and the monks who once decorated the small Romanesque churches. It is this fraternity of forms and of technique, which has made it possible to reconstruct an ancient and unknown world.

Strange contradictions thus characterize the principal aspects of this sculpture. It is somewhat indifferent with regard to the great Western currents which have left fine traces in this country. It bears deep marks of an
532 epoch of which we possess but few monuments. And finally it shows certain striking affinities with an art which had never been known in these regi-

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

oversized flowers and 532
ornaments appear on the clothes at the will of the brush. A riper art however manifests itself in engravings.
Here too the artist is inspired by the wood. As in painting the ele- 532
ments of technique are 177
introduced by the currents of Western Art. To be sure, at first copies were made of the incunabula and the illustrated books collected by the clergy, but new sources of inspiration were soon found. Engravings came from Germany and further distant lands. A number of compositions were inspired by works of French popular art, and may be the trade in playing cards, that were also engraved on wood, had its share in their diffusion. Epinal pictures may also have followed the same channels.

54. The Crucifixion, wood-cut, 18th cent

1/1 [Errata: should be the. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, Cat. 116. --- Analyst]

[415] earthenware remains completely simple in technique and form. In
291 the way of clothing the old has not been preserved. Figure 2, from
177 the 17th century, points to similarities with the Letts. In East Prussia,
German influences then had their effect, and beyond the border Polish
77/ influences made themselves felt. For a long time, until well into the
19th century, remnants of the ancient religion were preserved. This
religion was a knowledge of divine forces in nature, everywhere, from
the sun and the stars to the plants and stones; as well as a knowledge
of the unity between nature and man, of inner and lasting relations
and interinfluences between them. How clearly the divine in nature
was beheld is indicated by conceptions like the one that believes that
actual pain is inflicted upon the deity if the bark is peeled off the trees!
How clearly the unity was experienced is to be seen from the custom of
of keeping trees in the farmyard, with the thriving of which the pros-
perity and health of the inhabitants remained connected; or from folk
songs like the following:

Alas, I poor man went hence,
Cried bitter tears.
Was not the oak tree
Transformed into my father.

Gnome-like earth spirits lived in the roots of the juniper
bushes--not reminiscences of tiny original inhabitants of the type
familiar among the Reindeer Lapps, as has been stated, but clearsighted
visions of elementary beings. Spring, summer, and autumn festivals
united the people for the communal experience of the light, the sun
as the spiritual center of the world and of existence; in sacred forests
793 they came to the gods and sacrificed to them. Yes, the chief of the
77/ Waideloten priesthood, the Kriwe, sacrificed himself after he had
become old; he admonished the people to do penance, climbed upon
the stake, let himself be burned and knew that he would rise up the
gods in the flames. In the same sense, it was considered a particular
sign of divine mercy to be struck and killed by lightning. At one time
the religious knowledge and feeling was guarded by a liberally organized,
but nevertheless hierarchically ordered priesthood with an elected chief
priest, and these were mediated to the people in exoteric forms. Then
they maintained a perpetual fire which, only in the year 1387, was
ceremoniously extinguished for ever in the castle at Vilna by the duke
Jagello(!). Then they made sacrifices to the sun, they prophesied

177.36

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Lithuanians RBS

Soviet Government allocated to Lithuania the city and district of Vilna, and thereafter the Russian attitude never wavered in its opposition to the Polish annexation of the Vilna area. Li. 648 361

Lithuania also never recognized the loss of her capital and gratefully acknowledged the Soviet attitude in a question in which the entire Lithuanian national prestige was engaged. Lithuania therefore refused to join any anti-Soviet coalition. As early as 1923 she reacted favourably to a Russian offer of a guarantee pact, and in 1926 the Soviet-Lithuanian Guarantee Treaty was signed, the first to be concluded by Russia with one of her western neighbours. In October 1939, Russia having, in co-operation with Germany, liquidated the Polish Republic, handed over to Lithuania the long-coveted Vilna district. According to Polish statistics the territory which had been added to the Lithuanian Republic had over 500,000 inhabitants, of whom 11·3 per cent were Lithuanians, 3·3 per cent Jews, 2·5 per cent Byelorussians and 69·2 per cent Poles. In the town of Vilna itself at the time of the Polish census in 1931, only 1 per cent of all inhabitants gave Lithuanian as their mother tongue; and even as late as 1943 Lithuanians accounted for only 21·7 per cent of Vilna's population. By giving Vilna to Lithuania the Soviet Government made a present which cost them nothing. Indeed, Vilna turned out to be a present given by Russia to Russia. Nine months after the incorporation of Vilna into Lithuania the Soviet Union not only recovered that city but annexed the whole of Lithuania through its transformation into a Soviet Republic. A popular Lithuanian saying gives the whole situation in a nut-shell: 'Vilnius is ours, but Lithuania is Russia's'. Li. [162]

Not only the Soviet occupation as such but also the shifting of the capital from Kaunas (Kovno) to Vilna, is detrimental to the interests of the Lithuanian people. While Kaunas, the emergency capital of the inter-war period, was located in the very centre of the Lithuanian 'living-space', Vilna is situated at the ethnical border between Lithuanians and Byelorussians, and is thus strongly exposed to Slav influence. Li. 361 17736

From the Russian point of view Lithuanian national aspirations not only represented a useful pretext for pressing Poland back to the west, but they also helped towards the establishment of the 'unity of the Njeman valley'. The Njeman – called Memel by the Germans and Nemunas by the Lithuanians – has its source in Byelorussia and is an important means of communication for the Russian timber export trade. Up to 1945 Russia had never controlled the entire course of the river. In Czarist times the mouth of the Njeman was in German hands. In the inter-war period its middle course belonged to Poland, while its mouth had a dramatic history. In January 1923 Lithuania occupied the river mouth together with the port and district of Memel (Klaipeda in Lithuanian), a territory with 150,000 inhabitants, most of them German- SU 728 487

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

PREFACE

121 The purpose of this study is to contribute to an understanding of all the phases of economic reconstruction of one of the 178 Baltic republics, Lithuania. The subject assumes greater interest when it is taken into consideration that Lithuania was impoverished during the World War, that even its few small industries had been destroyed during the hostilities, and that Lithuania had no natural resources such as gold, silver, iron, and coal. In the comparatively short period of her independence—twenty-two years—Lithuania improved her agriculture, developed her foreign trade, and made very substantial progress in every branch of her economic life. Before the Soviet Russian occupation in June, 1940, Lithuanian agricultural products reached the farthest corners of the world and were known for their excellent quality. Yet most of the valuable enterprises that enabled Lithuania to participate in the world market did not exist before the World War, when Lithuania was part of Russia.

000 The author gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to Dr. Michael T. Florinsky of Columbia University for his generous criticism during the preparation of this volume; to Jonas Budrys, Consul General of Lithuania at New York, for his encouragement and for the use of his library; and to Joseph A. Boley for his courteous assistance in shaping the final form of the manuscript.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

178 It is a Known fact that, refusing to accept the terms of the Curzon line, the Poles occupied more than one third of Lithuania's territory. But even after this blow Lithuania not only survived as an economic entity, but in twenty-two years of independence made much greater progress economically and culturally than during her 123 years as part of Russia, proving that even a small nation enjoying an independent status can make a tremendously greater advance in her economic and cultural life than the same nation when she is forced to accept "protection."

000 Even now, while World War II is being waged, voices are heard blaming the small nations which, it is said, aggressors used as tools, playing them against each other only to destroy them later, one by one. While it is true that the small countries were rendered helpless when the mightier ones which had stood on the side of justice were overpowered by the aggressors, nevertheless these small ones cannot be blamed. The fault lies with those big powers which, by disarming themselves, physically and morally encouraged the belligerents.

It is a known fact that the small countries were the most loyal supporters of the League of Nations, though they did not always gain justice, international law not having been enforced as well as it might have been. Nevertheless, the only hope of small nations is the victory of democracy and the rebirth of the League of Nations which will have authority and will not hesitate to exert it, by force if necessary.

There was nothing fundamentally wrong with the League of Nations prior to this second World War, barring the fact that it had no physical power with which to enforce its decisions and consequently hesitated to act on the side of justice in violations of international law. If the League of Nations had not hesitated to act when Vilnius was seized by Poland

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

According to the agricultural census of 1930, the number of farms in Lithuania and their areas are as stated in Table 7. 241 423

TABLE 7

CENSUS OF FARMS

FARM SIZE (*Acres*)	NUMBER OF FARMS	COMBINED AREA (*Acres*)
2.5– 12.5	53,463	380,722
12.5– 25.0	78,237	1,440,338
25.0– 37.5	59,572	1,788,349
37.5– 50.0	33,236	1,408,275
50.0– 75.0	34,197	2,042,511
75.0–125.0	20,597	1,885,111
125.0–250.0 and over	8,078	1,725,742
TOTAL	287,380	10,671,048

Through the land reform, over 45,000 new farms have been established and over 200,000 persons (including new settlers and their families) have been provided with regular occupation and permanent homes. This undoubtedly has brought beneficial results to the social and economic life of the country.[15] Moreover, the land reform has undoubtedly been a means of substantially raising the country's productivity, to the benefit of both the state and the individual farmer. 241 178

When Soviet Russia occupied Lithuania on June 15, 1940, a still more radical "land reform" was proclaimed by the Soviet-appointed puppet government. All land was proclaimed state property. Consequently, the farmer-owners suddenly became only managers of government property and, therefore, could not sell, exchange, or give away their 423 656 471

[15] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 34; Elbergas, *op. cit.*, pp. 64–68.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Chapter VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

178 From the facts and figures cited in the preceding pages we see that in the short period of twenty-two years of independence since the World War little Lithuania has lacked neither initiative nor industry. Surveying the devastation left behind by the three neighboring armies which had overrun the country at various periods of the war, Lithuania gathered her tiny forces and resolutely set about the gigantic task of reconstruction. Perhaps it was this grim determination and buoyant enthusiasm in their regained freedom that gave this new republic the necessary momentum. Perhaps it was the inspiration of the glorious days of Vytautas when Lithuania was a world power combined with the well-known native trait of dogged perseverance that enabled this ancient Baltic people to turn from problem to problem with boundless vigor.

That an objective résumé of her efforts and accomplishments does not find the country wanting in creditable results may be seen by even a cursory glance at almost any one of the tables in this book. To compare the Lithuania of 1939 with the Lithuania of the early post-war years is to acknowledge that great strides were made in her agriculture through the well-planned land reform, the development of coöperatives, and the improvement of livestock husbandry

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

and dairying. Furthermore, her war-torn industry has been reconstructed to suit her own particular needs. 178

Her foreign trade has been showing almost continuous expansion. Her increased production, as well as consuming power, bespeak an attendant higher standard of living. All these facts certainly justify Lithuania's participation in the family of nations and her existence as a separate independent economic entity.

The future course of Lithuania's economic development cannot be predicted because of the series of political crises of 1939, 1940, and 1941. On March 22, 1939, Lithuania was forced to agree to the cession of Klaipeda to Germany. Though Lithuania was given a so-called "free zone," the effect was as of being forced to gasp for air with someone else's lungs. Through this cession Lithuania not only lost 703,741 acres of territory (5.1 percent of her total area) but was deprived of 13 percent of her industry, with 26 percent of her wage earners. The total industrial production of Klaipeda territory in 1937 amounted to 116 million litas, or 30.7 percent of Lithuania's total production. 648

Before Lithuania had time to adjust her national economy to the new conditions, the war broke out between Germany on the one side and Poland and the Allies on the other. This upset the normal economic life even more. The immediate result of the war was the partition of Poland between Germany and, as a silent partner, Soviet Russia. This was soon followed by the signing of mutual assistance pacts between Soviet Russia on the one side and Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania on the other. Baltic states actually had no other choice than to sign on the dotted line.

Lithuania signed her pact on October 10, 1939, thereby regaining Vilnius, with 2,569 square miles of territory and

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538 Anykščiai, although the latter was written in the High Lithuanian dialect. In addition there were translations from foreign literatures, e.g. parts of Milton's Paradise Lost and other works.

/228/ D. The Period of the Prohibition on Printing (1865-1904)

1. The Epoch of Aušra

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At the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century occurred two political events which had a basic effect on the further social, national, and thereby also literary development of Lithuania. In the year 1861 the end of serfdom in the government of Kowno was decreed by Alexander II. The peasants were freed of all villeinage and services and now sat as free men on free soil and land. The liberation of the peasants effected a far-reaching social differentiation: until now social rise from the class of serfs was possible only in individual cases, specifically where the landlord accidentally became aware of a special talent and was inclined to foster it. This rise itself, however, was limited at best to an education for the priesthood. The entrance into a higher class, which, as we have shown before, was almost completely under the influence of Polish culture and language, led in most cases to the result that the few who rose in this way from the peasantry became strangers to their own people and language and felt themselves as belonging to the class of Polish "lords." Only at the moment when the whole peasantry became free, when possibilities for advancement were created not only for individuals but for all the people, could a Lithuanian educated class be established. Again, only this class could become the bearer of the new Lithuanian idea as well as all the intellectual and artistic efforts connected with it which from now on could be developed on a broader base. Besides the former Polish educated class a Lithuanian class made its appearance.

The Polish uprising, which took place in the

565 year 1863 and also flared up at individual spots
178 in Lithuania, led at first to a certain favoring of the Lithuanians above the Poles /229/ by the Russian government. Thus the Lithuanians were granted a gymnasium in Marijampolē and a teacher's seminary in Veveriai. Also, with the ending of serfdom, which took place in 1863 under the imprint of the revolution, the peasants were spared the ransom. A series of favorable circumstances, the natural condition of the soil, the application of the Code of Napoleon, the removal of the mixed field system and the vicinity of East Prussia led to the further result that in the following decades the material, and thereby also the spiritual, development of the peasantry in Suvalkija progressed faster than in the remaining sections of Lithuania. A prosperous peasantry arose here, from whose sons the nucleus of the new Lithuanian educated class was developed. The Russian government, striving to suppress the Polish influence which had shown itself in the revolution of 1863, granted the Lithuanian school graduates scholarships to attend the universities of St. Petersburg and Moscow, in order to Russify them there, but in any case to remove them from Polish influence. But the development could no longer be held back, the Russification miscarried, and from among the graduates of this gymnasium went forth the first leaders who fought for the right of the people to
195 their own cultural development. The predominant position which the area of Suvalkija assumed in this intellectual development--for at first it was only a development--is also illuminated by the fact that the Suvalkijan dialect was made the basis of the literary language which was now gradually formed. What Marijampolē was for the south, Mitau later became for the north, since here too, as a result of the special privileges of the Baltic Germans, the Lithuanian element found a place for independent development.

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Among the young Lithuanian intelligentsia there arose very quickly a differentiation between those who obtained a religious education and those who turned to the secular sciences. Both groups, however, found themselves together in the cultural battle which was now breaking out against the Russification plans of the Czarist government. Then /230/ the latter took a step which had never happened before in the history of peoples by proclaiming, on August 6, 1865, that six governments of western Russia were forbidden to print writings in Latin letters. If this decree, which was not repealed until April 24, 1904, was aimed above all at the Polish literature, it also had at first the effect of a death blow on the further development of the young Lithuanian literature. It soon became evident that it was impossible to use the Russian alphabet for the Lithuanian language, and thus this prohibition was equivalent to a prohibition of all Lithuanian literature, including the religious, which tended to arouse special bitterness in this Roman-Catholic country. In order completely to paralyze the development of a Lithuanian educated class and therewith the awakening of an independent national consciousness, there followed a second prohibition according to which Lithuanians in their home provinces could not obtain any posts in the Russian government service. Thus the lay intelligentsia which was now arising, insofar as it turned to government service, was removed into the interior of Russia. A knowledge of these circumstances is a basic condition for the understanding of the further development of Lithuanian literature, for it is now clear why the further intellectual and literary development was carried forward from now on by forces that started their activities outside the political borders of the country. In addition it explains why, in this struggle for existence, whose center of gravity lay from now on on the

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000 How tired he looked! His cheekbones protruding, his face yellow, nothing but rags on his emaciated body. And yet—his head was high and he looked straight ahead! He marched as a soldier past the reviewing stand. I was proud of him: he meant what he used to say in those good old days: "Don't be like reeds swaying in the wind. Be firm, be individual personalities!"

"Detained but a month ago, there he was marching past my window to Siberia. . . . He reeled. . . . His comrades quickly grasped him—and the professor marched again, with heavier steps. . . . The column disappeared in the growing dusk. . . .

"I waited by the window. The cursing and stray shots of soldiers died down. . . . I descended to the street and walked toward the railway depot—maybe I could see him once again—just to impart my farewell through eyes.

"But cruel Mongol faces blocked the approaches. I stopped—looked around. An old woman peered anxiously at the long train seen in the distance. A young woman with unshed tears stood nearby. . .

"Several MVD soldiers came forth and shouted to run for our lives. As they spoke, bullets ricocheted from the walls overhead. . . We ran. . . .

"I found myself climbing the stairs to the shrine of the Blessed Virgin of Aukros Vartai. I knelt and begged Our Lady to help us in our present misfortune. . . .

"Suddenly, as the train whistled, I heard singing from a distance. Our exiles were singing that great hymn of Lithuania: *"Dievas mūsų gelbėtojas ir stiprybė. . . ."* (God, our shelter and strength!)"

Economic Oppression

Latvia and Estonia had been subdued prior to 1948 and little resistance had been offered to the forcible collectivization. Lithuania suffered heavy blows throughout 1948, mostly due to the desperate resistance against collectivization and terror. A proud and stubborn people steeped in traditional sense of human dignity, self-respect, passion for their native soil, for Christianity, and despising the exhibitionist masters of the country—cannot be broken! THE LITHUANIANS WILL EITHER REGAIN THEIR FREEDOM—OR DIE TO THE LAST MAN! Living in individual homesteads or in kolkhozes, they will—unlike the Russians—sporadically rebel whenever the limit of their patience will be reached and their sense of dignity outraged. Russian sadism and cruelty will not affect the people's determination.

[181]

423 In 1948, the life of independent farmers was not
656 easy. The land was nationalized. The norm of land parcels left to private "management" by former owners varied in the districts. Arable land was evaluated according to the scale of "third-class land," and a production equivalent of up to 30 hectares was left to private "exploitation." Where the land is of better grade, plots are smaller. Wherever the communists tagged a "people's enemy" classification on the owner, only 5 ha. of land were left.

Norms of compulsory levies "in nature" also vary. The quota is assessed per hectare, and the norm for persons with larger plots is greater per hectare than that levied on managers of smaller plots. A cow-owning urban dweller who does not own a single square foot of soil, must deliver 12 kilograms of butter annually to the state. Payment for "tax in nature" de-

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

neutrality toward Poland in the hour of distress during the 648
German-Polish war.

On March 22, 1939, Germany, under the threat of invasion, forced Lithuania to surrender Klaipeda. After Poland collapsed in September, 1939, Soviet Russia seized Vilnius and, according to the Mutual Assistance Pact of October 10, 1939,[17] returned it to Lithuania together with 2,569 square miles of territory. On June 15, 1940, Soviet Russia, subse- 726
quent to its ultimatum, invaded and occupied Lithuania. Almost exactly a year later, on June 23, 1941, the Lithuanians seized an opportunity to start a violent uprising against the Russians, but already the Germans were pouring in from the south and west. They overran Lithuania, dispersed the newly organized Lithuanian government, and started a new period of oppression, Nazi style.

THE POPULATION PATTERN

The Lithuanians were famous from ancient times for 181
their physical health, strength, and vitality. Even today there is still a substantial percentage of elderly persons who have never taken medicine and have never been seriously ill. In general, Lithuanians are farm-loving people, indus-
trious and peaceful. Being great individualists, the Lithu- 369
anians prefer to live on farms because it keeps them close to nature and at the same time affords every man a greater chance of being "his own boss." The cities of Lithuania are therefore inhabited by minorities, mostly Jews. Even in present-day Lithuania, the towns do not show the real character of the nation, as the influx from the farms to the cities has never been strong enough to change the political, economic, and social conditions that have existed for several centuries.

[17] See Appendix E for the text.

197 most closely related Slavic languages as is played by Gothic in a comparative presentation of the Germanic languages. Schleicher explains the antiquity of Lithuanian by the seclusion of the Lithuanian country folk from historical movements, and draws a parallel with Icelandic. (12) One of the

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12. Schleicher, Vergleichende Sprachgeschichte (1848) (cf. here the chapter on the "Zetazismus der litauischen Sprache"); and Die Sprachen Europas (1850).

best modern experts on the Lithuanian language, Prof. Bezzenberger, expresses himself similarly: "If one asks, however, whence it comes that Lithuanian has preserved until today such splendid features of antiquity. . .while all other Indo-European languages have in contrast long gone about in an unusually strong conservative trait in the Lithuanians." (13) Although for the

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13. Bezzenberger's reply to L. Brenner's essay, "Litauer und Preussen," Königsberger Hartungsche Zeitung, February 10, 1918. Cf. on this point in the same newspaper, on October 24, 1918, the reply of Dr. Herbert Krüger, "Griechen und Litauer": "Whether the division of the Indo-European languages into centum and satem languages, based on phonetic differences, also forms a good standard for the degree of relationship of the peoples concerned will be contested from many sides. It must be left to the work of specialists to decide whether only the general Indo-European relationship exists between the Lithuanians and the Greeks, or a somewhat closer relationship, which Herr Geheimrat Bezzenberger disputes. Before the assumed division there must have existed at one time a unified original people, and if, as even Herr Geheimrat Bezzenberger does, we no longer

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words as are connected with the sphere of smallness or emotion (tenderness, humor, contempt). The emotional values of the individual diminutive forms, aside from those that have become formalized, are usually quite varied and show all degrees from tenderest love to sharpest contempt. The former we see for example in the intimate forms for mother: mamelē, mamytē, mamutē, mamaitē, mamuželē, motulē, etc. -- which can be reproduced in English only with "dear, good, beloved, tender, sweet little mother," i.e. with a whole string of adjectives. Other diminutive forms serve for the expression of the gruesome, peculiar, or bizarre, as for example the suffixes that we find with the word "devil", velnias--velniukas, velnykštis, velniukštis. Thus, too, the meaning of varliukštis (varlē "frog") could only be reproduced by "poor little frog." Perhaps this abundance of diminutive forms with many meanings is connected with the decline of the descriptive adjective in Lithuanian, so readily employed by the German language. In the intimate forms this connection, which as far as I know has not yet been pointed out, definitely exists, for it is precisely in this sphere that we meet the greatest abundance of distinguishing suffixes. The preference [181] of the Lithuanians for diminutives permits also the inference of a certain basic mental attitude, as C. Reisig expresses it: "If a language is rich in diminutive endings, a certain national character can be recognized in this fact: there is in this something friendly and jovial." (16)

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16. C. C. Reisig, Vorlesungen über lateinische Sprachwissenschaft (Berlin, 1881), Vol. I, p. 219. The remark quoted here agrees with the findings of W. Schmidt, who, proceeding from completely different viewpoints, in his work Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkreise der Erde ascribes on p. 464 the pushing ahead of the genitive to a naive, natural, spontaneous, warm way of thinking, while in the cooler, constructive, "logical" way of thinking the

113 genitive follows, precisely because it ex-
192 presses the differentia specifica, that
• 181 which is later and comes after.

194 If from the form of the language we turn briefly to the character of the sounds, we find, as a very ancient phenomenon, a peculiar, swaying rhythm. As early as the middle of the last century this was for Leopold Arends, the inventor of stenography, /22/ his reason for working with the problem of speech modulation, i.e. with the so-called singing character of speech. It belongs to the features of the Lithuanian language that are incomprehensible for the foreigner who cannot learn it. In order, therefore, to give at least some idea of its nature, I quote from Vydūnas: "The Lithuanian language has a completely individual and for the present a unique character in regard to rhythm. It moves under tension from two parallel rhythms that work against each other simultaneously. The basic rhythm is that of the alternation of long and short sounds or syllables. In addition there is the alternation between higher and lower tones. And often the high tone falls on the short vowel in opposition to the force of the long, full sound; e.g. in individual words: sūnùs "son," ùpė "river." The tone wanders, however, in the various cases of most inflected words from one syllable to another . . .But the rhythm of tone has only a secondary significance. . .The language rather moves forward swaying like a song. For that reason, too, the richness of forms has been preserved until now. A very strong accent, particularly if it had become fixed in any special place, would probably have resulted in the wearing off of endings." (17)

[113] 17. W. St. Vydūnas, Litauen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart (Tilsit, 1916), pp. 87-88.

Present-day linguistics points out that in

286 the woman. And perhaps it is due precisely to the
462 artistic intuition and the more sensitive sense of color of the woman that her creations unfold a quite special richness in color and ornamentation in the fields of the small handicrafts. /Unnumbered page with illustration--Old Peasant Woodcut/

/145/ Chapter Four
The Spiritual Culture of the City

113 /Unnumbered note on Chapter Four/ A comprehensive presentation of the development of Lithuanian architecture does not so far exist. A brief sketch of the architecture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is given by K. Jasenas in Vol. III, No. 5 of his Visuotinė meno istorija (General History of Art), where we also find practically the only information on Lithuanian castle structures. An appreciation of the architect Vl. Dubeneckis, the builder of the Vytautas Museum, the art school, the state theater, and other public buildings, is given by P. Galaunė in Vol. I of the almanac Prošvaistė (1937). In addition, the valuable monograph by the same author, Vilniaus meno mokykla, 1793-1831 (The Art School of Vilna) (Kaunas, 1928), should be mentioned. Also, the presentation of Lithuanian painting, sculpture, and music is so far limited to sketches and separate articles. (Cf. for example Galaunė, l'Art Lithuanien (1934); Jasenas, History of Art, III, 8, with carefully selected illustrations; etc.)

A. The Architecture
181 1. Historical Preliminaries

The investigation of the cultural elements of Lithuanian national life led us to the conclusion

181 that we have here a rounded-off and self-contained culture. Such a culture never originates through a random accumulation of human beings, but always through a nation. In our case this culture was a typical peasant culture.

369 A combination of the most varied historical
565 circumstances, which cannot be gone into in this
162 context, led to the result that the Lithuanian
563 settling in villages and individual farms has found his way to the city only in most recent times and is beginning to imprint his own stamp on it.

The cultural upper class which determined the face of the Lithuanian city in the past centuries has changed in the course of time. Little is known concerning the city's earliest inhabitants.(1)

[113] 1. A. Bezzenberger, "Der Werdegang des litauischen Volkes," Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 1915, Vol. XIII, No. 1, p. 26. "Cities existed only sparsely and, like Vilna, founded in 1321, has probably more foreign than Lithuanian inhabitants."

In the fourteenth century Grand Duke Gediminas summoned German artisans and tradesmen into the country. (2) There followed the Hanse, which had

[113] 2. On the history of the Hanse in Lithuania cf. Walther Stein, "Vom deutschen Kontor in Kowno," Hansische Geschichtsblätter, 1916, Vol. XXII, Nos. 1 and 2, as well as the references given there.

an office in Kaunas. About the same time the Jews made their entrance and completely changed the city picture. Confined to the border provinces by Russian legislation in later centuries they also /146/ gave their stamp to the Lithuanian provincial cities before the first World War. Accord-

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1919 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

MONOGRAPH OF LITHUANIA

INTRODUCTION

175 101 The Lithuania of to-day is situated between East Prussia, Poland and Latvia. In the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Lithuania was an independent State which, having conquered vast stretches of White Russia and Ukraine, extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea; her civilisation was that of Western Europe. At the close of the fourteenth century, Lithuania established with Poland a personal union, which was subsequently converted into a real union. For centuries, the conditions governing her existence were the same as for Poland. With the partition of 1795, practically the whole of ethnographical Lithuania was annexed by Russia, which ruled the territory until 1915.

A vast region inhabited by a population of Lithuanian origin and extending westwards almost as far as Marienburg had been conquered by the Germans in the tenth and twelfth centuries.

175 181 As long as Lithuania remained under the dominion of Russia, her economic and cultural level was conditioned by

p 5 [p. 4 is blank]

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

this circumstance and remained inferior to that of the more progressive countries of Western Europe. Most of her peasant farmers, who were not released from serfdom until 1862-1865, were still living under the same conditions as in the Middle Ages. They owned narrow strips of land, practised the old three-year crop rotation, had common grazing land in a very neglected condition, bred only native stock and relied almost exclusively on cereal crops. Farming methods were thus very primitive and the farmer's income very small, while the houses were almost entirely of wood with thatched or wooden roofs.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, intellectuals, who were still few in number, began to take an interest in rural life : they cut up part of the communal land to form separate farms, organised more paying forms of activity, carried on active propaganda for the improvement of rural dwellings and encouraged the introduction of more rational methods of work. Their efforts met invariably with systematic opposition from the Russian Government.

During the world war, Lithuania was for many months the scene of hostilities. From 1915 to the end of 1918, the Germans occupied the country, which was the victim of requisitions of all kinds and lost much of its wealth.

The Proclamation of Lithuanian independence was followed by a strong movement of national renaissance and rural reconstruction. The Government's task was a difficult one. Tremendous efforts were made to build up a country which was just emerging from war; farming methods were improved and land reform was instituted. Communal land was redistributed, undeveloped estates were broken up, new branches of agriculture were developed — dairying, pig-breeding, poultry-farming; numerous schools of agriculture were founded, such roads as existed were rebuilt, and new means of communication were opened. In a word, the farmer's life was to be reorganised on modern lines. True, not all these ideals have proved capable of fulfilment in so short a time; but great strides have been made, and present day agriculture in Lithuania differs profoundly from the pre-war conditions obtaining in that country.

* * *

Lithuania now consists in the main of small and medium-sized rural properties. A farm of 5 or 6 hectares provides an adequate livelihood for an average working farmer's family. An estate of 80 or 100 hectares is also regarded as a working peasant's farm, as it is generally run by the owner in person. Farms ranging from 5 to 100 hectares account for over 90% of the agricultural land. Miniature farms up to 2 hectares represent only 0.44% of the area under cultivation, which is all

1: Karutz--26 E-4 (no date) 1925 E1 Europe
Lithuanians RB5
Letts RB4

Le
113 der Letten /Wooden buildings and tools of the Letts/ (St. Petersburg, 1907) Part I and (1918) Part II.

/29: Illustrations./

/30/ The Lithuanians

I.

ooo 1. Bathroom, roof construction. 2. Peat drying under sheets of bark. 3. Dwelling on a foundation of field boulders. 4. Dwelling with a porch-like construction before the door. 5. Hand-operated mill. 6.-8. Musical instruments. 9. A granary transformed into a dwelling. 10. Zoche (hand plow with forked share). 11. Beehive made out of a hollow tree stem. 12, 17, 21. Types of wayside crosses. 13. Granary with roof arcade and large roof ridge. 14. Stringed zither made of an osier switch. 15. Shephard's trumpet made of wood, bark, and reed. 16. Holder for a burning pinewood splinter. 18. Wayside cross with shrines. 19. Farmyard surrounded by a wall, with wayside cross. 20. Cross with shrines in a graveyard.[1]

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181 The forests, with their many lakes and swamps, between the Baltic and the middle Dvina, from the upper Neman to Daugavpils, are accessible only with great difficulty and removed from the large communication routes. As a result they have preserved, in greater purity than is the case anywhere else, the culture and the language of a very ancient member of the European race. They are as little understood by the Germans as by the Slavs; they are as different from the Finns and their magically conditioned powers of the will as they are from the Germanic peoples and their restless thirst for conquest of the
Li physical world. On the other hand, in their religious organization they
144 are clearly oriented towards the western part of our continent. In all these characteristics the Lithuanians manifest themselves as the remnant of a pre-Germanic racial group that grew up in Europe. At one time it migrated from the west to its present-day territory, but it has
Li been settled there for thousands of years already. They may be the
142 "aestuarii" that Tacitus mentions as living east of the Germans. We encounter narrow, long faces, blue eyes, blond hair, and medium-
ooo sized, slender figures. They are industrious, peace-loving, and

1 [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 316, p. 26a--Amlyst]

● 181 They are industrious, peace-loving, and
unassuming people, described by ancient chroniclers as "rough but pious."
Since time immemorial and ever spiritually attuned to nature, they
have built their entire culture upon a natural basis. Like the Letts, who
are related to them, they live to a great extent in a "wood age" which
is very ancient but for that reason no less many-sided, skillful, and
342 sensible. The houses are made of wood; their foundation beams rest on
the bare soil or on field boulders. The roof at one time probably con-
sisted of spruce bark, as the covering sheets for the peat still do today;
but now the roof is made of straw which is held on to the ridge by ridge rid
In front of the door there is usually placed a narrow porch with a gabled
roof and with little benches to the right and to the left. Formerly the
houses had only one room, smoking-room style, but now they usually
have a tripartite division with entrance hall in the middle, and living
room and bedroom to the right and the left of it. The floor consists of
352 a loam coating or of boarding. The furniture consists of wall benches,
loose benches, well-carved solid chairs, a table, wall boards, and pine-
353 wood splinter holders; on the walls are hung pictures of saints, fre-
quently portraits of the old Lithuanian rulers, and, symptomatic for the
343 great amount of emigration, photographs from America. Aside from
the living quarters, granaries (klete), barns, stables, wells, and bath
515 house belong to the Lithuanian farmstead. In the bath house they bathe
in steam which rises from heated stones on which the water is poured.
This, incidentally, is also the way the Indians do it. The bather lies
on a bench and cools and massages himself at the same time by means
412 of a cluster of birch twigs which he dips in fresh water. The hand-
operated mill is a very ancient instrument. It has one stationary and
[231] one turning stone in a wooden box. Likewise ancient is the beehive
made of a hollow tree stem--bee keeping is the most original native
and the most highly developed form of the collecting economy, which is
here, as among the Letts, universally practiced and skillfully cultivated--;
ancient, too, is the zoche, the plow with the forked share, which, as
late as the 16th century, was made entirely of wood, and which even
today is completely wooden except for the iron shoe; just like the har-
rows with branches tied to them, and the snowshoes made of hollowed-
534 out oak boards tied under the foot. Ancient, also, are the musical in-
struments: the nine-stringed kanklys, the truba made of a birch branch
cut lengthwise, hollowed out, and tied together again; the short reed
pipe, the trapezoid shaped cymbal, the stringed zither made of an osier
switch, played with a bow fashioned in the same way; with a resonator

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union
Letts RB4
Lithuanians RB5

Le 665

cultural life. The lack of communist intellectuals made itself felt not only in the narrow sphere of university life from which professors imbued with 'bourgeois anti-scientific ideas' could not be ousted quickly enough, but it also put a brake on 're-education' in the Soviet sense of the masses of the Latvian people.[38]

LITHUANIA: BOTH ALLY AND VICTIM

Li. 648 [131]

In terms of geography the Soviet Baltic Republics are not fully identical with the 'bourgeois' Baltic States. Both Estonia and Latvia have each lost to the R.S.F.S.R. border territories of about 800 square miles. Soviet Lithuania, however, has added to her pre-September 1939 territory 3,200 square miles in the east and more than 1,000 square miles in the south.

This difference in treatment seems clearly to indicate that the U.S.S.R. considered Lithuania useful from the point of view of Soviet foreign policy, whereas Estonia and Latvia were from the Soviet Russian standpoint no more than internal problems of the Soviet Union.

Furthermore, her geographical position made Lithuania much more valuable to Russia than Estonia and Latvia. Lithuania had common frontiers with two big European nations, Poland and Germany. Russia had thus an obvious interest in using Lithuania against both of them as a pawn in the diplomatic and military game.

This is why relations between Russia and Lithuania during the inter-war period were on a different footing from Russian-Latvian or Russian-Estonian relations. In Soviet eyes Lithuania was an oppressed nation deserving sympathy ever since Poland had wrested from her the city of Vilnius (Vilna in Russian, Wilno in Polish) by a *coup de force* in November 1920. This feeling was but little affected by the fact that the country was ruled most of the time by right-wing régimes which oppressed the local communists.

A Comintern appeal to the world proletariat, issued in 1928 in defence of Lithuanian independence, was perhaps the most striking evidence of the special position which Lithuania occupied among the Baltic States with regard to her relations with Russia. The appeal in question, adopted by the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern, referred to the hostile intentions which the Polish Marshal Pilsudsky never ceased to harbour against the small Lithuanian State and called upon the workers of Poland, Britain, France and Germany to give unrestricted support to the Lithuanian workers and peasants.

Li. 648 361

The Soviet Government always considered that Vilna should belong to Lithuania, it being her historical capital, even though the Lithuanians formed only a tiny percentage of its population. When Russia and Lithuania concluded the peace treaty of September 28th, 1920, the

[Cf. cat. 116, p. 116, R1 Sov. Union, 21: Kolarz -- Analyst]

10:Baltrusaitis R-4,5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Mariampolé and of Kalvarija. At Klaipéda their decoration consists 531
of several finely embroidered horizontal strips. They are not only or- 286
naments, but also symbols of virtue. In some villages it is considered im- [183]
proper to be seen without an apron. Once, at a market, a woman was asked to sell her apron and she considered herself outraged.

The other parts of the dress of a peasant woman are: a linen shirt with 291
wide plaited sleeves, trimmed with small embroidered designs, a very ample woollen skirt, sometimes dark and plain and sometimes striped or of a Scottish pattern, gathered at the waist and a sleeveless vest, the "*kiklikas*", a kind of corslet often made of valuable brocade, which made its first appearance in the early 19th century. According to Mr. Galauné, the first specimens were perhaps imported by the soldiers of Napoleon's "Grande Armée", on their retreat from Russia. In the neighbourhood of Klaipéda, the *kiklikai* are of dark velvet. Necklets of coral and especi- 301
ally of amber are worn on the neck. Their beads, either raw or cut in facets with a knife, have not only the value of gems, but are endowed with magic qualities, they belong to times gone by and to legend. These fossil drops of resin, which have been described by Tacitus and were sold by Ligurian traders who imported them into the countries of the Mediterranean and Black Sea area, where they were deemed to be more precious than gold and who therefore jealously kept the secret of their origin, often contained imprisoned insects and other mementoes of olden times.

Young girls wear on their heads a band of tissue held at the back by a 291
flow of colored ribbons, married women wear instead "*nuometas*", a sort of white veil several meters long, which is of Eastern origin, but was also adopted in the West, and Tertullian recommended its use. At first this fashion found but few followers and was later abandoned, but it became the rule for married women from 1300 until 1500. During that time a large number of themes of sculptural models were imported into Lithuania, the survivals of which have been described above. It is possible that this fashion followed the same route. And do not certain weavers, with their dour yet finely cut profiles encircled in white, resemble some statues of the Middle Ages? The veil with its folds and its ritual knots is sacred, it bestows upon such as have taken it a certain measure of authority and of office. With their head-dress resembling that of the Saints of the Church, these peasant women would seem to belong to a religious order.

000pletely foreign.

162 Lithuanian is spoken today by about three
191 million people, half of whom understand only their native language. Since a detailed description of the Lithuanian language area would extend considerably beyond the limits of this presentation, only the following may be said briefly on the subject: Lithuanian is the native language of the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the Lithuanian state. Beyond this /16/ a large section of the Lithuanian language area is found today under Polish rule (the Vilna area). Furthermore, the area of the Lithuanian language projects on the one hand into Latvia and on the other into East
[167] Prussia. Finally, there are in the United States large, close-knit Lithuanian communities which may include a total of about half a million people. In Chicago alone 70,000 Lithuanians have been counted. These people are emigrants and their descendants. Large Lithuanian colonies have also arisen in South America, especially in recent times.

197 In spite of its relatively small size we
184 find within the enclosure of the Lithuanian language area a large number of dialectal differences. The principal dialects are High Lithuanian and Low Lithuanian (Samogitian), of which the latter is related to the former in about the same way as Low German is to High German. In addition to its vocabulary, Samogitian is distinguished from High Lithuanian by its accentuation, its drawled pronunciation, and its loss of fully pronounced endings. It is divided in turn into the dialects of Raseiniai and Telšiai, which are distinguished from each other principally by transposition of the vowels of the diphthongs. In the writings of the poetess Žemaitė, Low Lithuanian stands out sharply in syntax and vocabulary.

The High Lithuanian dialect group is divided into an eastern and a western subgroup. Western High Lithuanian in turn consists of two dialects, whose border is formed approximately by

197 184 the Memel. In the eastern group of High Lithuanian a series of dialects can also be distinguished. Dzūkijan, or Southeast Lithuanian, as well as North Lithuanian spoken in the river area of the Mūsā (north of Panevėžys) stand out as particular dialects. (8)

8. A. Senn, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

The large number of dialectal differences implies for the vocabulary and form of the language an enrichment not to be underestimated. This surprising richness in a relatively small territory /Unnumbered page with illustration--Lithuanian Landscape/ /17/ can probably be attributed primarily to the seclusion of the individual districts. This resulted from a backwardness of many centuries and a conservative adherence to inherited land. The differences of the dialects, however, are not so strong that they could destroy the unity of the language. The present literary language is based on the dialect of the South Lithuanian province of Užnemunė (earlier the gouvernement Suvalkija), which is spoken particularly on the south bank of the Memel, in other words, the southern dialect of western High Lithuanian. We thus find in standard Lithuanian the long vowels of the final syllables preserved. (9)

[113]

9. All grammatical presentations of the present Lithuanian standard language are based primarily on the work of Prof. Jablonski, who, under the name Rygiškių Jonas, is the author of: Lietuvių kalbos vadovelis (Kaunas, 1925); and Lietuvių kalbos gramatika, 2nd ed. (Kaunas-Vilna, 1922).

197 192 B. Antiquity and Formal Richness of the Lithuanian Language

In the year 1625 the Königsberg clergyman Johannes Rhesa wrote in the preface to his Lith-

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

292 The national costume, though little worn on ordinary occasions, is much in evidence on holidays and on festive occasions, particularly among the women.

342 241 Since the redistribution of the communal lands, the farms have all been scattered over the vast plain, at some distance from one another. Most of the buildings are of wood, as timber costs far less than masonry; the roofs are generally of thatch or wood, though quite often of iron or tiled. Most of the houses are fairly roomy, and even small peasant farmers have three or four rooms. The Lithuanian peasant does not live in a house under the same roof as the stables or other farm buildings, as is so often the case in Western and Southern Europe; he regards such an arrangement as inconvenient and unhealthy. There is generally a little orchard and vegetable garden near the house. The Lithuanian peasants do not plant orchards for commercial purposes; they grow fruit for their own requirements and very few of them sell their fruit on the home markets or for export.

184 The country being comparatively small in area, no great differences are noticeable between the types of farm or the peasants in different regions. Of recent years, the various means of communication, particularly motor-bus services, have improved, and this tends very largely to eliminate such differences as did exist between the various regions. Practically all the peasantry is Roman Catholic. Though dialects exist, peasants [212] from all parts of the country understand one another. For some years now, over half of them have been able to read the newspapers and to become familiar with the literary language; farming papers alone have a circulation of over 150,000, though the total number of farms does not exceed 290,000. From the point of view of nationality also, the Lithuanian peasantry constitutes a homogeneous mass. Lithuania does possess national minorities (about 18% of the population) but these consist mainly of urban dwellers, whereas the rural districts are populated almost exclusively by persons of Lithuanian race.

* * *

000 The Lithuanians have full confidence in the future. Always supposing that no restrictions are placed on their activities and that their territory is not once again turned into a battlefield, the exploitation of the natural riches of the country should proceed rapidly and on a comprehensive scale, while the living conditions of the rural population will improve correspondingly. This confidence in the future is justified by the very considerable progress already achieved during the brief period since Lithuania recovered her independence, progress which is explained by the attachment of country dwellers to the land and by their hard-working, intelligent and long-suffering character, and, lastly,

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

in 1920, when Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931, and in many other instances in subsequent years, most likely there would have been no breaking of the Versailles Treaty for the purpose of conquest, and, above all, there would be no war today.

GENERAL OUTLINE AND BASIS OF RECONSTRUCTION

As stated before, Lithuania is entirely an agricultural country. During the first twenty-two years of her independence, she focused her attention on the introduction of scientific methods in farming and the development of industries connected with agriculture. She concentrated on the development and production of raw materials in an earnest endeavor to improve her economic status.

The development of world raw-material production from the latter part of the nineteenth century until 1939 may be divided into four periods:

1.—Pre-World War period of normal progress;

2.—The war and post-war period of disturbed development, 1914–22;

3.—Post-war period of progress, beginning with 1923, a seven-year period of progress with moderate fluctuations along lines that followed the same trend as before the war;

4.—Period of disturbed development during the world depression, and of recovery from 1930 until the war of 1939.[2]

1. The pre-war period.—Lithuania then being under the government of Russia, complete economic statistics of that period are not available. On the other hand, the statistical ma-

[2] League of Nations, *Report of the Committee for the Study of the Problem of Raw Materials*, Geneva, 1937, p. 37.

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

472 Art. 8. Alongside the socialist system of economy in the Lithuanian SSR the law permits the small private economy of individual peasants, artisans and handicraftsmen and small private industrial and trading enterprises.

423 Art. 9. The land occupied by peasant holdings as provided by law is secured for their use free of charge and for an unlimited time.

421 Art. 10. The personal property right of citizens in their incomes and savings from work, in their dwelling houses and subsidiary home enterprises, in articles of domestic economy and use and articles of personal use and convenience, as well as the right of citizens to inherit personal property, is protected by law.

471 Art. 11. The economic life of the Lithuanian SSR is determined and directed by the state national-economic plan, with the aim of increasing the public wealth, 185 of steadily raising the material and cultural standards of the working people, of consolidating the independence of the USSR and strengthening its defensive capacity.

461 Art. 12. Work in the Lithuanian SSR is a duty and a matter of honour for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat."

The principle applied in the Lithuanian SSR is that of socialism: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

Chapter II. The State Structure

642 Art. 13. For the purpose of mutual assistance among the Union Republics along economic and political lines, as well as along the line of defence, the Lithuanian SSR voluntarily united with the other equal Soviet Socialist Republics, namely:

The Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic,
The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kirghis Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic and
The Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic

in a federal state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Proceeding from the aforesaid, the Lithuanian SSR ensures to the USSR, as represented by its higher organs of state power and organs of state administration, the rights defined in Art. 14 of the Constitution of the USSR.

Outside of the spheres set forth in Art. 14 of the Constitution of the USSR, the Lithuanian SSR exercises state authority independently, retaining its sovereign rights in full.

000 "Anti-religious propaganda is not forbidden in Soviet Lithuania, nor is religious propaganda forbidden. Like all Catholic priests, I preach the word of God freely and without hindrance from the pulpit. If anti-religious lectures are given in our city, any citizen does or does not attend as he sees fit—just as every citizen does or does not attend the services at any church according to the dictates of his judgment."

This assertion, of course, violates the wording of Art. 124 of the Soviet Constitution. Constitution, published by the OGIZ State Publishing House of Political Literature at Moscow in 1938, in English, gives the following (inaccurate) translation: "Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens."

875 A direct contradiction is provided by an article of comrade V. Niunka, Minister of Education of the Lithuanian SSR, in the Communist Party organ *Tiesa* of 31 October 1948:

"Most of the teachers of the Ignalina gymnasium . . . did not rid themselves of religious prejudices, they frequently go to church thereby setting a bad example for the pupils. . . . Former director N. Petravičius is a clerical, he practices his religion, he even keeps pictures of the saints in his home . . . and categorically refuses to admit his errors. . . .

"Therefore, the College of the Ministry of Education decrees:

"1) to dismiss the following teachers from teaching duties:

"(a) Nikanoras Petravičius as a clerical and unfit to work in Soviet schools . . ." — and other teachers practicing their religious duties.

000 There was indeed a Casimir Kulak, a Catholic priest of Whiteruthenian extraction. He had been a professor of the Eastern rite liturgy and Orthodox Theology at the Roman Catholic Seminary in Pinsk. He was an erudite man, tolerant in his dealings with the Lithuanians, and a Whiteruthenian patriot—not to be confused with the Lithuanians.

It is feared that the alleged "interview" in the Soviet Embassy Bulletin may be the last we shall hear of this priest—unless from a MVD dungeon. The Soviet Embassy had once before published an "interview" with a Catholic dignitary, the Most Rev. Mečys Reinys, Archbishop of Vilnius,—and he "vanished" within a month thereafter. . . .

Resistance

668 186 Comrade Antanas Sniečkus, the window-dressing "Stalin" of Lithuania—First Secretary of the Communist Party/bolshevik of Lithuania—had this to say in the LKP/b organ *Tiesa* ("Pravda"), No. 300 of 24 December 1947:

"It must not be forgotten that the bourgeois nationalists within the republic's territory are conducting anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation, spreading provocative rumors and, seeking to undermine the work, they attempt to infiltrate in the state apparatus.

"When German fascism lies smashed and is no longer able to aid the Lithuanian bourgeois nationalists, they expect such aid from the Anglo-American imperialists.

". . . They praise the false Anglo-Saxon democracy and idealize the bourgeois system of America and England.

000

Freedom Fighter recruits undergoing training in machine gun firing—Dainava Area in Lithuania.

668 186 "Among the bourgeois nationalists combatting the people, an important part is played by the reactionary section of the Catholic clergy who try to utilize the religious convictions of people in the interest of the exploiting classes.

"... The interest of the Lithuanian people demands that the bourgeois nationalists be smashed as soon as possible. We have every means to accomplish this.

"The speedy destruction of the bourgeois-nationalist underground depends to a great extent on a successful expansion of combat against the relics of influence of the bourgeois nationalist ideology among certain sections of the population, and on a re-education of our republic's working people in the spirit of Soviet ideology."

665 668 186 A year later, on 14 December 1948, all the major press agencies commented the article of comrade A. S. Trofimov, new secretary of the "Lithuanian" Communist Party Central Committee, in a December 2 issue of "Soviet Lithuania." The Russian comrade called to mobilize the Party's forces for the "liquidation of the remnants of the bourgeois-nationalist underground" which "spreads provocative rumors, and steals into the Government system and into factories," "intimidating and murdering Soviet folk" in an effort "to hinder the great work of restoring and expanding the people's economy."

At long last, comrade Trofimov received a Russian translation of his fellow-secretary's article written a year earlier....

There had been such articles in the Soviet press ever since the imposition of a Russian regime upon Lithuania—and there will be many more such articles as long as the MVD-MGB will maintain the Communist Party in power over any freedom-loving country.

News of a worldwide distribution of "Trofimov's article"—plagiarized from comrade Sniečkus—reached Moscow. Comrade Trofimov's fate is not known—but the first week of January 1949, Soviet broadcasts beamed to Western Europe hastened to proclaim that the Lithuanian "insurrectionist underground" had been "liquidated" and that everything was now in order.

Nevertheless, on 16-19 February 1949, comrade Sniečkus for four hours raved at the LKP/b Congress

Field Dinner in honor of the graduating class of Guerrilla Officers School, Tauras Area in Lithuania.

668 —repeating his call to smash the underground, the
186 reactionary clergy, etc. One need not be a prophet to
665 predict that boasts of "liquidation" and threats, repeatedly made since 1945, will be reiterated for an indefinite time in the future.

Liberation Movement

668 Armed and passive resistance will continue until the
725 liberation of the country—or extinction of the Lithuanian People.

The Supreme Lithuanian Committee of Liberation (*VLIK*) is regarded as the country's supreme *political* representative, and its delegation abroad is acknowledged as the Government-in-Exile. It is a coalition of all democratic non-Communist parties and combat organizations.

The actual *resistance* is coordinated inside the country by a non-partisan *BDPS*—the United Democratic Resistance Movement. Its armed forces, called FREEDOM FIGHTERS, are directed by the *VGPS*—the Supreme Command of the Armed Guerrilla Forces.

The objectives are: to counteract the bolshevik spy network; to defend and protect the inhabitants from robberies and murders; to prevent the colonization of the country by foreigners; to curb collectivization and moral lapses; to prevent the wasteful destruction of the forests and other national resources; to keep the population informed of international developments through a press network; to shelter persons passing into outlaw status; to preserve the nation's manpower and traditions of a cultural, political and national entity. In general—the aspiration is to regain state sovereignty under a democratic system, with Lithuania a member of the European Continental Commonwealth and in friendship wtih neighboring countries, including Russia. The main objective is—SURVIVAL OF THE LITHUANIAN PEOPLE. Other objectives flow therefrom.

Resistance tactics constantly change in accordance with the methods and degree of oppression by the Soviet occupant. The country is divided into Areas, and resistance members themselves know but one or two other members. The BDPS Praesidium is formed on the principle of efficiency and personal qualifications, rather than representation of various political ideologies. Force today is applied on rare occasions, whenever its use as a terrorist shock action is justified, for instance, attack on the armed convoys and trains transporting deportees.

186 The Russian occupation receives no popular support from the masses. Of racial Lithuanians, only a
668 few hardened communists and several thousand released criminals turned collaborators.

There is a definite trend to exclude even Lithuanian communists. In all of the periodic purges, it is the Lithuanian communists who suffer disgrace, expulsion and exile, while Russian embezzlers retain their posts. An "Anti-Cominform" morale is pronounced among the Lithuanian members of the LKP/b. Party and non-Party Lithuanians are still found in the less important "high offices." However, not a single Lithuanian holds an administrative post in any office connected with the military effort. This trend is pronounced even in the distribution of "ministerial" titles.

655 All communications—railroads, waterways, ports, post offices, telegraph, radio, telephone, aviation and highways—are under a centralized "All-Union" control: there are no "ministries" for any communications. A few Lithuanians are still encountered among the MVD railroad guard personnel but their number constantly dwindles.

486 Travel inside Lithuania to a distance of 200 km. is not obstructed, with the exception of the "prohibited zones" along the Polish frontier and the seacoast, where special permits from the MVD are required. Otherwise, traveling permits are issued by employing offices. Of course, every traveler must submit to numerous checkings of the papers by armed patrols.

There is no frontier with East Prussia and Latvia, and the same general travel rules apply to journeys to Latvia and East Prussia. Nevertheless, it is deemed safer to procure a *"komandirovka"* (dispatch orders) even if the destination be less than 200 km.—a "detour" to Siberia must never be overlooked. The Latvian frontier is crossed mostly for black marketing. It is possible to go to Byelorussia and into the interior of Russia with a permit issued by a local MVD or Executive Committee. *"Komandirovka"* is required for travel by air.

[191] Transportation tickets, birth, death and other records are printed in Russian and "local" languages. Nevertheless, it is not a rare phenomenon to hear in response to an inquiry in Lithuanian: *"Neponimayu etovo sobachevo yazika"* (I do not understand this canine language).

Mobilization and Demobilization

727 Of the so-called "Lithuanian Units," only one survives—the 16th Infantry Division stationed in Vilnius. The enlisted and non-commissioned officers personnel is roughly 80% Lithuanian, but the officer cadres are predominantly Russian on all levels. Orders are given in Russian. Colonel Motieka is the Divisional Commander, and political "General" Macijauskas is Deputy Commanding Officer. All other mobilized Lithuanians are dispersed throughout Russian units.

701 During the war, men of the classes of (birth) 1895 through 1926 were drafted. After the cessation of hostilities in Germany, a few men were demobilized, others were assigned to various Labor Battalions and moved to Russia. Those serving in MVD units were retained in the service. Men born prior to 1923 were demobilized from strictly military units of the Soviet Army.

563 sonal risk: when the Russians arrived, the Jew informed them that a person who had secreted a Jew from the Nazis might most likely secret a "bandit" from the Russians—and the poor farmer was executed and his family exiled.

000 This reasoning seems to be generally adopted by the Russians—and no "heroics" are told them. The Russians show no excitement whatever regarding the massacres perpetrated by the Nazis. They conducted no special investigation or excavations—the Nazi practices seem closely parallel those of the Soviets. ..... Only in instances where they were tipped off that people had been executed clothed and unrobbed—did the Russians make excavations in quest for valuables. . . . They gathered up coins, jewelry, pulled gold from teeth, and ceremoniously reburied the skeletons.

Education

874 The University of Vilnius with medical and chemistry departments, and the University of Kaunas with
871 departments of medicine, architecture, construction, technology and chemistry, are functioning. Both universities provide compulsory instruction in "Marxism-Leninism Science" and military training. A Veterinarian Academy and the lower classes of the Agricultural Academy function at Kaunas. The Pedagoguic Institute and an Art Institute with classes in scultpure, architecture, graphics and painting are open in Vilnius. The Commercial Institute is at Klaipéda. The upper classes of the Agricultural Academy are still housed in the ruins of Dotnuva.

Eighty percent of the faculty staff and student body are Lithuanians. Deputy Rectors, in charge of "political education," are Russian MVD-men. Most of the aliens are concentrated in Vilnius. The total student body numbers about 6,000 (compared with over 2,000 university students in Western Germany).

Of secondary schools, there are about 90 gymnasia and 189 progymnasia with 65,000 students, and about 20 special schools of agriculture, orchardry, gardening, forestry, cattle breeding, bookkeeping, etc. The secondary schools follow an 8-year program—a recession to the antiquated pre-1914 system. The Russian language is taught from the third grade of grammar school. All textbooks are translations of Russian authors exclusively. Prewar textbooks are withdrawn from circulation and systematically destroyed.

186 In 1944 and 1945, the National Anthem of Lithuania was tolerated as a "national song" over the radio and at some official functions, but was banned from schools. It is still sung in some churches but is no longer heard elsewhere.

876 Since 1946, school programs were systematically
626 purged of all "western bourgeois" influence. In libraries, books of western authors were replaced by propaganda "masterpieces" of Russian literature. The Michurin theory is preached, and professors are compelled to publicly "confess" their former heresy. Every dissertation on any subject must faithfully seek some quotation from Stalin and Lenin "science" to prove the infallibility. Only students whose parents never owned more than 18 hectares of land are admitted to universities—others are "outlaws."

The universities demand that matriculating students submit loyalty certificates issued by local Party offices. The University of Kaunas still adheres to the

497 Railroad traffic is lively: military trains pass Kaunas every few minutes. A single passenger train circulates daily between Vilnius and Kaunas, and one train operates every other day between Kaunas and Šeštokai.

499 505 Graveled highways go unrepaired, showing ever greater deterioration. Few ships and barges are seen on the Nemunas, as most of the fleet managed to escape to Denmark in 1944.

465 All artisans were driven into "artels": excessive taxes did the trick.

511 [435] Wages are low and working hours are long. Prices are twice as high as in Moscow: one week's wages is spent on a kilogram of butter. In 1945 butter was transported from Lithuania to Moscow in an "airlift operation," by planes. The Muscovites liked Lithuanian butter—and butter is still exported, depriving the Lithuanians of their diet. Numerous deductions are withheld from wages—up to one half, including "voluntary" subscriptions to state loans, etc.

In consequence of the meager pay, every worker attempts to steal whatever he can, and to sell the stolen products in the black market. Lately the bureaucracy—itself most guilty of embezzlement—began penalizing the workers with harsh penalties. Nevertheless, the practice of stealing is universal, and the Russian officials set the pace. Whenever the so-called "exemplary state farms" call for volunteers to assist in planting or harvesting—there are enough volunteers who anticipate a chance to "hook something."

The morale of factory workers is as low as that of the farmers. The living conditions steadily deteriorate. Discontent over "stakhanovite efficiency," long working hours, low pay, lack of clothing, etc. is widespread. In the early part of 1948 the regime abandoned its choicest proffer to workers—the bait of appointment [554] to managing posts. Today, there is a tendency to build up cadres of skilled specialists, a privileged caste of people in uniform—even telegraph post climbers wear uniforms. . . .

Moral Situation

000 Symbols of Russian "culture" and ways of life universally exhibited by the "masters and victors" are—violence, profanity, drunkenness, thievery, deceit and raggedness.

685 Any criminal tendencies among the natives were drastically curbed by the underground authorities. Felonies were penalized by death sentences—and the sentences were carried out. But thieving is uncontrollable in the factories and in the supply services.

273 186 The Russians and their bootlickers revel in continual drunkenness. Vodka is the universal form of bribe. Unfortunately, the brutal conditions of life affected the Lithuanians to a certain degree, too. People are tempted to forget bitter reality for a half hour at least. The resistance movement continually wages a press propaganda against alcoholism ("Don't be like a Russian!"). For strictly practical considerations of maintaining a supply service for its armed units, the resistance movement repeatedly issued orders banning home distilling and any waste of the much needed grains. The Russians, however, pursue a definite policy aimed at demoralizing the natives and weakening their moral standards. Vodka is dumped on the market in unlimited unrationed qualities. But—the Church is still permitted to preach against the evils of drunkenness.

000 Prostitution and rape—are the prevalent preoccupations of the Russian master race representatives in Lithuania. Roughly one-half of Russian males and females are venerics. Venereal diseases are treated gratuitously in governmental "ambulatories," but there is a shortage of sulfa.

● 186 There is little, if any, fraternization with the Russians. There had been cases of women marrying Russians in the cities, but the rural population, most exposed to Russian excesses, hated them from the start. Cases of desertion of the city "brides" by their Russian husbands who appropriated the "dowry," gained quick fame throughout the country, and such marriages became exceptional cases. There is but one known case of a Lithuanian man marrying a Russian woman—commissar Žiugžda.

000 The best evidence of "the high standards of living and culture" of Russia was provided by observation of the Russian armed forces and of the hordes of "*myeshochniki*" and "black cats"—the masses of ragged Russian men, women and children descending on the Baltic countryside with burlap bags over their backs, beggaring and stealing until the bags are filled, and then departing for home. The nickname of "black cats" originated because these Russians meouw as cats at night to induce the unnerved farmers to open their doors to chase the cats away—the "cats" then rob and kill the poor farmer.

There had been many cases of armed assault and robbery by uniformed army officers, militiamen and soldiers. Complainants recognizing the desk officer as their assaulter are "convinced" to forget the matter. Therefore, at night people walk the streets in groups armed with bats, lest a lone traveler feel the pressure of a pistol against his back and hear an order to "*razdyevatsya*" (disrobe) . . . . In the rural areas, only Russian armed detachments and guerrilla patrols travel by night. University students at Kaunas once captured red-handed an MVD officer stealing their bicycles. When a high dignitary missed his bicycle parked in the hallway of another government office, he was told by the militia: "Comrade, we have more important affairs to attend to. I can assure you that the bicycle will not leave the Soviet Union, and it is no concern of ours whether you or another citizen rides it."

Of course, ever present fear is the most horrible phase of life. One never knows when pistol butts will rap on one's door at night. . . .

A few artists met to view a new painting depicting a harvest scene. One wistfully wondered aloud: "What is there *Soviet* in this picture?" The painter interrupted: "I know—I will say: the reapers. . . . Please observe that they are singing. Of course, they are singing a Soviet song."

At a public function, a factory director praised loyalty to the Party and Stalin. Preiklas, a member of the Party CK, interrupted: "Don't blab. We know that you have the devil in mind. But what of it? We may spit on you just the same. You are slaving for us, and you will continue to slave for us, regardless of the fact that you carry the devil in your head."

With every family mourning one or more of its members or close relatives—the village soirees and dances passed out of existence. No songs are heard. . . .

The curtain of doom seems to have descended on Lithuania and the other Baltic Republics.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

101 *Preussen;* Latin *Borusi*), Latvians (Lithuanian *latviai;* German *Letten*), and Lithuanians (Lithuanian *lietuviai;* German *Litauer*). The main distinction among these three groups was that they spoke different dialects of the Lithuanian language.

[175] The Prussians were conquered by the Teutonic Order in the thirteenth century. Castles were built in the conquered regions, and around them German colonists settled. Within fifty years (by 1280) the Prussians had virtually come under German control, although they defended themselves vigorously. In 1243 and again in 1260 there were big uprisings. In the course of years the Prussians were partly exterminated, while those remaining were assimilated and eventually adopted the German language.[2] But as late as the eighteenth century Lithuanian was the dominating language of the population in the region stretching from Königsberg north and east to the Lithuanian-German border.

The Latvians (Letts) were divided into several tribes, namely, Kursiai, Zemgaliai, and Latgaliai. Another, wholly distinct, group called Livs (Latin *Libii*) lived in the basin of the Dauguva. This group belonged to the Ugro-Finnic family of nations, to which the Estonians, Finns, and Hungarians belong. When German merchants and missionaries began to visit the natives of the basin of the Dauguva, they first met the Liv tribes, and thereafter they referred to all of that country as Livonia. In this way the Teutonic Knights of that part of the country came to be known as the Livonian Order (*Fratres Militiae Christi* or Livonian Order of
• 186 Swordbearers). Despite over six centuries of subjugation to
101 the Germans and later to Russian rule and influence, the

[2] A. E. Ewald, *Die Eroberung Preussens durch den Deutschen* (The Robbery of Prussians by Germans), 1884, Vols. I–IV; M. Oeler, *Geschichte des deutschen Ritter Ordens* (The History of the Teutonic Knights), 1908.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Latvians have preserved their language and their national spirit. After the World War Latvia declared her independence and dropped the name of Livonia.[3]

The Lithuanians are considered to be the main division of the Aestii. They themselves were divided into Zemaiciai (Samogitians), Sudavai, Jotvingiai, and Aukstaiciai (Highlanders). At the end of the twelfth century the Lithuanians began to form a state, because continual wars with the Teutonic Order in the west (Prussia) and in the north (Livonia) forced them to unite. The first crowned king of Lithuania was Mindaugas (Mindow, Mendog), who conquered all the other chieftains, in 1251 adopted Christianity, which had been brought by the Teutonic Knights, and in 1253 was crowned.[4]

At the same time the Samogitians, who continued to fight the Knights of the Livonian Order, succeeded in checking them from making further inroads into the Lithuanian territories. In their effort to conquer the Samogitians, the Teutonic Knights in 1252 built a castle in the vicinity of Klaipeda, to which they gave the German name Memel.

Soon after the death of Mindaugas, Christianity disappeared almost completely in Lithuania.

In the period of 1295–1316 Lithuania was ruled by Vytenis (Witen), who was succeeded by Gediminas (Gedimin), 1316–41. So many Russian territories were incorporated in the latter's state that the new lands greatly exceeded in size ethnographic Lithuania. The title of the ruler in the documents was therefore *Rex Lithuanorum et Multorum Ruthenorum.*[5]

[3] Sapoka, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
[4] J. Totoraitis, *Die Litauer unter dem Koenig Mindowe* (The Lithuanians under King Mindowe), 1905.
[5] Sapoka, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Appendix A

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE [1]

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The Council of Lithuania in its meeting on February 16, 1918, voted unanimously to address the governments of Russia, Germany, and other states with the following declaration:

The Council of Lithuania, sole representative of the Lithuanian people, in conformity with the recognized right to national self-determination, and in accordance with the resolution of the Lithuanian Conference held in Vilnius from September 18 to 23, 1917, hereby proclaims the restitution of the independent State of Lithuania, founded on democratic principles, with Vilnius as its capital, and declares the rupture of all ties which formerly bound this State to other nations.

The Council of Lithuania also declares that the foundation of the Lithuanian State and relations with other countries will be finally normalized by a Seimas (parliament), elected in a democratic way by the people of Lithuania.

The Council of Lithuania in informing [the nations addressed] to this effect kindly requests recognition of the independent State of Lithuania.

Vilnius, February 16, 1918 *Signed:*

L. Banaitis	P. Klimas	K. Saulys
Dr. J. Basanavicius	Donatas Malinauskas	J. Sernas
M. Birziska	Vl. Mironas	A. Smetona
K. Bizauskas	S. Narutavicius	J. Smilgevicius
P. Dovydaitis	Alfonsas Petrulis	J. Staugaitis
S. Kairys	Dr. J. Saulys	A. Stulginskis
J. Vailokaitis	J. Vileisis	

[1] Author's translation from the original Lithuanian.

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5:Masilūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

First Law

671 The first law on elementary education was
872 passed in 1922 making the Lithuanian primary
875 school of four grades and requiring all children of both sexes between the ages of 7 and 13 to attend it. The general administrative organization was based on the principle of decentralization which granted wide powers to the local authorities and to the children's parents. However, this experience soon showed that under such a system the qualifications of the
[647] teachers left much to be desired. For this reason the law of 1922 was amended in 1925 and the appointment of teachers, their transfer from one school to another, and certain other matters were centered in the Ministry of Education. In the same year the school curricula were drawn up and officially approved. The schools were run under this law up to 1936 when a new elementary school law
[186] was promulgated which declares that the purpose of the elementary school is to provide primary education for the youth of Lithuania, foster their spiritual and physical growth, and teach them to love, cherish, and sacrifice themselves for Lithuania.

872 The present elementary school has six grades. The first four, obligatory for children between 7 and 13, form the first degree of study. The last two, for children 14 and 15 years old, form the second degree which is optional as yet because not enough schools are available. The increase in them began only in 1933. The elementary school subjects of instruction are: Religion taught by clergymen of the various denominations and compulsory for all children, Lithuanian as the language of instruction, arithmetic, knowledge of environment, history, geography,
872 natural history, art, manual arts, music and
186 singing, and physical training. In an ele-
191 mentary school district where the number of children of non-Lithuanian parentage exceeds

ScMasiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

872 30, a school with a language of instruction
●186 other than Lithuanian may be established.
191 In it Lithuanian is taught as a distinct subject from the second grade onwards, and from the third grade on instruction in environment, history, and geography is given in Lithuanian. In a school with Lithuanian as the medium, children of non-Lithuanian parentage, if their number is not less than 20, are taught their mother tongue as a separate subject.

Certificates Granted

872 At the end of the first and second degrees of
874 study, the pupils are examined and granted the elementary school graduation certificate which, if from the second degree, grants the right to enter, without further examination, the first grade of a secondary school (gymnasium) or a school offering special training for a vocation. Persons who have attended no schools may earn these certificates by passing official examinations embracing the entire course of study.

875 Elementary school teachers are classified as junior, first-degree, second-degree, senior first-degree, and senior second-degree. They are trained in normal schools and pedagogical institutes. Admission to normal schools is accorded those who have completed four grades of a secondary school, and the course extends for 4 years. To the pedagogical institutes only graduates of normal schools or gymnasia are admitted and the duration of studies is 2 years. Each teacher has in charge from 30 to 60 pupils, the average being 55. The average number with which the teacher works in winter is 43, and in summer 30,

5:Masiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

THE BALTIC STATES

871 types, were replaced by 7-year gymnasia to
873 the first year of which pupils who have finished a 6-year elementary school are automatically admitted. Thus final graduation from the secondary school now takes place after a course of study of 13 years, 6 in the elementary school and 7 in the secondary. The first three grades of the gymnasium may be founded independently and such a school
● [186] is called a progymnasium. In these schools instruction in the Lithuanian language and literature, and in physical science has been especially strengthened, and French introduced as the first foreign language. The curriculum as it is now arranged for the gymnasia is as follows:

B. Painting and Sculpture

532 1. Development up to the first World War.

217 The palaces of the Radvilas, of the Paz, of the Sapiehas, and many others today lie in ruins. Only one or the other ruin still reminds one in its gigantic proportions of the power of the earlier lords of the land. With the castles of Lithuania, the precious store of pictures which they contained was also destroyed at the same time. Thus in 1830 the picture gallery of Princess Sapieha went up in flames. The art collection of the Radvilas, too, was half destroyed. The uprising /171/ of the year 1863 destroyed the most valuable portion of the archaeological collection of the Museum of Vilna. Valuable objects of art were removed by the Russians to St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Kiev, where they were exhibited in galleries, if they were not burned; the last happened, for example, to the remains of the Sapieha gallery, at the command of Czar Nicolas I. The first World War, however, brought with it the greatest destruction. With it a centuries old tradition was carried to the grave, never to be reawakened to life.

532 For these reasons the new Lithuanian painting grew in a completely independent soil, without tradition or connection with the artistic past of the country. The young Lithuanian painters sought and found the soul of their people in the nature of their homeland and in their heroic past. Sometimes they also built further along the line of the old peasant folk art, which extends into our own time. Around the turn of the nineteenth century /sic/ artistic life in Lithuania achieved its first blossoming. In the year 1907 the first Lithuanian art society was founded in Vilna.

532 In order to understand the beginning of Lith
• 186 uanian artistic life, which was concentrated in the old capital of the country, one must consider to what extent this spiritual life--no matter whether

It had to do with painting, poetry, or science--was focused in a single point--the national idea. The idea of the liberation of the people from the Russian yoke, at first not yet conceived of as absolute governmental independence, first gained real form at the moment when the buried springs of national consciousness again began to flow. The beginnings of pictorial art also stood partially in the service of this idea. In sagas and fairy tales, in folk songs, in wood carving and weaving of the villages lay hidden the elements to which that first generation of artists now first gave the concept of a native creativity by bringing them into consciousness. The folk art /172/ thus became a symbol of their own worth, but also a symbol of all that which separated and distinguished their own people from its neighbors. From such ideas arose the great picture book of the Lithuanian Crosses which was published in 1912 by the art society in Vilna. Along with impressive drawings by Antanas Jaroševičius, it contains an introductory essay by Dr. Basanavičius, who with the means of historical research pursued the same purpose--to awaken awareness of the value of their own folk art by carrying it forward from an archaic past and thus throwing a special light on it. The meaning of history became thus a second root of these efforts. From the deeds of a glorious past the ideals of the present were easily derived, above all the lietmotif that Lithuania had once been a powerful state and for that reason must not perish.

To be sure, such ideas did not affect all artists to the same degree and were expressed differently at different times. The glow of these ideas faded for many who were far from home. Foreign themes gained in influence; the force of Western artistic trends--realism and impressionism--allowed the spring to be forgotten from which an independent Lithuanian art could have been created--the folk art.

532 Only much later, under the imprint of expression-
186 ism, did a change set in, as will be shown later.

A third factor, however, retained for all these artists its particular tone, no matter whether they stayed long years abroad or worked in the homeland. This third factor was the earth--the Lithuanian countryside, from which they all sprang and which, in its thousandfold moods, constantly welled up in their soul anew--the little dreamy village, the babbling brook, the wide expanse of the snow-covered landscape in the winter. Thus the countryside of the homeland became a symbol of all that for which one fought.

532 /173/ The themes for that first generation of artists were thereby partially given. We see this for example in the picture "Vision" by Antanas Zmuidzinavičius (born 1876). A mystical rider gallops along the horizon of a nocturnal cemetery landscape. In his right hand he swings a sword. But the rider is a symbolization of Vytis, the old Lithuanian knight at arms, and the picture breathes not so much a romantic mood of the past as a prophecy of a future. Thus the success which Zmuidzinavičius achieved at just that time with his romantic realism, with which he brought to life the past of the people, is completely understandable. At the same time he became the representative of a realistic, more academic, school of landscape painting, which was to dominate not only the first beginnings of Lithuanian art. He received his training on long journeys to Germany, Paris, and Italy. In 1906 he returned to Vilna. We possess excellent landscapes by this artist--in some the peaceful, dreamy beauty of the Lithuanian forests and lakes finds its true expression. Many are not "realistic" in the usual sense of the word, and from the best speaks that nuoširdumas with which the Lithuanian language describes the genuineness of a deep feeling and a lyric mood.

Nevertheless in an art which proceeds primar-

*538 the forest lives in this poetry; its voice speaks, its colors, tones, and odors /227/ come directly alive. And thus it becomes understandable, too, that this--unfortunately hardly translatable--poetry is still regarded in Lithuania today as the poetic high point of that period. Along with the Grove, Baranauskas[1] left behind another small poem, The Journey to St. Petersburg. He portrays here in verse form the impressions of a journey, in which this time it is not nature, but man--the peasant and his fate--which stands in the foreground. Here he also finds strong words against the "foreign lords" who enslave his homeland: "The broad highway does not groan as much under the heavy wagons as our peasants complain of the foreign lords," and in another place he says that the Lithuanians, persecuted by the "sons of the North" (i.e. Russians, V.J.), will nevertheless [186] not perish. Thus nationalistic tones are also mixed in the poems of this writer, and they were seized upon and carried on by the people. Baranauskas is undoubtedly of considerable importance in the awakening of national consciousness. In his later life the bishop retired almost completely from all literary efforts and lived wholly for his clerical calling.

The picture of Lithuanian literature of the middle of the last century would not be complete without the name of Laurynas Ivinskis. Widely travelled in the country as a private teacher and sometimes also supported by the landowners, he published up to the year 1864, 17 editions of his Samogitian Agricultural Calendar, which was widely distributed in Lithuania. This calendar replaced the Lithuanian press which was still nonexistent at that time, and thus reached in content far beyond the boundaries of an ordinary village calendar. We find here both fairy tales, songs, and proverbs, as well as verses by Poška, Valiūnas, indeed even Baranauskas' Grove of

1 [1835-1902--Analyst]

7: Jungfer RB5 Lithuanians RB5
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[For the theme of nationalism in Lithuanian literature, see category 116, pp. 221-341]

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 3, 1948]

666 The right to nominate candidates is secured to public organizations and societies of the working people: Communist Party organizations, trade unions, cooperatives, youth organizations and cultural societies.

Art. 114. It is the duty of every deputy to report to his electors on his work and on the work of his Soviet of Working People's Deputies, and he may be recalled at any time upon decision of a majority of the electors in the manner established by law.

Art. 115. Elections to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of the Lithuanian SSR are held by election districts on the bases of representation fixed by the Ordinance Concerning Elections to Soviets of Working People's Deputies of the Lithuanian SSR.

Chapter X. Arms, Flag, Capital

● 18 Art. 116. The state arms of the Lithuanian SSR are a sickle and hammer of gold on a white background in the rays of the rising sun surrounded by ears of grain and oak leaves and with inscriptions in the Lithuanian and Russian languages: "Workers of All Countries, Unite!"

In the upper part of the arms is a five-pointed star and in the lower part, the letters "LTSR".

Art. 117. The state flag of the Lithuanian SSR is of red cloth with a gold sickle and hammer and the gold letters "Lietuvos TSR" in the upper corner near the staff. The ratio of width to length is 1:2.

Art. 118. The capital of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic is the City of Vilnius.

Chapter XI. Procedure for Amending the Constitution

642 Art. 119. The Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR may be amended only by
644 decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR adopted by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes of the Supreme Soviet.

000 Note: The Russian text from which this translation was made was a typed copy authenticated on June 24, 1948 by Mr. S. Pupeikis, Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

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186 The Russian occupation receives no popular support from the masses. Of racial Lithuanians, only a
668 few hardened communists and several thousand released criminals turned collaborators.

There is a definite trend to exclude even Lithuanian communists. In all of the periodic purges, it is the Lithuanian communists who suffer disgrace, expulsion and exile, while Russian embezzlers retain their posts. An "Anti-Cominform" morale is pronounced among the Lithuanian members of the LKP/b. Party and non-Party Lithuanians are still found in the less important "high offices." However, not a single Lithuanian holds an administrative post in any office connected with the military effort. This trend is pronounced even in the distribution of "ministerial" titles.

655 All communications—railroads, waterways, ports, post offices, telegraph, radio, telephone, aviation and highways—are under a centralized "All-Union" control: there are no "ministries" for any communications. A few Lithuanians are still encountered among the MVD railroad guard personnel but their number constantly dwindles.

486 Travel inside Lithuania to a distance of 200 km. is not obstructed, with the exception of the "prohibited zones" along the Polish frontier and the seacoast, where special permits from the MVD are required. Otherwise, traveling permits are issued by employing offices. Of course, every traveler must submit to numerous checkings of the papers by armed patrols.

There is no frontier with East Prussia and Latvia, and the same general travel rules apply to journeys to Latvia and East Prussia. Nevertheless, it is deemed safer to procure a *"komandirovka"* (dispatch orders) even if the destination be less than 200 km.—a "detour" to Siberia must never be overlooked. The Latvian frontier is crossed mostly for black marketing. It is possible to go to Byelorussia and into the interior of Russia with a permit issued by a local MVD or Executive Committee. *"Komandirovka"* is required for travel by air.

[191] Transportation tickets, birth, death and other records are printed in Russian and "local" languages. Nevertheless, it is not a rare phenomenon to hear in response to an inquiry in Lithuanian: *"Neponimayu etovo sobachevo yazika"* (I do not understand this canine language).

Mobilization and Demobilization

727 Of the so-called "Lithuanian Units," only one survives—the 16th Infantry Division stationed in Vilnius. The enlisted and non-commissioned officers personnel is roughly 80% Lithuanian, but the officer cadres are predominantly Russian on all levels. Orders are given in Russian. Colonel Motieka is the Divisional Commander, and political "General" Macijauskas is Deputy Commanding Officer. All other mobilized Lithu-
701 anians are dispersed throughout Russian units.

During the war, men of the classes of (birth) 1895 through 1926 were drafted. After the cessation of hostilities in Germany, a few men were demobilized, others were assigned to various Labor Battalions and moved to Russia. Those serving in MVD units were retained in the service. Men born prior to 1923 were demobilized from strictly military units of the Soviet Army.

5:Masiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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Certificates Granted

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ooopletely foreign.

162 Lithuanian is spoken today by about three
191 million people, half of whom understand only their native language. Since a detailed description of the Lithuanian language area would extend considerably beyond the limits of this presentation, only the following may be said briefly on the subject: Lithuanian is the native language of the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the Lithuanian state. Beyond this /16/ a large section of the Lithuanian language area is found today under Polish rule (the Vilna area). Furthermore, the area of the Lithuanian language projects on the one hand into Latvia and on the other into East
[167] Prussia. Finally, there are in the United States large, close-knit Lithuanian communities which may include a total of about half a million people. In Chicago alone 70,000 Lithuanians have been counted. These people are emigrants and their descendants. Large Lithuanian colonies have also arisen in South America, especially in recent times.

197 In spite of its relatively small size we
184 find within the enclosure of the Lithuanian language area a large number of dialectal differences. The principal dialects are High Lithuanian and Low Lithuanian (Samogitian), of which the latter is related to the former in about the same way as Low German is to High German. In addition to its vocabulary, Samogitian is distinguished from High Lithuanian by its accentuation, its drawled pronunciation, and its loss of fully pronounced endings. It is divided in turn into the dialects of Raseiniai and Telšiai, which are distinguished from each other principally by transposition of the vowels of the diphthongs. In the writings of the poetess Žemaitė, Low Lithuanian stands out sharply in syntax and vocabulary.

The High Lithuanian dialect group is divided into an eastern and a western subgroup. Western High Lithuanian in turn consists of two dialects, whose border is formed approximately by

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adherents primarily among the high and low nobility. In the press of the Reformed in Kedainiai, a whole series of writings of an edifying nature were published. The Reformed, who stood primarily under the protection of Prince Radvila (Radziwill), even planned the publication of a Lithuanian Bible, which was to have been printed in Edinburgh. The undertaking had to be given up, however, because of lack of money.

The counter movement, which was supported by Prince Giedraitis (Giedroc), proceeded from Samogitia. It is also of importance for the national tide of that period in Lithuania, which first prepared the way for a native literature. Although the Union of Ljublin, in 1569, brought about the political unification of Lithuania with Poland, Lithuania retained, within the framework of the whole, her autonomy in the areas of internal administration, the army, courts, and finances. When Prince Giedraitis became Bishop of Samogitia in 1576, he took up with all his strength the attack against the reformed church, summoned the Jesuits from Riga into the country, and sought /197/ to spread Christianity through Lithuanian sermons. Large areas of Lithuania had at that time fallen back into paganism, and on the sacred mountain of Patrija even the sacred fire was rekindled. For the education of Catholic priests Prince Giedraitis founded, in 1579, the Academy of Vilna. The Catholic literature which now came into being was also promoted by the bishop. If the Protestants had been the first to publish their polemics no longer in Latin but, along with Polish, also in Lithuanian, the Catholic party now followed their example. In 1595 appeared in Vilna the catechism of the Samogitian Canon Daukša, who came from a noble family, and four years later followed his postil. If Prince Giedraitis can be considered the most active representative of that movement in the Lithuanian high nobility which fought energetically against the assimilation of

*538 191 Lithuania into Poland even after the Union of Ljublin, we find in his colleague Daukša a no les energetic champion of the rights of the Lithuanian language. We do not propose here to investigate further to what extent he was influenced by Western currents--the decline of Latin as the language of the educated and the sponsoring of the native languages in the new territorial states. In any case, in the introduction to his postil, Daukša demands the same rights for Lithuanian as for Polish and Latin. He explains that he published his writings in the Lithuanian language in order to awaken in his brothers, the boyars, a love for the neglected mother tongue: "I do not censure at all the knowledge of foreign idioms, especially Polish, which has become esteemed by us, particularly since the Lithuanian-Polish union, and is practically innate in us, but I do take exception to the contempt in which our own Lithuanian is held." (1)

[113] 1. Cf. on Daukša: E. Wolter, "N. Daukša, ein litauischer Nationalschriftsteller des 16. Jahrhunderts," Mitteilungen der Litauischen litterarischen Gesellschaft zu Tilsit, April 22, 4 /sic/.

The cultivation of a foreign language while neglecting one's own appears to Daikša unnatural and strikes him "as if the goat would like to roar like a lion, the raven sing like a nightingale, and the nightingale croak like a raven." And he says before: "Where in the world /198/ is there a people so coarse and despicable that it does not call three things its own inborn heritage: the soil of the fatherland, native customs, and language. In all centuries people spoke their own language and strove to preserve, enrich, develop, and beautify it. There is no nation so unworthy, no corner of the earth so despised, where man does not know how to

preserve his language . . . In home and family beloved and venerable customs are observed in the native language; this we learn from nature itself, for every person already receives from his mother's breast the inclination to his own language, its care and development . . .Not through the fertility of the earth, not through the extent of its properties, not through the comforts of its land, not through the strength of its cities and fortresses does a people remain alive, but above all through the protection of its language . . ."

We have here the beginning of the red thread that runs through the whole Lithuanian literature--the beginning of the fight for the rights of the mother tongue, from which later grew the revitalization of the national idea in the consciousness of the people. But there is still a long road ahead, the voice heard here is still a long one, and the process of Polonization went on. The echo which Daukša found in the country was not very loud, although the high nobility at that time showed a certain interest in Lithuanian--on the one hand, as mentioned above, from aversion for the political aspirations of Poland, on the other hand because of the apparent similarity of this language to Latin. In 1629, the Jesuit Konstantin Širvyd (Szirvyd) published the first Lithuanian grammar, and two years later a Lithuanian-Polish-Latin dictionary which went through five reprintings. Most important is the collection of sermons by this author which appeared at about the same time. For the problem of language at that time, it is characteristic that Širvyd preached to the peasants and burghers in Lithuanian, but to the nobles in Polish. In two entr'actes from the middle of the seventeenth century--/199/ insertions in school dramas, which were performed in the Jesuit college in Kražiai in Samogitia--Lithuanian also appears as a rustic tongue. (2)

2. Prof. Bezzenberger, "Der Werdegang des

The most important of these poems had at least to be mentioned in the present context;* for they were sooner or later translated into the Lithuanian language and in their own period were read primarily by the circles of Lithuanian boyars and high nobility. In them is mirrored all the liveliness with which, after Mickiewicz, the historical memories of the people were reawakened. And when the author of the Lithuanian national hymn began it with the words: "Lithuania, fatherland, land of our heroes, let us derive strength from our past"--we see here clearly how strongly these historical memories, which the poetry of the period liberated from the dust of the archives, influenced the later liberation movement. Around the middle of the nineteenth century the fear of a Lithuanian separatist movement emerged for the first time among the Polish literati. In that period, when Kossarczewski, in conjunction with German research (Schleicher), /219/ investigated the question of the scientific significance of the Lithuanian language and thereby directed the interest of wide circles to the present, the Warsaw man of letters Kaszewski wrote: "I understand the scientific investigation of the Lithuanian language, I also recognize that this language is useful for the simple people, also for the purpose of educating them in literature, but it would be utopia to wish to transform it into a language of the educated and literate, especially since Lithuania has already expressed all the nobility of its spirit and soul in the language of Mickiewicz (i.e. Polish language, V.J.)."(27)

27. Biržiška, op. cit.

To be sure, fears of this sort were still premature, for as long as the interest in Lithuania's people and history was essentially limited to the class of the nobility, which nourished

*[Poems in Polish on Lithuanian historical themes--Archpt]

191 the language out of dilettantism or a romantic attitude, Lithuanian-Polish unity remained an inseperable article of faith--in his song on the uprising of 1830 Valančius was still able to name Samogitians and Poles in one breath ("For already are coming real Poles, Samogitians under the lord of Gelgadas," Palangos Juzė, p. 43.). The compromise formula still applied which had become the slogan of the Lithuanian nobility and outlines the peculiar relationships of the two peoples: "Sum gente lituanus, natione polonus" ["I am a Lithuanian by race, a Pole by nationality"]. The Lithuanian language also, in spite of all preparatory work, still resembled that wild foundling of which Bezzenberger speaks, and still had found no entrance into the palaces of high literature. (28)

28. In the introduction to the second edition of the Polish grammar by the Suvalkijan clergyman Totoraitis, who has done a great deal in the field of popular education, the publisher writes: "With all the beauty of the Lithuanian language, one cannot speak and write in it about so many things as in Polish." Then follows the warning: "Do not forget your beloved native language nor be ashamed of it, as many of you are, who almost will not admit that you are able to speak Lithuanian; and guard with your whole heart the Lithuanian language in which you find a very valuable treasure; that is, a fine knowledge and all sorts of useful information." (1861) Biržiška, op. cit., p. 105.

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191 But the final separation of Lithuanian
814 literature from Polish was already in preparation, and, although at first still in the stiff and unaccustomed clothing of awkward expressions and

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538 formulations, the Lithuanian language entered a
814 land which had until now been closed to it: in
the year 1845 Simon Daukantas (1793-1864) pub-
[191] lished his voluminous work on the life of the
ancient Lithuanians and Samogitians. The son of
a Samogitian forester, Daukantas received his
education at the schools of Kretinga and Kalvarija,
at the gymnasium in Vilna, and finally at the uni-
versity there /220/ (1811-1821), which also had a
decisive influence on his life. Long years of
study of the archives in Königsberg and Riga as
well as a 15-year stay in St. Petersburg, where he
occupied himself in detailed study of the so-
called "Lithuanian prosody," gave him the material
for his work, which we can best describe as a
"cultural history of ancient Lithuania." Daukantas
gives in this work a plastic image of ancient Lith-
uanian folk life. The life of the farmers, their
customs and habits, their religious festivals and
celebrations, receive as detailed a presentation
as the governmental organization, army, courts,
warfare, monetary system, and commerce of the old
period. The work closes with the year 1569. So
strongly is Daukantas still under the influence of
the romantic current of the period, and, not un-
like Norbutt, so filled with the desire to stress
the uniqueness of his people that his work--al-
though the author fulfilled all the prerequisites
of scientific procedure--cannot be regarded as a
purely scientific accomplishment. For this reason
it often had to undergo sever criticism even during
the life of the author. At times Daukantas rises
to poetic heights, for example when he describes
the mysterious forests of pagan Lithuania. In the
70's and 80's, when the Lithuanian movement grew
stronger, his work made a deep impression on the
youth. He laid the foundation for the romantic
* glorification of the past which was characteristic
538 of the "Aušra period." Daukantas was not only a
814 historian. He also recognized the pressing need

197 the Baltic languages (including Lithuanian) together with the Slavic, to a broader group, it must nevertheless be specifically stressed in this connection that Lithuanian is not a Slavic language. Whereas all Slavic peoples (Russians, Poles, Czechs, etc.) can at least make themselves understood among each other, a linguistic understanding between Slavs and Lithuanians is impossible. Concerning this, many errors are still prevalent.
• 192 They have mainly resulted from the fact that Lithuanian was earlier overlaid with Slavic words, for
197 which, however, there were at the same time original words in Lithuanian. I am thinking here for example of words such as were still cited by Kurschat as "Lithuanian": (6)

6. Fr. Kurschat, see above, p. 53. 1/K

	Pure Lithuanian	
"week"	nedele	savaitē
"bell"	zvanas	varpas
"miracle"	dyvas	stebuklas
"world"	svietas	pasaulis
"consumption"	sukata	džiova
"hour"	adyna	valanda
"punish"	koroti	bausti
"sinful"	griešnas	nuodemingas, et

Although some of the pure Lithuanian words named here may be new linguistic formations (e.g. savaitē), one should not forget that these new formations in any case /15/ go back to Baltic stems. In addition there is a series of Slavic words in Lithuanian for which no genuinely Lithuanian words can be found, principally in the area of religious life as well as in the areas with which the Lithuanians became familiar through the Slavs. (7) A third group of words that are fre-

1/K [see cat. 116, p 9 --Analyst]

•192 197 [113]

1/2 7. K. Buga, "Die litauisch-weissrussischen Beziehungen und ihr Alter," special number of the Zeitschrift für slawische Philologie (Leipzig, 1924), Vol. I, Nos. 1/2, pp. 26-55. Būga points out that a series of White Russian words of religious content must have found its way into the Lithuanian language even before 1387 (pp. 50 and 52). The same would apply to the terms for a number of objects with which the Lithuanians became acquainted through the trade with the White Russians even before 1200; e.g. glass, silk, market, donkey, radish, and others (p. 46).

quently looked upon as Slavic is of proto-Indo-European origin and thus equally at home in both languages. Finally, Lithuanian contains many words that passed over into the Slavic languages. A comparison of the Lithuanian language with the Slavic languages presents thus a great number of factors that have to be taken into consideration.

197 All in all we can say today that the relationship of these languages on closer observation does not prove to be as close as it appeared to [194] Schleicher. Above all, there is a strikingly small number of sibilants in Lithuanian, while the sibilants actually impose a special stamp on Slavic. [193] On the other hand, Slavic feeling for language is reflected to a large extent in the syntax and grammar of Lithuanian. Thus the Lithuanian language, exactly as Polish, puts the predicate substantive in the instrumental and puts the object in the genitive with negative verbs. Certain sibilants, e.g. the č in mačiau "I saw," are traceable for the first time around the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but do not represent a borrowing from Slavic. It is interesting that the educated Russian and Pole will not admit any close relationship of Lithuanian with his own language and that, quite the contrary, he is inclined to look at the Lithuanian language as something completely foreign. com-

1/2 [footnote to text on page 12, see cat. 192 or 197--Analyst]

197 the Memel. In the eastern group of High Lithuanian
184 a series of dialects can also be distinguished. Dzūkijan, or Southeast Lithuanian, as well as North Lithuanian spoken in the river area of the Mūsā (north of Panevėžys) stand out as particular dialects. (8)

8. A. Senn, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

The large number of dialectal differences implies for the vocabulary and form of the language an enrichment not to be underestimated. This surprising richness in a relatively small territory /Unnumbered page with illustration--Lithuanian Landscape/ /17/ can probably be attributed primarily to the seclusion of the individual districts. This resulted from a backwardness of many centuries and a conservative adherence to inherited land. The differences of the dialects, however, are not so strong that they could destroy the unity of the language. The present literary language is based on the dialect of the South Lithuanian province of Užnemunė (earlier the gouvernement Suvalkija), which is spoken particularly on the south bank of the Memel, in other words, the southern dialect of western High Lithuanian. We thus find in standard Lithuanian the long vowels of the final syllables preserved. (9)

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9. All grammatical presentations of the present Lithuanian standard language are based primarily on the work of Prof. Jablonski, who, under the name Rygiškių Jonas, is the author of: Lietuvių kalbos vadovelis (Kaunas, 1925); and Lietuvių kalbos gramatika, 2nd ed. (Kaunas-Vilna, 1922).

197 B. Antiquity and Formal Richness of the Lithuanian
192 Language

In the year 1625 the Königsberg clergyman Johannes Rhesa wrote in the preface to his Lith-

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197 uanian Psalter: "If we observe many strange words in the Lithuanian language, it will be found that it is a mixed language, stemming from other major languages, especially Greek and Latin; a fact which becomes evident for example in the proverb of the Lithuanians: Dewas dawe dantes, Dewas dos ir dones; that is, 'If God has given teeth, he must also have given bread.' Whoever knows Greek or Latin will find that most of the words take their origin from these languages." (10)

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10. Quoted on the basis of Bezzenberger, see footnote 13.[1]

197 We have seen[2] that Indo-European linguistic research in its further development has not confirmed this view of the old Königsberg clergyman, although it still haunted the German press during the First World War. (11) /18/ Rather, linguistic

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11. Prof. Dr. Leo Brenner, "Litauer und Preussen, Stammesbrüder der Griechen," Deutsche Tageszeitung, September 12, 1917.

research has shown us that Lithuanian, together with Greek and Latin, originated in a common primitive language--Indo-European, and that the similarities of these languages are due to this fact. That these similarities are so striking, however, finds its explanation in the unusual antiquity of the Lithuanian language, which in this regard occupies a unique position among all the Indo-European languages. Schleicher already finds it remarkable that so ancient a language still exists at all. He refers to the dual and the seven Indo-European cases in Lithuanian that at times match the Sanskrit. He stresses that Lithuanian remained almost completely free of the great sound changes which the rest of the Indo-European languages underwent, and assigns to Lithuanian a similar role in the framework of the

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 17-18 -- Analyst]
2 [see cat 116, pp. 8-13 -- Analyst]

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174 place the original home of this primitive people in far-off Asia, but in Europe on the shore of the Baltic Sea, the ancestors of the Greeks must have emigrated to the south from their northern homeland, separating themselves from the original people either before or after the Lithuanians."

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193 Although for the linguist it is naturally just as essential to determine in what ways Lithuanian differs from the old languages of the Latins and Greeks, it is still not without fascination to examine the great antiquity of the Lithuanian language on the basis of the existing similarities. For the declension cases of Latin and Lithuanian the example "man" (Latin vir, Lithuanian vyras) may be given:

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	Latin	Lithuanian	Latin	Lithuanian
	Singular		Plural	
Nom.	vir	vyras	viri	vyrai
Gen.	viri	vyro	virorum	vyrų
Dat.	viro	vyrui	viris	vyrams
Acc.	virum	vyrą	viros	vyrus
Voc.	vir	vyre	viri	vyrai

While Latin knows for vir only an ablative with an instrumental and locative function (viro--viris), Lithuanian has at its disposal both a locative (vyre--vyruose) and an instrumental (vyru--vyrais). In addition to these cases there are in Lithuanian three more that are formed by attaching suffixes: girion "toward the forest" (giria "forest") dievopi "to God" (dievas "God"), and dieviep "with God."

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•192 Word similarities are especially striking:

"god"	deus	dievas
"tooth"	dens	dantis

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"ear"	auris	ausis
"fire"	ignis	ugnis
"yoke"	iugum	jungas
"sheep"	ovis	avis
"sun"	sol	saulė

The Latin sentence viri trahite iugum is translated into modern Lithuanian vyrai traukite junga.

197 In inflection there are striking similarities with Greek and Sanskrit:

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	Greek	Sanskrit	Lithuanian
"I am"	εἰμί<ἐσμί	asmi	esu and esmi
"you are"	ἐσί	asi	esi
"he is"	ἐστί	asti	yra and esti

These few examples of the antiquity of Lithuanian vocabulary and morphology may suffice. A /20/ further very old element is the dual, which is still alive today in its rich forms, primarily in the Lithuanian dialects. Thus, from the circle of languages that are today silent, Lithuanian projects into our living present like a monument of ancient times. The sentence structure is ancient. Subject and predicate usually stand next to each other with no connecting element. Only rarely is the relation of the sentences to each other in pure Lithuanian style expressed by connecting words, rather it must be recognized from the meaning. Thus the sentences are strung together as in the old fairy tales or as in the Greek language before the artificial period structure was introduced. Many sentence sequences might be compared with old woodcuts. Particularly difficult, especially for Germans, is the Lithuanian case system, in which, next to the genitive, the instrumental plays a large role. The German subjunctive is often represented in Lithuanian by participial constructions. The latter are frequently used as absolute constructions (the ablative absolute of Latin and the genitive absolute of

197 Greek). Thus, for example, Lithuanian has a con-
193 struction that must be described precisely as a dative absolute.

192 Among the ancient features of Lithuanian can be listed also the diminutive forms, which are probably not used in such abundance in any other living language. They surround the language like a colorful scroll and are especially essential to the folk songs. But while, for example, High German knows today only two such diminutives, -chen and -lein, Lithuanian has at its disposal an incomparably large number, which are attached not only to substantives but also to adjectives and even verbs and adverbs. If we take for example the word "small" mažas, we find the following forms: mažalėlis, mažilėlis, maželėlis, mažutis, mažytis, mažiukas, mažulėlis, mažiulukas, mažulytis, mažutėlis, mažiulis, mažylis, mažučiukas. W. Kalwaitis counts in his Litauischer Namensschatz no less that 66 diminutive forms for the word mama "mother," among them even a fivefold diminutive /21/ mamaitužužužėlė. (14) We have an excellent

[113] 14. W. Kalwaitis, Litauischer Namensschatz (Lithuanian and German) (Tilsit, 1910), p. 24, where the following progression of diminutives from mama are given: mamaitė--mamaitužė--mamaitužužė--mamaitužužužė--mamaitužužužėlė. It might be possible that a conscientious philologist who counted all the diminutive forms of this one word might arrive at the figure 100.

article by Prof. Brender on the significance of the diminutive forms in Lithuanian. (15) Brender shows

[113] 15. F. Brender, "Die Verwendung der sogenannten Diminutive im Litauischen," Tauta ir Žodis (Kaunas, 1925), Vol. III, pp. 76-111.

here that diminution occurs primarily with such

• 192

words as are connected with the sphere of smallness or emotion (tenderness, humor, contempt). The emotional values of the individual diminutive forms, aside from those that have become formalized, are usually quite varied and show all degrees from tenderest love to sharpest contempt. The former we see for example in the intimate forms for mother: mamelē, mamytē, mamutē, mamaitē, mamužėlė, motulē, etc. -- which can be reproduced in English only with "dear, good, beloved, tender, sweet little mother," i.e. with a whole string of adjectives. Other diminutive forms serve for the expression of the gruesome, peculiar, or bizarre, as for example the suffixes that we find with the word "devil", velnias--velniukas, velnykštis, velniukštis. Thus, too, the meaning of varliukštis (varlē "frog") could only be reproduced by "poor little frog." Perhaps this abundance of diminutive forms with many meanings is connected with the decline of the descriptive adjective in Lithuanian, so readily employed by the German language. In the intimate forms this connection, which as far as I know has not yet been pointed out, definitely exists, for it is precisely in this sphere that we meet the greatest abundance of distinguishing suffixes. The preference [181] of the Lithuanians for diminutives permits also the inference of a certain basic mental attitude, as C. Reisig expresses it: "If a language is rich in diminutive endings, a certain national character can be recognized in this fact: there is in this something friendly and jovial." (16)

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16. C. C. Reisig, Vorlesungen über lateinische Sprachwissenschaft (Berlin, 1881), Vol. I, p. 219. The remark quoted here agrees with the findings of W. Schmidt, who, proceeding from completely different viewpoints, in his work Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkreise der Erde ascribes on p. 464 the pushing ahead of the genitive to a naive, natural, spontaneous, warm way of thinking, while in the cooler, constructive, "logical" way of thinking the

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genitive follows, precisely because it expresses the differentia specifica, that which is later and comes after.

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If from the form of the language we turn briefly to the character of the sounds, we find, as a very ancient phenomenon, a peculiar, swaying rhythm. As early as the middle of the last century this was for Leopold Arends, the inventor of stenography, /22/ his reason for working with the problem of speech modulation, i.e. with the so-called singing character of speech. It belongs to the features of the Lithuanian language that are incomprehensible for the foreigner who cannot learn it. In order, therefore, to give at least some idea of its nature, I quote from Vydūnas: "The Lithuanian language has a completely individual and for the present a unique character in regard to rhythm. It moves under tension from two parallel rhythms that work against each other simultaneously. The basic rhythm is that of the alternation of long and short sounds or syllables. In addition there is the alternation between higher and lower tones. And often the high tone falls on the short vowel in opposition to the force of the long, full sound; e.g. in individual words: sūnùs "son," ùpē "river." The tone wanders, however, in the various cases of most inflected words from one syllable to another . . .But the rhythm of tone has only a secondary significance. . .The language rather moves forward swaying like a song. For that reason, too, the richness of forms has been preserved until now. A very strong accent, particularly if it had become fixed in any special place, would probably have resulted in the wearing off of endings." (17)

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17. W. St. Vydūnas, Litauen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart (Tilsit, 1916), pp. 87-88.

Present-day linguistics points out that in

814 language. To be sure, Jablonskis was primarily a
195 grammarian and not an artist. Most important to him was simple clarity. But he always appreciated and welcomed also poets and thinkers taking part in the creation of the language, and never held back with his advice. (21)

[113] 21. A brief appreciation of Jablonskis in German is given by VydÜnas: "Schöpfer der litauischen Schriftsprache," Unsere Stimme (Tilsit), Vol. 2, pp. 27-28.

195 The third problem* that had to be overcome
197 in the creation of the Lithuanian literary language, and that was perhaps the most important of all, was a question of transforming the Lithuanian language from a peasant language into an instrument with which even the educated, the artist, and the scientist would be able to work. In this connection it was first of all a matter of elaborating the vocabulary. This, then, will be considered first.

•192 If we will look at the vocabulary of the Lithuanian language, we must first of all refute the widespread notion that the language is poor in words. A peasant language may appear poor in words to a representative of Western city culture; but it never has been, absolutely speaking. In its living organism there is an enormous ramification. This is true for the Lithuanian language as for every other peasant language. The countless skills of the peasant's work, the diverse nuances of the peasant's life itself, of which the typical city person no longer has any knowledge, all bear special terms. In addition there is a second group of words and word formations that stem from the antiquity of the Lithuanian language and find no parallel in modern Western languages. Every language develops just as much from complexity to simplicity as from /27/ simplicity to complexity. We describe the former as typification and general-

* [cat. 116, pp. 25-27 -- Analyst]

ization. With the antiquity of Lithuanian, this typification has largely not yet been accomplished. Let us take for example the area of color expressions. Here the Lithuanian still knows no general color terms. He sees rather the nuances: the dress is a different gray than the horse, the cat different from the bird. Thus the Lithuanian language knows no less than five different terms for the color gray, two different terms for red, three for brown, and about five that in English can be described only as "colored", without, however, catching the particular nuance of the Lithuanian. The remaining colors already have attained their generic concept. Another example is the way the animals eat. The dog eats differently from the horse, the bird differently from the pig. For each type of eating there is a special expression that applies only to that case, but there is no standardization. These examples can be multiplied. It may be added that the number of words is considerably increased by the differences of the dialects; we may think, for example, of the terms of the Lithuanian farmhouse that have been taken over into the literary language from the dialects.

A third group of words, unknown to the Western languages, stems from the realm of a peasant way of life that is still distinguished today from that of the Western peasants and that has been expressed in special terms and turns of phrase. A fourth group is connected with the particular mental character of the Lithuanian, his faculty of perceptual observation, his feeling for language, etc.

Although this group applies as a differentiating and characteristic feature in the languages of all peoples, it seems in Lithuanian to be incomparably large. Let us take an example: rymoti. This word indicates a particular type of mostly sad meditation, in which the person concerned supports his head in his hand.

192 /28/ I give below a series of these expressions, which I encountered in a hasty thumbing of the dictionary. (22) They lie mostly in the area of

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22. Niedermann, Senn, Brender, Wörterbuch der litauischen Schriftsprache (Heidelberg, 1932), Vol. 1.

man's bearing, and are especially characteristic of the terseness and conciseness of the Lithuanian language, primarily in terms for things observable through the senses:

atpēdžiui bēgti	-- to run back over the same track that one came by
atsikalti	-- to lean on something with the back
drebtelēti	-- to slap something viscious
dunksoti	-- to be indistinctly visible in the distance
gunginti	-- to go around bent over with highly raised shoulders
guoglinēti	-- to go around with the head constantly shaking
gurdelis	-- a man whose health is failing
gurinti	-- to walk with small steps in a bent-over posture
gužēti	-- to move rapidly in disorganized crowds
įkniubti	-- to concentrate on something with the head in the hands
dykinējimas	-- leisurely loitering about over a long period
saujelē	-- a handful
žiupsnis	-- as much as one can grasp with three fingers

•192 From the area of the mind, too, examples could be added. Let those mentioned here be enough to refute the story of the general paucity of words in Lithuanian. Further, the psychological difference between the Lithuanian and German languages is sufficiently indicated by what is said here. As early as the year 1800 it occurred to Mielcke in the preparation of his German-Lithuanian dictionary /29/ that "the concepts in the two languages are not constructed from the same characteristics and do not cover the same ground, and moreover if a Lithuanian word expresses the meaning of a German word, the connotations of each of these words are often at the same time extremely different." (23)

[113] 23. Christian Gottlieb Mielcke, Littauisch-deutsches und Deutsch-littauisches Wörterbuch (Königsberg, 1800), Preface, p. 4.

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[1][footnote to text on page 12, see cat. 192 or 197--Analyst]

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place the original home of this primitive people in far-off Asia, but in Europe on the shore of the Baltic Sea, the ancestors of the Greeks must have emigrated to the south from their northern homeland, separating themselves from the original people either before or after the Lithuanians."

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Although for the linguist it is naturally just as essential to determine in what ways Lithuanian differs from the old languages of the Latins and Greeks, it is still not without fascination to examine the great antiquity of the Lithuanian language on the basis of the existing similarities. For the declension cases of Latin and Lithuanian the example "man" (Latin vir, Lithuanian vyras) may be given:

/19/

	Latin	Lithuanian	Latin	Lithuanian
	Singular		Plural	
Nom.	vir	vyras	viri	vyrai
Gen.	viri	vyro	virorum	vyrų
Dat.	viro	vyrui	viris	vyrams
Acc.	virum	vyrą	viros	vyrus
Voc.	vir	vyre	viri	vyrai

While Latin knows for vir only an ablative with an instrumental and locative function (viro--viris), Lithuanian has at its disposal both a locative (vyre--vyruose) and an instrumental (vyru--vyrais). In addition to these cases there are in Lithuanian three more that are formed by attaching suffixes: girion "toward the forest" (giria "forest") dievopi "to God" (dievas "God"), and dievieр "with God."

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Word similarities are especially striking:

"god"	deus	dievas
"tooth"	dens	dantis

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"ear"	auris	ausis
"fire"	ignis	ugnis
"yoke"	iugum	jungas
"sheep"	ovis	avis
"sun"	sol	saulē

The Latin sentence viri trahite iugum is translated into modern Lithuanian vyrai traukite junga.

197 In inflection there are striking similarities with Greek and Sanskrit:

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	Greek	Sanskrit	Lithuanian
"I am"	εἰμί < ἐσμί	asmi	esu and esmi
"you are"	ἐσί	asi	esi
"he is"	ἐστί	asti	yra and esti

These few examples of the antiquity of Lithuanian vocabulary and morphology may suffice. A /20/ further very old element is the dual, which is still alive today in its rich forms, primarily in the Lithuanian dialects. Thus, from the circle of languages that are today silent, Lithuanian projects into our living present like a monument of ancient times. The sentence structure is ancient. Subject and predicate usually stand next to each other with no connecting element. Only rarely is the relation of the sentences to each other in pure Lithuanian style expressed by connecting words, rather it must be recognized from the meaning. Thus the sentences are strung together as in the old fairy tales or as in the Greek language before the artificial period structure was introduced. Many sentence sequences might be compared with old woodcuts. Particularly difficult, especially for Germans, is the Lithuanian case system, in which, next to the genitive, the instrumental plays a large role. The German subjunctive is often represented in Lithuanian by participial constructions. The latter are frequently used as absolute constructions (the ablative absolute of Latin and the genitive absolute of

197 Greek). Thus, for example, Lithuanian has a con-
193 struction that must be described precisely as a dative absolute.

192 Among the ancient features of Lithuanian can be listed also the diminutive forms, which are probably not used in such abundance in any other living language. They surround the language like a colorful scroll and are especially essential to the folk songs. But while, for example, High German knows today only two such diminutives, -chen and -lein, Lithuanian has at its disposal an incomparably large number, which are attached not only to substantives but also to adjectives and even verbs and adverbs. If we take for example the word "small" mažas, we find the following forms: mažalėlis, mažilėlis, maželėlis, mažutis, mažytis, mažiukas, mažulėlis, mažiulukas, mažulytis, mažutėlis, mažiulis, mažylis, mažučiukas. W. Kalwaitis counts in his Litauischer Namensschatz no less that 66 diminutive forms for the word mama "mother," among them even a fivefold diminutive /21/ mamaitužužužėlė. (14) We have an excellent

[113] 14. W. Kalwaitis, Litauischer Namensschatz (Lithuanian and German) (Tilsit, 1910), p. 24, where the following progression of diminutives from mama are given: mamaitė--mamaituže--mamaitužuže--mamaitužužuže--mamaitužužužėlė. It might be possible that a conscientious philologist who counted all the diminutive forms of this one word might arrive at the figure 100.

article by Prof. Brender on the significance of the diminutive forms in Lithuanian. (15) Brender shows

[113] 15. F. Brender, "Die Verwendung der sogenannten Diminutive im Litauischen," Tauta ir Žodis (Kaunas, 1925), Vol. III, pp. 76-111.

here that diminution occurs primarily with such

2. From the Closing of the University to the Ending of Serfdom. 216
D. The Period of the Prohibition on Printing (1865-1904) 228
1. The Epoch of Aušra 228
2. Prose Writing by Women at the Turn of the Century. . . . 237
3. Maironis and the Idealism in the Lyrics of His Time. . . 252
Chapter Six: A Cross Section of the Most Recent Developments in Lithuanian Literature
A. The Period of Transition. The New Lyricism. 259
B. Prose and Drama 269
C. Mykolaitis-Putinas and Kreve-Mickovičius 280
Notes 299

/11/ Chapter One

The Language

194 /Unnumbered note on Chapter One/ Regarding the pronunciation of the Lithuanian words appearing in the text the following should be noted: z equals soft S, S equals sharp s, c equals ts, č equals ch, ž equals j as in French jardin, š equals sh, y equals tsh, e equals German open ä, ė equals German e.

104 The spelling of names in the text, consistently follows the official Lithuanian spelling: thus Suvalkija instead of Russian Suvalki, Garliava instead of Russian Godlevo. . .

Regarding the spelling of personal names it should be noted that originally non-Lithuanian names remain unchanged: thus Mickiewicz, Kraszewski, etc. On the

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[113]

[1] 7. K. Buga, "Die litauisch-weissrussischen Beziehungen und ihr Alter," special number of the Zeitschrift für slawische Philologie (Leipzig, 1924), Vol. I, Nos. 1/2, pp. 26-55. Būga points out that a series of White Russian words of religious content must have found its way into the Lithuanian language even before 1387 (pp. 50 and 52). The same would apply to the terms for a number of objects with which the Lithuanians became acquainted through the trade with the White Russians even before 1200; e.g. glass, silk, market, donkey, radish, and others (p. 46).

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[1] [footnote to text on page 12, see cat. 192 or 197--Analyst]

113 192 181 genitive follows, precisely because it expresses the differentia specifica, that which is later and comes after.

194 If from the form of the language we turn briefly to the character of the sounds, we find, as a very ancient phenomenon, a peculiar, swaying rhythm. As early as the middle of the last century this was for Leopold Arends, the inventor of stenography, /22/ his reason for working with the problem of speech modulation, i.e. with the so-called singing character of speech. It belongs to the features of the Lithuanian language that are incomprehensible for the foreigner who cannot learn it. In order, therefore, to give at least some idea of its nature, I quote from Vydūnas: "The Lithuanian language has a completely individual and for the present a unique character in regard to rhythm. It moves under tension from two parallel rhythms that work against each other simultaneously. The basic rhythm is that of the alternation of long and short sounds or syllables. In addition there is the alternation between higher and lower tones. And often the high tone falls on the short vowel in opposition to the force of the long, full sound; e.g. in individual words: sūnùs "son," ùpē "river." The tone wanders, however, in the various cases of most inflected words from one syllable to another . . .But the rhythm of tone has only a secondary significance. . .The language rather moves forward swaying like a song. For that reason, too, the richness of forms has been preserved until now. A very strong accent, particularly if it had become fixed in any special place, would probably have resulted in the wearing off of endings." (17)

[113] 17. W. St. Vydūnas, Litauen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart (Tilsit, 1916), pp. 87-88.

Present-day linguistics points out that in

197 Present-day linguistics points out that in
194 the Lithuanian language the intonation of the primitive Indo-European language has still been preserved. This can be seen with particular clarity in a comparison with Greek: e.g. Lithuanian algà (from algā); Greek ἀλφή "profit"; but genitive algõs, Greek ἀλφῆς .

Let it be said that here, too, there are variations in Lithuanian, in that some dialects have obliterated the length distinctions and have thus become simpler with regard to rhythm and melody (e.g. Samogitian). Where, however, the old rhythm has remained fully preserved, it has kept the endings from wearing away and degenerating, as we find them for example in /23/ Lettish, where the words are always stressed on the first syllable. Certainly the melody of the Lithuanian language, which many linguists have noticed, rests in large part upon this peculiar swaying rhythm.

194 The beauty and melody of the Lithuanian language unfolds its full euphony particularly in song. It has been appreciated by many scholars and artists. Thus by Élisée Reclus: "If the value of a nation in the whole of humanity could be measured by the beauty of its language, the Samogitians and Lithuanians would be in the first rank among the inhabitants of Europe." (18)

[113] 18. Élisée Reclus, Nouvelle Geographie Universelle, Vol. V, (Paris, 1880), p. 431.

We have found one reason for the phonetic beauty of this language in the minor role of the sibilants, in which it is distinguished from the Slavic languages, a second reason in the musical rhythm peculiar to it which gives it a swaying movement. Finally, a third reason is its richness in pure vowels. They are primarily the vowels a, o, and u, while compressed vowels like the Russian ы are not present at all. We are indebted to Vydūnas for interesting statistics on

194 the vowels. He investigated the type and frequency of the vowels in Lithuanian and German and found the following relationship: (19)

19. W. St. Vydūnas, see above p. 88.

a,	Lithuanian	5,	German	2
o	"	3	"	2
u	"	3	"	2
e	"	1	"	3
i	"	2	"	1

While in German the vowels a, o, and u are distributed equally, they predominate strongly in Lithuanian and give the language a different phonetic character. On the other hand, the e, which in German predominates, falls far into the background in Lithuanian. All in all, 14 Lithuanian vowels correspond to 10 German ones. Since the phonetic value of the individual vowels is different, we have here perhaps also one of the reasons why the Lithuanian language seems so dark in song.

195 /24/ C. The Development of the Lithuanian Literary Language

We can trace the development of the Lithuanian literary language back to Duonelaitis (cf. Chapter Five)*, although Lithuanian writings were printed before him. In 1735 even the Bible appeared in the Lithuanian language at the behest of the Königsberg General Superintendent Quant. The first Lithuanian Bible translation was written by Bretkunas between 1579 and 1590, but this work lies unprinted to this day in the university library at Königsberg. The language of the printed Lithuanian Bible does not breathe the spirit of the Lithuanian language like the Luther Bible that of the German. Always it is only the poet who is the creator of language. And Luther was also a poet. Moreover, the Lithuanian Bible translation is full

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•195 of Slavic elements. (20)

[113] 20. The oldest language monuments of Lithuanian from the year 1547 on have been published in Gerullis: Moswid, Die ältesten litauischen Sprachdenkmäler bis zum Jahre 1570, edited by Dr. Georg Gerullis, Indogermanische Bibliothek, Vol. II (Heidelberg, 1923).

195 197 After the middle of the last century Lithuanian literature awoke to a life of its own, and from that time on there developed a Lithuanian language which takes its expressive and formal content from the various Lithuanian dialects without, however, arriving immediately at exact and clear conceptual definitions. Difficulties resulted from the fact that a number of expressions of the language had taken on meanings colored by dialect, and partially even contrasting meanings, in the separate provinces. The first task consisted therefore in a unification and conceptual delimitation of the available vocabulary. This process has even today not yet fully been carried out, although it is essentially complete. Some of the differences between the former and present literary language is explained by this fact. From decade to decade Lithuanian literary language has been gaining expressiveness, force, and richness. But still it was in its nature a peasant language that had not caught up with the rapid Western development in science and technology.

/25/ A powerful impetus was given by the founding of the independent Lithuanian state. Three problems resulted for the further development of the literary language. The first problem consisted in freeing the language from the Slavic influences by which it was at times completely ruled -- this applies to whole provinces -- and to replace the formerly employed Slavic words with pure Lithuanian

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197 ones. This problem was capable of complete solution, since in the large vocabulary of Lithuanian everyday speech the necessary words or stems were available and only education of the people and enlightenment through the schools were needed. Moreover, the newly awakened national consciousness pushed the development forward. In addition, among the existing dialects of the Lithuanian language, which still stood side by side as equals and which are clearly reflected in their great variety in the earlier writings of the Lithuanian poets, there was the question of choosing one dialect -- as mentioned, the Suvalkijan dialect was picked -- and constructing on it the new literary language that would be valid for the whole land. This task ran into greater difficulties. Moreover there was danger that now, with the necessity of gradation, the rest of the dialects would be discredited and the language would thus lose much richness. For in every people the so-called literary language gains constantly new strength from its contact with the dialects.

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195 The enormous task of uniformly constructing and elaborating the new literary language was undertaken by the distinguished Lithuanian linguist Jablonskis, or as he called himself, Rygiškių Jonas. Born on January 12, 1861 on a farm east of the Šešupė, he attended the Russian gymnasium in Marijampolė, studied ancient languages in Moscow, and later taught at universities in various cities. After the founding of the Lithuanian University he was named Professor of the Lithuanian language. Jablonskis possessed on the one hand an excellent /26/ training in ancient languages and on the other hand stood in close touch with the simple country folk. He thus succeeded in comprehending the individuality of the Lithuanian language and in recognizing the foreign influences. The abundance of Lithuanian idioms that are distributed throughout his works is very great and shows us the full power and expressive possibilities of this

814 language. To be sure, Jablonskis was primarily a
195 grammarian and not an artist. Most important to him was simple clarity. But he always appreciated and welcomed also poets and thinkers taking part in the creation of the language, and never held back with his advice. (21)

[113] 21. A brief appreciation of Jablonskis in German is given by Vydūnas: "Schöpfer der litauischen Schriftsprache," Unsere Stimme (Tilsit), Vol. 2, pp. 27-28.

195 The third problem* that had to be overcome
197 in the creation of the Lithuanian literary language, and that was perhaps the most important of all, was a question of transforming the Lithuanian language from a peasant language into an instrument with which even the educated, the artist, and the scientist would be able to work. In this connection it was first of all a matter of elaborating the vocabulary. This, then, will be considered first.

192 If we will look at the vocabulary of the Lithuanian language, we must first of all refute the widespread notion that the language is poor in words. A peasant language may appear poor in words to a representative of Western city culture; but it never has been, absolutely speaking. In its living organism there is an enormous ramification. This is true for the Lithuanian language as for every other peasant language. The countless skills of the peasant's work, the diverse nuances of the peasant's life itself, of which the typical city person no longer has any knowledge, all bear special terms. In addition there is a second group of words and word formations that stem from the antiquity of the Lithuanian language and find no parallel in modern Western languages. Every language develops just as much from complexity to simplicity as from /27/ simplicity to complexity. We describe the former as typification and general-

* [cat. 116, pp. 25-27 -- Analyst]

192 From the area of the mind, too, examples could be added. Let those mentioned here be enough to refute the story of the general paucity of words in Lithuanian. Further, the psychological difference between the Lithuanian and German languages is sufficiently indicated by what is said here. As early as the year 1800 it occurred to Mielcke in the preparation of his German-Lithuanian dictionary /29/ that "the concepts in the two languages are not constructed from the same characteristics and do not cover the same ground, and moreover if a Lithuanian word expresses the meaning of a German word, the connotations of each of these words are often at the same time extremely different." (23)

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can flow in a thousand channels over the whole land. Thus the problem of the creation of the Lithuanian language was subordinate to a much greater problem: it was a question of the destiny of the Lithuanian people, who had remained many decades behind the rapid Western European development, to win a place in Western intellectual life. This, however, was in turn possible only through language; not through a small circle of educated individuals obtaining this place by recourse to one world language or another, but through the whole people obtaining in its language a medium of expression and understanding by means of which it was in a position /30/ to take part in the further cultural development of the world. Both problems are conditional on each other and are only mutually soluble. The further development of the Lithuanian literary language involves, therefore, a problem just as much sociological as linguistic, unless one wanted to create an artificial language for a small circle, the secrets of which would have to remain incomprehensible to the broad masses. But no one thinks of such a thing in Lithuania.

Enormous was the task and tireless the labor that was expended. The problem was not to be solved by one linguist or even by linguistics as such. The development had rather to result through practical life. Who can imagine today the difficulties involved in animating with words a language that, in spite of all its internal richness and beauty, lacked the terms for the necessary articles in a modern office as well as for the furnishing of a city apartment? The rapid economic advance in Lithuania also pushed the linguistic development pitilessly forward, created words and terms and destroyed them again, until gradually that which had been proved remained, became established, and was carried over into the general vocabulary, above all through the press,

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which had to be linguistically creative to a high degree.

Thus the development of the Lithuanian literary language, if only in the speed with which it was effected, -- something similar applies, mutatis mutandis, to Lettish and Esthonian-- implies actually a revolution that represents something unheard of and unique in the history of languages. A complete terminology had to be created in all conceivable areas of knowledge; it was necessary to increase the expressive potentials for science, technology, and art to an unheard-of extent, to define concepts scientifically, to create nuances, in short to make up in a few years for what among other peoples had come about in organic growth over the course of centuries. The uniqueness of this development and of what has already been achieved has, /31/ it seems to me, not yet fully been grasped by the Lithuanian people, even in its educated classes. And yet this development of the language, together with the revelation of an unexpectedly strong popular will for life, implied a great intellectual advance, the only basis, as we have seen, on which it could be accomplished at all.

If we ask what has been accomplished today, after two decades, we see a large section of the charted course already travelled. The literary language as such has been stabilized like every other language and is spread across the whole country in a unified form through general instruction in the schools. The Slavic admixtures have largely been dropped off and hardly appear any more in the speech of the younger generation. Adaptation to the Western European world languages has made great progress; a scientific language is being formed. The leader in this area was the Lithuanian University. Naturally, this latter development, according to its nature, has not yet been concluded.

It is only natural that the further develop-

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ment of the language in the various areas of intellectual life did not proceed everywhere with the same speed. It was primarily political, educational, and also economic problems which provided the material for the formation of the new literary language since the beginning of the 1880's, and it was in turn the same problems which, together with the objects of external civilization, necessarily became the prominent topics of literary discussion after the founding of the state, while the artistic and poetic element had to play a minor part in the consciousness of the people. Thereby the Lithuanian literary language remained essentially direct, natural, clear and concrete. The transfer of the objective to the spiritual, however, a practise so predominant today in the languages of the West and developed in the subtlest forms by whole generations of poets, has only recently become applicable in Lithuanian for the first time within narrow limits. Everything is still seen concretely; a spiritual feeling for metaphor has not yet been /32/ experienced. Thus in Lithuanian everyday speech one cannot say, to take a few everyday examples from the German language: die wandernden Jahre [the wandering years] (only a person can wander), ein sonniger Mensch [a sunny person] (a room is sunny), klingendes Spiel [sounding play], die versunkene Erinnerung [sunken memory] (a stone sinks in the water), reine Augen [pure eyes] (only an object is pure), in bescheidenen Grenzen, [within modest limits], etc. This spiritual feeling for metaphor, which today has already been transferred in part from the language of the Western poets into the everyday speech of their peoples, cannot now be awakened artificially but presupposes also a psychological transformation. Even in the German language it did not exist in an earlier period. In Lithuanian metaphor has existed from olden times

195 where it is a matter of the personification of
197 things. The best proof are the Lithuanian folk riddles: the river runs, the shoes gape, the grain comes home to sleep, etc. In modern Lithuanian poetry we find, on the other hand, the transition to the abstract throughout. Thus, for example, in Balys Sruoga (Saulē ir smiltys):

> Go onto the long
> Road of autumn. . .(p. 111)

or

> . . .the stars which inflamed the heavens
> With the fire of life --
> I do not envy. (p. 62)

In modern poetry--in this connection I refer to the poetic imitations in the last chapter -- the spiritualization of the objective is thus shown in living images. It is to be expected that everyday language, too, will not escape this influence, once recent Lithuanian poetry has penetrated deeper into the people. The more slowly and organically this spiritual transformation process takes place, the richer will be the fruits to be expected from it.(24)

113 24. The most important scientific literature concerning the Lithuanian language of the nineteenth century is listed by Oscar Wiedemann, Handbuch der Litauischen Sprache (Strassburg, 1897), pp. 4-6. In particular may be mentioned: Leopold Geitler, Litauische Studien (Prague, 1875). Adalbert Bezzenberger, Beiträge zur Geschichte der litauischen Sprache. Auf Grund litauischer Texte des XVI. und des XVII. Jahrhunderts (Göttingen, 1877). By the

565
178 year 1863 and also flared up at individual spots in Lithuania, led at first to a certain favoring of the Lithuanians above the Poles /229/ by the Russian government. Thus the Lithuanians were granted a gymnasium in Marijampolē and a teacher's seminary in Veveriai. Also, with the ending of serfdom, which took place in 1863 under the imprint of the revolution, the peasants were spared the ransom. A series of favorable circumstances, the natural condition of the soil, the application of the Code of Napoleon, the removal of the mixed field system and the vicinity of East Prussia led to the further result that in the following decades the material, and thereby also the spiritual, development of the peasantry in Suvalkija progressed faster than in the remaining sections of Lithuania. A prosperous peasantry arose here, from whose sons the nucleus of the new Lithuanian educated class was developed. The Russian government, striving to suppress the Polish influence which had shown itself in the revolution of 1863, granted the Lithuanian school graduates scholarships to attend the universities of St. Petersburg and Moscow, in order to Russify them there, but in any case to remove them from Polish influence. But the development could no longer be held back, the Russification miscarried, and from among the graduates of this gymnasium went forth the first leaders who fought for the right of the people to
[195] their own cultural development. The predominant position which the area of Suvalkija assumed in this intellectual development--for at first it was only a development--is also illuminated by the fact that the Suvalkijan dialect was made the basis of the literary language which was now gradually formed. What Marijampolē was for the south, Mitau later became for the north, since here too, as a result of the special privileges of the Baltic Germans, the Lithuanian element found a place for independent development.

* 538 204 1883 is the first one that is again decisive for the trend of Lithuanian literature. In March of that year Dr. Basanavičius published in Ragnit the first number of a monthly newspaper with the name Aušra (The Dawn). This newspaper, became the center of the young Lithuanian literature and intelligentsia. It remained neutral with regard to the Poles, and did not actually have a political program. None of its publishers was a politician. They fought for the rights of the Lithuanian language, the Lithuanian schools, and Lithuanian education. The new national consciousness, however, which was the real foundation and prerequisite for all these demands, was carried by this newspaper into the farthest regions of Lithuania. (33) In this lies its decisive sig-

33. Cf. on this point Eduard Hermann, Die litauische Gemeinsprache als Problem der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft (Göttingen, 1929), p. 103: "I have been told by many old Lithuanians how as students they practically devoured the periodicals whose importation to Russia was forbidden so that they could read them only secretly, and how the national idea thus inspired the youth. Through these periodicals many learned Lithuanian for the first time. The essays were often read aloud to friends, since few copies were available."

* 538 204 195 nificance. It became important for a new revival of Lithuanian literature in that it provided a firm basis for a general literary language which had been lacking. There inevitably evolved the necessity of creating a general literary language, understandable to all, out of the numerous Lithuanian dialects. To be sure, this work did not succeed at one stroke, especially since

\# 538 204 195 the editors changed and there was no linguist among them. Primarily the manner of writing remained quite varied. (34)

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34. Cf. on this question: P. Jonikas, "Apie Aušros rašomąją kalbą (On the Literary Language of the Aušra) in Vairas, 1933, Vol. V, No. 12, p. 418, where further references are also given; also the already mentioned work of Hermann (fn. 33) in the Abh. d. königl. Ges. d. Wiss. Phil.-Hist. Kl., No. 1.

\# 538 204 The world of ideas of Aušra stands in a direct relationship to that peculiar world of ideas that we /232/ became acquainted with in observing the Vilna period of Lithuanian romanticism. A romantic concern with the past of the people and their language (translations of poems by Polish romantics) is characteristic of this period. When the present is treated, elegica, thoroughly unrevolutionary moods emerge, as in the simple poem by Maironis, "Lithuanian Misery," contained in No. 6 of the year 1885, which reads:

Great God, dear God,
Say, wherein lies our sin,
Why is the sky dark,
Why do cold winds blow?

Spread over us your wings--
Although we are sinners out of weakness,
Protect us and make us one,
For we are your children.

The newspaper Aušra lasted for only three years. The romanticism of an idealized past and national unity demanded the complement of the present. Above all the split in the Lithuanian intelligentsia, mentioned before, which immediately

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB 5 Lithuanians RB5

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

000 Lithuania as a nation has a great past. Although it has been definitely established that the country was in existence before the twelfth century, there is a long shadowy period preceding her recorded history.

HISTORIC BACKGROUND

●197 The Lithuanian people form a distinct race and they speak their own language, which is wholly different from the languages of the neighboring countries of Russia, Poland, and Germany. Philologists find the Lithuanian language very helpful for comparative language studies and research, and some of them have found Lithuanian to be very close to the Sanskrit.

101 The first to mention and describe the people on the Baltic shores was the Roman writer, Tacitus, who at the end of the first century, in his treatise *Germania,* calls them *aestii, aestiorum gentes.*[1]

The Aestii, like most European peoples (Germanic, Slavic, Celtic, Italian, Hellenic), belong to the Indo-European family of nations, although whence the Aestii came to the Baltic shores is still a problem to historians. Philologists find three groups of Aestii: Prussians (Lithuanian *Prusai;* German

[1] A. Sapoka, *Lietuvos Istorija* (History of Lithuania), Svietimo Ministerijos K.L.K. Leidinys, Kaunas, p. 18.

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Altlitauischen," Tauta ir Žodis (People and Word), Vol. VII (Kaunas, 1931).

K. Alminauskas, Die Germanismen des Litauischen, I, Kaunas, no date.

A. The Place of Lithuanian in the Framework of the Indo-European Languages

000 Every language is an image of the thinking and feelings of a people. It gives an elaborate and colorful picture of the inner nature of the people in the most sensitive shadings, not only through what it says but also through what it does not say. For words and concepts with all their nuances, indeed even grammatical constructions--if they are for once not observed with the eyes of the philologist--are only symbols for all the elements of which the spiritual and intellectual life of a people consists and through which it is distinguished from others.

197 The Lithuanian language belongs to the Balto-Slavic branch of the Indo-European languages. With the languages of the Letts, Cours, Zemgalens, Selens and Old Prussians, it is included in a special "Baltic" group. Nevertheless there are differences to be noted here. The Lettish language is related to Lithuanian as a younger sister language. It has been more mixed with foreign elements because of its closer contact with German and has lost many ancient features which Lithuanian has faithfully preserved. Old Prussian, on the other hand, even more ancient in grammatical structure, seemed at first /12/ to stand considerably closer to Lithuanian, as far as could be determined from the few preserved records. Nevertheless as early in 1876 Kurschat found that from a linguistic point of view the relation of Old Prussian to Lithuanian was not really as close as that of Lettish to Lithuanian. He assembles a number of words of comparison of Old Prussian with Lithuanian, and remarks: "What may have been borrowed by one of these languages

197 from the other, by Old Prussian from Lithuanian or vice versa, must remain completely undetermined." (1)

1. A comparison of Old Prussian with Lithuanian is made more difficult by the fact that in the Old Prussian language little more than three translations of the Luther catechism (two from the year 1545 and one from the year 1561) have been preserved. At that time, however, as Kurschat observes, Old Prussian was already a language that was dying out, and apparently the translators were not enough in command of the language "to be able to reproduce it with reliable exactness." (Friedrich Kurschat, Grammatik der littauischen Sprache, Halle, 1876, pp. 56-57.)

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With the close relationship of the Lithuanian, Lettish, and Old Prussian languages the common features in their vocabularies are naturally not surprising:

	Lithuanian	Lettish	Prussian
"god"	dievas	dievs	deivs
"hand"	ranka	ruoka	ranko
"head"	galve	galva	galvo
"iron"	gel(e)žis	dzelzs	gelso
"steel"	plienas	pliens	plainis

Nevertheless, in spite of such similarities the fundamental differences between these languages should not be forgotten, as they strike us for example in the word bread: Lithuanian duona, Lettish maize, and Prussian geitis. Very frequently, too, we find the case that Old Prussian contrasts markedly in its vocabulary with Lithuanian and Lettish:

	Lithuanian	Lettish	Prussian
"butter"	sviestas	sviests	anktan
"milk"	pienas	piens	dadan

Modern linguistics therefore assumes that the primitive Baltic language split into two branches sometime between the fifth and third centuries B.C. -- a western /13/ (Prussian) and an eastern, to which would be assigned the languages of the Lithuanians, Letts, Cours, Zemgalens, and Selens. From the eastern branch resulted later -- presumably in the eleventh and twelfth centuries -- the languages of the individual peoples. (2)

[113] 2. Trautmann, Altpreussische Sprachdenkmäler, pp. VIII-XV.

The question of what place Lithuanian holds within the Indo-European languages stimulated research very early. As early as 1856, in the introduction to his Handbuch der litauischen Sprache, Schleicher gives us a clear definition when he observes -- in general not incorrectly: "The Lithuanian language belongs to the great Indo-European speech family. Indic and Persian, Greek and Latin, Slavic, Lithuanian, and German, and finally the language called Celtic are the branches of this family, and each branch is again divided more or less into languages or dialects ... Slavic and Lithuanian, however, resemble each other so much in many parts of their grammar and vocabulary that one could be inclined to consider them members of one and the same language group if great differences in other parts of the language structure did not keep one from such a view. Of all the living Indo-European languages, Lithuanian shows in its sound by far the greatest antiquity; hence its great importance for linguistics." (3)

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3. A. Schleicher, Handbuch der litauischen Sprache (Prague, 1856-57), Vol. I, Litauische Grammatik, Introduction.

Since Schleicher wrote these words a period of almost 80 years has elapsed during which the Lithuanian language has been investigated by a great number of researchers, mostly Germans. The place of Lithuanian within the Indo-European language group is today unequivocally established: with the remaining Baltic and Slavic languages, as well as with Indic, Iranian, Armenian, and Albanian, it forms the so-called satem group of Indo-European, while the Germanic languages, together with Greek, Latin, and Celtic, belong to the centum group. "The difference exists in the fact that certain palatal sounds of the original language /14/ became sibilants in the satem languages but remained for the time unchanged or perhaps became harder in the centum languages." (4)

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4. A. Senn, Kleine litauische Sprachlehre (Heidelberg, 1929), p. 2.

The connection of the Baltic and Slavic branches of the Indo-European languages has also been shown in detail by a whole series of older investigators, Brugmann, Leskien, Fortunatov, Porzezinski, Meillet, and others. In 1923, Trautmann published an etymological dictionary of the Balto-Slavic languages. (5)

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5. Trautmann, Baltisch-slawisches Wörterbuch (Göttingen, 1923). Cf. also E. Fraenkel, "Zur baltoslawischen Etymologie und Wortforschung," Tauta ir Žodis, Vol. III (Kaunas, 1925), pp. 481-89.

Although Indo-European linguistics assigns

•197 the Baltic languages (including Lithuanian) together with the Slavic, to a broader group, it must nevertheless be specifically stressed in this connection that Lithuanian is not a Slavic language. Whereas all Slavic peoples (Russians, Poles, Czechs, etc.) can at least make themselves understood among each other, a linguistic understanding between Slavs and Lithuanians is impossible. Concerning this, many errors are still prevalent.
192 They have mainly resulted from the fact that Lith-
197 uanian was earlier overlaid with Slavic words, for which, however, there were at the same time original words in Lithuanian. I am thinking here for example of words such as were still cited by Kurschat as "Lithuanian": (6)

6. Fr. Kurschat, see above, p. 53. 1/K

		Pure Lithuanian
"week"	nedele	savaitē
"bell"	zvanas	varpas
"miracle"	dyvas	stebuklas
"world"	svietas	pasaulis
"consumption"	sukata	džiova
"hour"	adyna	valanda
"punish"	koroti	bausti
"sinful"	griešnas	nuodemingas, et

Although some of the pure Lithuanian words named here may be new linguistic formations (e.g. savaitē), one should not forget that these new formations in any case /15/ go back to Baltic stems. In addition there is a series of Slavic words in Lithuanian for which no genuinely Lithuanian words can be found, principally in the area of religious life as well as in the areas with which the Lithuanians became familiar through the Slavs. (7) A third group of words that are fre-

1/K [see cat. 116, p 9 --Analyst]

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1 7. K. Buga, "Die litauisch-weissrussischen Beziehungen und ihr Alter," special number of the Zeitschrift für slawische Philologie (Leipzig, 1924), Vol. I, Nos. 1/2, pp. 26-55. Būga points out that a series of White Russian words of religious content must have found its way into the Lithuanian language even before 1387 (pp. 50 and 52). The same would apply to the terms for a number of objects with which the Lithuanians became acquainted through the trade with the White Russians even before 1200; e.g. glass, silk, market, donkey, radish, and others (p. 46).

quently looked upon as Slavic is of proto-Indo-European origin and thus equally at home in both languages. Finally, Lithuanian contains many words that passed over into the Slavic languages. A comparison of the Lithuanian language with the Slavic languages presents thus a great number of factors that have to be taken into consideration.

197 All in all we can say today that the relationship of these languages on closer observation does not prove to be as close as it appeared to [194] Schleicher. Above all, there is a strikingly small number of sibilants in Lithuanian, while the sibilants actually impose a special stamp on Slavic. [193] On the other hand, Slavic feeling for language is reflected to a large extent in the syntax and grammar of Lithuanian. Thus the Lithuanian language, exactly as Polish, puts the predicate substantive in the instrumental and puts the object in the genitive with negative verbs. Certain sibilants, e.g. the č in mačiau "I saw," are traceable for the first time around the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but do not represent a borrowing from Slavic. It is interesting that the educated Russian and Pole will not admit any close relationship of Lithuanian with his own language and that, quite the contrary, he is inclined to look at the Lithuanian language as something purely foreign.

1 [footnote to text on page 12, see cat. 192 or 197--Analyst]

000pletely foreign.

162 Lithuanian is spoken today by about three
191 million people, half of whom understand only their native language. Since a detailed description of the Lithuanian language area would extend considerably beyond the limits of this presentation, only the following may be said briefly on the subject: Lithuanian is the native language of the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the Lithuanian state. Beyond this /16/ a large section of the Lithuanian language area is found today under Polish rule (the Vilna area). Furthermore, the area of the Lithuanian language projects on the one hand into Latvia and on the other into East
[167] Prussia. Finally, there are in the United States large, close-knit Lithuanian communities which may include a total of about half a million people. In Chicago alone 70,000 Lithuanians have been counted. These people are emigrants and their descendants. Large Lithuanian colonies have also arisen in South America, especially in recent times.

•197 In spite of its relatively small size we
184 find within the enclosure of the Lithuanian language area a large number of dialectal differences. The principal dialects are High Lithuanian and Low Lithuanian (Samogitian), of which the latter is related to the former in about the same way as Low German is to High German. In addition to its vocabulary, Samogitian is distinguished from High Lithuanian by its accentuation, its drawled pronunciation, and its loss of fully pronounced endings. It is divided in turn into the dialects of Raseiniai and Telšiai, which are distinguished from each other principally by transposition of the vowels of the diphthongs. In the writings of the poetess Žemaitė, Low Lithuanian stands out sharply in syntax and vocabulary.

The High Lithuanian dialect group is divided into an eastern and a western subgroup. Western High Lithuanian in turn consists of two dialects, whose border is formed approximately by

197 184 the Memel. In the eastern group of High Lithuanian a series of dialects can also be distinguished. Dzūkijan, or Southeast Lithuanian, as well as North Lithuanian spoken in the river area of the Mūšā (north of Panevėžys) stand out as particular dialects. (8)

8. A. Senn, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

The large number of dialectal differences implies for the vocabulary and form of the language an enrichment not to be underestimated. This surprising richness in a relatively small territory /Unnumbered page with illustration--Lithuanian Landscape/ /17/ can probably be attributed primarily to the seclusion of the individual districts. This resulted from a backwardness of many centuries and a conservative adherence to inherited land. The differences of the dialects, however, are not so strong that they could destroy the unity of the language. The present literary language is based on the dialect of the South Lithuanian province of Užnemunė (earlier the gouvernement Suvalkija), which is spoken particularly on the south bank of the Memel, in other words, the southern dialect of western High Lithuanian. We thus find in standard Lithuanian the long vowels of the final syllables preserved. (9)

[113] 9. All grammatical presentations of the present Lithuanian standard language are based primarily on the work of Prof. Jablonski, who, under the name Rygiškių Jonas, is the author of: Lietuvių kalbos vadovelis (Kaunas, 1925); and Lietuvių kalbos gramatika, 2nd ed. (Kaunas-Vilna, 1922).

197 192 B. Antiquity and Formal Richness of the Lithuanian Language

In the year 1625 the Königsberg clergyman Johannes Rhesa wrote in the preface to his Lith-

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197 uanian Psalter: "If we observe many strange words in the Lithuanian language, it will be found that it is a mixed language, stemming from other major languages, especially Greek and Latin, a fact which becomes evident for example in the proverb of the Lithuanians: Dewas dawe dantes, Dewas dos ir dones; that is, 'If God has given teeth, he must also have given bread.' Whoever knows Greek or Latin will find that most of the words take their origin from these languages." (10)

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10. Quoted on the basis of Bezzenberger, see footnote 13.[1]

197 We have seen[2] that Indo-European linguistic research in its further development has not confirmed this view of the old Königsberg clergyman, although it still haunted the German press during the First World War. (11) /18/ Rather, linguistic

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11. Prof. Dr. Leo Brenner, "Litauer und Preussen, Stammesbrüder der Griechen," Deutsche Tageszeitung, September 12, 1917.

research has shown us that Lithuanian, together with Greek and Latin, originated in a common primitive language--Indo-European, and that the similarities of these languages are due to this fact. That these similarities are so striking, however, finds its explanation in the unusual antiquity of the Lithuanian language, which in this regard occupies a unique position among all the Indo-European languages. Schleicher already finds it remarkable that so ancient a language still exists at all. He refers to the dual and the seven Indo-European cases in Lithuanian that at times match the Sanskrit. He stresses that Lithuanian remained almost completely free of the great sound changes which the rest of the Indo-European languages underwent, and assigns to Lithuanian a similar role in the framework of the

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 17-18 -- Analyst]
2 [see cat 116, pp. 8-13 -- Analyst]

•197 most closely related Slavic languages as is played by Gothic in a comparative presentation of the Germanic languages. Schleicher explains the antiquity of Lithuanian by the seclusion of the Lithuanian country folk from historical movements, and draws a parallel with Icelandic. (12) One of the

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12. Schleicher, Vergleichende Sprachgeschichte (1848) (cf. here the chapter on the "Zetazismus der litauischen Sprache"); and Die Sprachen Europas (1850).

best modern experts on the Lithuanian language, Prof. Bezzenberger, expresses himself similarly: "If one asks, however, whence it comes that Lithuanian has preserved until today such splendid features of antiquity. . .while all other Indo-European languages have in contrast long gone about [181] in an unusually strong conservative trait in the Lithuanians." (13) Although for the

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13. Bezzenberger's reply to L. Brenner's essay, "Litauer und Preussen," Königsberger Hartungsche Zeitung, February 10, 1918. Cf. on this point in the same newspaper, on October 24, 1918, the reply of Dr. Herbert Krüger, "Griechen und Litauer": "Whether the division of the Indo-European languages into centum and satem languages, based on phonetic differences, also forms a good standard for the degree of relationship of the peoples concerned will be contested from many sides. It must be left to the work of specialists to decide whether only the general Indo-European relationship exists between the Lithuanians and the Greeks, or a somewhat closer relationship, which Herr Geheimrat Bezzenberger disputes. Before the assumed division there must have existed at one time a unified original people, and if, as even Herr Geheimrat Bezzenberger does, we no longer

197 174 place the original home of this primitive people in far-off Asia, but in Europe on the shore of the Baltic Sea, the ancestors of the Greeks must have emigrated to the south from their northern homeland, separating themselves from the original people either before or after the Lithuanians."

197 193 Although for the linguist it is naturally just as essential to determine in what ways Lithuanian differs from the old languages of the Latins and Greeks, it is still not without fascination to examine the great antiquity of the Lithuanian language on the basis of the existing similarities. For the declension cases of Latin and Lithuanian the example "man" (Latin vir, Lithuanian vyras) may be given:

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	Latin	Lithuanian	Latin	Lithuanian
	Singular		Plural	
Nom.	vir	vyras	viri	vyrai
Gen.	viri	vyro	virorum	vyrų
Dat.	viro	vyrui	viris	vyrams
Acc.	virum	vyrą	viros	vyrus
Voc.	vir	vyre	viri	vyrai

While Latin knows for vir only an ablative with an instrumental and locative function (viro--viris), Lithuanian has at its disposal both a locative (vyre--vyruose) and an instrumental (vyru--vyrais). In addition to these cases there are in Lithuanian three more that are formed by attaching suffixes: girion "toward the forest" (giria "forest") dievopi "to God" (dievas "God"), and dieviep "with God."

197 192 Word similarities are especially striking:

"god"	deus	dievas
"tooth"	dens	dantis

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"ear"	auris	ausis
"fire"	ignis	ugnis
"yoke"	iugum	jungas
"sheep"	ovis	avis
"sun"	sol	saulē

The Latin sentence viri trahite iugum is translated into modern Lithuanian vyrai traukite junga.

197 In inflection there are striking similarities with Greek and Sanskrit:

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	Greek	Sanskrit	Lithuanian
"I am"	εἰμί<ἐσμί	asmi	esu and esmi
"you are"	ἐσί	asi	esi
"he is"	ἐστί	asti	yra and esti

These few examples of the antiquity of Lithuanian vocabulary and morphology may suffice. A /20/ further very old element is the dual, which is still alive today in its rich forms, primarily in the Lithuanian dialects. Thus, from the circle of languages that are today silent, Lithuanian projects into our living present like a monument of ancient times. The sentence structure is ancient. Subject and predicate usually stand next to each other with no connecting element. Only rarely is the relation of the sentences to each other in pure Lithuanian style expressed by connecting words, rather it must be recognized from the meaning. Thus the sentences are strung together as in the old fairy tales or as in the Greek language before the artificial period structure was introduced. Many sentence sequences might be compared with old woodcuts. Particularly difficult, especially for Germans, is the Lithuanian case system, in which, next to the genitive, the instrumental plays a large role. The German subjunctive is often represented in Lithuanian by participial constructions. The latter are frequently used as absolute constructions (the ablative absolute of Latin and the genitive absolute of

●197 Greek). Thus, for example, Lithuanian has a con-
193 struction that must be described precisely as a dative absolute.

192 Among the ancient features of Lithuanian can be listed also the diminutive forms, which are probably not used in such abundance in any other living language. They surround the language like a colorful scroll and are especially essential to the folk songs. But while, for example, High German knows today only two such diminutives, -chen and -lein, Lithuanian has at its disposal an incomparably large number, which are attached not only to substantives but also to adjectives and even verbs and adverbs. If we take for example the word "small" mažas, we find the following forms: mažalēlis, mažilēlis, maželēlis, mažutis, mažytis, mažiukas, mažulēlis, mažiulukas, mažulytis, mažutēlis, mažiulis, mažylis, mažučiukas. W. Kalwaitis counts in his Litauischer Namensschatz no less that 66 diminutive forms for the word mama "mother," among them even a fivefold diminutive /21/ mamaitužužuželē. (14) We have an excellent

[113] 14. W. Kalwaitis, Litauischer Namensschatz (Lithuanian and German) (Tilsit, 1910), p. 24, where the following progression of diminutives from mama are given: mamaitē--mamaitužē--mamaitužužē--mamaitužužužē--mamaitužužuželē. It might be possible that a conscientious philologist who counted all the diminutive forms of this one word might arrive at the figure 100.

article by Prof. Brender on the significance of the diminutive forms in Lithuanian. (15) Brender shows

[113] 15. F. Brender, "Die Verwendung der sogenannten Diminutive im Litauischen," Tauta ir Žodis (Kaunas, 1925), Vol. III, pp. 76-111.

here that diminution occurs primarily with such

•197 Present-day linguistics points out that in
194 the Lithuanian language the intonation of the primitive Indo-European language has still been preserved. This can be seen with particular clarity in a comparison with Greek: e.g. Lithuanian algà (from algā); Greek ἀλφός "profit"; but genitive algõs, Greek ἀλφῶς .

Let it be said that here, too, there are variations in Lithuanian, in that some dialects have obliterated the length distinctions and have thus become simpler with regard to rhythm and melody (e.g. Samogitian). Where, however, the old rhythm has remained fully preserved, it has kept the endings from wearing away and degenerating, as we find them for example in /23/ Lettish, where the words are always stressed on the first syllable. Certainly the melody of the Lithuanian language, which many linguists have noticed, rests in large part upon this peculiar swaying rhythm.

194 The beauty and melody of the Lithuanian language unfolds its full euphony particularly in song. It has been appreciated by many scholars and artists. Thus by Élisée Reclus: "If the value of a nation in the whole of humanity could be measured by the beauty of its language, the Samogitians and Lithuanians would be in the first rank among the inhabitants of Europe." (18)

[113] 18. Élisée Reclus, Nouvelle Geographie Universelle, Vol. V, (Paris, 1880), p. 431.

We have found one reason for the phonetic beauty of this language in the minor role of the sibilants, in which it is distinguished from the Slavic languages, a second reason in the musical rhythm peculiar to it which gives it a swaying movement. Finally, a third reason is its richness in pure vowels. They are primarily the vowels a, o, and u, while compressed vowels like the Russian ы are not present at all. We are indebted to Vydūnas for interesting statistics on

195 of Slavic elements. (20)

[113] 20. The oldest language monuments of Lithuanian from the year 1547 on have been published in Gerullis: Moswid, Die ältesten litauischen Sprachdenkmäler bis zum Jahre 1570, edited by Dr. Georg Gerullis, Indogermanische Bibliothek, Vol. II (Heidelberg, 1923).

195 197 After the middle of the last century Lithuanian literature awoke to a life of its own, and from that time on there developed a Lithuanian language which takes its expressive and formal content from the various Lithuanian dialects without, however, arriving immediately at exact and clear conceptual definitions. Difficulties resulted from the fact that a number of expressions of the language had taken on meanings colored by dialect, and partially even contrasting meanings, in the separate provinces. The first task consisted therefore in a unification and conceptual delimitation of the available vocabulary. This process has even today not yet fully been carried out, although it is essentially complete. Some of the differences between the former and present literary language is explained by this fact. From decade to decade Lithuanian literary language has been gaining expressiveness, force, and richness. But still it was in its nature a peasant language that had not caught up with the rapid Western development in science and technology.

/25/ A powerful impetus was given by the founding of the independent Lithuanian state. Three problems resulted for the further development of the literary language. The first problem consisted in freeing the language from the Slavic influences by which it was at times completely ruled -- this applies to whole provinces -- and to replace the formerly employed Slavic words with pure Lithuanian

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197 ones. This problem was capable of complete solution, since in the large vocabulary of Lithuanian everyday speech the necessary words or stems were available and only education of the people and enlightenment through the schools were needed. Moreover, the newly awakened national consciousness pushed the development forward. In addition, among the existing dialects of the Lithuanian language, which still stood side by side as equals and which are clearly reflected in their great variety in the earlier writings of the Lithuanian poets, there was the question of choosing one dialect -- as mentioned, the Suvalkijan dialect was picked -- and constructing on it the new literary language that would be valid for the whole land. This task ran into greater difficulties. Moreover there was danger that now, with the necessity of gradation, the rest of the dialects would be discredited and the language would thus lose much richness. For in every people the so-called literary language gains constantly new strength from its contact with the dialects.

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195 The enormous task of uniformly constructing and elaborating the new literary language was undertaken by the distinguished Lithuanian linguist Jablonskis, or as he called himself, Rygiškių Jonas. Born on January 12, 1861 on a farm east of the Šešupė, he attended the Russian gymnasium in Marijampolė, studied ancient languages in Moscow, and later taught at universities in various cities. After the founding of the Lithuanian University he was named Professor of the Lithuanian language. Jablonskis possessed on the one hand an excellent /26/ training in ancient languages and on the other hand stood in close touch with the simple country folk. He thus succeeded in comprehending the individuality of the Lithuanian language and in recognizing the foreign influences. The abundance of Lithuanian idioms that are distributed throughout his works is very great and shows us the full power and expressive possibilities of this

814 language. To be sure, Jablonskis was primarily a
195 grammarian and not an artist. Most important to him was simple clarity. But he always appreciated and welcomed also poets and thinkers taking part in the creation of the language, and never held back with his advice. (21)

[113] 21. A brief appreciation of Jablonskis in German is given by Vydūnas: "Schöpfer der litauischen Schriftsprache," Unsere Stimme (Tilsit), Vol. 2, pp. 27-28.

195 The third problem* that had to be overcome
197 in the creation of the Lithuanian literary language, and that was perhaps the most important of all, was a question of transforming the Lithuanian language from a peasant language into an instrument with which even the educated, the artist, and the scientist would be able to work. In this connection it was first of all a matter of elaborating the vocabulary. This, then, will be considered first.

192 If we will look at the vocabulary of the Lithuanian language, we must first of all refute the widespread notion that the language is poor in words. A peasant language may appear poor in words to a representative of Western city culture; but it never has been, absolutely speaking. In its living organism there is an enormous ramification. This is true for the Lithuanian language as for every other peasant language. The countless skills of the peasant's work, the diverse nuances of the peasant's life itself, of which the typical city person no longer has any knowledge, all bear special terms. In addition there is a second group of words and word formations that stem from the antiquity of the Lithuanian language and find no parallel in modern Western languages. Every language develops just as much from complexity to simplicity as from /27/ simplicity to complexity. We describe the former as typification and general-

* [cat. 116, pp. 25-27 -- Analyst]

192 From the area of the mind, too, examples could be added. Let those mentioned here be enough to refute the story of the general paucity of words in Lithuanian. Further, the psychological difference between the Lithuanian and German languages is sufficiently indicated by what is said here. As early as the year 1800 it occurred to Mielcke in the preparation of his German-Lithuanian dictionary /29/ that "the concepts in the two languages are not constructed from the same characteristics and do not cover the same ground, and moreover if a Lithuanian word expresses the meaning of a German word, the connotations of each of these words are often at the same time extremely different." (23)

[113] 23. Christian Gottlieb Mielcke, Littauisch-deutsches und Deutsch-littauisches Wörterbuch (Königsberg, 1800), Preface, p. 4.

197 195 We thus see that the Lithuanian language, as a result of the working together of the most varied factors, represents a finely organized and rich organism. But this richness lies, apart from the formal elements, in the main in the area of things perceived through the senses, of the objective. For the further development of the Lithuanian literary language the most important problem thus turned out to be its elaboration for the areas of the spiritual and intellectual, i.e. of art, science, technology, etc. This problem was insoluble as long as the Lithuanian people as a clearly defined and spiritually homobeneous mass had been cut off from the Western European development by the barrier of the Russian boundary and Russian oppression. One cannot construct a world of concepts in new words where the knowledge and understanding of the concepts themselves do not yet exist among the masses. First of all a broader educated class must be created to be the bearer of this new world of words and concepts, from which the newly gained knowledge

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can flow in a thousand channels over the whole land. Thus the problem of the creation of the Lithuanian language was subordinate to a much greater problem: it was a question of the destiny of the Lithuanian people, who had remained many decades behind the rapid Western European development, to win a place in Western intellectual life. This, however, was in turn possible only through language; not through a small circle of educated individuals obtaining this place by recourse to one world language or another, but through the whole people obtaining in its language a medium of expression and understanding by means of which it was in a position /30/ to take part in the further cultural development of the world. Both problems are conditional on each other and are only mutually soluble. The further development of the Lithuanian literary language involves, therefore, a problem just as much sociological as linguistic, unless one wanted to create an artificial language for a small circle, the secrets of which would have to remain incomprehensible to the broad masses. But no one thinks of such a thing in Lithuania.

Enormous was the task and tireless the labor that was expended. The problem was not to be solved by one linguist or even by linguistics as such. The development had rather to result through practical life. Who can imagine today the difficulties involved in animating with words a language that, in spite of all its internal richness and beauty, lacked the terms for the necessary articles in a modern office as well as for the furnishing of a city apartment? The rapid economic advance in Lithuania also pushed the linguistic development pitilessly forward, created words and terms and destroyed them again, until gradually that which had been proved remained, became established, and was carried over into the general vocabulary, above all through the press,

which had to be linguistically creative to a high degree.

Thus the development of the Lithuanian literary language, if only in the speed with which it was effected, -- something similar applies, mutatis mutandis, to Lettish and Esthonian-- implies actually a revolution that represents something unheard of and unique in the history of languages. A complete terminology had to be created in all conceivable areas of knowledge; it was necessary to increase the expressive potentials for science, technology, and art to an unheard-of extent, to define concepts scientifically, to create nuances, in short to make up in a few years for what among other peoples had come about in organic growth over the course of centuries. The uniqueness of this development and of what has already been achieved has, /31/ it seems to me, not yet fully been grasped by the Lithuanian people, even in its educated classes. And yet this development of the language, together with the revelation of an unexpectedly strong popular will for life, implied a great intellectual advance, the only basis, as we have seen, on which it could be accomplished at all.

If we ask what has been accomplished today, after two decades, we see a large section of the charted course already travelled. The literary language as such has been stabilized like every other language and is spread across the whole country in a unified form through general instruction in the schools. The Slavic admixtures have largely been dropped off and hardly appear any more in the speech of the younger generation. Adaptation to the Western European world languages has made great progress; a scientific language is being formed. The leader in this area was the Lithuanian University. Naturally, this latter development, according to its nature, has not yet been concluded.

It is only natural that the further develop-

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ment of the language in the various areas of intellectual life did not proceed everywhere with the same speed. It was primarily political, educational, and also economic problems which provided the material for the formation of the new literary language since the beginning of the 1880's, and it was in turn the same problems which, together with the objects of external civilization, necessarily became the prominent topics of literary discussion after the founding of the state, while the artistic and poetic element had to play a minor part in the consciousness of the people. Thereby the Lithuanian literary language remained essentially direct, natural, clear and concrete. The transfer of the objective to the spiritual, however, a practise so predominant today in the languages of the West and developed in the subtlest forms by whole generations of poets, has only recently become applicable in Lithuanian for the first time within narrow limits. Everything is still seen concretely; a spiritual feeling for metaphor has not yet been /32/ experienced. Thus in Lithuanian everyday speech one cannot say, to take a few everyday examples from the German language: die wandernden Jahre [the wandering years] (only a person can wander), ein sonniger Mensch [a sunny person] (a room is sunny), klingendes Spiel [sounding play], die versunkene Erinnerung [sunken memory] (a stone sinks in the water), reine Augen [pure eyes] (only an object is pure), in bescheidenen Grenzen, [within modest limits], etc. This spiritual feeling for metaphor, which today has already been transferred in part from the language of the Western poets into the everyday speech of their peoples, cannot now be awakened artificially but presupposes also a psychological transformation. Even in the German language it did not exist in an earlier period. In Lithuanian metaphor has existed from olden times

195 where it is a matter of the personification of
• 197 things. The best proof are the Lithuanian folk riddles: the river runs, the shoes gape, the grain comes home to sleep, etc. In modern Lithuanian poetry we find, on the other hand, the transition to the abstract throughout. Thus, for example, in Balys Sruoga (Saulē ir smiltys):

> Go onto the long
> Road of autumn. . .(p. 111)

or

> . . .the stars which inflamed the heavens
> With the fire of life --
> I do not envy. (p. 62)

In modern poetry--in this connection I refer to the poetic imitations in the last chapter -- the spiritualization of the objective is thus shown in living images. It is to be expected that everyday language, too, will not escape this influence, once recent Lithuanian poetry has penetrated deeper into the people. The more slowly and organically this spiritual transformation process takes place, the richer will be the fruits to be expected from it.(24)

113 24. The most important scientific literature concerning the Lithuanian language of the nineteenth century is listed by Oscar Wiedemann, Handbuch der Litauischen Sprache (Strassburg, 1897), pp. 4-6. In particular may be mentioned: Leopold Geitler, Litauische Studien (Prague, 1875). Adalbert Bezzenberger, Beiträge zur Geschichte der litauischen Sprache. Auf Grund litauischer Texte des XVI. und des XVII. Jahrhunderts (Göttingen, 1877). By the

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

474 operative branches, is a small sum. In the unclassified group [452] in the year 1939 there were 430 societies with a membership of 4,581. The total membership of all coöperative societies in 1939 was 161,256.

All the coöperative unions and bigger coöperative societies have representatives in the Council of Coöperatives of Lithuania (Lietuvos Kooperatyvu Taryba), which was formally chartered on January 30, 1925. The task of the Council is to encourage coöperative movement, to maintain close ties among coöperatives in Lithuania and in foreign countries, and to represent them in the government institutions and [204] public organizations. The Council publishes the magazines *Talka* (Coöperation) and *Bendras Darbas* (Coöperative Work).[26]

In short, it may be said that coöperation has played an important role in the economic reconstruction and development of Lithuania since 1918. Coöperative institutions have increased the purchasing power of the farmers, both as producers and as consumers. At the same time they have furthered economic progress both by increasing productivity and by improving the quality of many products.

GRAIN CULTURE

243 Grain culture, which has been known in Lithuania since ancient times, was the backbone of the country's agriculture before the World War of 1914–18. Though there has been a tendency since 1926 to concentrate more on livestock breeding and dairying, grain culture still is the dominating feature of Lithuania's agriculture.

243 In recent years there has been a yearly production of 439 about 1.6 to 1.7 million metric tons of grain, with only a

[26] Salcius, *op. cit.*, pp. 230–31.

*538 204 1883 is the first one that is again decisive for the trend of Lithuanian literature. In March of that year Dr. Basanavičius published in Ragnit the first number of a monthly newspaper with the name Aušra (The Dawn). This newspaper became the center of the young Lithuanian literature and intelligentsia. It remained neutral with regard to the Poles, and did not actually have a political program. None of its publishers was a politician. They fought for the rights of the Lithuanian language, the Lithuanian schools, and Lithuanian education. The new national consciousness, however, which was the real foundation and prerequisite for all these demands, was carried by this newspaper into the farthest regions of Lithuania. (33) In this lies its decisive sig-

33. Cf. on this point Eduard Hermann, Die litauische Gemeinsprache als Problem der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft (Göttingen, 1929), p. 103: "I have been told by many old Lithuanians how as students they practically devoured the periodicals whose importation to Russia was forbidden so that they could read them only secretly, and how the national idea thus inspired the youth. Through these periodicals many learned Lithuanian for the first time. The essays were often read aloud to friends, since few copies were available."

*538 204 195 nificance. It became important for a new revival of Lithuanian literature in that it provided a firm basis for a general literary language which had been lacking. There inevitably evolved the necessity of creating a general literary language, understandable to all, out of the numerous Lithuanian dialects. To be sure, this work did not succeed at one stroke, especially since

*538 the editors changed and there was no linguist
•204 among them. Primarily the manner of writing re-
195 mained quite varied. (34)

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34. Cf. on this question: P. Jonikas, "Apie Aušros rašomąją kalbą (On the Literary Language of the Aušra) in Vairas, 1933, Vol. V, No. 12, p. 418, where further references are also given; also the already mentioned work of Hermann (fn. 33) in the Abh. d. königl. Ges. d. Wiss. Phil.-Hist. Kl., No. 1.

*538 The world of ideas of Aušra stands in a
204 direct relationship to that peculiar world of ideas that we /232/ became acquainted with in observing the Vilna period of Lithuanian romanticism. A romantic concern with the past of the people and their language (translations of poems by Polish romantics) is characteristic of this period. When the present is treated, elegica, thoroughly unrevolutionary moods emerge, as in the simple poem by Maironis, "Lithuanian Misery," contained in No. 6 of the year 1885, which reads:

Great God, dear God,
Say, wherein lies our sin,
Why is the sky dark,
Why do cold winds blow?

Spread over us your wings--
Although we are sinners out of weakness,
Protect us and make us one,
For we are your children.

The newspaper Aušra lasted for only three years. The romanticism of an idealized past and national unity demanded the complement of the present. Above all the split in the Lithuanian intelligentsia, mentioned before, which immediately

538 became evident at the start of the development,
204 led to the founding of four new organ few years later: the world of ideas of Aušra that mixture of religious idealism and patriotic romanticism, lived on in the clerical periodical Apžvalga (Review) (Tilsit, 1890-96) and, after the latter had ceased to exist, in Tėvynės Sargas (Guardian of the Fatherland). The second, more realistically and practically minded group made the newspapers Varpas (The Bell) and Ūkininkas (The Peasant) its mouthpiece. The further progress of Lithuanian literature in the years following was of necessity practically oriented, since the awakening of a /233/ national consciousness appeared to that generation the most important, indeed almost the only, task of art. But several
538 poets emerged from this period who were to exert their literary influence on later generations (34)

34. /See above./

Born of the romantic spirit of Aušra are the creations of Vincas Pietaris (1850-1902). The son of a peasant in the district of Vilkaviškis, after graduating from the Marijampolė gymnasium he studied first physics, then medicine, and passed the state examination at the Moscow University in 1879. We find him later as a district physician in Ustiuschna, where he died. Return to his Lithuanian homeland was forbidden him, since as the recipient of a government scholarship he had to accept the position that was assigned him by the Russian government. Pietaris' literary activity began around 1890. From then on we find his name frequently in the Lithuanian press, as well as in American-Lithuanian papers. Pietaris, like nearly all the Lithuanian writers at that time, was in the first place a journalist. This also placed a stamp on his artistic creations. His most important publications are his memoirs

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

The popularisation of agriculture by means of adult courses and lectures plays an important part in the scheme of agricultural and domestic education. Until 1927, the courses and lectures were organised and subsidised by the Ministry of Agriculture; since that date, they have been taken over by the Chamber of Agriculture. Between 1928 and 1937, the Chamber organised 19,459 lectures on various agricultural questions in 12,824 towns and villages, attended by 379,700 agriculturists; 1,117 lectures on various agricultural questions, organised for farmers' sons serving with the forces, were attended by 170,000 men. Between 1928 and 1937, 4,198 courses, lasting from three to six days and attended by 853,600 agriculturists, were given by agricultural experts, doctors, veterinary surgeons, forestry experts, etc. A large number of courses are organised on the feeding and care of live-stock, milking, flax-scotching and the secondary branches of agriculture (poultry-keeping, bee-keeping, horticulture). 874

Altogether, approximately one and a-half million agriculturists have passed through the agricultural schools up to date or attended courses or lectures. Out of the 300,000 farms, there is not one from which several inmates have not gone to an agricultural school or attended courses or lectures. In addition, agricultural lectures are broadcast regularly.

Since 1928, the Chamber of Agriculture has organised lectures and domestic economy courses for farmers' wives and peasant girls, given for the most part by the agricultural domestic economy advisers attached to the Chamber. There are general and special courses. The former last either from one to three months or from two to three weeks. The following subjects are included: preparation of food, housewifery, laundry, hygiene and the care of children. The courses lasting from one to three months also include sewing, manual work, horticulture, bee-keeping, poultry-keeping, care of live-stock, co-operation, etc. At the special courses (from three to fifteen days), instruction is given in one of these subjects, according to the time of year and local circumstances. No charge is made for the courses, which are held at the farms or in the elementary schools. Between 1928 and 1937, upwards of 75,000 farmers' wives and peasant girls attended housewifery courses. Lectures on household management are also broadcast from time to time.

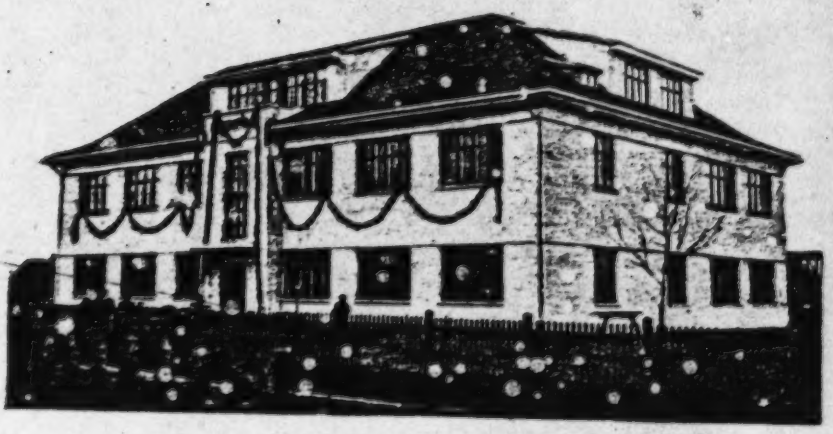
The Chamber of Agriculture organises domestic economy exhibitions and excursions to enable farmers' wives to visit model farms, interesting undertakings, etc.

The agricultural Press plays an important part in popularising agriculture. The Chamber of Commerce issues a weekly review, *Ūkininko Patarėjas* (*The Peasant's Adviser*), with two supplements: *Jaunasis Ūkininkas* (the organ of the Union of Young Farmers' Clubs) and *Šeimininkė* (for farmers' wives). 874 204

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

[204] This review has a circulation of about 80,000. There are also three weekly reviews for agriculturists : *Lietuvos Ūkininkas*, 874 *Ūkininkas* and *Mūsų Laikraštis*, all with a large circulation.

Lastly, agricultural experts and other technicians in the service of the Chamber of Agriculture give farmers and their wives advice and practical instruction in all branches of agriculture and agricultural domestic economy (including the care of children).



Primary school at Kvédarna.

723 "latent enemies of the people." Mobilization exercises
722 are periodically staged, to test the apparatus. Speakers addressing mass meetings denounce American and British "imperialists" and "warmongering aggressors." War morale permeates the administrative apparatus, the Party and army circles. Workers are urged to strain every effort for the "defense of the Soviet motherland" and to increase the output.

[207] Radio listening sets are still in existence. Their number is considerably smaller than before the war, inasmuch as permits are required. Such permits are given by the authorities to "loyal citizens" and every applicant would automatically place himself under suspicion. "Radio points" are installed in KP/b clubs, "Red Corners," and loudspeakers blare out the broadcasts from Vilnius and Moscow.

Nevertheless, several hundred unregistered radio receiving sets are owned illegally, and foreign broadcasts are heard.

Population and Minorities

162 Lithuania presently has roughly 2,300,000 inhabitants—a loss of 200,000 within the single year 1948. However, over 200,000 Soviet nationals—armed forces, MGB, MVD, and settlers—replaced the natives. The colonists settled where the long arm of the guerrillas cannot reach them—in large cities and in the areas where there were Russian settlements prior to 1940: in Zarasai county, and at Jonava and Kruonis. Russians are also settled in the Klaipėda District and in the western areas (Samagitia) which were largely depopulated by the retreating Germans and several "operations" of the MVD-MGB. Few Russians settled along the Polish-Lithuanian frontier and some 20,000 Lithuanians "repatriated" from Poland were moved there. East Prussia—in both the Russian and Polish-annexed sections—is settled predominantly by Whiteruthenes (Byelorussians), presumably in an attempt to erect a Whiteruthenian "wedge toward the sea" which would finally cut off Lithuania from the Baltic.

Kaunas has a population of 150,000, of whom 60% are Lithuanians. Vilnius has a population of about 160,000, of whom 37% are Lithuanians, 23% are Poles, 40% are Russians and others. There is no longer a separate Polish underground since the "repatriation" of Poles.

There are practically no native Germans left, but there are thousands of German vagrants, mostly women and children who seek food and work on farms. Some Tatars, Karaims and Gypsies survived.

563 About 3,000 native Jews stayed in the country and some 15,000 other Jews arrived from Russia. The Jews settled in the cities and occupy the more important posts in the administration. Their children attend Russian schools exclusively. For these reasons, the natives distrust Jews. Even those Jews whom the Lithuanians had saved from extermination during the Nazi occupation at great personal risk, avoid helping those who aided them. In fact, when now approached for aid to save their benefactors from deportation, they complain that "food had been bad" when they were hiding on Lithuanian farms.

In Butrimonys, where some 100 Jewish families lived before the war, only several families survived. One of the surviving Jews was especially ungrateful toward the farmer who had saved him at great per-

659 the Ministry of Education whether he could attend
656 religious services. The reply was: "As an individual—
798 yes, as a State employee—No."

Churches in the cities are crowded. In rural areas—the churches are nearly vacant. This is because people are afraid to leave their homes because of robberies and thefts by the Russians and Party members. On Sundays, even uniformed soldiers and militiamen (police) are openly engaging in robberies.

659 A vigorous campaign against priests and the Vatican
798 was instituted since December 1946. The Pope, the Vatican, and Christian morality and ways of life are
208 vilely denounced. In 1947, the Vatican became the "cradle of international reaction": the button pressed in Moscow echoes everywhere under the Russian occupation.

Translators immediately put out literature in the Lithuanian language. *Tiesa*, the official organ of the Communist Party and "government," in its #43 issue denounced the institution of Papacy as a partner of imperialists and exploiters: "The Pope was partner of the gangs of Teutonic crusaders," "During World War II, the Pope supported Hitler, the worst enemy of the Lithuanian people," "the clergy are the worst exploiters and enemies of the people."

Christian morality is also abused but "bolshevik morality" (?) is praised. For instance, *Bolševikiniu Keliu* (On the Bolshevik Path, No. 6/12) of 28 February 1947 wrote:

"The working people of a socialist country are creating their own new morality, basically differing from religious morality. Our morality is based on the struggle for Communism. . . . Morality is the means for destroying the exploiting society and uniting the working people around the proletariat which is forming a new Communist society. Hatred for the oppressors and enslavers . . . these are the wonderful peculiarities of our morality."

Certainly, a remarkable resemblance to Nazi "morality". . . .

The people of Lithuania entertain no illusions: the publicity drive against religion presages a new wave of arrests and deportations and purges. Indeed, since February 1947 mass dismissals from State employment—and every concern is a State concern—began.

798 The Lithuanian people met the second anti-religi-
771 ous drive with passive resistance, just as during the
883 first occupation. The "purges" are met with heroic stoicism. Churches remain filled with the faithful, regardless of the "friendly reminders" by Communist overlords to avoid the "inconveniences" and "hardships." Religious conferences for school children go on in churches, and the Komsomol is boycotted. Anti-religious "lectures" are attended only under compulsion. Teachers support the Komsomol only under direct pressure. *Tiesa*, the Soviet official mouthpiece, voiced its concern (12 February 1947):

"Komsomol meetings in the II Gymnasium of Šiauliai are infrequent. The Komsomol youths' attendance is deficient—a recent meeting was attended by only 5 members out of 13. We asked comrade Baravykaitė,

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

292 The national costume, though little worn on ordinary occasions, is much in evidence on holidays and on festive occasions, particularly among the women.

342 Since the redistribution of the communal lands, the farms have all been scattered over the vast plain, at some distance
241 from one another. Most of the buildings are of wood, as timber costs far less than masonry; the roofs are generally of thatch or wood, though quite often of iron or tiled. Most of the houses are fairly roomy, and even small peasant farmers have three or four rooms. The Lithuanian peasant does not live in a house under the same roof as the stables or other farm buildings, as is so often the case in Western and Southern Europe; he regards such an arrangement as inconvenient and unhealthy. There is generally a little orchard and vegetable garden near the house. The Lithuanian peasants do not plant orchards for commercial purposes; they grow fruit for their own requirements and very few of them sell their fruit on the home markets or for export.

184 The country being comparatively small in area, no great differences are noticeable between the types of farm or the peasants in different regions. Of recent years, the various means of communication, particularly motor-bus services, have improved, and this tends very largely to eliminate such differences as did exist between the various regions. Practically all the peasantry is Roman Catholic. Though dialects exist, peasants
[212] from all parts of the country understand one another. For some years now, over half of them have been able to read the newspapers and to become familiar with the literary language; farming papers alone have a circulation of over 150,000, though the total number of farms does not exceed 290,000. From the point of view of nationality also, the Lithuanian peasantry constitutes a homogeneous mass. Lithuania does possess national minorities (about 18% of the population) but these consist mainly of urban dwellers, whereas the rural districts are populated almost exclusively by persons of Lithuanian race.

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000 The Lithuanians have full confidence in the future. Always supposing that no restrictions are placed on their activities and that their territory is not once again turned into a battlefield, the exploitation of the natural riches of the country should proceed rapidly and on a comprehensive scale, while the living conditions of the rural population will improve correspondingly. This confidence in the future is justified by the very considerable progress already achieved during the brief period since Lithuania recovered her independence, progress which is explained by the attachment of country dwellers to the land and by their hard-working, intelligent and long-suffering character, and, lastly,

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

VII. EDUCATION — GENERAL, AGRICULTURAL AND HOUSECRAFT

872 Compulsory elementary education was gradually introduced between 1928 and 1931.

At present, elementary schools are divided into two grades. The first grade, which consists of four standards, is compulsory for children from 7 to 13 years of age. The second grade, consisting of two standards, is intended for children between the ages of 14 and 15 who have passed through the first grade; attendance is not as yet compulsory.

(In the Klaipėda territory attendance for six years at an elementary school is obligatory.)

To meet the needs of peasants on isolated farms, schools consist, as a rule, of only one or two class-rooms; those in the chief towns have from four to six rooms. The network of schools is organised in such a way that no child ever has to go more than 4 kilometres to get to school.

[875] The teachers are trained at the training colleges and at the Pedagogic Institute. Qualified students of the training colleges may proceed to higher educational establishments (the university). The Pedagogic Institute has a two-years course for students who have completed the grammar school or training college curriculum. The teachers are officials, paid by the State. The municipalities provide them lodging, heating and lighting or a cash equivalent.

The progress in elementary education since before the war is illustrated by the increase in the number of schools and of pupils. In 1913, there were 875 elementary schools in Lithuania, with 51,221 pupils; in 1919, there were 1,036 schools, with 45,540 pupils, and in 1938, 2,319 schools, with 283,773 pupils and 5,110 teachers. During the early years of Lithuanian independence, when the Government set about organising education on lines in keeping with the national aspirations, there was a shortage of qualified teachers and of school-buildings. In 1913, out of the 875 elementary schools in existence in the territory which now constitutes Lithuania, only 360 had their own premises, and some of these buildings were destroyed during the war.

874 Adult education is provided by the people's universities and by evening classes held at the elementary schools.

212 There is a steady decline in the number of illiterate persons in rural districts, and there are practically no illiterate young people.

and polygraphic industry which, measured by gross value, in 1937 amounted to 42%, and in 1932, when the paper production proper still hardly existed, to still more. 289 433

In a calculation converted to the basis year 1931, the production index figures for the paper and polygraphic industry are as follows:

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	80.9	122.1	124.5	149.4	177.9

The following statement shows the production quantity figures in tons ascertained for the same years:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Cellulose	39 300	36 800	56 093	53 957	59 208	66 101
Paper	2 800	2 400	6 214	6 921	7 407	8 922
Cardboard	·	830	681	848	1 047	943

On the strength of these data we may conclude that the cellulose production since 1931 has risen approximately 70%, but has exceeded the position of 1929 by approximately only 10%. The rise in the total production of the paper industry by 77.9% since 1931 is due to the growth of paper production which, as a result of the erection of a paper factory at Petrašiūnai in 1933, has since then more than trebled. Thanks thereto our paper imports since 1933 have receded by two-thirds in round figures.

The index figures calculated on the basis of the value amounts naturally reflect also the development of the remaining branches, for which no quantity data are available. This relates in the first place to the printing business, which has vigorously developed in independent Lithuania (the establishment of over 30 new printing offices in the first years of independence), the output of which, however, during the crisis years suffered a setback, which, especially in 1934 and 1935, exerted a restraining influence on the course of the index curve. 214

538 661 purely political side, the literary and artistic element had to recede far into the background.

Bishop Valančius originated the idea of printing Lithuanian books in Tilsit and then having them secretly brought across the border. These books carried Vilna as their place of publication, and as date of publication any year prior to the proclamation of the prohibition. In the course of time it was possible /231/ to cover the whole country with a network of so-called "book carriers" or "book bringers" (Lithuanian: knygnešys), who secretly smuggled the books across the border and distributed them within the country, although they were threatened with prison, even death, and deportation to Siberia. The Russians set a price of 500 rubles on the head of the book carrier Bielakas in 1890. Even the clergy was not spared, a number of priests were banished to Siberia, and a trial hung over Bishop Valančius himself in 1870-71. (31)

[113] 31. A good insight into this period is given by the comprehensive two-volume collection by P. Ruseckas, Knygnešys (The Book Bringers), Vol. I (Kaunas, 1926); Vol. II (1928); it contains numerous recollections and accounts of these men themselves, along with copious references. Otherwise, too, this period in Lithuanian literature has been fre-

538 Although in the decade from 1864-73 no less than 214, and from 1874-83 even 270 Lithuanian books and articles (principally religious in nature) were printed and distributed,(32) the year

32. Figures of the Lighuanian bibliographer Baltromaitis.

B. Painting and Sculpture

532 1. Development up to the first World War.

217 The palaces of the Radvilas, of the Paz, of the Sapiehas, and many others today lie in ruins. Only one or the other ruin still reminds one in its gigantic proportions of the power of the earlier lords of the land. With the castles of Lithuania, the precious store of pictures which they contained was also destroyed at the same time. Thus in 1830 the picture gallery of Princess Sapieha went up in flames. The art collection of the Radvilas, too, was half destroyed. The uprising /171/ of the year 1863 destroyed the most valuable portion of the archaeological collection of the Museum of Vilna. Valuable objects of art were removed by the Russians to St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Kiev, where they were exhibited in galleries, if they were not burned; the last happened, for example, to the remains of the Sapieha gallery, at the command of Czar Nicolas I. The first World War, however, brought with it the greatest destruction. With it a centuries old tradition was carried to the grave, never to be reawakened to life.

532 For these reasons the new Lithuanian painting grew in a completely independent soil, without tradition or connection with the artistic past of the country. The young Lithuanian painters sought and found the soul of their people in the nature of their homeland and in their heroic past. Sometimes they also built further along the line of the old peasant folk art, which extends into our own time. Around the turn of the nineteenth century /sic/ artistic life in Lithuania achieved its first blossoming. In the year 1907 the first Lithuanian art society was founded in Vilna.

532 In order to understand the beginning of Lithuanian artistic life, which was concentrated in the
186 old capital of the country, one must consider to what extent this spiritual life--no matter whether

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB1

TABLE 22

BUTTER EXPORTS IN THE BALTIC STATES[a]

(*In Metric Tons*)

YEAR	LITHUANIA	LATVIA	ESTONIA
1927	2,051	10,761	9,906
1928	2,643	13,006	11,222
1929	4,084	14,830	12,359
1930	7,357	13,430	14,066
1931	8,705	18,739	14,444
1932	9,926	18,598	12,531
1933	9,580	15,720	9,224
1934	9,671	15,701	10,118
1935	12,154	16,816	10,838
1936	14,629	17,291	10,955
1937	15,058	19,211	13,179
1938	17,413	23,464	14,732
1939	16,386	([b])	([b])

[a] C.S.B., volumes for 1927 to 1939.
[b] Figures not available.

L 234 439 BC 234 439

LIVESTOCK

Livestock breeding is one of the branches of agriculture that suffered greatly in the World War. As soon as the war started in 1914 Russia requisitioned the best horses for the army. Then came the German army, which took what had been left by the Russians. Only horses unfit for army use were left.

L 231 727

To alleviate a great shortage of food caused by the Allied blockade the Germans requisitioned even the milk cows for slaughter. The reduction in livestock in Lithuania in 1919 as compared with 1913 was as follows: horses, 38 percent; cattle, 47.7 percent; pigs, 44 percent; sheep, 30 percent. The reduction of stock may be clearly seen from Table 23,

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 23

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LIVESTOCK IN LITHUANIA 1913–39

YEAR	HORSES (1,000 head)	CATTLE (1,000 head)	PIGS (1,000 head)	SHEEP (1,000 head)
1913	451	918	1,138	1,152
1919	280	480	750	806
1920	335	604	1,119	894
1921	376	780	1,262	1,036
1925	497	1,339	1,488	1,455
1928 [a]	611	1,128	1,010	1,409
1930	562	1,034	1,207	1,212
1935 [b]	545	1,132	1,223	1,220
1938 [c]	558	1,193	1,249	1,241
1939	521	1,004	1,117	1,224

[a] For the period 1913–28: Kubilius, *op. cit.*, p. 86; C.S.B., 1918–28, p. 58.
[b] For the years 1930 and 1935: *Lietuvos Surasymas*, 1935, pp. 40–51.
[c] C.S.B., volumes for 1938 and 1939.

which shows also that livestock breeding recovered very quickly after the World War, so that as early as 1925 the number of livestock was even greater than it had been in [439] 1913. Exports of livestock and their products constituted 26.13 percent of the total value of exports as early as 1924 and reached 31.02 percent in 1928 and 61.4 percent in 1939. It may be interesting to analyze the livestock situation according to its various important branches.

231 Horses were bred in Lithuania as far back as historians [523] can trace the Lithuanian people. That horses are beloved by Lithuanians is proved by the many folk songs about them. In the Middle Ages Lithuania needed horses for its wars and bred them in great numbers for that purpose. Some of them were even sold in foreign markets.[36]

[36] Krikscionas, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 24

EXPORT VALUE OF LIVESTOCK AND THEIR PRODUCTS*

(In Thousands of Litas)

YEAR	HORSES	CATTLE	PIGS	MEAT, MEAT PRODUCTS	MILK, BUTTER, CHEESE	SKINS	BRISTLES, HAIR, BONES	TOTAL	PERCENT OF NATION'S TOTAL EXPORTS
1924	16,219	5,404	11,773	10,966	6,969	16,022	4,233	71,586	26.1
1925	14,475	7,386	14,119	6,672	12,123	11,731	3,397	69,903	28.9
1926	5,322	9,320	20,895	8,641	16,295	7,123	3,067	70,663	28.4
1927	10,993	6,756	12,864	6,826	17,537	11,315	2,133	68,424	27.8
1928	9,820	7,445	11,533	5,874	25,560	17,160	2,186	79,578	31.0
1930	10,306	12,975	38,753	46,112	52,543	7,790	2,652	171,131	51.3
1935	3,435	106	7,084	25,808	24,878	3,286	1,149	65,746	43.2
1937	4,964	2,189	16,336	31,127	48,193	7,343	1,782	111,934	53.7
1938	5,060	2,837	21,257	36,196	58,110	5,569	1,454	130,483	55.9
1939	3,300	2,436	23,509	39,884	50,056	4,055	1,614	124,854	61.4

* C.S.B., volumes for 1924 to 1939.

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3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

231 In recent years horses have been used a great deal for farm work. Lithuania being a country of small farms, it is usually quite impossible for the farmer to invest in expensive machinery. Furthermore, labor is too cheap for mechanized farming to be able to compete with it. Thus, the total number of horses in Lithuania is considerably larger than in the neighboring countries, Latvia and Estonia.

Shortly before the World War, and immediately after it, the small "Samogitian horses" (Zemaitukai) or "Lithuanian horses" were especially famous in western Europe. They are unusually hardy and are of the same breed as those with which Lithuanians in the Middle Ages made their inroads into Smolensk, Novgorod, and Moscow in their wars with the Russians.[37] These horses are especially suited for use in a country of large forests, bad roads, and primitive farming. But at the end of the nineteenth century, and especially at the beginning of the twentieth, conditions changed. More advanced farming with heavier tools required bigger and stronger horses, and horses of this type were crossed with the small "Samogitians." At the present time there are found many breeds of horses, but very few are of a pure breed. After the World War horse raising was vastly improved by establishing free central stations for horse husbandry. The sturdy "Samogitians" were valuable particularly for work in mines.

231 439 Shortly after the World War, demand for horses being great and prices high, a substantial number of horses were exported, but in recent years the export of horses has been

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 153.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 25

EXPORT OF HORSES 1924–39 231 439

YEAR	NUMBER OF HORSES	VALUE (*In million litas*)
1924	23,204	16.2
1926	10,347	5.3
1928	27,224	9.8
1930	20,647	10.3
1932	8,215	2.2
1934	17,318	4.6
1936	14,900	5.6
1937	13,262	4.9
1938	12,230	5.1
1939	7,130	3.3

on the decline. The greatest importers of Lithuanian horses are Latvia, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Finland. In 1938 the export of Lithuanian horses was as follows:

Latvia	3,254	Belgium	1,041	Germany	378
Netherlands	2,284	Switzerland	837	Czechoslovakia	37
Denmark	1,908	Sweden	698	Estonia	6
Finland	1,277	Great Britain	341		

Cattle breeding is one of the branches of livestock husbandry which not only recovered rapidly from the ravages of the World War but showed both a slight increase in number of head as compared with 1913 and a substantial improvement in quality. Evidence of improved quality is shown by the tenfold increase in butter production. The 1930 and 1935 censuses reveal the various categories of Lithuanian cattle as in Table 26. 231

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 26

●231 CATEGORIES OF LITHUANIAN CATTLE IN 1930 AND 1935*

	1930	1935
Calves less than one year old	216,890	160,670
Heifers one year old and older	135,670	176,300
Oxen one year old and older	27,200	38,730
Milk cows	654,030	755,830
TOTAL	1,033,790	1,131,530

* *Lietuvos Suvaisymas*, 1935, pp. 43–44.

From this table we see that about 65 percent of all the cattle of Lithuania are milk cows. The total number of cattle increased in 1935 as compared with 1930 by 9.5 percent, while the number of calves less than a year old was substantially smaller.

Pig breeding, another important branch of Lithuanian agriculture, is connected to some extent with dairying. This is because the dairies yield large quantities of skimmed milk, [439] which is always an excellent feed for pigs. Until 1924 the exports of pigs and pork from Lithuania were insignificant, but in later years, especially since 1930, after the Maistas Corporation developed its activities on a wider scale, the exports have increased considerably. In its stockyard at Kaunas about 800 workers were employed before the Russian occupation, while in the establishments at Siauliai, Panevezys and Taurage, smaller numbers were employed.

236 Sheep breeding in Lithuania is mainly for wool production, but wool has not played any great role in the exports of Lithuania, as the bulk was consumed by domestic agriculturists for making cloth at home. After the World War, conditions gradually changed; the farmers began to sell sur-

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 27

EXPORT OF PIGS AND PORK PRODUCTS 1924–39 231 439

YEAR	LIVE PIGS (1,000 head)	BACON (1,000 metric tons) *	FRESH PORK (1,000 metric tons) *
1924	43.5	0.0	1.1
1926	72.0	0.0	2.0
1928	41.8	0.6	1.2
1930	154.1	17.4	3.2
1932	33.7	40.9	5.5
1934	46.1	30.7	4.4
1936	117.0	10.2	5.1
1937	137.7	10.5	3.5
1938	153.1	11.8	1.6
1939	179.7	15.6	1.1

* One metric ton = 2,204.6 U.S. pounds.

plus wool and to buy clothing ready-made in town instead 236
of making it themselves. Since the climate is unfavorable for sheep breeding and the wool from Lithuanian sheep is therefore poor, domestic wool is mixed by the textile industry of Lithuania with imported wool of better quality. The value of wool imports in recent years was as follows: in 1936, 1,859,700 litas; in 1937, 2,558,900 litas; in 1938, 1,681,900 litas and in 1939 1,436,100 litas. The bulk of this wool came from Great Britain. There is perhaps no great future for sheep breeding; on the contrary, it is likely that this branch of livestock production will decrease even more.

POULTRY FARMING

Poultry farming is also a very old branch of Lithuania's 235
agriculture, and the role it has played in the exports picture has not been unimportant. Poultry farming is especially

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

234 of the Government. Since then, the dairy industry and the manufacture of butter have made rapid progress. In 1937, the
474 193 dairymen's co-operative societies, all of which are equipped
433 with the most up-to-date machinery, supplied 420 million kilogrammes of milk — including that delivered to the 2,052 cream-separating centres — and produced 16.9 million kilogrammes of butter. Though, since the war, the population has increased by some 300,000 inhabitants, the consumption of dairy products per head is at present greater than before the war, and butter exports, which were formerly negligible, amounted in 1924 to 524 metric tons and in 1936/37 to 15,000 tons approximately.

231 Hand in hand with the development of the dairy industries
433 has gone the development of pig-breeding (skim-milk is used for the fattening of young pigs). Not only has the number of pigs considerably increased (from 450,000 in 1913 to 1,192,000 in 1937), but the quality of the pigs (for the manufacture of bacon)
439 has greatly improved. With the Government's financial
231 support, a bacon export industry has been rapidly built up. In 1928, bacon exports amounted to 150 metric tons; in 1932, to
433 more than 25,000 metric tons, and, in 1936/37 (being affected by the introduction of bacon import quotas in England), to more than 10,000 metric tons. These figures, together with those for the export of live pigs (in 1932, 34,000, and, in 1936/37, 125,000 approximately) and the number of pigs kept are proof of the progress made.

235 Poultry-keeping also has made considerable headway; more
433 pure-bred poultry are being raised, and feeding and poultry-keeping technique have become more efficient. Horse-breeding likewise has improved, thus facilitating the sale of Lithuanian horses in foreign markets.

433 Such are the methods whereby the Ministry of Agriculture, the Chamber of Agriculture and the organisations working in conjunction with the latter are striving to improve the production both of crops and live-stock and to foster agricultural industries (dairy industries and the manufacture of bacon). Since 1931, the Chamber of Agriculture has also been endeavouring, with the co-operation of the Union of Young Farmers' Clubs, to rationalise and modernise home industries (weaving, knitting, fur-dressing, felt-making, pottery, furniture, etc.) and to improve the artistic qualities of the articles produced. Products of the home industries are thus enabled to compete with factory-produced goods.

1: Karutz--27 E-4 (no date) 1925 E1 Europe
Lithuanian RB5

181 They are industrious, peace-loving, and
unassuming people, described by ancient chroniclers as "rough but pious."
Since time immemorial and ever spiritually attuned to nature, they
have built their entire culture upon a natural basis. Like the Letts, who
are related to them, they live to a great extent in a "wood age" which
is very ancient but for that reason no less many-sided, skillful, and
342 sensible. The houses are made of wood; their foundation beams rest on
the bare soil or on field boulders. The roof at one time probably con-
sisted of spruce bark, as the covering sheets for the peat still do today;
but now the roof is made of straw which is held on to the ridge by ridge rid
In front of the door there is usually placed a narrow porch with a gabled
roof and with little benches to the right and to the left. Formerly the
houses had only one room, smoking-room style, but now they usually
have a tripartite division with entrance hall in the middle, and living
room and bedroom to the right and the left of it. The floor consists of
352 a loam coating or of boarding. The furniture consists of wall benches,
loose benches, well-carved solid chairs, a table, wall boards, and pine-
353 wood splinter holders; on the walls are hung pictures of saints, fre-
quently portraits of the old Lithuanian rulers, and, symptomatic for the
343 great amount of emigration, photographs from America. Aside from
the living quarters, granaries (klete), barns, stables, wells, and bath
515 house belong to the Lithuanian farmstead. In the bath house they bathe
in steam which rises from heated stones on which the water is poured.
This, incidentally, is also the way the Indians do it. The bather lies
on a bench and cools and massages himself at the same time by means
412 of a cluster of birch twigs which he dips in fresh water. The hand-
operated mill is a very ancient instrument. It has one stationary and
[231] one turning stone in a wooden box. Likewise ancient is the beehive
made of a hollow tree stem--bee keeping is the most original native
and the most highly developed form of the collecting economy, which is
here, as among the Letts, universally practiced and skillfully cultivated--;
ancient, too, is the zoche, the plow with the forked share, which, as
late as the 16th century, was made entirely of wood, and which even
today is completely wooden except for the iron shoe; just like the har-
rows with branches tied to them, and the snowshoes made of hollowed-
534 out oak boards tied under the foot. Ancient, also, are the musical in-
struments: the nine-stringed kanklys, the truba made of a birch branch
cut lengthwise, hollowed out, and tied together again; the short reed
pipe, the trapezoid shaped cymbal, the stringed zither made of an osier
switch, played with a bow fashioned in the same way; with a resonator

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Though wheat is mankind's most popular cereal food, rye is the first choice in Lithuania. Only about 8 percent of all the arable land is utilized for wheat, while 19 percent of the land is devoted to the growing of rye. Another of the world's largest crops—corn (maize)—is not grown in Lithuania. The same is true of rice. The more popular grain crops, besides rye, are oats, barley, and wheat. Most favored of root crops in Lithuania are the potato and various species of root vegetables. The sugar beet, entirely unknown before the World War, is now quite popular and is grown in sufficient quantities to supply three sugar refineries. Of the fibers, flax is the only one that is widely grown. Hemp is also produced, but in small quantities and only for the consumption of farmers themselves, who use the fiber for ropes and the seeds for several kinds of food.

Another important branch of the agriculture of Lithuania is livestock breeding, which has been vastly improved and extended since the World War.

Economic reconstruction after the World War was not as general among agricultural countries as it might at first appear. Timoshenko points out several unfavorable factors.[5] First of all, the prices of agricultural commodities began to decline early in the period of prosperity. This affected the purchasing power of agricultural and raw-material producing countries. Another adverse factor was the reëstablishment of a system of agricultural protection in the industrial countries of Europe. Cereal production was given less tariff protection during the earlier post-war period than before the war. In some countries of central Europe, including Germany, tariff protection of grain products was completely discontinued during the first post-war years.

[5] Vladimir P. Timoshenko, *World Agriculture and Depression*, Michigan Business Studies, Vol. V, No. 5, University of Michigan, 1933, pp. 541–663.

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

242 therefore hope as yet to equal that of the more progressive countries of Western Europe, but it does exceed the average figure for Eastern Europe. The yield per hectare is 13-14 quintals for wheat and 12-13 quintals for barley and rye; the figure for oats is slightly below the figure for barley, owing to the havoc caused in recent years by rust.

241 Lithuania produces large quantities of cereals and pulse, a large part of which is, however, required for fodder. Forage is also obtained from wide areas of clover, meadowland and [233] pasture. Stock-breeding constitutes the principal agricultural activity: cattle, pigs, poultry. Lithuania used to be famous for her horses, which were exported in large numbers to Western Europe; now, however, there is very little export trade, and almost all the farm-work is done with horses.

Work in the fields generally begins in the second half of April and ends in about mid-November. The winter is long and farm work is concentrated in a relatively short period. The fact that the country is broken up into small farms, in conjunction with the low purchasing-power of the farmer, has prevented the mechanisation of agriculture on any very extensive scale. Cereals and pulse are generally machine-threshed, but most of the field-work is done by animal-drawn implements or by hand. There are a fair number of reapers, binders, seeders, hoers and other types of agricultural machinery, but these are employed only for part of the work; not all the peasant farmers are fortunate enough to possess them, so that a great deal must depend on human labour. This fact and the comparative shortness of the season means that the call for labour is greatest during the summer. Accordingly, a relatively large number of the population lives in the country and is intensively occupied during the season of work in the fields.

* * *

439 The economic structure of Lithuania has determined the character of her trade with Germany. Lithuania disposes of her surplus agricultural production on the international market (in 1938, 40% of her exports were absorbed by the United Kingdom, 26.8% by Germany, 5.7% by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 4.5% by Belgium, etc.). Her imports consist mainly of manufactured products, including 33% from the United Kingdom, 24.4% from Germany, 6.7% from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 4.7% from the Netherlands and 3.8% from Belgium.

In 1938, exports totalled 233 million litai and imports 223 millions. One half of the exports consisted of foodstuffs (122 million litai: including butter 48 millions, bacon 24 millions,

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

As regards *agricultural research*, the Institute of Agricultural Research (founded in 1927) is in charge of experimental work in the field of agriculture throughout the country, with the exception of the work conducted by the Agricultural Academy at Dotnuva. It has at present under its control seven experimental stations dealing with various matters relating to the cultivation of crops, an experimental fruit-growing station (in process of organisation), a crop improvement station (at Dotnuva), a crop protection station (at Dotnuva) and a station for research on the breeding of pigs for bacon. Proposals are under consideration for the foundation of an agricultural machinery testing station and of stations for research into cattle- and sheep-breeding respectively. 242

In consequence of these measures, and particularly the activities of the agricultural intelligence service, agriculturists have begun to introduce a more rational system of crop rotation, to prepare the soil more carefully and fertilise it more rationally (the progress of stock-breeding increases the quantities of manure available), to use better quality seed, to improve meadow- and pasture-land, to make more extensive use of agricultural machinery (through the foundation of co-operative societies for the joint use of machinery), etc. The results have been a decrease in the area of land left fallow and a corresponding increase in the area sown from an average of 2,079,000 hectares for the years 1928 to 1930 to 2,312,000 hectares for the period 1935 to 1937, the increase chiefly affecting the land under the more intensively cultivated crops (wheat, sugar-beet, mangel-wurzels). There has also been an increase in the yield per hectare of all the principal crops (wheat, rye, barley, oats, peas and potatoes), the yield from 1933 to 1937 being almost half as great again as during the years 1901 to 1910. It is worthy of note that, whilst the cultivation of sugar-beet was entirely unknown in the country before the war, the refineries now pay out almost 6½ million litai to the growers each year. The productivity of meadow- and pasture-land has increased to an even greater extent than that of arable land. 311 241 433

This latter circumstance has permitted the development of stock-breeding and the number of farm animals has risen considerably (in the case of cattle, for example, from 766,000 in 1913 to 1,172,000 in 1937). As a result of the organisation of milk control societies, breeding centres, the keeping of stud books, etc., the productivity of stock has also increased very considerably. 233 433

Progress has been particularly noteworthy in the case of cattle (which, in Lithuania, are mainly bred for the production of milk). In 1923, with a view to the transformation of surplus milk into exportable produce, chiefly butter, dairymen's co-operative societies were founded with the financial support 234 474 433

474 626 tuned to either Vilnius or Moscow broadcasts deemed proper by the authorities—and loudspeakers are installed so that no one can escape hearing such news. And there is no church or chapel—no one can leave to attend religious services.

In fact, the kolkhoz is a CONCENTRATION CAMP OF STATE SERFS. The Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union published a decree on 7 July 1948: "No one may leave the kolkhoz or any section thereof without permission of the authorities." The serfs must produce their quotas of work—or face a trial for "sabotage."

The *Izvestiya* article of 22 July 1948 was preceded by a boast of comrade Sniečkus, First Secretary of the LKP/b CK: "659,000 ha. of land were seized from estate owners and redistributed to smallholders and the landless." The gratuitious gift of land "for all time" of 15% of all cultivated land area of the country was coupled with a boast of comrade Sniečkus: 900 farms in Šiauliai county were merged into 32 "co-operative artels."

Soon after the gift of land "for all time," the Riga radio broadcast on 30 August: "Sooner or later, *all* of the farmers of Latvia *must* go into kolkhozes." This tune was immediately echoed in the press of Lithuania: those refusing to go into "co-operative artels" were branded "state traitors." . . .

Collectivization Procedure

474 Prior to 1948, there were 20 kolkhozes established in the depopulated and Russian-resettled District of Klaipėda and areas of Vilnius vacated by repatriates to Poland. Thereafter, the first kolkhozes were established among Russian Old Believer sectarians in the northeast. The first kolkhoz near Utena, in a purely Lithuanian community invaded by Russian settlers, was destroyed by the guerrillas. The serfs scattered.

In the spring of 1948, the collectivization drive was pushed.

[234] It began with the dairying farmers. Thus, the Party organ *Tiesa* announced in its issue of 11 May:

"Formerly, milk delivery quotas were fixed according to the number of cows owned by the farms. Now, milk delivery quotas are assessed according to the ratio of general land area under cultivation. The new system aims at inducing the farmers to develop the cattle industry. Furthermore, this decree is directed against the sabotage by the kulaks who falsify the actual number of cows held by them.

"On the other hand, peasants of the kolkhozes are relieved from any compulsory milk deliveries this year. Collective farms deliver milk from every hectare of land under cultivation—25 kilograms per hectare. Nevertheless, 50% reduction is granted for the years 1948 and 1949."

In the issue of 19 September 1948 comrade Sniečkus announced:

"The urgent desire of farmers to go into collective farms gained during the past spring and summer."

He cited 32 kolkhozes in Šiauliai county and new kolkhozes at Samava, Liūbavas and Kalvarija. At the same time he threatened a "relentless drive against kulak saboteurs" failing to meet compulsory grain and produce quotas. Numerous instances of prosecution and "loss of freedom" were cited.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

On September 7 the Kaunas radio broadcast an order by German Commissar for Lithuania von Renteln whereby the purchase of grain was permitted exclusively to Lietukis. From this order alone it is obvious that Lietukis has been turned into agency serving German war purposes. 474

Deserving of mention in this group is Spaudos Fondas, a coöperative publishing concern with branch stores in every larger town throughout Lithuania for promoting the sale of books and stationery. After Soviet Russian occupation it met the same fate as Lietukis. On August 5, 1940, a decision of the Government Nationalization Committee (Valstybine Nacionalizavimo Komisija), dated August 3, was published, announcing that Spaudos Fondas with all its branches was nationalized.[24]

3. Production coöperatives.—A very important and comparatively young branch of agricultural life in Lithuania, the dairy coöperative societies, forms a part of this third group. As mentioned before, prior to 1926 dairying activities were a department of Lietukis. With the rapid growth of cooperative creameries, it was decided in October, 1926, to withdraw from Lietukis and to organize the Central Union of Dairy Coöperative Societies of Lithuania (Centraline Lietuvos Pieno Perdirbimo Bendroviu Sajunga), known briefly as Pienocentras. The task of Pienocentras is to encourage milk production, develop and improve manufacture, and establish a good rating for Lithuanian milk products in the world market; and to organize coöperative dairies and creameries, coördinate their work, and diminish administration expenses through strong central organization. 474 234

In 1938 Pienocentras had a membership of 185 dairy co-

[24] *Tiesa*, No. 44, Aug. 5, 1940. (*Tiesa* [Truth] was the daily of the Lithuanian Communist Party during Soviet occupation.)

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

474 operative societies with 2,105 milk-skimming stations. Pieno-
234 centras also exports eggs, in which branch it has attained an almost complete monopoly. For example, in 1939 it handled over 96 percent of the total egg export. The growth and development of Pienocentras may be seen from Table 10,[25] which shows that the work of Pienocentras is a real

TABLE 10

TOTAL TURNOVER OF PIENOCENTRAS

(In Thousands of Litas)

YEAR	TOTAL TURNOVER	TOTAL OF EXPORTS	EXPORTS OF BUTTER	EXPORTS OF EGGS	PIENOCENTRAS'S SHARE IN EXPORTS OF LITHUANIA (*Percent*)
1927	5,981	3,971	3,950	—	1.6
1928	13,662	10,437	10,437	—	4.1
1929	25,999	20,888	20,786	102	6.3
1930	43,854	35,200	34,866	334	10.5
1931	46,102	37,790	37,055	735	13.8
1932	45,182	37,079	36,045	1,034	19.6
1933	36,163	29,909	29,150	789	18.7
1934	36,329	30,231	28,816	1,397	20.5
1935	42,438	35,948	33,866	2,046	23.6
1936	55,897	48,228	42,042	6,151	25.3
1937	65,730	54,470	47,065	5,923	26.1
1938	76,920	65,300	55,131	7,833	24.2
1939	67,745	52,100	43,739	8,196	25.7

success not only in attaining a milk-and-egg monopoly in Lithuania but also in encouraging and developing this branch of agriculture. At the end of 1939 all the dairy coöperative societies of Lithuania had 21,701 members as against 18,372 in 1938 and 14,817 in 1937. In 1939 they had 106,605 regular

[25] C.S.B., volumes for 1927 to 1939.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

milk suppliers as against 101,348 in 1938 and 69,741 in 1934. 474

Pienocentras with all its departments continued to function throughout the Soviet Russian occupation, although it was transformed into a government agency. In June, 1941, when the Soviet Russian occupation was replaced by the German occupation, Pienocentras[1] came under the control of the German Economic Command (Wirtschaftskommando), also as government agency. In September, 1941, German Commissar for Lithuania von Renteln issued an order granting monopoly to Pienocentras in the business of dairy products and at the same time forbidding anybody to trade in milk products. Since Pienocentras has a wide organization throughout Lithuania, it is very convenient for the Germans in their control of milk production and in their efforts to extract from Lithuania a maximum of milk products. Of course no statistical data is available for Pienocentras's economic activities during the periods of German and Russian occupation. 237 [647]

Deserving of mention in this group is a local grocery trade coöperative society in Kaunas called Parama which owns and operates thirty modern grocery stores, as well as the largest and most modern bakery in Lithuania, with an annual production valued at about six million litas. Its fate under the German occupation is similar to that of Pienocentras. 474 444

4 and 5. Insurance and nonclassified coöperatives.—These two groups are of minor importance in the economic life of Lithuania. Insurance, still undeveloped there, is one of the fields open for coöperation in the future. In 1938 there were two insurance coöperative societies with 7,486 members. Insurance premiums collected in 1938 amounted to 355,495 litas, which, compared with the development of other co- 474 452

[1] [i.e. Central Union of Dairy Cooperative Societies of Lithuania --- Analyst]

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 19

EXPORTS OF LITHUANIA'S FLAX PRODUCTS 248

YEAR	FLAX AND TOW: QUANTITY EXPORTED (1,000 metric tons)	FLAX AND TOW: VALUE (Millions of litas)	LINSEED: QUANTITY EXPORTED (1,000 metric tons)	LINSEED: VALUE (Millions of litas)
1924	14.0	52.75	18.6	16.29
1926	19.7	56.93	25.8	18.04
1928	13.2	46.59	77.0	6.18
1930	10.2	19.59	20.1	14.21
1932	9.0	9.12	7.7	2.46
1934	10.2	11.19	6.4	2.01
1936	19.7	25.12	23.8	6.80
1937	16.1	24.00	20.7	7.10
1938	18.8	24.82	5.6	1.98
1939	20.0	30.31	10.3	4.16

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DAIRY PRODUCTS

Butter and cheese were produced in pre-war Lithuania, but these items became available in increasing quantities for export only after the World War. In 1909–14, only some of the bigger landlords (farmers owning 200 acres or more) had their own creameries, but most of the middle-class and small farmers prepared milk products mainly for their own consumption, sending only a small portion to near-by township markets. In 1901, forty-eight landlords organized the creamery Birute whose yearly exports of butter reached 620,000 pounds. But the World War which disorganized the national economy of Lithuania also ruined the dairy co-operatives. Not only were the dairies destroyed but the country was deprived of its sources of supply, for almost

234 ● [439]

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

234 half of the cattle were slaughtered for meat by various armies.[33]

Shortly after the World War there was great demand for milk products in Germany and prices were high. It was possible to sell milk and milk products even of low quality, especially in the border districts of Germany. In 1924–25 the conditions began to change. Germany returned to the pre-war methods of tariff protection and adopted the policy of economic self-sufficiency. There were also greater supplies of milk products from other markets, such as Denmark and overseas, which caused a decrease in prices.

Private merchants, interested only in immediate profits and possessing no capital for long-term investments, were unable to improve the quality of milk products. That this quality was low can be deduced from the fact that the butter bought up from the farmers had been prepared in a variety
439 of ways, mostly by primitive methods. The butter was then mixed and packed for export. Naturally, prices for such "mixtures," were low, but eventually it became impossible to sell the product even at low prices.

234 The government was anxious to help the farmers by im-
474 proving milk products and increasing exports. The best way
654 to do that seemed to be by coöperation, a method which in later years fully justified the expectations. Through the initiative of the coöperatives and with government subsidies, the quality of butter was improved so much that in 1936, of all the butter-exporting countries, only Denmark was able to get higher prices than Lithuania. Lithuania's position in this market shows even more creditable progress when we

[33] *Centraline Lietuvos Pieno Perdirbimo Bendroviu Sajunga Pienocentras 1927–1936* (The Central Union of Dairy Coöperative Societies of Lithuania, Pienocentras, 1927–1936), p. 15.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

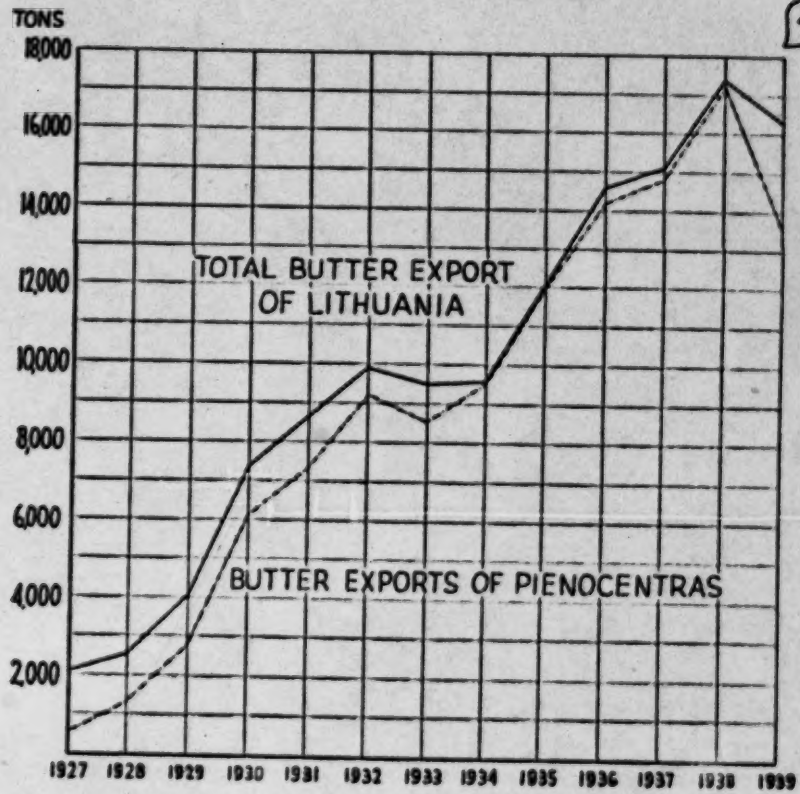
take into consideration the fact that Danish butter had been selling in London for decades and the English consumers had acquired a taste for it.[34] 234 474 654

The first to organize the dairies were the Central Union of the Agricultural Coöperatives of Lithuania (Lietukis) and the Coöperative Society (Gamintojas). In 1923 a separate dairying section was established at Lietukis. The Ministry of Agriculture subsidized the newly organized steam

CHART I

BUTTER EXPORTS OF LITHUANIA

[439]



[34] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

●234 dairies (using steam power equipment) to enable them to
474 buy new machinery, granting the dairies twenty-five per-
654 cent of the value of the machinery, the subsidy not to exceed 9,000 litas. Subsidies up to 1,500 litas were also given to hand dairies in the same percentage. The Ministry of Agriculture also provided loans on favorable terms for the construction of buildings for new dairies and from 1925
234 granted subsidies up to 5,000 litas for this purpose. In 1926
474 the dairying section of Lietukis was organized into a separate organization—the Central Union of Dairy Coöperative Societies of Lithuania, known by its trade name, Pienocentras. The growth of coöperative dairies is shown in Table 20.

TABLE 20

THE GROWTH OF COÖPERATIVE DAIRIES IN LITHUANIA*

YEAR	NUMBER OF DAIRIES	NUMBER OF SKIMMING STATIONS
1923	3	—
1924	61	—
1925	54	—
1927	153	151
1929	262	660
1931	273	1,610
1933	251	1,825
1935	209	1,771
1937	188	2,052
1938	185	2,105
1939	176	2,159

*Centraline Lietuvos Pieno Perdirbimo Bendroviu Sajunga Pienocentras 1927–1936, p. 21.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB1

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From 1931 the number of dairies decreased while the number of skimming stations increased. This is due to the fact that some of the dairies were converted into skimming stations because of insufficient machinery. There were many instances of the merging of several small dairies into one large dairy, while the other units were converted into skimming stations.[35] Simultaneously with the increase in the number of dairying establishments, the quantity of milk and butter products increased very substantially.

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It will be noted that milk and butter production in the other two Baltic countries, Latvia and Estonia, increased slowly, remaining almost constant in the latter, while in Lith-

TABLE 21

PRODUCTION OF DAIRY PRODUCTS IN THE BALTIC STATES

MILK

(*1,000 Hectoliters*)

YEAR	LITHUANIA [a]	LATVIA	ESTONIA
1928	397	12,650	6,387
1929	725	13,143	6,334
1930	1,512	13,424	7,374
1931	1,910	13,948	7,866
1932	2,430	14,161	7,877
1933	2,321	14,423	7,673
1934	2,537	15,548	7,821
1935	3,057	15,713	7,929
1936	3,773	15,868	7,791
1937 [b]	4,074	16,179	8,134
1938 [c]	5,133	([f])	([f])
1939	6,250	([f])	([f])

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 90.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB1

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BUTTER

(1,000 Metric Tons)

YEAR	LITHUANIA [a]	LATVIA	ESTONIA
1928	1.6	14.3	12.2
1929	3.1	17.0	13.7
1930	6.4	20.8	15.5
1931	8.1	22.2	16.1
1932	10.3	22.1	14.5
1933	9.9	18.6	11.5
1934	10.7	18.8	12.6
1935	13.2	20.5	13.3
1936	15.8	22.2	13.8
1937 [d]	17.1	21.7	15.9
1938 [e]	19.6	(f)	(f)
1939	19.9	(f)	(f)

[a] Only milk controlled by dairies is included in this table.
[b] L.N. 1937–38, p. 72.
[c] C.S.B., volumes for 1938 and 1939.
[d] L.N., 1937–38, p. 74.
[e] C.S.B., volumes for 1938 and 1939.
[f] Figures not available.

uania production increased more than tenfold during the ten-year period. The chief cause for this is that dairying in Latvia and Estonia was considerably advanced before the World War, which was not the case in Lithuania. During the recent years, before the Soviet occupation, however, Lithuania not only succeeded in reaching Estonia's level of butter production but even surpassed it. This situation shows how retarded dairying was in Lithuania as compared with Latvia and Estonia, and indicates the great achievement of coöperation in this particular field.

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The expansion of dairying in Lithuania may be observed also from export figures, given in Table 22.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB1.

TABLE 22

BUTTER EXPORTS IN THE BALTIC STATES[a]

(*In Metric Tons*)

YEAR	LITHUANIA	LATVIA	ESTONIA
1927	2,051	10,761	9,906
1928	2,643	13,006	11,222
1929	4,084	14,830	12,359
1930	7,357	13,430	14,066
1931	8,705	18,739	14,444
1932	9,926	18,598	12,531
1933	9,580	15,720	9,224
1934	9,671	15,701	10,118
1935	12,154	16,816	10,838
1936	14,629	17,291	10,955
1937	15,058	19,211	13,179
1938	17,413	23,464	14,732
1939	16,386	([b])	([b])

[a] C.S.B., volumes for 1927 to 1939.
[b] Figures not available.

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LIVESTOCK

Livestock breeding is one of the branches of agriculture that suffered greatly in the World War. As soon as the war started in 1914 Russia requisitioned the best horses for the army. Then came the German army, which took what had been left by the Russians. Only horses unfit for army use were left.

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To alleviate a great shortage of food caused by the Allied blockade the Germans requisitioned even the milk cows for slaughter. The reduction in livestock in Lithuania in 1919 as compared with 1913 was as follows: horses, 38 percent; cattle, 47.7 percent; pigs, 44. percent; sheep, 30 percent. The reduction of stock may be clearly seen from Table 23,

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

439 pation. In 1938, Maistas sales to foreign countries rose to 57.85 million litas, while in 1939 it rose to 71.7 million litas, or 24 percent above the 1938 figures.

438 Even in domestic business Maistas showed an impressive rise. Its domestic sales amounted in 1930 to 5.8 million litas and rose every subsequent year until in 1938 they reached 14.9 million litas and in 1939, 18.8 million litas.

257 The sugar industry, which also shows considerable ad-
433 vance, started with one refinery in 1932, employing 67 persons, and in 1939 had two refineries with 246 workers, not counting the many farmers who were engaged in sugar-beet growing and whose incomes were increased through the introduction and development of this branch of agriculture.
257 Inasmuch as the two refineries were insufficient to meet the
471 demands of Lithuania, a third refinery was constructed. All three are owned by the Lietuvos Cukrus Corporation, in which the government participates as owner of a controlling number of shares of capital stock. The first refinery was opened in 1932 in Marijampole and the second in 1935 in Panevezys. The production rose very rapidly: in 1932, 67,000 quintals; 1933, 162,000 quintals; 1934, 82,000 quintals; 1935, 153,000 quintals; 1936, 221,000 quintals; 1937, 272,000 quintals; in 1938, 287,000 quintals [9] and 1939, 208,000 quintals.

●234 Another industry in the food-and-luxury category which
433 showed great expansion both in number of establishments and in workers employed is that of dairying, which is covered in the section on coöperatives, above.

438 Other industries, such as grain mills with 761 workers,
433 candy and chocolate factories with 761 workers, and tobacco

[9] C.S.B., 1938, p. 160.

253 433 477 lin. Preserving cans are repaired in its own workshops. Moreover, at Kaunas a modern abattoir of „Maistas" has been built for municipal requirements. (The rôle of „Maistas" in our trade is described in the section „Share-capital in Lithuanian Trade").

234 433 5. The dairy-farms show an exemplary growth tempo. The development of Lithuanian butter production is due to the Central Union of Dairy-farming Cooperatives „Pienocentras", concerning whose activity a more detailed report is given in the subsequent section „The Rôle of the Cooperative Societies". The figures contained in the foregoing tables relate moreover only to the larger concerns; the total number of all dairy-farms of the dairy cooperatives included in the production statistics amounted in 1937 to 188.

274 433 6. The number of workers employed in the spirit distilleries remained stationary during the period 1927—1937, whereas the number of concerns rose from 26 to 38.

[464] 7. The development of beer breweries showed no material changes from 1927 to 1931. The number of employed workers since the curtailment between 1932 and 1936 for the first time in 1937 exceeded the figures for 1927.

277 433 8. The number of tobacco and cigarette factories and their staffs has decreased since 1931, which was occasioned chiefly by the decline of consumption during the time of crisis.

From the standpoint of the number of undertakings, the mills and dairy-farms constitute the two strongest groups of the foodstuffs industry. According to the number of employed workers, the meat and canned goods industry and the sugar industry head the list, although it must be borne in mind that as regards the last-named, the production campaign lasts only a few months.

b. The Development of Production

433 The total value of the gross production of the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry in 1937 amounted to 178 300 000 litas and the net production to 50 400 000.

These figures are distributed among separate branches as follows (in 1 000 litas):

433 chapter. In the following table are given the data on the production quantities of the most important branches; they fully confirm the accuracy of the development tendency expressed by the index figures.

Production Figures in Tons

	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Wheat and Rye Flour	57 465	54 963	•	48 294	50 576	53 858	48 967
Sugar	6 613	16 191	8 166	15 263	22 136	27 164	28 673
Sugar Wares	•	•	•	1 387	1 484	1 626	1 934
Bacon	19 894	26 869	21 376*)	12 675*)	8 809	10 539	10 153
Other Meat Products	9 770*)	7 660	7 642*)	9 000**)	16 485	16 933	12 858
Butter***)	8 141	10 289	9 854	10 728	13 190	15 835	16 994
Spirits (1000 litres)	3 315	3 016	3 070	2 717	2 723	2 942	5 502
Beer (1000 litres)	11 264	7 194	7 292	6 274	5 284	7 290	14 165
Tobacco (consumed raw tobacco)	983	867	763	697	665	768	769

256 433 The fluctuations in flour production are naturally connected with the condition of the harvest. The falling-off in production in 1937 was caused by the serious deterioration of the harvest in 1936 in comparison with both preceding years.

257 433 The youthful sugar industry which, as mentioned above, was first established in the autumn of 1931, had developed its activity to the full only by 1932, and thereby, concurrently with bacon production, brought about the rise of the index, notwithstanding the general crisis, by 16.5 points. After the fluctuations in 1933 and 1934, and in connexion with the opening of a second factory in 1935, our sugar production rose greatly in 1935 and 1936 and to-day, as is clear from the definite curtailment of imports shown in the chapter on foreign trade, fully covers the demand of the domestic market. This also explains the slackening of the further growth in 1937.

439 253 234 The fluctuations and the recession of meat production which together with butter production belongs generally to the strongest export branches of Lithuanian economy, while the remaining branches mentioned above serve only the home market, are due to the import quotas and the preference policy of Great Britain, the most important export market for our meat 000 products, vis-à-vis her Dominions. More detailed information

*) Export quantity. In the case of bacon on an average 95% of the production is for export.

**) Estimated.

***) Production of the dairy cooperative societies.

on this subject is contained in the section on the trade turnover of the „Maistas" joint-stock company. 000

The butter production figures specified in the foregoing tables relate only to the quantities supplied by the dairy cooperatives, which are used almost exclusively for export. Nearly the entire domestic demand is covered by the home production of the farmers (the so-called country butter) which it is difficult to judge by statistics. The supply of export butter shows constant growth. In 1937 it doubled in round figures in comparison with 1931, which must be ascribed to the fact that it has held its ground on the world market better than bacon. 234 439 433

Spirit, beer, and tobacco production greatly receded during the crisis. The last two years brought about, in connexion with the general economic revival, a new upward trend; while of course the doubling of beer production in 1937 is to be attributed to the reduction of the price in consequence of the lowering of the excise, and that of spirit supply in part to its compulsory admixture with petrol („Motorin"). 274 277 433

2. The Textile Industry

The textile industry is the second most important industrial branch of Lithuania. It employs the largest number of workers (in 1937, 20.7% of all industrial workers of Lithuania accrued to it); its share in the aggregate engine horse-power amounts to 9.3% and its share in the production value of all Lithuanian industry to over 14% (gross value, 14.9%; net value, 14.3%). 288 433

In the pre-war Lithuania, only approximately 300 workers were employed in this industrial branch. The development of textile undertakings since 1927 is shown by the following comparison: [464]

	1927		1931			1938 (Jan)		1937 (July)
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	55	1 403	60	2 287	2 475	79	7 162	11 673
Including								
Flax								
Treatment	16	468	10	374	607	10	1 201	1 845
Linen						5	728	
Weaving	3	112	3	200				
Others								
Textile					1 868			
Industry	36	823	47	1 710		64	5 233	9 828

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

As regards *agricultural research*, the Institute of Agricultural Research (founded in 1927) is in charge of experimental work in the field of agriculture throughout the country, with the exception of the work conducted by the Agricultural Academy at Dotnuva. It has at present under its control seven experimental stations dealing with various matters relating to the cultivation of crops, an experimental fruit-growing station (in process of organisation), a crop improvement station (at Dotnuva), a crop protection station (at Dotnuva) and a station for research on the breeding of pigs for bacon. Proposals are under consideration for the foundation of an agricultural machinery testing station and of stations for research into cattle- and sheep-breeding respectively. 242

In consequence of these measures, and particularly the activities of the agricultural intelligence service, agriculturists have begun to introduce a more rational system of crop rotation, to prepare the soil more carefully and fertilise it more rationally (the progress of stock-breeding increases the quantities of manure available), to use better quality seed, to improve meadow- and pasture-land, to make more extensive use of agricultural machinery (through the foundation of co-operative societies for the joint use of machinery), etc. The results have been a decrease in the area of land left fallow and a corresponding increase in the area sown from an average of 2,079,000 hectares for the years 1928 to 1930 to 2,312,000 hectares for the period 1935 to 1937, the increase chiefly affecting the land under the more intensively cultivated crops (wheat, sugar-beet, mangel-wurzels). There has also been an increase in the yield per hectare of all the principal crops (wheat, rye, barley, oats, peas and potatoes), the yield from 1933 to 1937 being almost half as great again as during the years 1901 to 1910. It is worthy of note that, whilst the cultivation of sugar-beet was entirely unknown in the country before the war, the refineries now pay out almost 6½ million litai to the growers each year. The productivity of meadow- and pasture-land has increased to an even greater extent than that of arable land. 311 241 433

This latter circumstance has permitted the development of stock-breeding and the number of farm animals has risen considerably (in the case of cattle, for example, from 766,000 in 1913 to 1,172,000 in 1937). As a result of the organisation of milk control societies, breeding centres, the keeping of stud books, etc., the productivity of stock has also increased very considerably. 233 433

Progress has been particularly noteworthy in the case of cattle (which, in Lithuania, are mainly bred for the production of milk). In 1923, with a view to the transformation of surplus milk into exportable produce, chiefly butter, dairymen's co-operative societies were founded with the financial support 234 474 433

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

234 of the Government. Since then, the dairy industry and the manufacture of butter have made rapid progress. In 1937, the
474 193 dairymen's co-operative societies, all of which are equipped
433 with the most up-to-date machinery, supplied 420 million kilogrammes of milk — including that delivered to the 2,052 cream-separating centres — and produced 16.9 million kilogrammes of butter. Though, since the war, the population has increased by some 300,000 inhabitants, the consumption of dairy products per head is at present greater than before the war, and butter exports, which were formerly negligible, amounted in 1924 to 524 metric tons and in 1936/37 to 15,000 tons approximately.

231 Hand in hand with the development of the dairy industries
433 has gone the development of pig-breeding (skim-milk is used for the fattening of young pigs). Not only has the number of pigs considerably increased (from 450,000 in 1913 to 1,192,000 in 1937), but the quality of the pigs (for the manufacture of bacon)
439 has greatly improved. With the Government's financial
231 support, a bacon export industry has been rapidly built up. In 1928, bacon exports amounted to 150 metric tons; in 1932, to
433 more than 25,000 metric tons, and, in 1936/37 (being affected by the introduction of bacon import quotas in England), to more than 10,000 metric tons. These figures, together with those for the export of live pigs (in 1932, 34,000, and, in 1936/37, 125,000 approximately) and the number of pigs kept are proof of the progress made.

235 Poultry-keeping also has made considerable headway; more
433 pure-bred poultry are being raised, and feeding and poultry-keeping technique have become more efficient. Horse-breeding likewise has improved, thus facilitating the sale of Lithuanian horses in foreign markets.

433 Such are the methods whereby the Ministry of Agriculture, the Chamber of Agriculture and the organisations working in conjunction with the latter are striving to improve the production both of crops and live-stock and to foster agricultural industries (dairy industries and the manufacture of bacon). Since 1931, the Chamber of Agriculture has also been endeavouring, with the co-operation of the Union of Young Farmers' Clubs, to rationalise and modernise home industries (weaving, knitting, fur-dressing, felt-making, pottery, furniture, etc.) and to improve the artistic qualities of the articles produced. Products of the home industries are thus enabled to compete with factory-produced goods.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 27

EXPORT OF PIGS AND PORK PRODUCTS 1924–39 231 439

YEAR	LIVE PIGS (1,000 head)	BACON	FRESH PORK
		(1,000 metric tons) [a]	
1924	43.5	0.0	1.1
1926	72.0	0.0	2.0
1928	41.8	0.6	1.2
1930	154.1	17.4	3.2
1932	33.7	40.9	5.5
1934	46.1	30.7	4.4
1936	117.0	10.2	5.1
1937	137.7	10.5	3.5
1938	153.1	11.8	1.6
1939	179.7	15.6	1.1

[a] One metric ton = 2,204.6 U.S. pounds.

plus wool and to buy clothing ready-made in town instead 236
of making it themselves. Since the climate is unfavorable for sheep breeding and the wool from Lithuanian sheep is therefore poor, domestic wool is mixed by the textile industry of Lithuania with imported wool of better quality. The value of wool imports in recent years was as follows: in 1936, 1,859,700 litas; in 1937, 2,558,900 litas; in 1938, 1,681,900 litas and in 1939 1,436,100 litas. The bulk of this wool came from Great Britain. There is perhaps no great future for sheep breeding; on the contrary, it is likely that this branch of livestock production will decrease even more.

POULTRY FARMING

Poultry farming is also a very old branch of Lithuania's 235
agriculture, and the role it has played in the exports picture has not been unimportant. Poultry farming is especially

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

235 suited to countries with small farms, but in Lithuania, compared with Belgium, Holland, and Denmark, it is still undeveloped.[28]

TABLE 28

POULTRY PRODUCTION IN 1935[a]

FOWL	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE OF ENTIRE POULTRY PRODUCTION
Hens	4,614,420	72.4
Ducks	601,450	9.4
Geese	946,510	14.9
Turkeys	210,730	3.3

[a] *Lietuvos Suvaizymas*, 1935, p. 51.

In the first years of independent Lithuania, egg production, in comparison with the production in other branches of agriculture, was high, but in later years it diminished in importance and relinquished its position to milk products and meat. The highest prices for eggs exported were received in 1921–22. In the latter year, egg exports constituted almost a third of the whole export value, as may be seen from Table 29. The main cause of the decrease in exports of eggs after 1922 was, of course, the fall in prices. In 1922 the

439
235

TABLE 29

MAIN EXPORT ITEMS OF LITHUANIA 1920–22

	1920	1921	1922
Total value of exports (in millions of marks)	490	631	3,047
Flax (percent of total)	46.4	29.3	7.8
Forest products (percent)	35.5	30.3	39.0
Eggs (percent)	3.6	23.4	32.1

[28] Krikscinas, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

wholesale price for ten eggs in London was 4.90 litas; in 1923, 4.19 litas; in 1922, 3.73 litas; and in 1927, 2.45 litas.[39] From Table 29 it may be seen that in the first years of Lithuanian's independent national existence the most important exports were forest products, flax, and eggs; in later years, when conditions became more settled, these products became of secondary importance. How poultry production and poultry exports changed in value after 1924 may be seen from Table 30. The exports of eggs did not diminish in volume as much as in value, because the most drastic

TABLE 30

EXPORTS OF POULTRY AND POULTRY PRODUCTS

(In Thousands of Litas)

YEAR	EGGS	POULTRY [a]	POULTRY MEATS	TOTAL
1924	19,938	4,956	391	24,285
1925	14,872	3,824	308	19,003
1926	13,575	5,206	817	19,597
1927	10,944	4,511	560	16,015
1928	14,435	6,810	157	21,393
1930	11,892	7,759	1,806	21,457
1935	2,117	1	1,369	3,487
1938	7,833	2,283	2,746	12,862
1939	8,196	3,170	3,615	14,981

[a] Geese, hens, ducks, turkeys.

drop in price levels occurred in 1931–32. For a few years before the Soviet Russian occupation experiments were conducted in the improvement of poultry and in the organizing of efficient egg-collection stations. This was done by the coöperatives. At the same time there was considerable improvement in the prices received for these products.

[39] Kubilius, *op. cit.*, pp. 180–90.

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

234 of the Government. Since then, the dairy industry and the manufacture of butter have made rapid progress. In 1937, the
474 193 dairymen's co-operative societies, all of which are equipped
433 with the most up-to-date machinery, supplied 420 million kilogrammes of milk — including that delivered to the 2,052 cream-separating centres — and produced 16.9 million kilogrammes of butter. Though, since the war, the population has increased by some 300,000 inhabitants, the consumption of dairy products per head is at present greater than before the war; and butter exports, which were formerly negligible, amounted in 1924 to 524 metric tons and in 1936/37 to 15,000 tons approximately.

231 Hand in hand with the development of the dairy industries
433 has gone the development of pig-breeding (skim-milk is used for the fattening of young pigs). Not only has the number of pigs considerably increased (from 450,000 in 1913 to 1,192,000 in 1937), but the quality of the pigs (for the manufacture of bacon)
439 has greatly improved. With the Government's financial
231 support, a bacon export industry has been rapidly built up. In 1928, bacon exports amounted to 150 metric tons; in 1932, to
433 more than 25,000 metric tons, and, in 1936/37 (being affected by the introduction of bacon import quotas in England), to more than 10,000 metric tons. These figures, together with those for the export of live pigs (in 1932, 34,000, and, in 1936/37, 125,000 approximately) and the number of pigs kept are proof of the progress made.

235 Poultry-keeping also has made considerable headway; more
433 pure-bred poultry are being raised, and feeding and poultry-keeping technique have become more efficient. Horse-breeding likewise has improved, thus facilitating the sale of Lithuanian horses in foreign markets.

433 Such are the methods whereby the Ministry of Agriculture, the Chamber of Agriculture and the organisations working in conjunction with the latter are striving to improve the production both of crops and live-stock and to foster agricultural industries (dairy industries and the manufacture of bacon). Since 1931, the Chamber of Agriculture has also been endeavouring, with the co-operation of the Union of Young Farmers' Clubs, to rationalise and modernise home industries (weaving, knitting, fur-dressing, felt-making, pottery, furniture, etc.) and to improve the artistic qualities of the articles produced. Products of the home industries are thus enabled to compete with factory-produced goods.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 26

231 CATEGORIES OF LITHUANIAN CATTLE IN 1930 AND 1935*

	1930	1935
Calves less than one year old	216,890	160,670
Heifers one year old and older	135,670	176,300
Oxen one year old and older	27,200	38,730
Milk cows	654,030	755,830
TOTAL	1,033,790	1,131,530

* *Lietuvos Surasymas*, 1935, pp. 43–44.

From this table we see that about 65 percent of all the cattle of Lithuania are milk cows. The total number of cattle increased in 1935 as compared with 1930 by 9.5 percent, while the number of calves less than a year old was substantially smaller.

Pig breeding, another important branch of Lithuanian agriculture, is connected to some extent with dairying. This is because the dairies yield large quantities of skimmed milk, [439] which is always an excellent feed for pigs. Until 1924 the exports of pigs and pork from Lithuania were insignificant, but in later years, especially since 1930, after the Maistas Corporation developed its activities on a wider scale, the exports have increased considerably. In its stockyard at Kaunas about 800 workers were employed before the Russian occupation, while in the establishments at Siauliai, Panevezys and Taurage, smaller numbers were employed.

236 Sheep breeding in Lithuania is mainly for wool production, but wool has not played any great role in the exports of Lithuania, as the bulk was consumed by domestic agriculturists for making cloth at home. After the World War, conditions gradually changed; the farmers began to sell sur-

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 27

EXPORT OF PIGS AND PORK PRODUCTS 1924–39 231 439

YEAR	LIVE PIGS (1,000 head)	BACON	FRESH PORK
		(1,000 metric tons) *	
1924	43.5	0.0	1.1
1926	72.0	0.0	2.0
1928	41.8	0.6	1.2
1930	154.1	17.4	3.2
1932	33.7	40.9	5.5
1934	46.1	30.7	4.4
1936	117.0	10.2	5.1
1937	137.7	10.5	3.5
1938	153.1	11.8	1.6
1939	179.7	15.6	1.1

* One metric ton = 2,204.6 U.S. pounds.

plus wool and to buy clothing ready-made in town instead 236 of making it themselves. Since the climate is unfavorable for sheep breeding and the wool from Lithuanian sheep is therefore poor, domestic wool is mixed by the textile industry of Lithuania with imported wool of better quality. The value of wool imports in recent years was as follows: in 1936, 1,859,700 litas; in 1937, 2,558,900 litas; in 1938, 1,681,900 litas and in 1939 1,436,100 litas. The bulk of this wool came from Great Britain. There is perhaps no great future for sheep breeding; on the contrary, it is likely that this branch of livestock production will decrease even more.

POULTRY FARMING

Poultry farming is also a very old branch of Lithuania's 235 agriculture, and the role it has played in the exports picture has not been unimportant. Poultry farming is especially

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

433 terial collected by the German professor Skalweit [3] refers to a territory somewhat larger than the Lithuania of 1939. His findings, however, give a fairly accurate picture of the state of agriculture in Lithuania before the World War of 1914–18.

241 The main branches of agriculture in pre-war Lithuania were the cultivation of grain crops, the growing of flax, and the breeding of horses. Dairying, pig breeding, and poultry farming were almost nonexistent.[4]

2. The war and post-war period of disturbed development.—The study of these periods is almost entirely omitted in this volume, as these periods cannot serve for comparison, because almost from the very first days of the war Lithuania was converted into a battlefield for the Russian and German armies. The pursuit of agriculture was impossible throughout most of the period. As late as 1920, when a third of Lithuania was seized by Poland, foreign armies were still trampling the few crops that the farmers were trying to raise. Only after 1920 did Lithuania actually enter upon a comparatively normal economic life.

3 and 4. Post-war periods of progress, depression, and recovery.—Agriculture, the most fundamental economic activity of man, varies from the most primitive cultivation with the hoe to skilled machine-implemented scientific farming. In Lithuania, farming is not mechanized to a great extent, for the use of machinery on small parcels of land is not profitable. Experiments in scientific farming have, however, been undertaken and substantial progress has been made since the World War. Though wheat is mankind's most

[3] B. Skalweit, *Die Landwirtschaft in den litauischen Gouvernements: ihre Grundlagen und Leistungen* (Agriculture in the Lithuanian Gouvernements: Its Foundation and Efficiency), Jena, 1918.

[4] J. Kriksciunas, *Agriculture in Lithuania*, Kaunas, 1938, p. 12.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Though wheat is mankind's most 243
popular cereal food, rye is the first choice in Lithuania. Only 311
about 8 percent of all the arable land is utilized for wheat, while 19 percent of the land is devoted to the growing of rye. Another of the world's largest crops—corn (maize)—is not grown in Lithuania. The same is true of rice. The more popular grain crops, besides rye, are oats, barley, and wheat. Most favored of root crops in Lithuania are the potato and 244
various species of root vegetables. The sugar beet, entirely unknown before the World War, is now quite popular and is grown in sufficient quantities to supply three sugar refineries. Of the fibers, flax is the only one that is widely grown. 248
Hemp is also produced, but in small quantities and only for the consumption of farmers themselves, who use the fiber for ropes and the seeds for several kinds of food.

Another important branch of the agriculture of Lithuania 232
is livestock breeding, which has been vastly improved and extended since the World War.

Economic reconstruction after the World War was not as 433
general among agricultural countries as it might at first ap- 241
pear. Timoshenko points out several unfavorable factors.[5] 651
First of all, the prices of agricultural commodities began to decline early in the period of prosperity. This affected the purchasing power of agricultural and raw-material producing countries. Another adverse factor was the reëstablishment of a system of agricultural protection in the industrial countries of Europe. Cereal production was given less tariff protection during the earlier post-war period than before the war. In some countries of central Europe, including Germany, tariff protection of grain products was completely discontinued during the first post-war years.

[5] Vladimir P. Timoshenko, *World Agriculture and Depression*, Michigan Business Studies, Vol. V, No. 5, University of Michigan, 1933, pp. 541–663.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

433 Since 1924–25 the policy has been changed and the coun-
●241 tries of central Europe have returned to the pre-war methods
439 of tariff protection of their cereal production as well as to the protection of their animal husbandry. This has contributed to duplication in production and to the narrowing of the world market for exported agricultural products, while other factors stimulated the further expansion of agricultural production in the surplus-exporting countries. Exports from agricultural and raw-material producing countries increased very little during the years of prosperity because there was no appreciable increase in the demand for these products in the industrial countries. At the same time, the imports of agricultural countries, consisting mainly of manufactured goods, rose rapidly. The payment balance of agricultural countries could be kept in equilibrium only by an increase in indebtedness or by drawing on the surplus of previous years. For example, in 1924 Lithuania's exports exceeded imports by 60 million litas, while in 1927 imports exceeded exports by 19.8 million litas and in 1938 by 34.2 million litas.[6]

000 Data on economic activities in Lithuania cover the period up to 1939. With the war of 1939 another period of "disturbed economic development" started; no attempt can be made to analyze this period in this volume, since economic conditions are very unstable and data on economic activities unavailable.

LAND REFORM

423 One of the factors that contributed most to a complete overhauling of the internal economic and social structure of Lithuania was the land reform, a question which was

[6] Exchange rate: 10 litas to $1.00 until 1933; 6 litas to $1.00, 1935–40.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

According to the agricultural census of 1930, the number of farms in Lithuania and their areas are as stated in Table 7.

TABLE 7

CENSUS OF FARMS

FARM SIZE (*Acres*)	NUMBER OF FARMS	COMBINED AREA (*Acres*)
2.5– 12.5	53,463	380,722
12.5– 25.0	78,237	1,440,338
25.0– 37.5	59,572	1,788,349
37.5– 50.0	33,236	1,408,275
50.0– 75.0	34,197	2,042,511
75.0–125.0	20,597	1,885,111
125.0–250.0 and over	8,078	1,725,742
TOTAL	287,380	10,671,048

Through the land reform, over 45,000 new farms have been established and over 200,000 persons (including new settlers and their families) have been provided with regular occupation and permanent homes. This undoubtedly has brought beneficial results to the social and economic life of the country.[15] Moreover, the land reform has undoubtedly been a means of substantially raising the country's productivity, to the benefit of both the state and the individual farmer.

When Soviet Russia occupied Lithuania on June 15, 1940, a still more radical "land reform" was proclaimed by the Soviet-appointed puppet government. All land was proclaimed state property. Consequently, the farmer-owners suddenly became only managers of government property and, therefore, could not sell, exchange, or give away their

[15] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 34; Elbergas, *op. cit.*, pp. 64–68.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

423 land. Seventy-four acres (30 hectares) was the maximum
471 allowed each family to manage.
656 Several thousand formerly landless farmers who obtained a few acres through this Soviet "land reform" and whose popular support the Soviet government was seeking found themselves unable to till the allotted land because they had no tools, seed, or livestock and could not secure any aid from the government. The Soviet policy was to force them all into so-called "collective farms" (kolkhoz).

The majority of the farms of 80 hectares (198 acres) or over were not distributed at all but converted into government farms (sovkhoz) controlled through commissars.

Those who were allowed to keep 30 hectares (74 acres) were called "kulaks," and such high taxes were imposed upon them that they were forced to join the government-fostered collective farms.

•241 As indicated by Table 7, before the Soviet Russian oc-
423 cupation there were 287,380 separate farms in Lithuania,
656 ranging in area from 2.5 to 250 acres. These farms, on the basis of productive capacity, were classified into three groups.

The first group was comprised of the self-sufficient farms, ranging in acreage from 2.50 to 30 acres. Farmers in this group raised sufficient grain to maintain their families and kept one or two horses for work, one to four milk cows, and some poultry; thus they themselves produced most of their food. They had little to sell and bought little from the town. At the end of 1939, about 160,000 farms or 56 percent of all farms of Lithuania were in this group.

The second group was comprised of farms of between 30 and 70 acres which produced substantial quantities of agricultural products for the market. Although the farming system of this group was similar to that of the first one to the

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians 5

extent that these farmers produced various kinds of agricultural products, they usually concentrated more specially on one branch of farming, such as dairying or grain raising. About 100,000 farms belonged to this group. 241 423 656

Farms exceeding 70 acres belonged to the third group and stood highest in independent Lithuania from the point of view of the quality and quantity of their products. There were about 27,000 farms in this group. It was mainly this and the second group which supplied the bulk of agricultural products for export. It was also this third group and to a degree the second which first felt the ruin of Sovietization. Most of the farms in the third group were reduced to not more than 74 acres so that the farming inventory and buildings were not suitable to the smaller parcels of land. A substantial part of them was converted into government farms (*sovkhoz*). At the same time pressure was put on the second group by imposing exorbitant taxes in order to make it disintegrate as rapidly as possible. [651]

Taking into consideration the area of land utilized by each group, it might be deduced that in normal times the first group produced 20 percent of the entire amount sold on the market, while the second and third groups produced the remaining 80 percent, or 40 percent each. From this it would appear that the capacity of agricultural production in Lithuania during the Soviet Russian occupation dropped at least 40 percent. 241 433

When the Germans occupied Lithuania in June, 1941, they found the Bolshevik-introduced system convenient to some extent for the expropriation of the country economically. They restored the system of private ownership, but had not returned, up to the end of 1941, farms to the original owners. Even those farmers who were left managers of their small 423

3: Simutis 8-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

AGRICULTURE

243 The most popular grain crops in Lithuania are winter
311 rye, winter wheat, oats, and barley; the respective importance of each is indicated by the proportion of the land used for various crops, as shown in Table 12.

TABLE 12

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311
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LAND USED FOR VARIOUS CROPS

CROPS	1909–13 [a] (1,000 acres)	1938 [b] (1,000 acres)	PERCENTAGE OF ALL ARABLE LAND
Rye (winter and spring)	1,365.0	1,304.8	19.2
Wheat (winter and spring)	202.0	500.5	7.4
Oats	783.8	877.4	13.0
Barley	452.7	536.3	8.1
Buckwheat	16.1	19.6	.3
TOTAL GRAIN	2,819.6 [c]	3,238.6 [d]	48.0
Legumes	140.8	192.7	2.8
Potatoes	294.3	459.7	6.8
Sugar beets, fodder beets, carrots, and turnips	(e)	160.0	2.4
Clover and other grass fodder	(e)	1,378.2	20.3
Flax	(e)	192.5	2.8
Vegetables	136.4	63.1	.9

[a] J. Krikščiunas, *Die litauische Landwirtschaft* (Lithuanian Agriculture), Kaunas, 1933, p. 133.
[b] C.S.B., 1938, pp. 114–17.
[c] 1,141,100 hectares.
[d] 1,310,640 hectares.
[e] Figures not available.

243 In general, there is a tendency to reduce rye cultivation. For instance, the total of 1,365,000 acres used for rye in the years 1909–13 is 7.2 percent greater than was used in the same territory in the post-World War period.

In Lithuania rye is used principally for a special dark

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

242 therefore hope as yet to equal that of the more progressive countries of Western Europe, but it does exceed the average figure for Eastern Europe. The yield per hectare is 13-14 quintals for wheat and 12-13 quintals for barley and rye; the figure for oats is slightly below the figure for barley, owing to the havoc caused in recent years by rust.

241 Lithuania produces large quantities of cereals and pulse, a large part of which is, however, required for fodder. Forage is also obtained from wide areas of clover, meadowland and [233] pasture. Stock-breeding constitutes the principal agricultural activity: cattle, pigs, poultry. Lithuania used to be famous for her horses, which were exported in large numbers to Western Europe; now, however, there is very little export trade, and almost all the farm-work is done with horses.

Work in the fields generally begins in the second half of April and ends in about mid-November. The winter is long and farm work is concentrated in a relatively short period. The fact that the country is broken up into small farms, in conjunction with the low purchasing-power of the farmer, has prevented the mechanisation of agriculture on any very extensive scale. Cereals and pulse are generally machine-threshed, but most of the field-work is done by animal-drawn implements or by hand. There are a fair number of reapers, binders, seeders, hoers and other types of agricultural machinery, but these are employed only for part of the work; not all the peasant farmers are fortunate enough to possess them, so that a great deal must depend on human labour. This fact and the comparative shortness of the season means that the call for labour is greatest during the summer. Accordingly, a relatively large number of the population lives in the country and is intensively occupied during the season of work in the fields.

* * *

439 The economic structure of Lithuania has determined the character of her trade with Germany. Lithuania disposes of her surplus agricultural production on the international market (in 1938, 40% of her exports were absorbed by the United Kingdom, 26.8% by Germany, 5.7% by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 4.5% by Belgium, etc.). Her imports consist mainly of manufactured products, including 33% from the United Kingdom, 24.4% from Germany, 6.7% from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 4.7% from the Netherlands and 3.8% from Belgium.

In 1938, exports totalled 233 million litai and imports 223 millions. One half of the exports consisted of foodstuffs (122 million litai: including butter 48 millions, bacon 24 millions,

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

292 The national costume, though little worn on ordinary occasions, is much in evidence on holidays and on festive occasions, particularly among the women.

Since the redistribution of the communal lands, the farms
342 have all been scattered over the vast plain, at some distance
241 from one another. Most of the buildings are of wood, as timber costs far less than masonry; the roofs are generally of thatch or wood, though quite often of iron or tiled. Most of the houses are fairly roomy, and even small peasant farmers have three or four rooms. The Lithuanian peasant does not live in a house under the same roof as the stables or other farm buildings, as is so often the case in Western and Southern Europe; he regards such an arrangement as inconvenient and unhealthy. There is generally a little orchard and vegetable garden near the house. The Lithuanian peasants do not plant orchards for commercial purposes; they grow fruit for their own requirements and very few of them sell their fruit on the home markets or for export.

184 The country being comparatively small in area, no great differences are noticeable between the types of farm or the peasants in different regions. Of recent years, the various means of communication, particularly motor-bus services, have improved, and this tends very largely to eliminate such differences as did exist between the various regions. Practically all the peasantry is Roman Catholic. Though dialects exist, peasants
[212] from all parts of the country understand one another. For some years now, over half of them have been able to read the newspapers and to become familiar with the literary language; farming papers alone have a circulation of over 150,000, though the total number of farms does not exceed 290,000. From the point of view of nationality also, the Lithuanian peasantry constitutes a homogeneous mass. Lithuania does possess national minorities (about 18% of the population) but these consist mainly of urban dwellers, whereas the rural districts are populated almost exclusively by persons of Lithuanian race.

* * *

000 The Lithuanians have full confidence in the future. Always supposing that no restrictions are placed on their activities and that their territory is not once again turned into a battlefield, the exploitation of the natural riches of the country should proceed rapidly and on a comprehensive scale, while the living conditions of the rural population will improve correspondingly. This confidence in the future is justified by the very considerable progress already achieved during the brief period since Lithuania recovered her independence, progress which is explained by the attachment of country dwellers to the land and by their hard-working, intelligent and long-suffering character, and, lastly,

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1929 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

II. LAND TENURE AND AGRARIAN REFORM

When the Lithuanian State was revived in 1918, two-thirds 241
of the land under peasant ownership consisted of holdings split up 423
into a large number of separate strips and plots. (Detailed plans of villages before and after the subdivision of village lands into self-contained holdings are to be found in M. V. Balčiūnas' work *Lietuvos kaimų žemės tvarkymas istorijos, ūkio ir statistikos šviesoj*, published by the Central Land Office of the Ministry of Agriculture, Kaunas, 1938, pages 156 to 158.) At that time, moreover, almost every village had common pasture-land and much of the land was subject to servitudes in the form of pasture and forest rights. The peasants were entitled to pasture their stock on land belonging to the great landed estates and to receive a given quantity of wood from their forests.

In the early years of the country's independence, the 423
Government took steps with a view to the consolidation of 425
holdings, a process which entailed the subdivision of village lands into self-contained undertakings and the abolition of common pasture-lands and servitudes. Subdivision was required

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Farm established in pursuance of agrarian reform.

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

423 in some 9,600 villages with a total area of 1,974,000 hectares. By 1938, 6,096 villages, with a total area of 1,491,475 hectares, 425 had actually been subdivided into 139,551 self-contained undertakings. Thus, 3,500 villages, with a total area of 516,500 hectares, have still to be subdivided, and it is expected that the process will be completed in from four to five years. In all the villages subdivided, the common pasture-lands have been abolished. Furthermore, servitudes have been done away with in regard to a total area of approximately 100,000 hectares; the owners of pasture rights received compensation in land and the owners of forest rights were compensated in land, trees or cash.

• 241 This consolidation of holdings freed the peasants of villages that had been subdivided from the necessity for a common system of crop rotation for the entire village, and more particularly the system of three-shift rotation, with its well-known drawbacks; this has greatly facilitated cultivation and other agricultural work, and has brought about a state of things more conducive to agricultural improvements, etc.

423 The consolidation of holdings was one of the two most important aspects of agrarian reform in Lithuania, the other being the provision, out of the big estates, of land for peasants who previously had none, and for small landowners who required more.

In the early days of independence, the distribution of the land as between the various types of agricultural undertaking was anomalous. While from a third to half of all the land in the country was in the hands of large landowners, many of the peasants, being unprovided, or insufficiently provided, with land, had no outlet for their activities and lacked a regular means of livelihood. According to the data collected in 1919 preparatory to the introduction of agrarian reform, there were, in round figures, 60,000 landless peasants and 40,000 smallholders who had applied for land. At the same time, the large estates could no longer be kept up, particularly in consequence of the serious losses suffered by their owners during the war, and were fated to give way to small and medium-sized undertakings (see the International Institute of Agriculture's publication, *La Réforme Agraire*, I, Rome, 1930, pages 58 and 59).

In pursuance of the agrarian reforms, some 35,000 new undertakings with a total area of 350,000 hectares were created out of the land belonging to the big estates and some 90,000 hectares were distributed among approximately 26,000 smallholders. (Land was also given to schools, various cultural and social organisations, etc.)

As a result, large numbers of agricultural labourers were raised from economic conditions which were truly deplorable to a position of independence in the country's economic life. In

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

As regards *agricullural research*, the Institute of Agricultural 242
Research (founded in 1927) is in charge of experimental work in the field of agriculture throughout the country, with the exception of the work conducted by the Agricultural Academy at Dotnuva. It has at present under its control seven experimental stations dealing with various matters relating to the cultivation of crops, an experimental fruit-growing station (in process of organisation), a crop improvement station (at Dotnuva), a crop protection station (at Dotnuva) and a station for research on the breeding of pigs for bacon. Proposals are under consideration for the foundation of an agricultural machinery testing station and of stations for research into cattle- and sheep-breeding respectively.

In consequence of these measures, and particularly the 311
activities of the agricultural intelligence service. agriculturists 241
have begun to introduce a more rational system of crop rotation, 433
to prepare the soil more carefully and fertilise it more rationally (the progress of stock-breeding increases the quantities of manure available), to use better quality seed, to improve meadow- and pasture-land, to make more extensive use of agricultural machinery (through the foundation of co-operative societies for the joint use of machinery), etc. The results have been a decrease in the area of land left fallow and a corresponding increase in the area sown from an average of 2,079,000 hectares for the years 1928 to 1930 to 2,312,000 hectares for the period 1935 to 1937, the increase chiefly affecting the land under the more intensively cultivated crops (wheat, sugar-beet, mangel-wurzels). There has also been an increase in the yield per hectare of all the principal crops (wheat, rye, barley, oats, peas and potatoes), the yield from 1933 to 1937 being almost half as great again as during the years 1901 to 1910. It is worthy of note that, whilst the cultivation of sugar-beet was entirely unknown in the country before the war, the refineries now pay out almost 6½ million litai to the growers each year. The productivity of meadow- and pasture-land has increased to an even greater extent than that of arable land.

This latter circumstance has permitted the development of 233
stock-breeding and the number of farm animals has risen 433
considerably (in the case of cattle, for example, from 766,000 in 1913 to 1,172,000 in 1937). As a result of the organisation of milk control societies, breeding centres, the keeping of stud books, etc., the productivity of stock has also increased very considerably.

Progress has been particularly noteworthy in the case of 234
cattle (which, in Lithuania, are mainly bred for the production 474
of milk). In 1923, with a view to the transformation of surplus 433
milk into exportable produce, chiefly butter, dairymen's co-operative societies were founded with the financial support

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1339 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

428 to the good, as such farms generally contribute nothing towards
311 agricultural production and are far from being a social asset. There are no latifundia in Lithuania. The largest estate comprises about 1,000 hectares, and the larger properties exceeding 100 hectares number only 1602, or 0.56% of the total farms.

162 The proportion of men and women in the rural population is about equal. The country people do not go to the towns in search of work, as urban and country dwellers carry on different trades and their lives are quite separate.

An old barn.

134 The soil is of average fertility. In the east and south-east, there is a small area which is sandy and not very fertile, while, in the north again, a small area consists of very fertile land. The vast plains of Lithuania are covered with clay — more or less light — deposited during the Ice Age and subjected to centuries of erosion and impoverishment.

132] The rainfall is fairly heavy, so that much of this low-lying
202 land necessitates drainage works. The State makes itself
654] responsible for the large-scale regularisation of rivers and watercourses and the cutting of drainage channels. The farmers are responsible, with the help of Government subsidies, for ditching and drain-laying on water-logged land. By no means all of the land is satisfactorily drained. The yield cannot

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

242 therefore hope as yet to equal that of the more progressive countries of Western Europe, but it does exceed the average figure for Eastern Europe. The yield per hectare is 13-14 quintals for wheat and 12-13 quintals for barley and rye; the figure for oats is slightly below the figure for barley, owing to the havoc caused in recent years by rust.

241 Lithuania produces large quantities of cereals and pulse, a large part of which is, however, required for fodder. Forage is also obtained from wide areas of clover, meadowland and [233] pasture. Stock-breeding constitutes the principal agricultural activity: cattle, pigs, poultry. Lithuania used to be famous for her horses, which were exported in large numbers to Western Europe; now, however, there is very little export trade, and almost all the farm-work is done with horses.

Work in the fields generally begins in the second half of April and ends in about mid-November. The winter is long and farm work is concentrated in a relatively short period. The fact that the country is broken up into small farms, in conjunction with the low purchasing-power of the farmer, has prevented the mechanisation of agriculture on any very extensive scale. Cereals and pulse are generally machine-threshed, but most of the field-work is done by animal-drawn implements or by hand. There are a fair number of reapers, binders, seeders, hoers and other types of agricultural machinery, but these are employed only for part of the work; not all the peasant farmers are fortunate enough to possess them, so that a great deal must depend on human labour. This fact and the comparative shortness of the season means that the call for labour is greatest during the summer. Accordingly, a relatively large number of the population lives in the country and is intensively occupied during the season of work in the fields.

* * *

431 The economic structure of Lithuania has determined the character of her trade with Germany. Lithuania disposes of her surplus agricultural production on the international market (in 1938, 40% of her exports were absorbed by the United Kingdom, 26.8% by Germany, 5.7% by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 4.5% by Belgium, etc.). Her imports consist mainly of manufactured products, including 33% from the United Kingdom, 24.4% from Germany, 6.7% from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 4.7% from the Netherlands and 3.8% from Belgium.

In 1938, exports totalled 233 million litai and imports 223 millions. One half of the exports consisted of foodstuffs (122 million litai: including butter 48 millions, bacon 24 millions,

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 ! ithuanians RB5

III. SOIL IMPROVEMENT AND AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS

641 The Ministry of Agriculture controls the organisation for the encouragement of technical progress in agriculture, the aim 242 of which is to improve the conditions of existence of the 433 agricultural classes. The Ministry is responsible for carrying out agrarian reform and agricultural improvements, schools of agriculture, the organisation and improvement of veterinary work and supervision of the export of agricultural produce, etc.

In addition to the Ministry, the Chamber of Agriculture (founded in 1927) is also active in agricultural development. It is in charge of all the forms of agricultural training not under the authority of the Ministry, including the agricultural intelligence service; it supervises and co-ordinates the activities of the stock-breeders' associations, the flax-growers' association, the sugar-beet-growers' association and other similar organisations; it also subsidises various agricultural organisations and individual agriculturists with a view to the promotion or improvement of some particular branch of agriculture, and organises agricultural shows, etc.

474 Working in conjunction with the Ministry of Agriculture are various central organisations concerned with the processing 242 of agricultural produce, and its marketing abroad and at home. 433 and with supplying to agriculturists all such goods as they may require. These organisations are: "Lietuvos Žemės Ūkio Kooperatyvų Sąjunga" ("Lithuanian Union of Agricultural Co-operative Societies"), abbreviated to "Lietūkis", "Centralinė Lietuvos Pieno Perdirbimo Bendrovių Sąjunga" ("Lithuanian Central Union of Dairymen's Co-operative Societies"), abbreviated to "Pienocentras", and the "Maistas" and "Lietuvos Cukrus" joint-stock companies.

The chief measures taken with a view to the improvement of agricultural production are the consolidation of holdings (see above), land drainage, the development of agricultural training (see under V) and agricultural research.

312 Systematic work on the drainage of agricultural land could not be begun until 1921. The Ministry of Agriculture is proceeding with the regularisation of the beds of streams and the cutting of dykes which enable agriculturists to drain waterlogged land completely by means of open ditches or drainage pipes. The total area of the land drained by means of dykes from 1921 to 1937 (inclusive) is approximately 416,000 hectares, or more than 10% of all the land used for agricultural purposes.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

As regards *agricultural research*, the Institute of Agricultural Research (founded in 1927) is in charge of experimental work in the field of agriculture throughout the country, with the exception of the work conducted by the Agricultural Academy at Dotnuva. It has at present under its control seven experimental stations dealing with various matters relating to the cultivation of crops, an experimental fruit-growing station (in process of organisation), a crop improvement station (at Dotnuva), a crop protection station (at Dotnuva) and a station for research on the breeding of pigs for bacon. Proposals are under consideration for the foundation of an agricultural machinery testing station and of stations for research into cattle- and sheep-breeding respectively. 242

In consequence of these measures, and particularly the activities of the agricultural intelligence service, agriculturists have begun to introduce a more rational system of crop rotation, to prepare the soil more carefully and fertilise it more rationally (the progress of stock-breeding increases the quantities of manure available), to use better quality seed, to improve meadow- and pasture-land, to make more extensive use of agricultural machinery (through the foundation of co-operative societies for the joint use of machinery), etc. The results have been a decrease in the area of land left fallow and a corresponding increase in the area sown from an average of 2,079,000 hectares for the years 1928 to 1930 to 2,312,000 hectares for the period 1935 to 1937, the increase chiefly affecting the land under the more intensively cultivated crops (wheat, sugar-beet, mangel-wurzels). There has also been an increase in the yield per hectare of all the principal crops (wheat, rye, barley, oats, peas and potatoes), the yield from 1933 to 1937 being almost half as great again as during the years 1901 to 1910. It is worthy of note that, whilst the cultivation of sugar-beet was entirely unknown in the country before the war, the refineries now pay out almost 6½ million litai to the growers each year. The productivity of meadow- and pasture-land has increased to an even greater extent than that of arable land. 311 241 433

This latter circumstance has permitted the development of stock-breeding and the number of farm animals has risen considerably (in the case of cattle, for example, from 766,000 in 1913 to 1,172,000 in 1937). As a result of the organisation of milk control societies, breeding centres, the keeping of stud books, etc., the productivity of stock has also increased very considerably. 232 433

Progress has been particularly noteworthy in the case of cattle (which, in Lithuania, are mainly bred for the production of milk). In 1923, with a view to the transformation of surplus milk into exportable produce, chiefly butter, dairymen's co-operative societies were founded with the financial support 234 474 433

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

474 agricultural machinery, etc. Without the co-operative societies, the acquisition of these indispensable articles would have been almost impossible. Machinery to facilitate the various processes of farming and tools by which the land could be more efficiently prepared were shown to peasants at exhibitions, conferences and practical demonstrations organised by the rural co-operative societies.

474 3. Before the war, when Lithuania was still part of Russia, it was only towards 1911 or 1912 that action to encourage tech-
242 nical progress in agriculture could be developed on anything like a wide scale. Before that date, and particularly since 1906, much had been done in this sphere by the co-operative organisations — agricultural societies and farmers' clubs. At the meetings held by these organisations, many questions relating to the improvement of agricultural production were discussed. Exhibitions, courses of instruction and lectures were regularly held and visits were organised to model farms, experimental stations and demonstrations of agricultural instruments; schools of agriculture were founded and journals were published. General questions of importance to agriculturists were also discussed — *e.g.*, the flight from the land, the problem of agricultural labour, means of transport, hygiene and social insurance.

4. Since the end of the nineteenth century, propaganda has been conducted for the development of stock-breeding, particularly for the purposes of the dairy industries, as a substitute for the corn-growing to which Lithuanian agriculturists used largely to confine themselves. This propaganda was directed, in the first instance, to the owners of large agricultural estates and was subsequently extended to the owners of medium and small holdings also.

474 The valuable activities of the co-operative societies in this sphere were interrupted by the war, during which Lithuanian
[727] agriculture suffered greatly: there was a fall of 38% in the number of horses, 47% in cattle, 44% in pigs and 30% in sheep; approximately 35% of the arable land was lying fallow and 1,200 villages with 14,270 agricultural undertakings, 2,000 separate undertakings and fifty townships, comprising a total of 57,080 buildings, were destroyed. The independent State of Lithuania was raised from the ruins without any compensation being received for the losses suffered. The co-operative societies applied themselves to the revival of rural life. Henceforward, their activities were better organised, as they were allowed to form unions and were able to concern themselves with the most varied branches of rural life.

In 1918, only 10% of the co-operative societies in being before the war still remained, so that the network of societies had to be extended. In consequence, many new societies of

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Though wheat is mankind's most 243
popular cereal food, rye is the first choice in Lithuania. Only 311
about 8 percent of all the arable land is utilized for wheat, while 19 percent of the land is devoted to the growing of rye. Another of the world's largest crops—corn (maize)—is not grown in Lithuania. The same is true of rice. The more popular grain crops, besides rye, are oats, barley, and wheat. Most favored of root crops in Lithuania are the potato and 244
various species of root vegetables. The sugar beet, entirely unknown before the World War, is now quite popular and is grown in sufficient quantities to supply three sugar refineries. Of the fibers, flax is the only one that is widely grown. 248
Hemp is also produced, but in small quantities and only for the consumption of farmers themselves, who use the fiber for ropes and the seeds for several kinds of food.

Another important branch of the agriculture of Lithuania 232
is livestock breeding, which has been vastly improved and extended since the World War.

Economic reconstruction after the World War was not as 433
general among agricultural countries as it might at first ap- 241
pear. Timoshenko points out several unfavorable factors.[5] 651
First of all, the prices of agricultural commodities began to decline early in the period of prosperity. This affected the purchasing power of agricultural and raw-material producing countries. Another adverse factor was the reëstablishment of a system of agricultural protection in the industrial countries of Europe. Cereal production was given less tariff protection during the earlier post-war period than before the war. In some countries of central Europe, including Germany, tariff protection of grain products was completely discontinued during the first post-war years.

[5] Vladimir P. Timoshenko, *World Agriculture and Depression*, Michigan Business Studies, Vol. V, No. 5, University of Michigan, 1933, pp. 541–663.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

474 operative branches, is a small sum. In the unclassified group
[456] in the year 1939 there were 430 societies with a membership of 4,581. The total membership of all coöperative societies in 1939 was 161,256.

All the coöperative unions and bigger coöperative societies have representatives in the Council of Coöperatives of Lithuania (Lietuvos Kooperatyvu Taryba), which was formally chartered on January 30, 1925. The task of the Council is to encourage coöperative movement, to maintain close ties among coöperatives in Lithuania and in foreign countries, and to represent them in the government institutions and
[204] public organizations. The Council publishes the magazines *Talka* (Coöperation) and *Bendras Darbas* (Coöperative Work).[26]

In short, it may be said that coöperation has played an important role in the economic reconstruction and development of Lithuania since 1918. Coöperative institutions have increased the purchasing power of the farmers, both as producers and as consumers. At the same time they have furthered economic progress both by increasing productivity and by improving the quality of many products.

GRAIN CULTURE

243 Grain culture, which has been known in Lithuania since ancient times, was the backbone of the country's agriculture before the World War of 1914–18. Though there has been a tendency since 1926 to concentrate more on livestock breeding and dairying, grain culture still is the dominating feature of Lithuania's agriculture.

243 In recent years there has been a yearly production of
439 about 1.6 to 1.7 million metric tons of grain, with only a

[26] Salcius, *op. cit.*, pp. 230–31.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

small part of this available for export. Almost half of all the arable land of Lithuania is used for grain culture, a fact that is evident from Table 12. Although the amount of arable land used for grain culture increases slowly, the exports of grain have varied widely. The heavy grain exports in 1935

[311] 439 243

TABLE 11

EXPORTS OF GRAIN 1924–39[a]

YEAR	GRAIN EXPORTED[b] (*Metric tons*)	VALUE (*1,000 litas*)
1924	24,966	10,022
1926	16,541	9,894
1928	12,310	6,377
1930	40,664	11,526
1932	7,035	2,268
1934	25,504	4,682
1935	162,023	20,465
1936	130,562	14,578
1937	5,795	1,628[c]
1938	132,379	21,696
1939	85,365	11,700

[a] In the statistics of grain exports are included not only rye, wheat, oats, and barley but also the seeds of vetch, peas, buckwheat, chick-peas, and lentils.

[b] The metric ton or 10 quintals = 36.743 U.S. bushels of wheat or potatoes, 39.369 U.S. bushels of rye or linseed, 45.931 U.S. bushels of barley, 65.894 U.S. bushels of oats, according to the League of Nations' *Statistical Year Book of 1940.*

[c] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 104, for the period 1924–37.

and 1936, which according to Professor Kriksciunas [27] may be regarded as accidental, were made possible by an exceptionally large yield in 1934 and 1935. The bulk of production is intended for home consumption.

The most popular grain crops in Lithuania are winter

[27] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

243 The most popular grain crops in Lithuania are winter
311 rye, winter wheat, oats, and barley; the respective importance of each is indicated by the proportion of the land used for various crops, as shown in Table 12.

TABLE 12

LAND USED FOR VARIOUS CROPS

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CROPS	1909–13 [a] (1,000 acres)	1938 [b] (1,000 acres)	PERCENTAGE OF ALL ARABLE LAND
Rye (winter and spring)	1,365.0	1,304.8	19.2
Wheat (winter and spring)	202.0	500.5	7.4
Oats	783.8	877.4	13.0
Barley	452.7	536.3	8.1
Buckwheat	16.1	19.6	.3
TOTAL GRAIN	2,819.6 [c]	3,238.6 [d]	48.0
Legumes	140.8	192.7	2.8
Potatoes	294.3	459.7	6.8
Sugar beets, fodder beets, carrots, and turnips	([e])	160.0	2.4
Clover and other grass fodder	([e])	1,378.2	20.3
Flax	([e])	192.5	2.8
Vegetables	136.4	63.1	.9

[a] J. Kriksciunas, *Die litauische Landwirtschaft* (Lithuanian Agriculture), Kaunas, 1933, p. 133.
[b] C.S.B., 1938, pp. 114–17.
[c] 1,141,100 hectares.
[d] 1,310,640 hectares.
[e] Figures not available.

243 In general, there is a tendency to reduce rye cultivation. For instance, the total of 1,365,000 acres used for rye in the years 1909–13 is 7.2 percent greater than was used in the same territory in the post-World War period.

In Lithuania rye is used principally for a special dark

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RBL

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bread and various kinds of gruels. That Lithuania is the greatest rye producer of the three Baltic states, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, is shown by Table 13.

TABLE 13

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PRODUCTION OF RYE IN THE BALTIC STATES[a]

(*In Thousands of Quintals*[b])

YEAR	LITHUANIA	LATVIA	ESTONIA
1925–29 (av.)	5,175	2,371	1,508
1930–34 (av.)	5,746	3,148	2,013
1935	6,406	3,639	1,728
1936	5,413	2,860	4,215
1937	6,069	4,215	2,115
1938	6,237	3,802	1,880
1939	6,510	4,291	2,280

[a] League of Nations, *Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations*, 1937–38; C.S.B., 1938, p. 114.

[b] One quintal equals 220.46 pounds. See footnote b of Table 11 for equivalent in U.S. bushels.

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Wheat is also one of the important food products of Lithuania. In the pre-war period of 1909–13, 202,000 acres were used annually for wheat, while in 1935, 535,009 acres were used for this crop, of which 414,041 acres, or 77.2 percent, were used for winter wheat and 301,383 acres, or 22.8 percent, for spring wheat.[28] The growing of wheat in Lithuania is increasing much faster than the growing of any other grain. In 1938 about two and a half times more land was used for wheat than in 1909–13. This increase may be observed particularly regarding spring wheat.

From the data of Table 14 we see that Lithuania produces more wheat than either of the other two Baltic states. Since bread in Lithuania is made principally of rye flour, there is

[28] *Lietuvos Surasymas*, 1935, p. 18.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
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TABLE 14

PRODUCTION OF WHEAT IN THE BALTIC STATES
(*In Thousands of Quintals*)

YEAR	LITHUANIA	LATVIA	ESTONIA
1925–29 (av.)	1,653	626	275
1930–34 (av.)	2,475	1,498	600
1935	2,747	1,775	617
1936	2,197	1,435	662
1937	2,207	1,715	758
1938	2,512	1,918	861
1939	2,565	1,974	855

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243 a considerable surplus of wheat; the greater part of this surplus is exported and the rest is used for the feeding of home fowl and livestock. As the climate of Lithuania is favorable for wheat growing, further expansion in the size of the wheat crop may be expected.

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246 Oats, which are used mostly for livestock fodder, especially for horses, have almost no use in Lithuania as a food for the population. This crop had expanded substantially in the post-World War period. In 1909–13 it was included with fodder mixture, this entire category accounting for 783,801 acres, while in 1938, 877,400 acres were used for oats alone and another 277,246 acres were used for the growing of fodder mixture.

Barley is used in Lithuania chiefly as fodder for pigs. As pig breeding has expanded since the World War, a larger area is being used for barley growing. It is estimated that in the period 1909–13, 452,700 acres were used for that crop; in 1935 the figure increased to 507,963 acres, in 1938 to 536,300 acres, and further expansion was expected under normal conditions.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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popular cereal food, rye is the first choice in Lithuania. Only 311
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[5] Vladimir P. Timoshenko, *World Agriculture and Depression*, Michigan Business Studies, Vol. V, No. 5, University of Michigan, 1933, pp. 541–663.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB1

TABLE 15

PRODUCTION OF OATS IN THE BALTIC STATES

(In Thousands of Quintals) [a]

L 246 BC 246

YEAR	LITHUANIA	LATVIA	ESTONIA
1925–29 (av.)	3,105	2,485	1,211
1930–34 (av.)	3,788	3,453	1,456
1935	3,995	3,859	1,344
1936	3,320	2,844	1,138
1937	3,878	4,050	1,391
1938	4,200	4,454	1,773
1939	4,106	4,498	1,498

[a] Conversion coefficients: see footnote b of Table 11.

TABLE 16

PRODUCTION OF BARLEY IN THE BALTIC STATES

(In Thousands of Quintals) [a]

YEAR	LITHUANIA	LATVIA	ESTONIA
1925–29 (av.)	2,199	1,551	1,113
1930–34 (av.)	2,336	1,969	1,107
1935	2,516	2,046	918
1936	2,330	1,650	868
1937	2,740	2,184	809
1938	2,713	2,107	968
1939	2,571	2,088	899

[a] See footnote b of Table 11 for conversion coefficients.

ROOT CROPS

L 244

Before the World War, root crops were not as important as they have since become in independent Lithuania. Although potatoes were grown and used widely before the war of 1914–18, the area given over to potato growing has

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB1

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expanded more than 45 percent since the pre-war years. The bulk of the potato crop is used as fodder for pigs, a smaller quantity is consumed as food by the people, and the rest goes for distilling purposes.

Beets were grown in pre-war Lithuania, but in small quantities and mainly for human food. With the development of livestock breeding, beet growing for fodder has substantially expanded.

The sugar beet, unknown in Lithuania in the pre-war period, has shown a spectacular rise; 20,000 acres of sugar beets supply the country's three sugar refineries. The following is the record of sugar-beet cultivation in recent years: 1931—6,970 acres; 1932—13,146 acres; 1933—9,887 acres; 1934—9,637 acres; 1935—17,297 acres;[29] 1937—20,336 acres; 1938—21,002 acres; 1939—22,250 acres.[30]

L 244 BC 244

TABLE 17

PRODUCTION OF VARIOUS ROOT CROPS IN THE BALTIC STATES

(In Thousands of Quintals) [a]

YEAR	LITHUANIA	LATVIA	ESTONIA
POTATOES			
1925–29 (av.)	14,645	7,750	7,143
1930–34 (av.)	19,870	12,649	8,683
1935	17,738	14,612	8,927
1936	21,112	16,115	10,306
1937	25,099	17,820	9,856
1938	21,182	17,553	9,976
1939	23,548	16,559	8,740

[29] *Lietuvos Surasymas*, 1935, p. 24.
[30] C.S.B., 1939.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB1

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YEAR	LITHUANIA	LATVIA	ESTONIA
SUGAR BEETS			
1928–29	—	20	—
1929–30	—	35	—
1930–31	—	69	—
1931–32	67	94	—
1932–33	164	245	—
1933–34	73	291	—
1934–35	137	539	—
1935–36	198	451	—
1936–37	245	382	—
1937–38	257	442	—
1938–39 [b]	208	296	—

[a] Conversion coefficients: see footnote b of Table 11.
[b] *Revue internationale d'agriculture*, 1940, No. 2.

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FLAX

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Lithuania is one of the chief flax-producing countries in Europe, for the climate and the soil are very favorable for the cultivation of this crop. It is to be noted that in spite of its small area Lithuania ranks as the third flax exporter of the world, being surpassed only by Soviet Russia and Poland. About 200,000 acres, or a little more than three percent of all the arable land in Lithuania, is used for flax growing. Although this is a comparatively small percentage, the income derived therefrom is high. The income from flax and linseed exports in 1920–36 was greater than that from butter, pigs and pork, eggs, or grain.[31]

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Because there are no uniform standards for the preparation of the flax, the export products vary in quality. For example, in southern Lithuania flax is plucked out only after full maturity. Later it is submitted to a process of dew retting

[31] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 103. See Table 19 for figures.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
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3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
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PRODUCTION OF BARLEY IN THE BALTIC STATES

(In Thousands of Quintals) [a]

YEAR	LITHUANIA	LATVIA	ESTONIA
1925–29 (av.)	2,199	1,551	1,113
1930–34 (av.)	2,336	1,969	1,107
1935	2,516	2,046	918
1936	2,330	1,650	868
1937	2,740	2,184	809
1938	2,713	2,107	968
1939	2,571	2,088	899

[a] See footnote b of Table 11 for conversion coefficients.

ROOT CROPS

Before the World War, root crops were not as important as they have since become in independent Lithuania. Although potatoes were grown and used widely before the war of 1914–18, the area given over to potato growing has

L 244

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Though wheat is mankind's most 243
popular cereal food, rye is the first choice in Lithuania. Only 311
about 8 percent of all the arable land is utilized for wheat, while 19 percent of the land is devoted to the growing of rye. Another of the world's largest crops—corn (maize)—is not grown in Lithuania. The same is true of rice. The more popular grain crops, besides rye, are oats, barley, and wheat. Most favored of root crops in Lithuania are the potato and 244
various species of root vegetables. The sugar beet, entirely unknown before the World War, is now quite popular and is grown in sufficient quantities to supply three sugar refineries. Of the fibers, flax is the only one that is widely grown. 248
Hemp is also produced, but in small quantities and only for the consumption of farmers themselves, who use the fiber for ropes and the seeds for several kinds of food.

Another important branch of the agriculture of Lithuania 232
is livestock breeding, which has been vastly improved and extended since the World War.

Economic reconstruction after the World War was not as 433
general among agricultural countries as it might at first ap- 241
pear. Timoshenko points out several unfavorable factors.[5] 651
First of all, the prices of agricultural commodities began to decline early in the period of prosperity. This affected the purchasing power of agricultural and raw-material producing countries. Another adverse factor was the reëstablishment of a system of agricultural protection in the industrial countries of Europe. Cereal production was given less tariff protection during the earlier post-war period than before the war. In some countries of central Europe, including Germany, tariff protection of grain products was completely discontinued during the first post-war years.

[5] Vladimir P. Timoshenko, *World Agriculture and Depression*, Michigan Business Studies, Vol. V, No. 5, University of Michigan, 1933, pp. 541–663.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB1

YEAR	LITHUANIA	LATVIA	ESTONIA
SUGAR BEETS			
1928–29	—	20	—
1929–30	—	35	—
1930–31	—	69	—
1931–32	67	94	—
1932–33	164	245	—
1933–34	73	291	—
1934–35	137	539	—
1935–36	198	451	—
1936–37	245	382	—
1937–38	257	442	—
1938–39 [b]	208	296	—

[a] Conversion coefficients: see footnote b of Table 11.
[b] *Revue internationale d'agriculture*, 1940, No. 2.

L 244 BC 244

FLAX

Lithuania is one of the chief flax-producing countries in Europe, for the climate and the soil are very favorable for the cultivation of this crop. It is to be noted that in spite of its small area Lithuania ranks as the third flax exporter of the world, being surpassed only by Soviet Russia and Poland. About 200,000 acres, or a little more than three percent of all the arable land in Lithuania, is used for flax growing. Although this is a comparatively small percentage, the income derived therefrom is high. The income from flax and linseed exports in 1920–36 was greater than that from butter, pigs and pork, eggs, or grain.[31]

L 248 439 L [311]

Because there are no uniform standards for the preparation of the flax, the export products vary in quality. For example, in southern Lithuania flax is plucked out only after full maturity. Later it is submitted to a process of dew retting

L 248

[31] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 103. See Table 19 for figures.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB1
Poland EA1

L 248 instead of being water retted as in other parts of Lithuania. Prepared by such methods, flax fiber is of low quality, although this is offset by a rich yield of valuable linseed. In other parts of Lithuania flax is plucked before reaching full maturity. Flax plucked at this state produces linseed of low quality, but the flax fiber is undoubtedly very strong and fine.[32]

L [474] The concentration of flax exports since 1932 in the coöperative concern Lietukis has raised the quality and reputation of Lithuanian flax. Continued progress in this respect will no doubt be reflected in better prices and greater profits.

TABLE 18

L 248 BC 248 P 248

PRODUCTION OF FLAX IN THE BALTIC STATES AND POLAND

(In Thousands of Quintals)

YEAR	LITHUANIA	LATVIA	ESTONIA	POLAND
1925–29 (av.)	364	221	100	561
1930–34 (av.)	208	141	66	323
1934	222	162	71	308
1935	319	248	105	398
1936	288	185	87	372
1937	313	231	103	381
1938	258	214	74	399
1939	289	192	62	(a)

[a] Figure not available.

L 248 439 The importance of flax, tow, and linseed in the exports of Lithuania may be observed from the fact that in 1924 they constituted 26 percent of Lithuania's total exports; in 1926, 7 percent; in 1928, 20 percent; in 1930, 10 percent; in 1937, 15 percent; in 1938, 11 percent; and in 1939, 17 percent.

[32] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 19

EXPORTS OF LITHUANIA'S FLAX PRODUCTS 248

YEAR	FLAX AND TOW: QUANTITY EXPORTED (1,000 metric tons)	FLAX AND TOW: VALUE (Millions of litas)	LINSEED: QUANTITY EXPORTED (1,000 metric tons)	LINSEED: VALUE (Millions of litas)
1924	14.0	52.75	18.6	16.29
1926	19.7	56.93	25.8	18.04
1928	13.2	46.59	77.0	6.18
1930	10.2	19.59	20.1	14.21
1932	9.0	9.12	7.7	2.46
1934	10.2	11.19	6.4	2.01
1936	19.7	25.12	23.8	6.80
1937	16.1	24.00	20.7	7.10
1938	18.8	24.82	5.6	1.98
1939	20.0	30.31	10.3	4.16

439

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Butter and cheese were produced in pre-war Lithuania, but these items became available in increasing quantities for export only after the World War. In 1909–14, only some of the bigger landlords (farmers owning 200 acres or more) had their own creameries, but most of the middle-class and small farmers prepared milk products mainly for their own consumption, sending only a small portion to near-by township markets. In 1901, forty-eight landlords organized the creamery Birute whose yearly exports of butter reached 620,000 pounds. But the World War which disorganized the national economy of Lithuania also ruined the dairy co-operatives. Not only were the dairies destroyed but the country was deprived of its sources of supply, for almost

234

[439]

288 433 This table discloses that all branches of the textile industry have appreciably grown since 1927; that the textile industry proper (weaving and spinning) has, however, made much greater progress than flax manufacture. This is explained by the dependence of the latter upon export, whereas the other branches serve only the home market.

Already in the previous chapter it was pointed out that the output of the textile industry since 1929 has shown an unbroken advance, and of all industrial branches of Lithuania has increased the most vigorously. For the sake of comparison with the quantities data, the production index, calculated on the basis of ad valorem amounts, is once more quoted as converted to the basis year 1931:

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	108.1	168.4	178.4	264.0	311.2

248 288 433 The statistical data on the production quantities of separate special branches are as follows:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Flax and Tow (in tons)	4 550	5 509	1 335	4 331	5 207	5 857
Linen Yarns (in tons)	8.5	44.6	41.6	62.8	91.9	173.8
Cotton Yarns (in tons)	344.1	249.1	391.7	337.9	433.5	973.9
Woollen and Half-Woollen Fabrics (in 1000 metres)	838.8	722	1 335.3	1 384.4	2 466.1	2 411.1
Cotton Fabrics (in 1000 metres)	5 282.4	7 200	11 537.9	12 079.2	14 531.3	15 578.8
Silk Fabrics (in 1000 metres)	61.2	100.1	538.4	771.7	1 139.8	1 240.8

248 439 In regard to the flax manufacturing industry, it is interesting to compare the foregoing production quantities of machine-manufactured flax and tow with the total quantities of our flax exports in the relevant years. These are as follows (in tons):

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
7 710	8 989	10 187	10 427	19 677	16 087

From this comparison it can be seen that the machine- 248
manufactured flax to-day constitutes only a small part of the 433
total exported quantity, i. e. that flax manufactured by the farmers forms the greatest portion. Nevertheless the industrial production shows a relatively more stable course (with the exception of 1934) than the rural supply.

The production of the textile industry proper has since 1931 288
on an average quadrupled. A much more powerful development 433
therein is shown by silk-weaving, which in 1937 produced in round figures twenty times as many silk fabrics as in 1931, owing to the fact that it forms the youngest branch of our textile industry and was founded exactly in 1931.

The growth of the textile industry was undoubtedly pro- 439
moted by the tariff policy (increase of the Customs duty on 651
cotton fabrics in October, 1931, and again in April, 1932, on woollen and cotton fabrics) as also by the licence system (the import of woollen fabrics has been subject to licence since the introduction of the licence system, i. e. since December, 1932; that of cotton and silk yarns since August, 1934). This found expression in the sharp decline in 1932 of the imports of ready-made fabrics by half in round figures of the earlier imported quantity. The textile industry undoubtedly represents, concurrently with the production of knitted goods, the Lithuanian industrial branch best protected by tariff policy, which also explains its rapid growth and the concentration of large-scale undertakings in this branch. Notwithstanding this indisputable fact, it must none the less be recognized that, on the one hand, tariff protection is not equally apportioned (thus, for example, the duties on silk fabrics actually on an average amount to approximately 200% **ad valorem**; on cotton fabrics over 60%; and on linen fabrics only 25%), and that, on the other hand, the high duties on yarns (especially on artificial silk yarn) partially equalize the advantage of the high duties on ready-made fabrics.

3. The Timber Industry

To the timber industry, which may be designated the third 313
most important industrial branch of Lithuania, accrued in 1937 433
16.9% of all the workers employed in the medium and wholesale manufacturing industry; 10.5% of the engine horse-power;

465 wages, a rise in real wages of approximately 12% since 1931. In various individual branches, moreover, the wages standards of qualified workers were raised not only in 1937 but also in 1935 and 1936, which the above quoted average figures do not indicate, owing to the preponderance of unqualified workers, as a result of the frequent engagement of new employees.

*
* *

464 The internal structure of Lithuanian industry in respect of
433 the number of undertakings and the total number of employed workers in separate industrial branches are shown by the following Table No. 1.

288 On the basis of these statistics we may conclude that the
433 largest number of workers, viz., 20.6% of all industrial workers
464 in Lithuania to-day are employed in the textile industry. On an average, a staff of 88 workers pertains to one textile factory.

The first place in respect of the number of employed workers has, however, been reached by the textile industry in recent years, i. e. since 1935. Among all industrial branches in Lithuania it also shows the most intensive development. In spite of the crisis, the number of employed in the textile concerns since 1928 has steadily grown and in comparison with 1928 its position in 1937 had more than quadrupled (+317.5%).

This high level of the employed reflects, however, only the maximum utilization of labour capacity. Thus in 1937 the textile industry was the only branch that employed three shifts, since according to the number of undertakings, viz., 74, it stands far behind other branches.

313 In the second place stands the timber industry with 16.9%
433 of the total number of workers and 17.6% of the number of
464 undertakings. The size of the staffs rose by 51.1% during the period from 1928 to 1937, the most noteworthy increase having taken place in 1937.

262 In the third place follows the foodstuffs and luxury goods
433 industry with 16.4% of the total number of workers. According
464 to the number of undertakings (353 concerns or 28.3%), it is, however, entitled to the first place. The total number of the staffs in 1937 in comparison with 1928 shows an increase of 35.4%, which took place during the last three years. During

[252] the interval 1928—1934 hardly any changes were experienced
[433] in the dimensions of the staffs.
464

To the three above-mentioned industrial branches (textile, timber, and foodstuffs industries) pertain in all 646 undertakings with 17 063 workers, or more than half the total number of concerns and their staffs.

464 The remaining more important industrial branches range,
433 according to the number of employed workers, as follows: The stone and earth industry, which during the last ten years has doubled its staff; the metal and machinery industry, the growth of whose employed workers in the same period amounts to 44.7%; the clothing and footwear industry, with a growth of 63.6%; the paper and polygraphic industry, the staff of which has grown by 18.5%; the chemical industry, which to-day employs 51.3% more workmen than in 1928, and the leather industry, which also in the last decade has enlarged the extent of its staff, i. e. by 71.4%.

The smallest number of workers is employed in peat-cutting and in electricity works. The staff of the former during the last ten years has grown only a little; that of the latter has suffered even a slight retrogression which, however, was in no wise evoked by a falling-off in production but rather by its rationalization, as we see from the production statistics.

2. Aggregate Value of Industrial Production and the Production Index.

433

The aggregate value of the gross production of the concerns comprised in the statistics (from five employees upwards) amounted in 1937 to 428 200 000 litas against 354 500 000 litas in 1936, which in the course of the last year implies an ad valorem growth of 20.8%. Segregation into separate industrial branches gives the following result:

	1936		1937	
	In 1000 litas	Percentage share	In 1000 litas	Percentage share
1. Peat-cutting	969	0.3	1 126	0.3
2. Stone & Earth Industry	5 461	1.5	8 431	2.0
3. Metal & Machinery Ind.	17 125	4.8	22 406	5.2

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

B. SPECIAL PART

1. The Foodstuffs and Luxury Goods Industry

a. The Structure of the most important Branches

433
252

The foodstuffs and luxury goods industry forms the strongest industrial branch of Lithuania. To it in 1937 pertained 28.3% of the total number of concerns (employing 5 or more); 16.5% of the employed workers; 18.3% of the engine horsepower; 41.6% of the gross production value; and 30.6% of the net value of the total Lithuanian industrial output.

The following table illustrates the development of the most important branches during the last ten years:

Special Branches	1927 m.		1931 m.			1937 m.		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Mills	83	778	70	583	4 965	89	713	8 013
Sugar factories	—	—	1	361	3 537	2	1 294	6 820
Sugar wares production	40	760	42	796	686	32	623	800
Meat and canned goods production	20	362	21	620	1 212	22	1 806	3 035
Dairy-farms	4	26	27	129	·	110	438	·
Spirit distilleries	26	284	31	298	1 113	38	283	·
Beer breweries	10	350	9	333	984	11	394	·
Tobacco and cigarettes	12	734	10	733	275	9	594	350

On the basis of the foregoing data, we may arrive at the following conclusions with regard to the development tendency of separate special branches: 433

1. The milling industry showed in 1931, in comparison with 1927, a decline in the number of concerns and their staffs, but in recent years a recovery and an advance ensued. This phenomenon related, however, only to the medium and wholesale concerns appearing in our table, which employ at least five persons. Precisely in the milling industry the small concerns are in an overwhelming majority, and these show quite another development tendency. On the basis of the statistics of the trade licences, we may conclude that the total number of all milling concerns, which in 1928 amounted to 1 334, by 1932 had risen to 1 472, but since then until 1937 a reduction of 1 402 has ensued. It is obvious from the foregoing that the reduction in the number of larger milling undertakings until 1931 was due to the process of decentralization, while, on the other hand, in recent years the concentration tendency, combined with more intensive mechanization, has been in the ascendant. 256 433

2. The creation of the sugar industry followed in 1931, when with the participation of the Government the joint-stock company „Lietuvos Cukrus" was established. The first sugar factory was then put in operation at Marijampolė, and in 1935 the opening of a second factory at Pavenčiai ensued. 257 433 [473]

3. The sugar wares and chocolate industry since 1931 has shown a decline in the number of concerns and of employed workers; but the undermentioned production figures, which reveal constant growth, prove that this phenomenon is solely attributable to centralization and mechanization.

4. The number of concerns of the meat industry is stationary. Its growth is, however, illustrated by the quintupling of the number of employed workers which has taken place since 1927. The joint-stock company „Maistas", to whose capital the Government contributes 7 000 000 litas, assumes a monopoly position. It was founded in 1923, but its activity on a wider scale began in 1930. „Maistas" owns to-day five factories, i. e. at Kaunas, Memel, Šiauliai, Panevėžys, and Tauragė. In each factory the manufacture of bacon takes first place, but sausage wares and ham are also prepared. The concerns at Kaunas and Panevėžys produce also canned goods, that at Kaunas also insu- 253 473 433

253 433 477 lin. Preserving cans are repaired in its own workshops. Moreover, at Kaunas a modern abattoir of „Maistas" has been built for municipal requirements. (The rôle of „Maistas" in our trade is described in the section „Share-capital in Lithuanian Trade").

234 433 5. The dairy-farms show an exemplary growth tempo. The development of Lithuanian butter production is due to the Central Union of Dairy-farming Cooperatives „Pienocentras", concerning whose activity a more detailed report is given in the subsequent section „The Rôle of the Cooperative Societies". The figures contained in the foregoing tables relate moreover only to the larger concerns; the total number of all dairy-farms of the dairy cooperatives included in the production statistics amounted in 1937 to 188.

274 433 6. The number of workers employed in the spirit distilleries remained stationary during the period 1927—1937, whereas the number of concerns rose from 26 to 38.

[464] 7. The development of beer breweries showed no material changes from 1927 to 1931. The number of employed workers since the curtailment between 1932 and 1936 for the first time in 1937 exceeded the figures for 1927.

277 433 8. The number of tobacco and cigarette factories and their staffs has decreased since 1931, which was occasioned chiefly by the decline of consumption during the time of crisis.

From the standpoint of the number of undertakings, the mills and dairy-farms constitute the two strongest groups of the foodstuffs industry. According to the number of employed workers, the meat and canned goods industry and the sugar industry head the list, although it must be borne in mind that as regards the last-named, the production campaign lasts only a few months.

b. The Development of Production

433 The total value of the gross production of the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry in 1937 amounted to 178 300 000 litas and the net production to 50 400 000.

These figures are distributed among separate branches as follows (in 1 000 litas):

433 chapter. In the following table are given the data on the production quantities of the most important branches; they fully confirm the accuracy of the development tendency expressed by the index figures.

Production Figures in Tons

	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Wheat and Rye Flour	57 465	54 963	•	48 294	50 576	53 858	48 867
Sugar	6 613	16 191	8 166	15 263	22 136	27 164	28 673
Sugar Wares	•	•	•	1 387	1 484	1 626	1 934
Bacon	19 894	26 869	21 376*)	12 675*)	8 809	10 539	10 153
Other Meat Products	9 770*)	7 660	7 642*)	9 000**)	16 485	16 933	12 858
Butter***)	8 141	10 289	9 854	10 728	13 190	15 835	16 994
Spirits (1000 litres)	3 315	3 016	3 070	2 717	2 723	2 942	5 502
Beer (1000 litres)	11 264	7 194	7 292	6 274	5 284	7 290	14 165
Tobacco (consumed raw tobacco)	983	867	763	697	665	768	769

256 433 The fluctuations in flour production are naturally connected with the condition of the harvest. The falling-off in production in 1937 was caused by the serious deterioration of the harvest in 1936 in comparison with both preceding years.

257 433 The youthful sugar industry which, as mentioned above, was first established in the autumn of 1931, had developed its activity to the full only by 1932, and thereby, concurrently with bacon production, brought about the rise of the index, notwithstanding the general crisis, by 16.5 points. After the fluctuations in 1933 and 1934, and in connexion with the opening of a second factory in 1935, our sugar production rose greatly in 1935 and 1936 and to-day, as is clear from the definite curtailment of imports shown in the chapter on foreign trade, fully covers the demand of the domestic market. This also explains the slackening of the further growth in 1937.

439 253 234 The fluctuations and the recession of meat production which together with butter production belongs generally to the strongest export branches of Lithuanian economy, while the remaining branches mentioned above serve only the home market, are due to the import quotas and the preference policy of Great Britain, the most important export market for our meat products, vis-à-vis her Dominions. More detailed information 000

*) Export quantity. In the case of bacon on an average 95% of the production is for export.

**) Estimated.

***) Production of the dairy cooperative societies.

On the basis of the foregoing data, we may arrive at the following conclusions with regard to the development tendency of separate special branches: 433

1. The milling industry showed in 1931, in comparison with 1927, a decline in the number of concerns and their staffs, but in recent years a recovery and an advance ensued. This phenomenon related, however, only to the medium and wholesale concerns appearing in our table, which employ at least five persons. Precisely in the milling industry the small concerns are in an overwhelming majority, and these show quite another development tendency. On the basis of the statistics of the trade licences, we may conclude that the total number of all milling concerns, which in 1928 amounted to 1 334, by 1932 had risen to 1 472, but since then until 1937 a reduction of 1 402 has ensued. It is obvious from the foregoing that the reduction in the number of larger milling undertakings until 1931 was due to the process of decentralization, while, on the other hand, in recent years the concentration tendency, combined with more intensive mechanization, has been in the ascendant. 256 433

2. The creation of the sugar industry followed in 1931, when with the participation of the Government the joint-stock company „Lietuvos Cukrus" was established. The first sugar factory was then put in operation at Marijampolė, and in 1935 the opening of a second factory at Pavenčiai ensued. 257 433 [473]

3. The sugar wares and chocolate industry since 1931 has shown a decline in the number of concerns and of employed workers; but the undermentioned production figures, which reveal constant growth, prove that this phenomenon is solely attributable to centralization and mechanization.

4. The number of concerns of the meat industry is stationary. Its growth is, however, illustrated by the quintupling of the number of employed workers which has taken place since 1927. The joint-stock company „Maistas", to whose capital the Government contributes 7 000 000 litas, assumes a monopoly position. It was founded in 1923, but its activity on a wider scale began in 1930. „Maistas" owns to-day five factories, i. e. at Kaunas, Memel, Šiauliai, Panevėžys, and Tauragė. In each factory the manufacture of bacon takes first place, but sausage wares and ham are also prepared. The concerns at Kaunas and Panevėžys produce also canned goods, that at Kaunas also insu- 253 473 433

433 chapter. In the following table are given the data on the production quantities of the most important branches; they fully confirm the accuracy of the development tendency expressed by the index figures.

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439 253 234 The fluctuations and the recession of meat production which together with butter production belongs generally to the strongest export branches of Lithuanian economy, while the remaining branches mentioned above serve only the home market, are due to the import quotas and the preference policy of Great Britain, the most important export market for our meat 000 products, vis-à-vis her Dominions. More detailed information

*) Export quantity. In the case of bacon on an average 95% of the production is for export.

**) Estimated.

***) Production of the dairy cooperative societies.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

439 pation. In 1938, Maistas sales to foreign countries rose to 57.85 million litas, while in 1939 it rose to 71.7 million litas, or 24 percent above the 1938 figures.

438 Even in domestic business Maistas showed an impressive rise. Its domestic sales amounted in 1930 to 5.8 million litas and rose every subsequent year until in 1938 they reached 14.9 million litas and in 1939, 18.8 million litas.

257 433 The sugar industry, which also shows considerable advance, started with one refinery in 1932, employing 67 persons, and in 1939 had two refineries with 246 workers, not counting the many farmers who were engaged in sugar-beet growing and whose incomes were increased through the introduction and development of this branch of agriculture. 257 471 Inasmuch as the two refineries were insufficient to meet the demands of Lithuania, a third refinery was constructed. All three are owned by the Lietuvos Cukrus Corporation, in which the government participates as owner of a controlling number of shares of capital stock. The first refinery was opened in 1932 in Marijampole and the second in 1935 in Panevezys. The production rose very rapidly: in 1932, 67,000 quintals; 1933, 162,000 quintals; 1934, 82,000 quintals; 1935, 153,000 quintals; 1936, 221,000 quintals; 1937, 272,000 quintals; in 1938, 287,000 quintals [9] and 1939, 208,000 quintals.

234 433 Another industry in the food-and-luxury category which showed great expansion both in number of establishments and in workers employed is that of dairying, which is covered in the section on coöperatives, above.

438 433 Other industries, such as grain mills with 761 workers, candy and chocolate factories with 761 workers, and tobacco

[9] C.S.B., 1938, p. 160.

On the basis of the foregoing data, we may arrive at the following conclusions with regard to the development tendency of separate special branches: 433

1. The milling industry showed in 1931, in comparison with 1927, a decline in the number of concerns and their staffs, but in recent years a recovery and an advance ensued. This phenomenon related, however, only to the medium and wholesale concerns appearing in our table, which employ at least five persons. Precisely in the milling industry the small concerns are in an overwhelming majority, and these show quite another development tendency. On the basis of the statistics of the trade licences, we may conclude that the total number of all milling concerns, which in 1928 amounted to 1 334, by 1932 had risen to 1 472, but since then until 1937 a reduction of 1 402 has ensued. It is obvious from the foregoing that the reduction in the number of larger milling undertakings until 1931 was due to the process of decentralization, while, on the other hand, in recent years the concentration tendency, combined with more intensive mechanization, has been in the ascendant. 256 433

2. The creation of the sugar industry followed in 1931, when with the participation of the Government the joint-stock company „Lietuvos Cukrus" was established. The first sugar factory was then put in operation at Marijampolė, and in 1935 the opening of a second factory at Pavenčiai ensued. 257 433 [473]

3. The sugar wares and chocolate industry since 1931 has shown a decline in the number of concerns and of employed workers; but the undermentioned production figures, which reveal constant growth, prove that this phenomenon is solely attributable to centralization and mechanization.

4. The number of concerns of the meat industry is stationary. Its growth is, however, illustrated by the quintupling of the number of employed workers which has taken place since 1927. The joint-stock company „Maistas", to whose capital the Government contributes 7 000 000 litas, assumes a monopoly position. It was founded in 1923, but its activity on a wider scale began in 1930. „Maistas" owns to-day five factories, i. e. at Kaunas, Memel, Šiauliai, Panevėžys, and Taurage. In each factory the manufacture of bacon takes first place, but sausage wares and ham are also prepared. The concerns at Kaunas and Panevėžys produce also canned goods, that at Kaunas also insu- 253 473 433

433 chapter. In the following table are given the data on the production quantities of the most important branches; they fully confirm the accuracy of the development tendency expressed by the index figures.

Production Figures in Tons

	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Wheat and Rye Flour	57 465	54 963	.	48 294	50 576	53 858	48 867
Sugar	6 613	16 191	8 166	15 263	22 136	27 164	28 673
Sugar Wares	.	.	.	1 387	1 484	1 626	1 934
Bacon	19 894	26 869	21 376*)	12 675*)	8 809	10 539	10 153
Other Meat Products	9 770*)	7 660	7 642*)	9 000**)	16 485	16 933	12 858
Butter***)	8 141	10 289	9 854	10 728	13 190	15 835	16 994
Spirits (1000 litres)	3 315	3 016	3 070	2 717	2 723	2 942	5 502
Beer (1000 litres)	11 264	7 194	7 292	6 274	5 284	7 290	14 165
Tobacco (consumed raw tobacco)	983	867	763	697	665	768	769

256 433 The fluctuations in flour production are naturally connected with the condition of the harvest. The falling-off in production in 1937 was caused by the serious deterioration of the harvest in 1936 in comparison with both preceding years.

257 433 The youthful sugar industry which, as mentioned above, was first established in the autumn of 1931, had developed its activity to the full only by 1932, and thereby, concurrently with bacon production, brought about the rise of the index, notwithstanding the general crisis, by 16.5 points. After the fluctuations in 1933 and 1934, and in connexion with the opening of a second factory in 1935, our sugar production rose greatly in 1935 and 1936 and to-day, as is clear from the definite curtailment of imports shown in the chapter on foreign trade, fully covers the demand of the domestic market. This also explains the slackening of the further growth in 1937.

439 253 234 The fluctuations and the recession of meat production which together with butter production belongs generally to the strongest export branches of Lithuanian economy, while the remaining branches mentioned above serve only the home market, are due to the import quotas and the preference policy of Great Britain, the most important export market for our meat products, vis-à-vis her Dominions. More detailed information 000

*) Export quantity. In the case of bacon on an average 95% of the production is for export.

**) Estimated.

***) Production of the dairy cooperative societies.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 36

IMPORTS OF THE LEADING SEMIFINISHED AND FINISHED TEXTILE GOODS 439

(In Thousands of Litas)

YEAR	WOOLEN SPUN YARN	COTTON SPUN YARN	WOOLEN FABRICS	COTTON FABRICS	TOTAL
1928	2,188	6,032	12,952	21,118	42,291
1929	2,413	7,449	14,179	18,600	42,643
1930	2,269	12,019	16,543	21,867	52,699
1931	2,576	8,801	14,980	24,082	50,439
1932	2,034	7,916	7,319	11,370	28,639
1933	3,264	8,917	4,430	8,320	24,931
1934	4,334	7,951	3,717	7,132	23,133
1935	4,173	7,364	3,742	7,271	22,550
1936	7,061	8,662	5,067	10,230	31,020
1937	8,433	8,558	5,795	10,213	32,999
1938	8,433	7,761	5,299	9,536	31,029
1939	5,004	5,499	4,564	8,654	23,721

FOODSTUFFS INDUSTRY

Among Lithuanian industries, foodstuffs occupied first place (41.6%) from the point of view of value of product in 1937 and second place from the point of view of number of people employed. From 1927 to 1938 this branch of industry almost doubled in number of employees. Table 37 shows this expansion. The meat, fish, and canned goods branch showed an exceptional rise. In 1939 the number of workers rose to 1,987 or more than five times the number (362) employed in 1927. The Maistas Corporation, with its five stockyards (Kaunas, Klaipeda, Siauliai, Panevezys, and Taurage), has been responsible for most of this progress. 258 433

The Maistas Corporation was originally organized in 1923 000

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 37

THE FOODSTUFFS INDUSTRIES

•258
4-33

INDUSTRY	1927		1930		1935		1938		1939	
	Establishments	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*
Grain mills	83	778	74	638	83	619	99	761	96	706
Bakeries	21	156	29	212	43	319	53	465	46	469
Sugar refineries	—	—	—	—	1	133	2	262	2	246
Candy and chocolate factories	40	760	42	866	29	583	36	761	28	657
Slaughterhouses and meat, fish, and canned goods establishments	20	362	20	281	21	1,029	25	1,721	15	1,787 [a]
Milk-product plants	4	26	18	114	110	407	114	507	102	458
Breweries	10	350	10	351	10	246	11	602	9	553
Tobacco and cigarette factories	12	734	10	695	9	574	8	569	6	546

[a] Before Klaipeda Territory cession: 26 establishments with 1,987 workers.

The Maistas Corporation was originally organized in 1923

473 for the purpose of concentrating on the export of eggs and dairy products, but later its activities were turned to organizing slaughterhouses and to producing and exporting meat and canned products.[7] The original capital of the Maistas Corporation was 500,000 litas, consisting of 5,000 shares at 100 litas par value. The first years of the corporation were not only nonprosperous, but the balance for July 1, 1924, showed a loss of 463,237.60 litas. This loss was covered by stockholders in proportional payments according to the stock

[7] *Pirmas Maisto Desimtmetis 1923–1933 Metai* (Maistas's First Decade, 1923–1933), Kaunas, 1933, p. 28.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

262
146

AVERAGE DIET (PER DAY) OF THE LITHUANIAN PEASANT (male adult)

Order	Foodstuff	Amounts consumed: Grammes	Proteins (grammes)	Fats (grammes)	Carbohydrates (grammes)	Calories (gross)	Amounts absorbed: Calories (net)
1.	Rye bread	548.7	35.67	5.49	279.84	1,344.31	1,152.27
2.	Wheat bread	3.1	0.28	0.03	1.43	7.25	6.51
3.	White bread	3.5	0.24	0.02	2.—	9.31	8.4
4.	Wheaten flour	16.—	1.89	0.24	11.36	56.64	48.8
5.	Barley flour	4.8	0.48	0.11	3.5	17.38	14.4
6.	Flour for pancakes	85.6	12.75	1.28	58.21	303.02	267.07
7.	"Kisielius" (a kind of oatmeal)	5.—	0.28	0.16	1.3	8.3	7.2
8.	Barley gruel	28.4	2.84	0.65	20.76	102.81	85.2
9.	Wheat gruel	0.9	0.1	0.01	0.07	3.28	2.7
10.	Thick gruel	10.2	0.57	0.31	2.86	16.83	16.32
11	"Vedarai" (intestine filled with grated potato, gruel and blood)	1.5	0.11	0.16	0.57	4.19	3.75
12.	Ground groats	0.8	0.09	0.01	0.61	2.92	2.4
13.	Dried peas	20.—	4.6	0.4	10.4	65.2	58.—
14.	Potatoes	1,010.8	21.23	1.01	212.27	970.37	909.7[illegible]
15.	Cabbage	54.7	0.55	0.27	3.56	15.86	8[illegible]
16.	Beetroot (soup)	27.8	0.28	—	1.95	9.17	8
17.	Beetroot	16.3	0.16	—	1.14	5.38	4[illegible]
18.	Leafstalks of beetroot	1.8	0.02	—	0.13	0.36	—
19.	Beetroot leaves	5.9	0.06	—	0.41	1.18	—
20.	Carrots	3.8	0.04	—	0.34	1.56	0.95
21.	Salad	0.9	0.01	traces	0.02	0.11	0.07
22.	Radishes	5.9	0.06	—	0.24	1.18	1.12
23.	Cucumbers	34.7	0.21	—	0.35	2.43	—
24.	Onions	2.7	0.03	—	0.23	1.03	—
25.	Poppy	0.4	0.08	0.16	0.07	1.74	1.21
26.	Mushrooms	7.1	0.36	0.01	0.21	0.41	1.99
27.	"Kisielius" made of cranberry	0.6	0.001	0.0001	0.1	0.42	0.36
28.	Red whortleberry jam	0.6	0.01	—	0.37	1.45	1.42
29.	Strawberry jam	1.2	0.01	—	0.73	2.9	2.84
30.	Apples	9.7	0.01	—	1.36	5.72	3.88
31.	Plums	4.—	0.03	—	0.68	2.92	1.—
32.	Sugar	10.3	—	—	10.29	40.68	40.17
33.	Honey	8.8	0.03	—	7.04	26.4	26.4
34.	Pork (half lean)	31.2	5.62	6.55	—	83.93	79.56
35.	[illegible] (lean)	3.2	0.67	0.22	—	4.83	4.48
36.	"Kisielius" (a kind of jelly)	1.6	0.34	0.11	—	2.42	2.24
37.	Pork, mutton, hare	10.2	2.04	0.59	—	17.44	16.49
38.	Blood soup	7.2	0.61	0.02	0.01	2.66	2.38
39.	Mutton	1.2	0.23	0.08	—	1.69	1.62
40.	Sucking pig	5.6	1.18	0.39	—	8.46	7.84
41.	Ham	4.5	1.13	1.62	—	19.67	18.9
42.	Sausage	0.2	0.06	0.1	—	1.12	1.06
43.	"Skilandis" (the stomach of a pig filled with minced pork)	2.3	0.55	1.06	—	12.1	11.5
44.	Bacon	21.6	3.02	11.02	—	114.48	110.16
45.	Fat	10.3	0.01	10.25	—	95.38	94.76
46.	Linseed oil	0.09	—	0.03	—	0.28	0.28
47.	Fish	11.9	1.19	0.04	—	4.76	4.16
48.	Herrings	4.1	0.57	0.49	—	6.89	6.35
49.	Eggs	2.—	0.28	0.22	0.01	3.24	3.—
50.	Fresh milk	240.2	8.17	8.17	11.29	156.13	151.33
51.	Skim-milk	48.7	1.66	0.05	2.29	16.58	14.61
52.	Curdled milk	193.1	6.37	5.21	8.69	110.07	104.27
53.	Buttermilk	7.6	0.26	0.04	0.36	2.89	2.51
54.	Cream	23.3	0.79	2.33	0.93	28.66	27.96
55.	Butter	10.8	0.06	9.05	0.05	84.67	84.24
56.	Curds	30.3	5.76	0.18	0.7	28.48	25.76
57.	Cream cheese	10.5	3.99	0.21	0.32	19.53	17.53
	Total		127.67	68.7	657.8	3,861.—	3,479.—

497 Railroad traffic is lively: military trains pass Kaunas every few minutes. A single passenger train circulates daily between Vilnius and Kaunas, and one train operates every other day between Kaunas and Šeštokai.

499 505 Graveled highways go unrepaired, showing ever greater deterioration. Few ships and barges are seen on the Nemunas, as most of the fleet managed to escape to Denmark in 1944.

465 511 All artisans were driven into "artels": excessive taxes did the trick.

[435] Wages are low and working hours are long. Prices are twice as high as in Moscow: one week's wages is spent on a kilogram of butter. In 1945 butter was transported from Lithuania to Moscow in an "airlift operation," by planes. The Muscovites liked Lithuanian butter—and butter is still exported, depriving the Lithuanians of their diet. Numerous deductions are withheld from wages—up to one half, including "voluntary" subscriptions to state loans, etc.

In consequence of the meager pay, every worker attempts to steal whatever he can, and to sell the stolen products in the black market. Lately the bureaucracy —itself most guilty of embezzlement—began penalizing the workers with harsh penalties. Nevertheless, the practice of stealing is universal, and the Russian officials set the pace. Whenever the so-called "exemplary state farms" call for volunteers to assist in planting or harvesting—there are enough volunteers who anticipate a chance to "hook something."

The morale of factory workers is as low as that of the farmers. The living conditions steadily deteriorate. Discontent over "stakhanovite efficiency," long working hours, low pay, lack of clothing, etc. is widespread. In the early part of 1948 the regime abandoned its choicest proffer to workers—the bait of appointment [554] to managing posts. Today, there is a tendency to build up cadres of skilled specialists, a privileged caste of people in uniform—even telegraph post climbers wear uniforms. . . .

Moral Situation

000 Symbols of Russian "culture" and ways of life universally exhibited by the "masters and victors" are—violence, profanity, drunkenness, thievery, deceit and raggedness.

685 Any criminal tendencies among the natives were drastically curbed by the underground authorities. Felonies were penalized by death sentences—and the sentences were carried out. But thieving is uncontrollable in the factories and in the supply services.

273 186 The Russians and their bootlickers revel in continual drunkenness. Vodka is the universal form of bribe. Unfortunately, the brutal conditions of life affected the Lithuanians to a certain degree, too. People are tempted to forget bitter reality for a half hour at least. The resistance movement continually wages a press propaganda against alcoholism ("Don't be like a Russian!"). For strictly practical considerations of maintaining a supply service for its armed units, the resistance movement repeatedly issued orders banning home distilling and any waste of the much needed grains. The Russians, however, pursue a definite policy aimed at demoralizing the natives and weakening their moral standards. Vodka is dumped on the market in unlimited unrationed qualities. But — the Church is still permitted to preach against the evils of drunkenness.

253 433 472 lin. Preserving cans are repaired in its own workshops. Moreover, at Kaunas a modern abattoir of „Maistas" has been built for municipal requirements. (The rôle of „Maistas" in our trade is described in the section „Share-capital in Lithuanian Trade").

234 433 5. The dairy-farms show an exemplary growth tempo. The development of Lithuanian butter production is due to the Central Union of Dairy-farming Cooperatives „Pienocentras", concerning whose activity a more detailed report is given in the subsequent section „The Rôle of the Cooperative Societies". The figures contained in the foregoing tables relate moreover only to the larger concerns; the total number of all dairy-farms of the dairy cooperatives included in the production statistics amounted in 1937 to 188.

274 433 6. The number of workers employed in the spirit distilleries remained stationary during the period 1927—1937, whereas the number of concerns rose from 26 to 38.

[434] 7. The development of beer breweries showed no material changes from 1927 to 1931. The number of employed workers since the curtailment between 1932 and 1936 for the first time in 1937 exceeded the figures for 1927.

277 433 8. The number of tobacco and cigarette factories and their staffs has decreased since 1931, which was occasioned chiefly by the decline of consumption during the time of crisis.

From the standpoint of the number of undertakings, the mills and dairy-farms constitute the two strongest groups of the foodstuffs industry. According to the number of employed workers, the meat and canned goods industry and the sugar industry head the list, although it must be borne in mind that as regards the last-named, the production campaign lasts only a few months.

b. The Development of Production

433 The total value of the gross production of the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry in 1937 amounted to 178 300 000 litas and the net production to 50 400 000.

These figures are distributed among separate branches as follows (in 1 000 litas):

on this subject is contained in the section on the trade turnover of the „Maistas" joint-stock company. 000

The butter production figures specified in the foregoing tables relate only to the quantities supplied by the dairy cooperatives, which are used almost exclusively for export. Nearly the entire domestic demand is covered by the home production of the farmers (the so-called country butter) which it is difficult to judge by statistics. The supply of export butter shows constant growth. In 1937 it doubled in round figures in comparison with 1931, which must be ascribed to the fact that it has held its ground on the world market better than bacon. 234 439 433

Spirit, beer, and tobacco production greatly receded during the crisis. The last two years brought about, in connexion with the general economic revival, a new upward trend; while of course the doubling of beer production in 1937 is to be attributed to the reduction of the price in consequence of the lowering of the excise, and that of spirit supply in part to its compulsory admixture with petrol („Motorin"). 274 277 433

2. The Textile Industry

The textile industry is the second most important industrial branch of Lithuania. It employs the largest number of workers (in 1937, 20.7% of all industrial workers of Lithuania accrued to it); its share in the aggregate engine horse-power amounts to 9.3% and its share in the production value of all Lithuanian industry to over 14% (gross value, 14.9%; net value, 14.3%). 288 433

In the pre-war Lithuania, only approximately 300 workers were employed in this industrial branch. The development of textile undertakings since 1927 is shown by the following comparison: [464]

	1927		1931			1938 (Jan)		1937 (July)
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	55	1 403	60	2 287	2 475	79	7 162	11 673
Including								
Flax Treatment	16	468	10	374	607	10	1 201	1 845
Linen						5	728	
Weaving	3	112	3	200				
Others								
Textile Industry	36	823	47	1 710	1 868	64	5 233	9 828

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In the pre-war Lithuania, only approximately 300 workers were employed in this industrial branch. The development of textile undertakings since 1927 is shown by the following comparison: [464]

	1927		1931			1938 (Jan)		1937 (July)
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	55	1 403	60	2 287	2 475	79	7 162	11 673
Including								
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Linen Weaving	3	112	3	200		5	728	
Others								
Textile Industry	36	823	47	1 710	1 868	64	5 233	9 828

increased. Against this, the number of concerns and of workers 278
in the colours and technical fats industry since 1927 has 303
doubled and in the production of pharmaceutical and cosmetic 464
goods trebled. The establishment of a rubber goods factory 383
in 1933 had, however, decisive importance, and to this nearly 464
half of the workers employed in the chemical industry pertained. The second rubber goods factory, established at the end of 1937, was not yet working in the period under review.

The following quantity figures show the development of 381
production of separate branches of the chemical industry for 433
the period 1931—1937:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Matches (in million boxes)	45.8	43.3	39.4	41.1	8.7	14.3
Washing soap and powder (in tons)	3 441	2 226	2 072	2 303	2 595	2 794
Toilet soap (in tons)	.	154	200	200	234	230
Rubber boots (in 1000 pairs)	—	—	772	313	786	986
Superphosphates (in tons)	43 400	37 000	47 100	31 605	18 713	42 972

As has already been explained above, the cutting down of match production has been caused by the decline in consumption during the crisis years. The statistics of sale of matches prove this in a clearer manner. There have been sold (in million boxes):

1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
45.9	42.4	39.4	33.8	26.9	26.9	27.1

The output of washing-soap, which shrank appreciably 493
during the crisis years, has not yet regained the pre-crisis [388]
position in spite of recovery during the last three years. The
production of toilet-soap shows a better course. The produc- [387]
tion of artificial fertilizers proceeds irregularly, and its pro-
gress does not coincide with the contingent economic deve-
lopment. A sharply upward tendency is seen in the production [383]
of the youthful rubber industry. The recession in 1935 was
evoked by technical difficulties of the inception period.

In order to be able to form a general idea of the production 381
development of the chemical industry, we must utilize the value 433

381 433 amounts. The production index of the chemical industry, calculated in this manner and already cited in the previous chapter, shows, converted to the standard of the basis year 1931, the following course:

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	93.6	146.2	131.0	146.3	171.0

The recession in 1932 was induced chiefly by the decline of soap and fertilizer production. The jump in 1934 was prompted by the foundation of the rubber goods factory in the preceding year. The setback in 1935 was caused by the repeated shrinkage of fertilizer production and the transitory stagnation of rubber goods production.

8. The Leather and Hide Industry.

282 433 464 In the leather and hide industry in 1937, 1 096 workers or 3.5% of the total number of industrial workers were employed. Its percentage share in the volume of engine horse-power amounted to 1.8%; the share in gross production value 4.3%; and in net value of the industrial production of Lithuania, 2.2%. The lower net value rate is due to the high raw material share.

In pre-war Lithuania the leather industry employed nearly 1 500 workers. The present position is therefore, notwithstanding the growth during recent years, still below the pre-war level. On the other hand, more collateral branches are springing up which did not formerly exist, such as fur manufacture, leather ware production, and the bristle industry. Structural variations since 1927 are illustrated in the following comparison:

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	40	657	36	693	2 617	51	1 096	2 313
Including: Leather Output	26	538	22	555	·	22	751	·
Leather Ware Production	1	6	5	29	·	11	78	·
Fur Manufacture	1	5	—	—	—	4	107	·
Bristle Industry	4	43	6	53	·	9	112	·

The leather industry is the sole industrial branch of Lithuania in which mechanization not only has made no progress but the capacity of whose engine horse-power has even declined. The foregoing table likewise shows that the number of undertakings in leather production since 1927 has decreased and since 1931 has remained stationary. Its staffs have, however, increased by 40%. The remaining branches reveal a rapid development tempo, especially fur manufacture. 282 433

Comparative production figures, i. e. both quantity and value data, are available only in a more restricted sense for the leather industry. Since, however, more than 80% of the total production value of this industrial branch accrues to it, the somewhat more animated development of newly-created collateral branches cannot substantially influence the general contingent outlook.

The quantity data on the recovery of the most important kinds of leather since 1931 are collated in the following table:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Sole Leather (in tons)	998	703	1 154	957	1 125	1 366
Chrome leather (in 1000 square feet)	2 149	3 093	2 476	3 443	3 907	4 454
Russia Leather (in tons)	290	264	159	166	319	339
Inner sole Leather (in tons)	225	186	128	217	226	224

The average production index of the leather industry, calculated with regard to the remaining less important kinds of leather, and appraised in accordance with the gross value coefficient, gives the following figures (basis year 1931):

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	80.5	91.6	104.9	141.3	193.3

Sole leather and chrome leather play the most representative rôle, their coefficients on an average constituting 80% of the total value amount of leather production. The somewhat divergent course of the production curve of both these leading

282 classes from 1931 to 1935 has partially been reciprocally com-
433 pensated, which is also expressed in the index figures. The doubling of the scope of production in recent years has also led to a considerable decline of leather imports (in 1933, 59 tons, in 1937, 18 tons), in which connexion a prominent rôle has also been played by tariff policy and import licensing.

9. Electricity Works.

379 In connexion with the constantly progressing mechanization of industrial concerns, whereby, as was shown in the
433 General Part, the use particularly of electric engines has intensively increased (by 149.4% since 1931), the supply of electric
464 energy, together with the textile industry, is the sole industrial branch of Lithuania whose production ascent since 1929 has suffered no recession even in the crisis years. In 1937, there pertained to these branches (in which also gas supply - Memel - managed by the municipalities, and the exploitation of waterworks are included) 1.6% of the industrial workers; 30.8% of the engine horse-power; 4.0% of the gross production value; and 9.1% of the net value of Lithuanian industrial production. The far higher net value rate is affected by the share of raw material deductions.

The structural development of this branch since 1927 is shown by the following comparative figures:

1927		1931		
No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H.P.
29	648	30	480	22 799

1937		
No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H.P.
32	523	38 511

379 The data of the production statistics on the energy sold
433 in million kilowatt - hours show the following development of our electric current supply since 1931:

531 Saturday, but not scratched until Sunday afternoon;
796 making them earlier is considered a sin." The Lithuanian Easter eggs, too, are hardly ever sold in the market. They are gifts of the godparents or the mother for the children and tokens for friends and for the clergy of the town. While the neighboring Letts know only eggs of one color, the Lithuanian margučiai are already attested in the sixteenth century. At the present time the old custom has remained alive primarily in the district of Trakai.

286 Weaving and Related Techniques

That Lithuanian folk art--we may think of the folk song or of the grave crosses, or of any branch at all--forms a unity in its innermost nature and /136/ has created an artistic style of its own, has been pointed out by many critics. The sphere of this art comprises the whole life of a rural culture with a rare compactness; one thing is related to the other, and as the last field, the village art of weaving harmoniously joins this circle.

Flax, harvested in one's own field, spun on one's own spinning wheel, woven on a peasant loom, has been a familiar material in Lithuania since very olden times. Connected with its processing was the song, whose rhythm followed the movement of the loom, and whose words extolled the weavers who knew how to weave fine patterns. Thus in this art there is nothing foreign; it does not rest in the hands of a few--every girl, every woman in the villages still knows it today. And old women still know today that ancient art of spinning where the flax wrapped around a distaff is spun off with the aid of a spindle which the spinner turns with her hand.

286 The colors, too, with which the threads
386 were dyed, were originally quite natural. They were produced from earth, iron ore, plants, birch

286 leaves, oak and alder bark, and the method was
386 guarded as a family secret. Their production was very laborious. The plants were broken up and cooked with the thread; the ashes of the plants were used as a stain. Always only the thread was dyed, never the finished fabric. Thus one obtained serene colors of unlimited durability. Aprons a hundred years old exhibit a quiet brilliance which is still enchanting today. Although the natural colors have gradually been supplanted by modern aniline colors, knowledge of the old coloring technique is still preserved in many peasant families.

286 The use of colors change. Brown, blue, and
301 red were probably the oldest colors. To them was
531 added green. The pattern originated on a white background. We can best recognize the Lithuanian interpretation of color in the juostos, those colorful decorative ribbons which /137/ serve as ribbons for belts and aprons, as fastenings of fur coats, and as decorations for the girls. They are distributed across the whole country, but show provincial differences both in the colors and in the patterns and techniques. Their coloration is analyzed in a fine manner by Karl Brammer: (44)

[113] 44. Karl Brammer, "Litauische Webereien," Litauenbuch, loc. cit., p. 52.

"The nature of complementary colors is grasped here with astonishing sureness; an error never occurs. Red and greenish blue, orange and cyanic blue, greenish yellow and violet are placed next to each other in striking fashion. Furthermore the skillful use of white with opposite colors has a very fine effect. From the use of red and yellow on a black background (*) it can be clearly be seen

* The latter occurs only very rarely. V.J.

that the relationship between dark and brilliant

301 colors is also very well known. Joy in an abundance
•286 of colors indeed exists among the Lithuanians, but
531 not loud joy in loud, bright colors as among the Poles; rather, the nature of color is here much more deeply and clearly comprehended." In addition it may be noted that coloration in the Lithuanian weaving has undergone a development in the course of time--above all in the technique, which on the one hand considerably increased the number of available colors and on the other enhanced their brilliance. We can recognize this when we compare, for example, the thoroughly simple coloration of the oldest ribbons and aprons known to us with that of a later period. This means, however, no lessening of the value of the later colorful weaving patterns; and above all Brammer is right when he lays the principal weight on the sensitivity of the color composition. But just this sensitivity could only later unfold itself to full expression.

An actually inspired hymn to the colorful juostos is sung by another German artist, who was also brought to Lithuania by the World War: Hans Heinrich Schaeder. He writes: "The color is here still freer, since it is liberated from consideration of the body, the three-dimensional space, /138/ and lives only for the surface. The surface is infinitely delicate like the soft material of the ribbons; the color slings to it. One does not grasp the fact that here colorful threads are woven together; did not these patterns grow like flowers under a rising and setting sun? All the secreta and longings of the Lithuanian soul are hidden in these ribbons. These wonderful, serene colors, were they not subdued by the tears of the woman who did the weaving? This melody of lines and colored surfaces, is it not intimately related to the infinite sweetness of the Lithuanian songs?"(45)

45. Heinrich Schaeder, op. cit., p. 64.

In earlier times the juostos were never put

531
•286 on the market. Women and girls gave them to those
301 whom they loved. On an old juosta the beginning
[431] of a little yearning love song is woven in. A woven dedication mentioned by Kurschat (1911) reads:

> I wove as I was able to, I gave it to
> whom I wanted.
> But I always believed that my beloved
> should receive it.

Thus these ribbons often speak of a rare tenderness of feeling, and their colorful patterns seem illuminated by longing and love, by fate and sorrow. In many ribbons there were also, as Otto Glagau (1869) informs us, mottoes in English and French whose meaning the peasant girls naturally didn't know, but which remained preserved in certain families and were always imitated anew. Here, to be sure, we have forms of a later development, just as the occasional use of metal threads goes back to the influence of the Lyon silk industry in the eighteenth century. Otherwise one used in an earlier period only threads of flax, wool, and hemp; the use of silk, on the other hand, has arisen only in most recent times. Frequently these silk juostos are sold today as binders or crocheted together as table runners, but in the villages these uses are unknown.

The production of the juostos proceeds in three different ways. We know pintinės, austinės, and kaišytinės--/139/ i.e. a braiding, a weaving, and a darning technique. The oldest of them is the braiding technique, which is still practised in the north of the province of Aukschtaiten in the districts of Zarasai, Panevėžys, and Ukmergė, though it has become quite rare. (46) The threads

46. A. Rukštelė, loc. cit., pp. 22-23 and 46.

are laid over a board and then braided, beginning

1[juostos, i.e. colorful ribbons -- Analyst]

•286 531 301 from the middle. Thus result two parts in which the same pattern begins at the middle and runs toward the outer edges. The ribbons thus produced, which can be well stretched, are especially wide. They usually contain a simple pattern of different stripes which cross each other. Their production no more demands equipment than that of the woven ribbons (juostos austinės), which today are the most familiar types and are distributed over all of Lithuania. The weaver ties the colorful wool threads from which the juosta will be made to a hook on the wall with one end, with the other to her belt, after she has wound the threads around a little stick and laid them parallel in such a way that half of the threads are on top and half on the bottom. Thus the warp is formed. With a shuttle in her hand the weaver pulls the cross threads--the so-called woof--through the lengthwise threads according to the pattern, and pushes each cross thread against the other with a kind of wooden folder [Falzbein]. The most difficult part is the stretching out of the pattern.(46)

46. A. Rukštelė, op. cit., pp. 22-23 and 46.

In contrast to these woven ribbons, the third, the darning technique (juostos kaišytinės), has today become about as rare as the braiding technique. Its home is the Suvalkijan area. In the darning technique the colored threads that produce the pattern are pulled through by hand. During the weaving itself, the colorful pattern is embroidered in and pulled fast with the next turn. This technique, for which the weaver needs a little hand loom, "represents considerable progress in the Lithuanian ribbon technique, brought about by the increased use of stylized flowers as weaving patterns, /140/ whose imitation would encounter insurmountable difficulties in the juostos austinės (woven ribbons)." (47)

286 (woven ribbons)." (47)
531.
[113]

47. Johanna Behr-Heyder, Cologne, "Litauische Volkskunst," Leipziger Ill. Zeitung, November 8, 1917, p. 10.

In analyzing the weaving patterns, which are almost exclusively of a geometrical nature, it is in most cases overlooked that the technique of weaving alone had of itself to lead to specific patterns. Certainly the many terms used today were given them only much later, names supplied by all kinds of visible things of the surroundings--the duck, the cuckoo, the hoopoe, the window, the broom, the rose, the fir tree, even the goat's hoof, and many others. That from the technique of weaving many similarities arose with peoples separated in space and time, is thus only natural. From the great variety of designs results the tremendous richness of this ornamentation, especially since the patterns occur in the most varied combinations. To discuss them in more detail is forbidden by the scope of this presentation, but there are certainly many hundreds of patterns.

While in western Lithuania decorative weaving is not so strongly cultivated--apart from Palanga, where primarily juostos with star and flower patterns are favored--the whole abundance of this colored ornamentation is concentrated in the area of Suvalkija, above all in the districts
291 of Marijampolė and Vilkaviškis. This area is
531 also the home of the famous tulip pattern and of
286 the colorful Lithuanian decorative aprons. Simple aprons are known also in the region of Zanavykai and Zarasai as well as in the province of Dzūkija, while in Samogitia they are completely lacking. Nowhere, however, is the coloration unfolded so subtly and the ornamentation to such a richness as in Suvalkija. On a brown, blue, red, or green background the ornament grows like a precious flower. Perhaps the most beautiful of these patterns, the tulip stylized in the most varied forms,

286 goes back to some symbolic representation, espec-
531 ially since the tulip itself was an unknown flower
291 in Lithuania. The /141/ stylization has progressed so far here that practically only the term has remained. The tulip pattern is repeated on these aprons in a continuous scrollwork, or in fours in a square, or also in combination with characteristically stylized scrolls and leaves.

Galaunė says concerning these aprons: "They are known only in the province of Suvalkija and here and there in the sections of the Vilna area bordering on Suvalkija. They form here a kind of oasis, whose origins we are unable to trace today because of the lack of almost any data. This oasis is so self-contained that its influence has hardly spread in any direction. Ribbons similar to our juostos are found among a large number of our close and more distant neighbors, but the aprons with the tulip pattern woven in are completely unknown elsewhere." (48) It may be added

48. P. Galaunė, op. cit., p. 262.

that the High Lithuanians make only white woven aprons with red cross-stripes at the bottom end, while the aprons of the Low Lithuanians (Samogitians), also white, exhibit red lengthwise stripes.

The weaving technique for the Suvalkija decorative aprons is similar to that for the juostos kaišytinės; they are woven on the loom, and the pattern is set in during the weaving from colorful wool threads, so that it appears as if embroidered. Nothing certain can be said about age and origin of these aprons. We know only that the oldest of those now existing go back to the second half of the eighteenth century. Perhaps, as Galaunė assumes, they once had a symbolic significance and symbolized innocence and virtue. And perhaps they were so beautifully fashioned because they had no practical purpose to serve. (49) In Prussian

49. p. 266.

286 Lithuania they were in any case not known and
531 according to Vydūnas were only taken over from
[291] later immigrants. (50) Much of the beautiful

[15]

50. Vydūnas, Litauen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart (Tilsit, 1916). Emma Dethlefsen, "Über litauische Volkstrachten in Ostpreussen," Blätter für Heimatkunde und Heimatschutz, Vol. 3, Nos. 1 and 2.

Lithuanian decorative weaving is found today in the churches as altar covers, the ribbons as ornamentation on the alms bag.

As with all settled peoples, so among the Lithuanians a rural art of rug weaving--as /142/ is customarily developed among nomadic tribes as a folk art--did not exist in earlier times. The rugs and bedspreads woven today in the countryside, which are usually of one color and are frequently found in city houses, are of more recent origin. They borrow their manifold square circle or lozenge patterns from the heavy linen weaving which the peasant woman makes for her practical use. To set off the pattern in color either bleached linen is woven in together with unbleached, or a difference of tone is gained by weaving in hemp or cotton. These patterns, too, are beautiful and of great ornamental richness. From the point of view of age they represent the oldest Lithuanian weaving patterns. We find them in the coarse woolen towels as well as in the tablecloths that are laid out on festive occasions in the peasant houses. The hand towels are often decorated with artistic cross-stitch work, usually in red, primarily the decorative towels that do not serve for daily use. They formerly hung on the richly carved hand towel racks and are given only to guests to use. Their ends are formed by peculiarly braided lace, knotted by hand from the end threads of the weave. This is a very old technique that is still

•286 practised today by the shepherd girls of the country.
531 Crocheted lace is in general rarer; nevertheless among prosperous farmers we often find decorative crocheting and openwork on beautiful and valuable bed linen.

[291] Gloves and stockings are firmly and closely knitted in several colors, the various threads being carried along on the reverse side. They frequently make their way to Germany, where they appear on the handicraft market as "Swedish" gloves. The most varied-colored ornaments are knitted in, dots and stars, together with flower patterns, and occasionally also animal patterns.
[431] These gay and strong gloves with their bright colors often serve as gifts, and the priest is always presented with them on his winter "calender journeys." In contrast /143/ to other handicrafts, in which, as we saw, old patterns are frequently used in a not so successful manner, their borrowing from the weaving technique in the modern knitted handiwork has an organic and altogether charming effect.

[292] In the Lithuanian folk costume, too, particularly as it has been awakened to new life after the first World War, art and taste are shown: the long colored pleated coat, the colorful bodice, the white shirt with the long embroidered sleeves--everything breathes cheerfulness and joy in colors (see the title picture).*

Therewith is closed the circle which embraces the Lithuanian folk art in all its branches. Many things could be only briefly touched, since the various older and more recent techniques of knotting, crocheting, and knitting can be described only with difficulty.

286 The whole realm of weaving with all its related techniques is exclusively the domain of the
462 woman, while the man has chosen for himself those areas which above all demanded bodily strength or because of the size of the objects did not attract

* [Title picture was not included in HRAF reproduction -- Analyst]

•286 462 the woman. And perhaps it is due precisely to the artistic intuition and the more sensitive sense of color of the woman that her creations unfold a quite special richness in color and ornamentation in the fields of the small handicrafts. /Unnumbered page with illustration--Old Peasant Woodcut/

/145/ Chapter Four
The Spiritual Culture of the City

113 /Unnumbered note on Chapter Four/ A comprehensive presentation of the development of Lithuanian architecture does not so far exist. A brief sketch of the architecture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is given by K. Jasenas in Vol. III, No. 5 of his Visuotinė meno istorija (General History of Art), where we also find practically the only information on Lithuanian castle structures. An appreciation of the architect Vl. Dubeneckis, the builder of the Vytautas Museum, the art school, the state theater, and other public buildings, is given by P. Galaunė in Vol. I of the almanac Prošvaistė (1937). In addition, the valuable monograph by the same author, Vilniaus meno mokykla, 1793-1831 (The Art School of Vilna) (Kaunas, 1928), should be mentioned. Also, the presentation of Lithuanian painting, sculpture, and music is so far limited to sketches and separate articles. (Cf. for example Galaunė, l'Art Lithuanien (1934); Jasenas, History of Art, III, 8, with carefully selected illustrations; etc.)

A. The Architecture
181 1. Historical Preliminaries

The investigation of the cultural elements of Lithuanian national life led us to the conclusion

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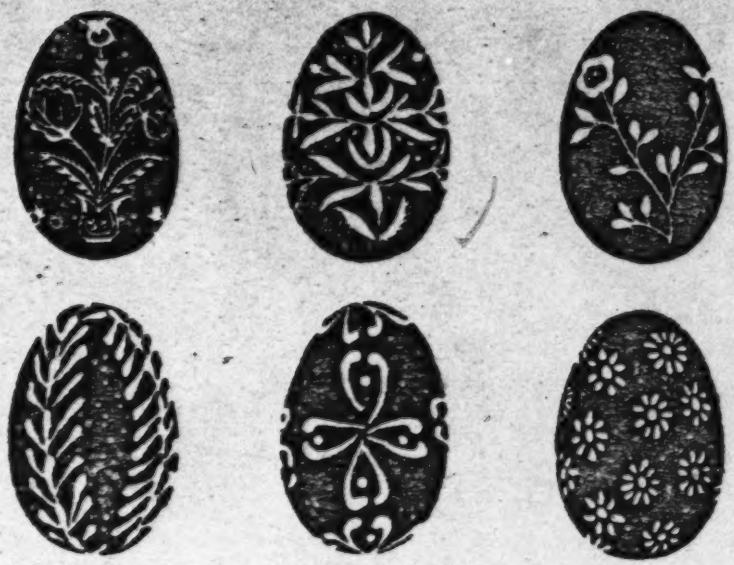

157.—162. Decorated Eggs

the color. When the wax is removed, the ornaments appear in white. A great variety of shades is obtained by using a series of colored baths. Some of the designs used in pottery are retained, such as firs, rosaces, stars, dots, zigzags, a few types of flowers, but the design is small and condensed, it covers the egg with a network of lace. The potter turns goldsmith. These designs have distinct names, the adder, chicken's feet, the rake, butterflies, snow crystals. But these names are more or less symbolical and have only a very distant connection with the corresponding design. In general the background is dark, black or dark brown, blue or red. It resembles island wood more than egg shell.

Besides wood and ceramics, work on textiles, wool, cotton and particular linen is one of the richest and most ancient branches of popular art. On Latvian territory tissues of the Iron Age have been discovered, with metal ornaments resembling those still in use in Lithuania, but in wool. Prototypes of the latter must certainly also have existed. Later certain

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163.—168. Decorated Eggs, Pattern scratched with Knife

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elements may have been imported from the East. The word *"kilimas"*, which means carpet, is directly derived from the Asiatic *kelims*. Unfortunately their patterns have not been preserved, but the foreign inventories of the 17th century assign them a good place. Linen and fabrics have always been renowned and were exported as far as Hungary.

Tissues, embroideries made for the decoration of the home or of clothes are the work of women. They make them by hand and by means of archaic devices, such as the spinning-wheel, distaff, spindle and loom, which have undergone but little change in the course of centuries. Linen is used alone or mixed with cotton for sheets, table-cloths, napkins and towels. In the large cloths, which are so solid that they are handed on from generation to generation, the damask decoration is of an infinite variety. Raw linen and bleached linen, linen mixed with cotton threads intercrossed in all directions combine to bring forth designs in checks, stars or intersec-

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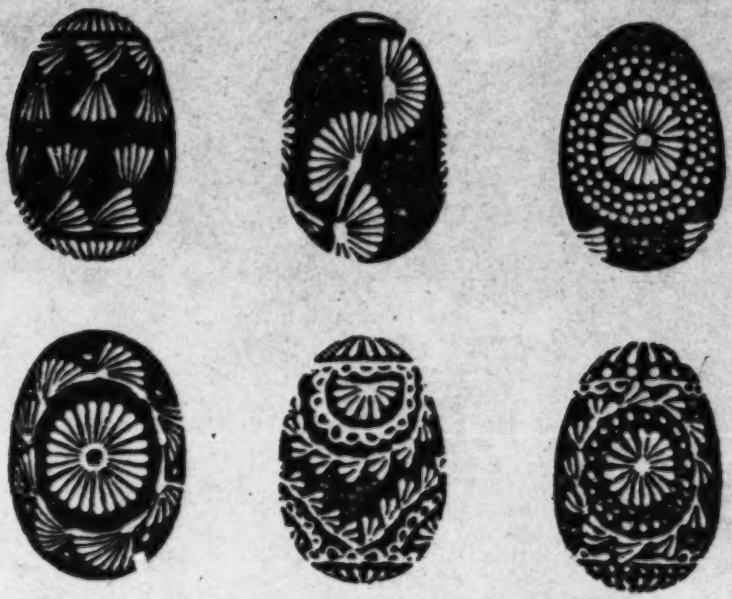

169.—174. Decorated Eggs, Pattern laid on with Bees-Wax

ting circles. Designs in gray on gray, which are sometimes very intricate, 531
produce light effects which relieve the austerity of the material used. 286
Towels are made on the occasion of a birth. They are also used to cover a coffin. Being much smaller than sheets, they require smaller cleverly laid out designs. In the district of Biržai they are often given a colored band along the edge, generally red, but sometimes blue, or long plaited fringes. The lace that sometimes borders them is made with a needle or a spindle.

Colors are sometimes used in the cloths, but chiefly in clothing. Two item[1] are of special interest, the "*juostos*" and the "*žiurstai*", i. e. belts and aprons. In the former the most ancient designs are preserved, whereas the latter are remarkable for the splendor and richness of their decoration. The *juostos* make use of several techniques and of different looms, some of which are complicated, whereas others are so rudimentary that a shep-

[1] [Errata: should be items, cf. Errata Sheet, p. 204, Cat. 116 --- Analyst]

531 herdess can work them while watching the cattle. They are made of woven,
286 plaited or sewn strips. Originally they were made of wool, but later bleached or coarse linen and even cotton bought in town were added.

The most ancient belts were plaited. They are decorated with simple zigzags and only in a few tones, white, red, blue. Some of them may still be found in the neighbourhood of Zarasai, Panevėžys and Ukmergė, but they become increasingly rare. The sewn *juostos* of Suvalkai (Suvalki) too are seldom to be found. The method most frequently employed is weaving. The primitive specimens show but few colors, blue green, red, rarely black and white, with a brownish border. With the Dzūkai Lithuanians of the region of Merkinė, Alytus and Pūnia, white and red, prevail, but the scales show a a tendency 1/n to increase. Nevertheless, red, green, and yellow prevail. The designs are geometrical and formed of interwoven threads. Designs à la Grecque, swastikas with ramified branches, rosaces and complicated polygones are worked in lozenges, squares and crosses. Also ladders, hooks, angles, windows, rakes, goat's hooves, nuts, four-and fivefold eyes. The ornaments crowd together and form new designs, an uninterrupted series of straight lines and angles. The principal parts of the design occupies the centre of the strip. A double row of ornamentation appears on broad belts. Each side of the belt is framed by two small independent friezes.

Aprons are made by more skilful methods, certain techniques resemble those of the *kilimai*. The ornaments are often handsewn, and various systems are employed on the same apron. The preparation of the frame itself requires more care. The threads are colored by the weaver herself and work proceeds slowly. On a background of dark blue, garnet or green and even black, large designs are worked in linen or cotton. They are fleur de lys, idealized roses, or red, violet, blue and yellow tulips. The designs are combined in crosses, rosaces, zigzags, in solid broad ornaments, that remind one of the sumptuousness and the violent coloring of the ancient Spanish tissues. They are sub-divided into horizontal bands. The design is sometimes spread over the surface, sometimes it is framed by rays. Such designs, standing out against the background, maintain the character of a coat of arms. The tulip, one of the four flowers dear to the decoration of the East, which has been known in this country ever since prehistoric times, appears there as an emblem. These *žiurstai* are worn everywhere, but they all of them come from Suvalkai, the district of

1/n [Errata: should be tendency. cf. Errata Sheet, p. 204, cat. 116, --- Analyst]

Mariampolé and of Kalvarija. At Klaipéda their decoration consists 531
of several finely embroidered horizontal strips. They are not only or- 286
naments, but also symbols of virtue. In some villages it is considered im- [183]
proper to be seen without an apron. Once, at a market, a woman was asked to sell her apron and she considered herself outraged.

The other parts of the dress of a peasant woman are: a linen shirt with 291
wide plaited sleeves, trimmed with small embroidered designs, a very ample woollen skirt, sometimes dark and plain and sometimes striped or of a Scottish pattern, gathered at the waist and a sleeveless vest, the "*kiklikas*", a kind of corslet often made of valuable brocade, which made its first appearance in the early 19th century. According to Mr. Galauné, the first specimens were perhaps imported by the soldiers of Napoleon's "Grande Armée", on their retreat from Russia. In the neighbourhood of Klaipéda, the *kiklikai* are of dark velvet. Necklets of coral and especially of amber are worn on the neck. Their beads, either raw or cut in 301
facets with a knife, have not only the value of gems, but are endowed with magic qualities, they belong to times gone by and to legend. These fossil drops of resin, which have been described by Tacitus and were sold by Ligurian traders who imported them into the countries of the Mediterranean and Black Sea area, where they were deemed to be more precious than gold and who therefore jealously kept the secret of their origin, often contained imprisoned insects and other mementoes of olden times.

Young girls wear on their heads a band of tissue held at the back by a 291
flow of colored ribbons, married women wear instead "*nuometas*", a sort of white veil several meters long, which is of Eastern origin, but was also adopted in the West, and Tertullian recommended its use. At first this fashion found but few followers and was later abandoned, but it became the rule for married women from 1300 until 1500. During that time a large number of themes of sculptural models were imported into Lithuania, the survivals of which have been described above. It is possible that this fashion followed the same route. And do not certain weavers, with their dour yet finely cut profiles encircled in white, resemble some statues of the Middle Ages? The veil with its folds and its ritual knots is sacred, it bestows upon such as have taken it a certain measure of authority and of office. With their head-dress resembling that of the Saints of the Church, these peasant women would seem to belong to a religious order.

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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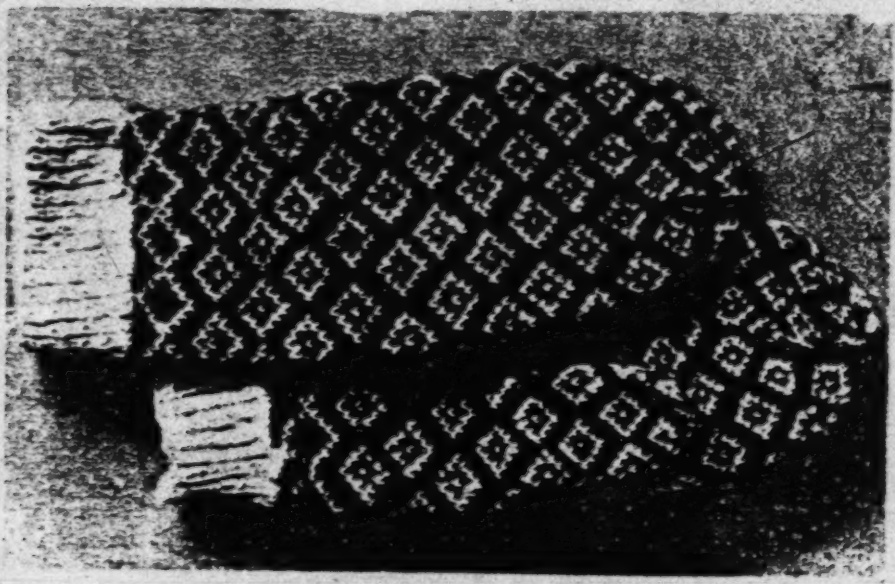

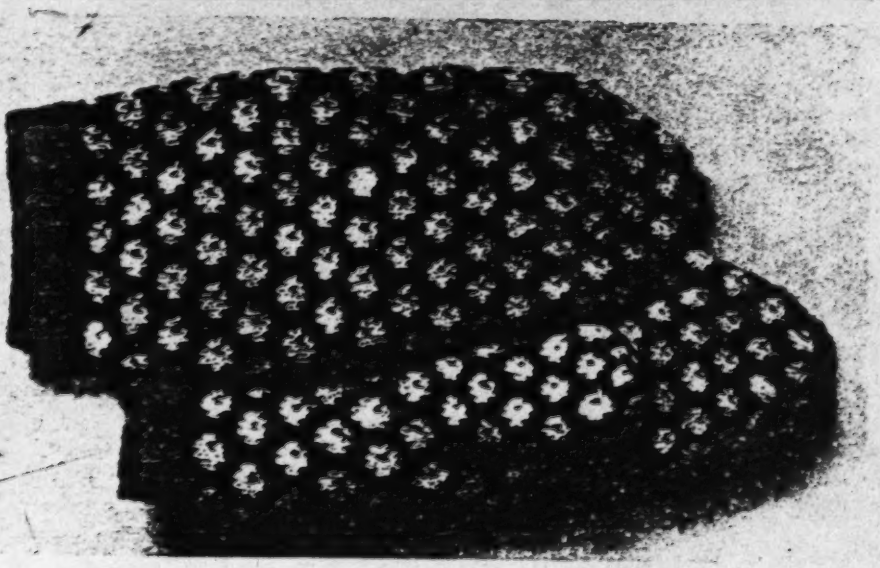

58.-59. Gloves
District of Telšiai

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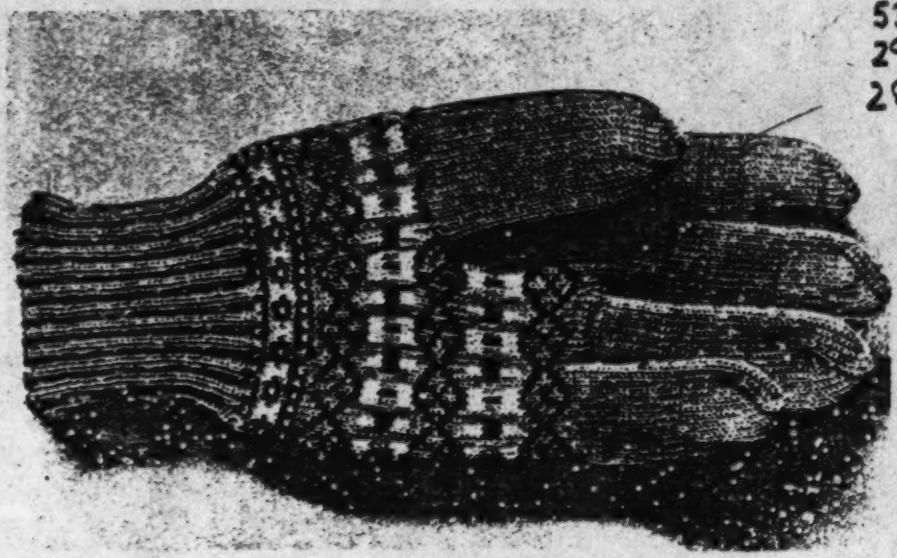

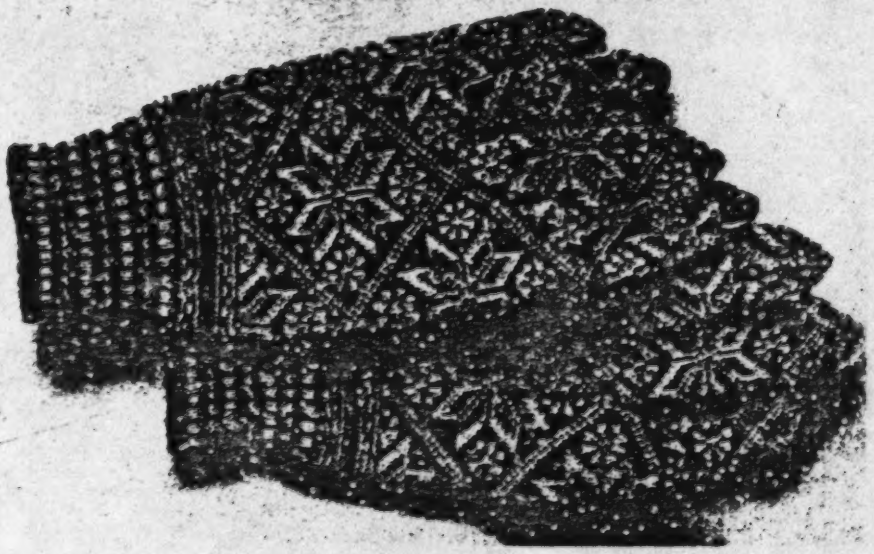

60.-61. Gloves
District of Telšiai and Klaipeda

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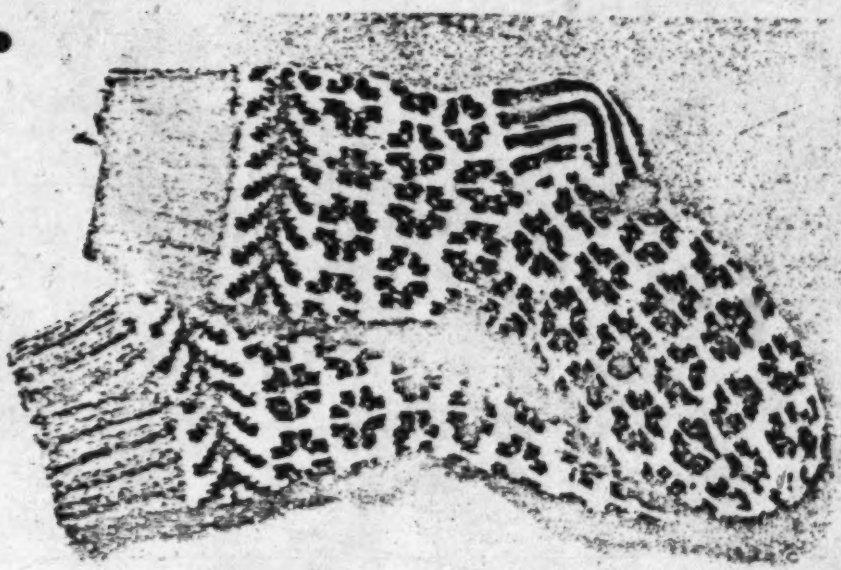

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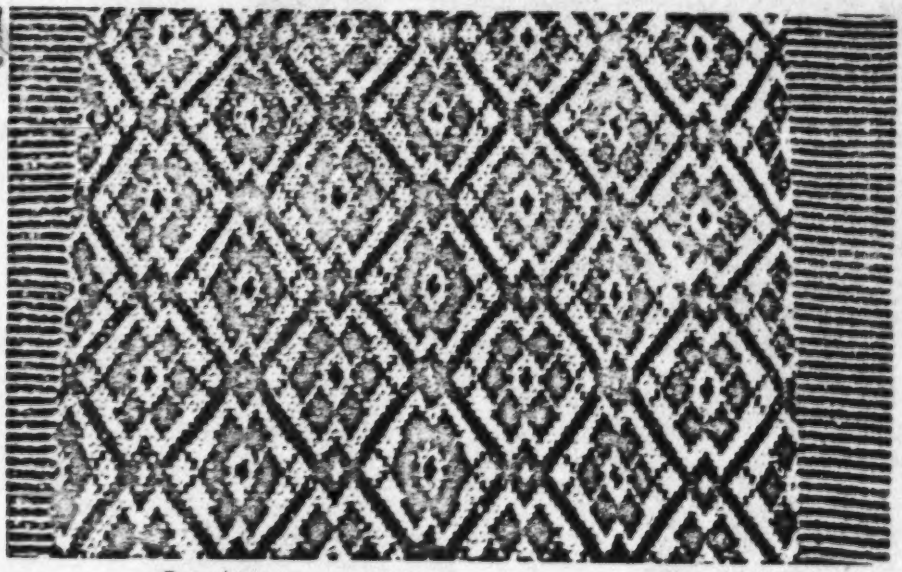

62. Socks
District of Kretinga

63. Carpet Design

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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64. Various Towel Patterns

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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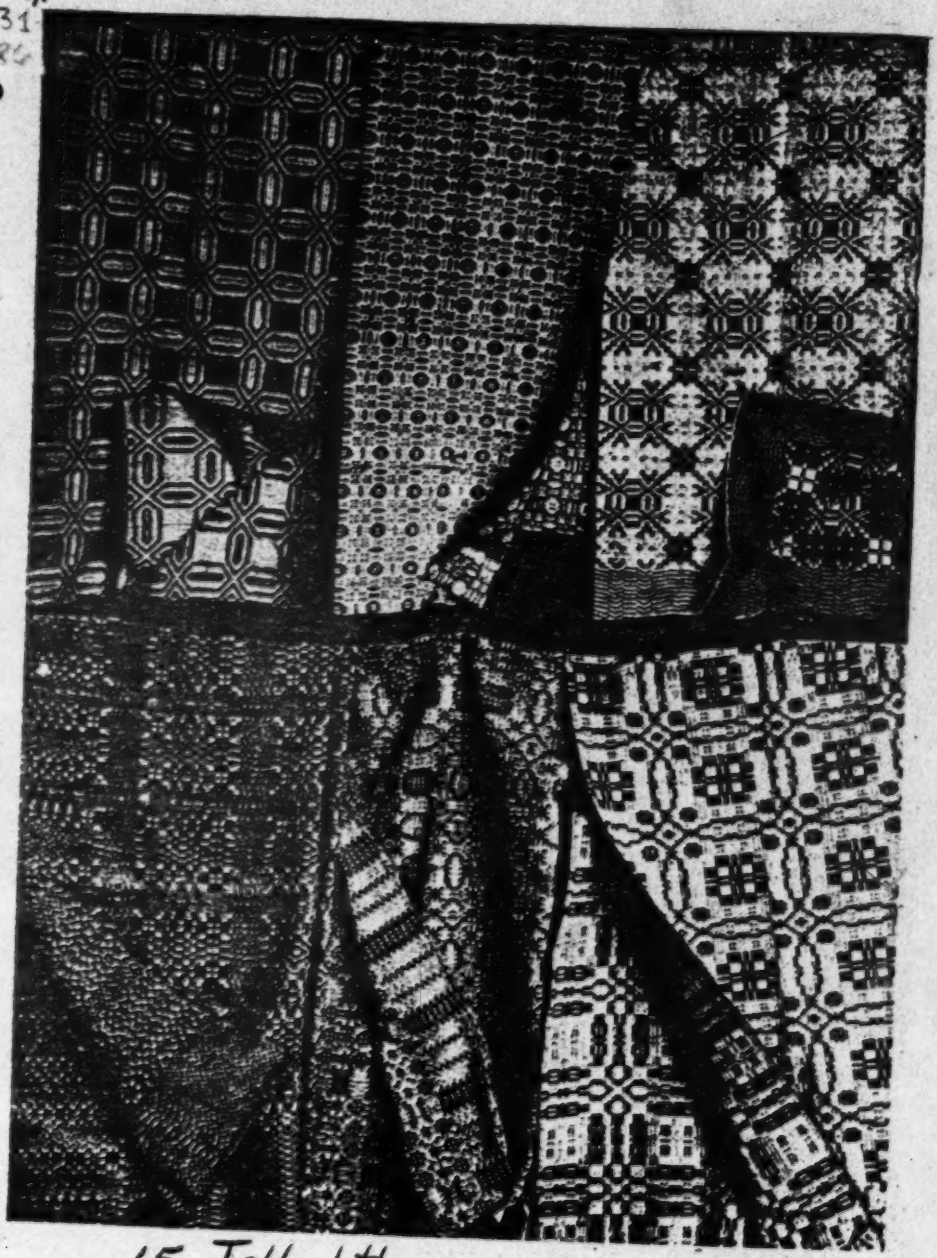

65. Tablecloths

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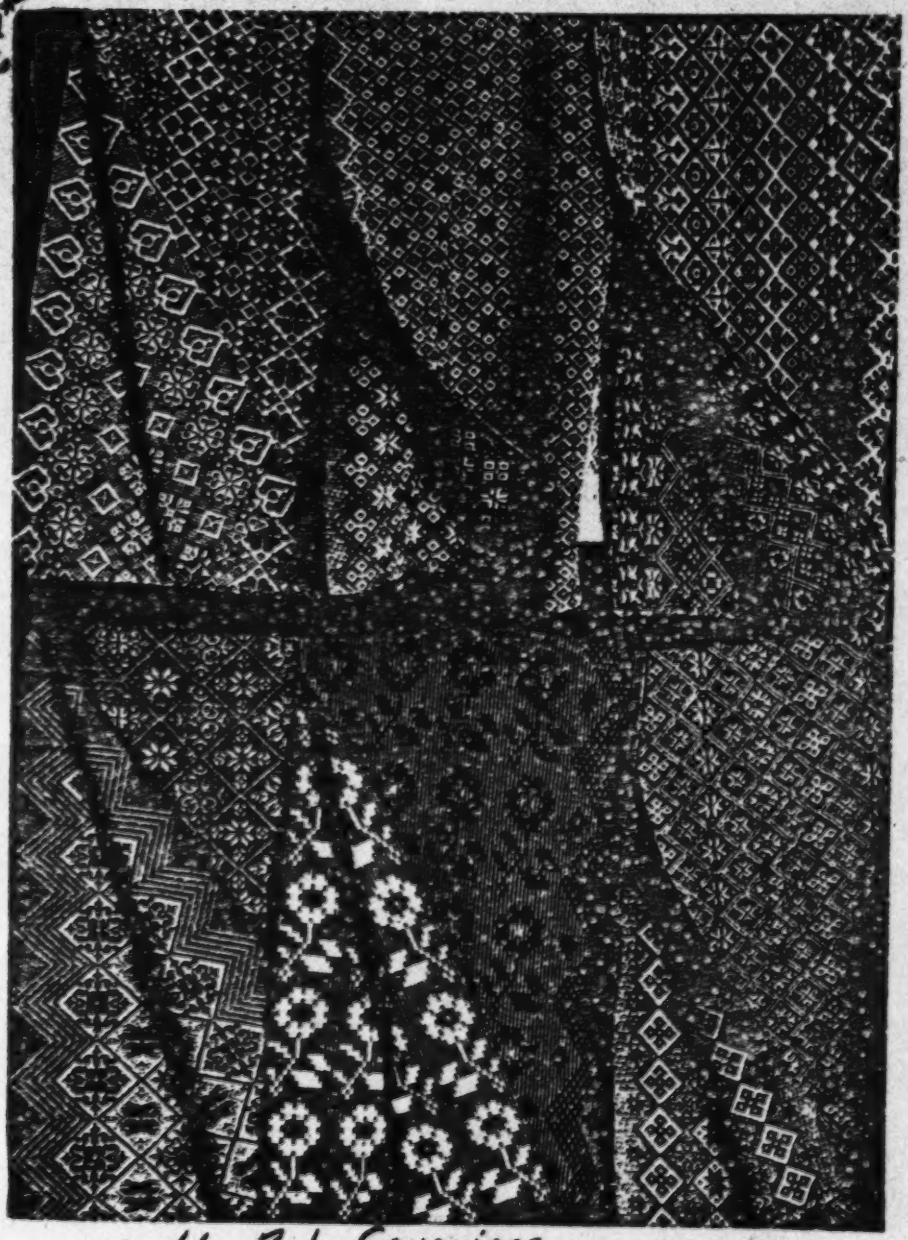

66. Bed Coverings

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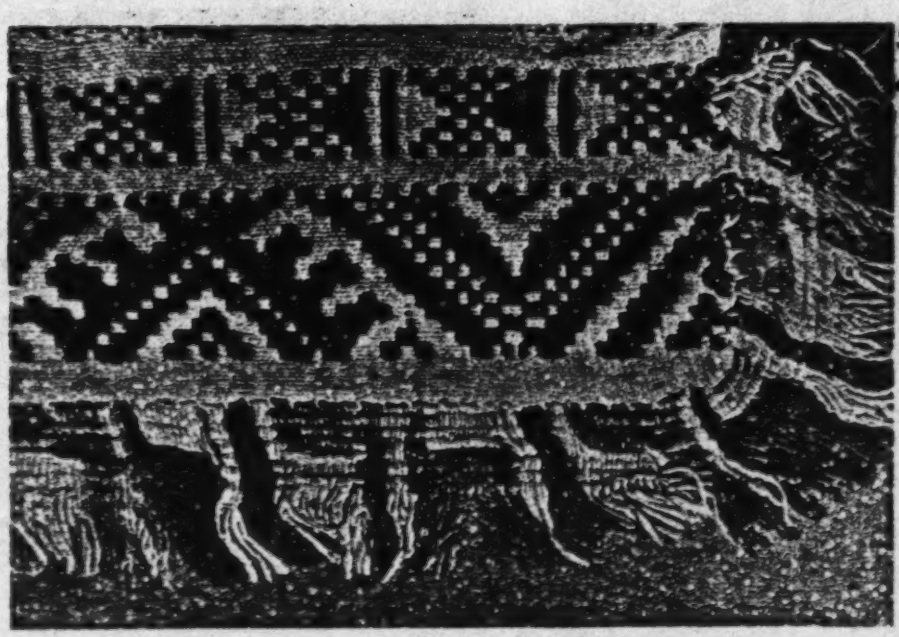

67,-68, Borders of Bed-Sheets

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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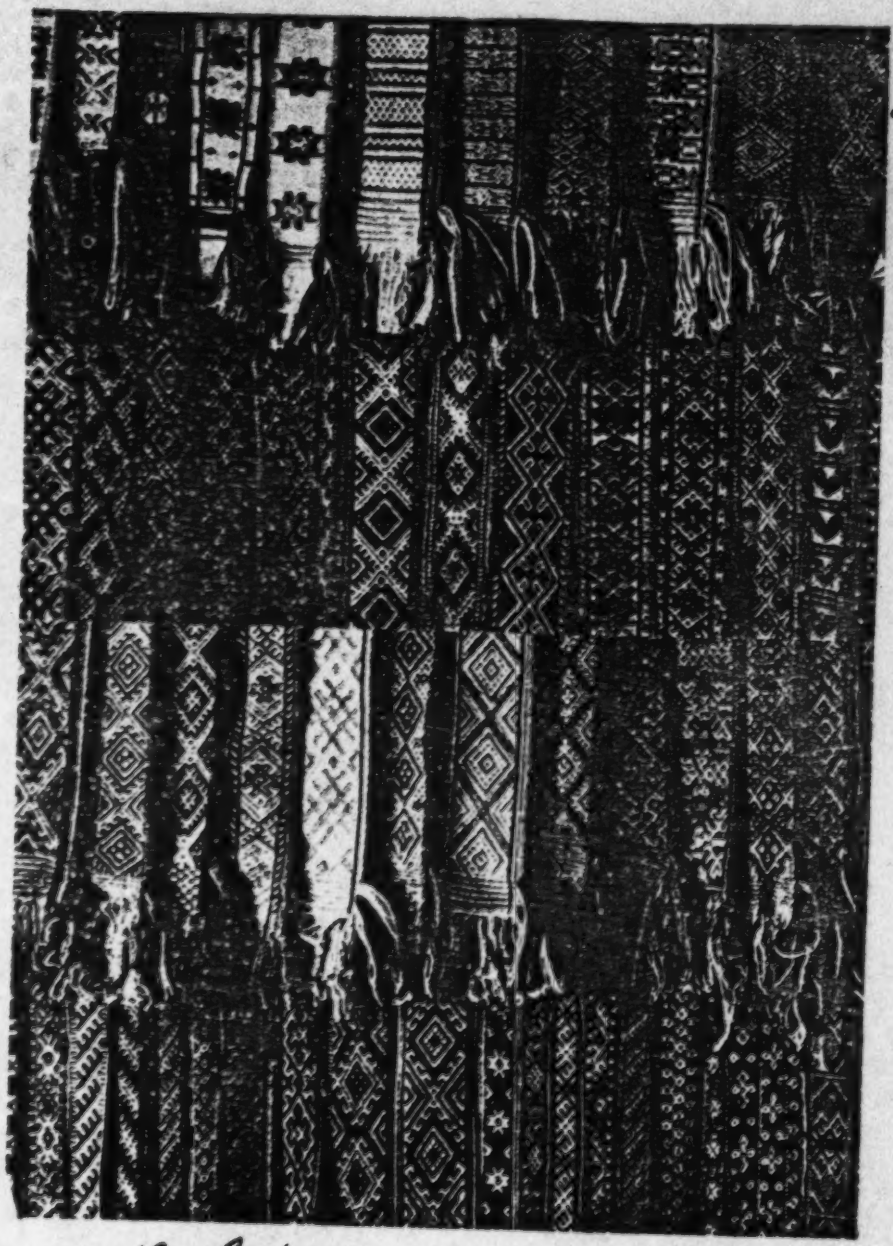

69. Belts

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

70.-71. Belts

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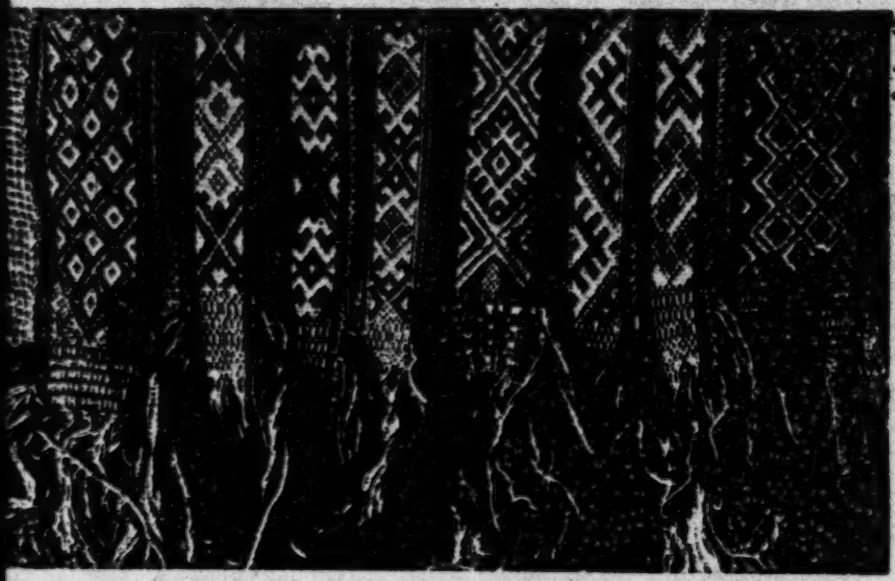

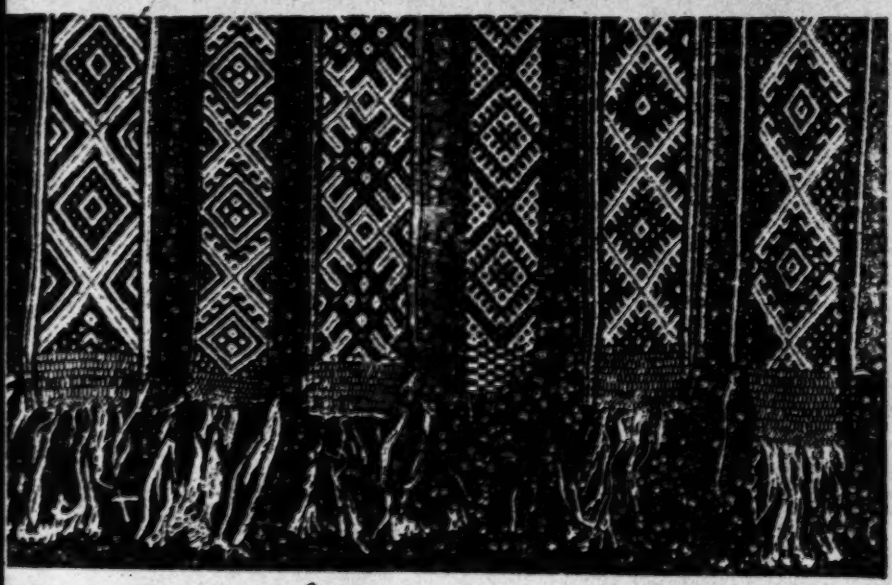

72.-73. Belts

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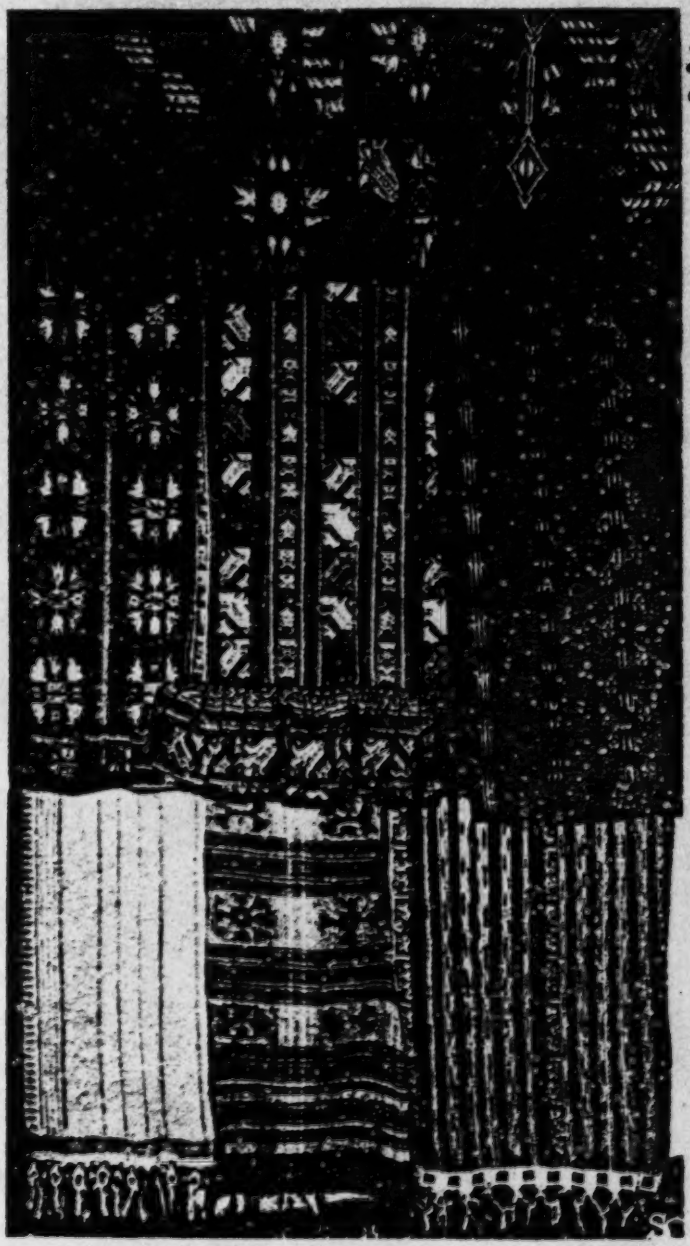
10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5



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74. Aprons

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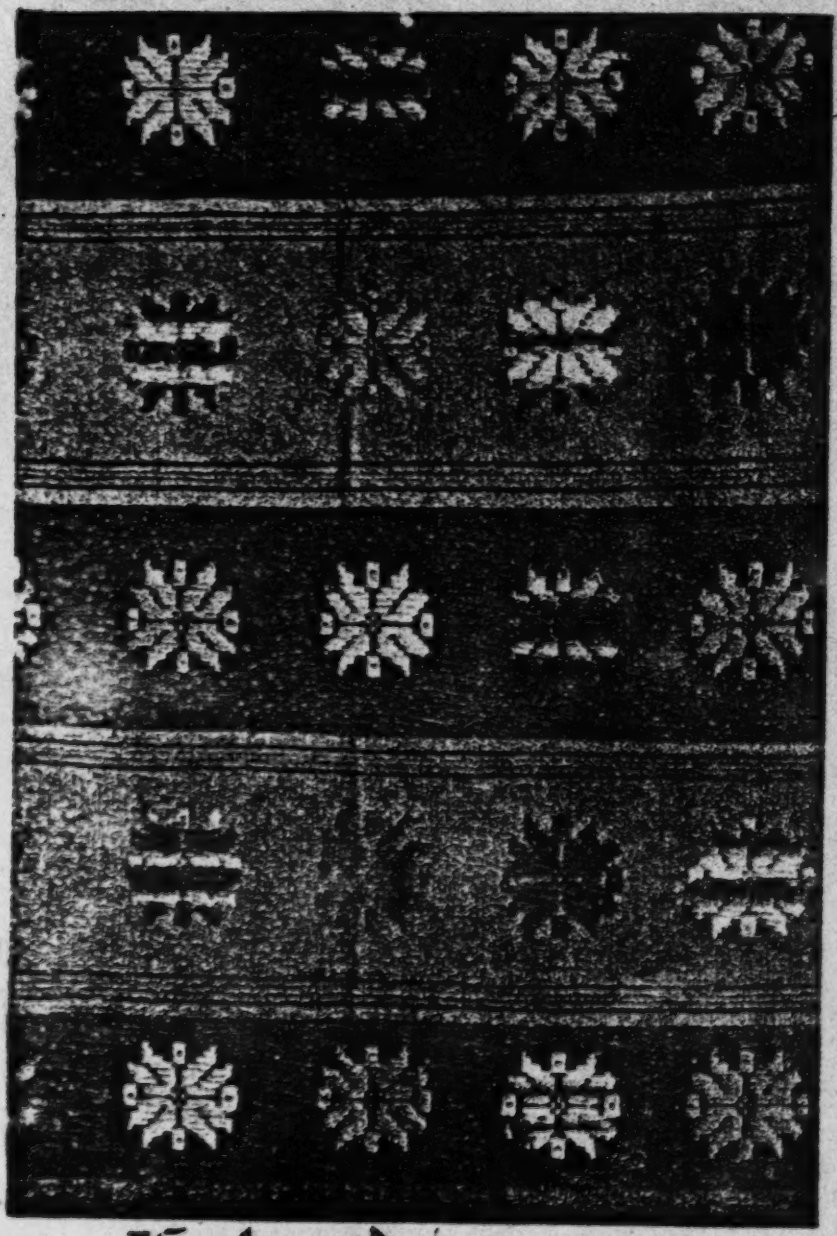

75. Apron-Design

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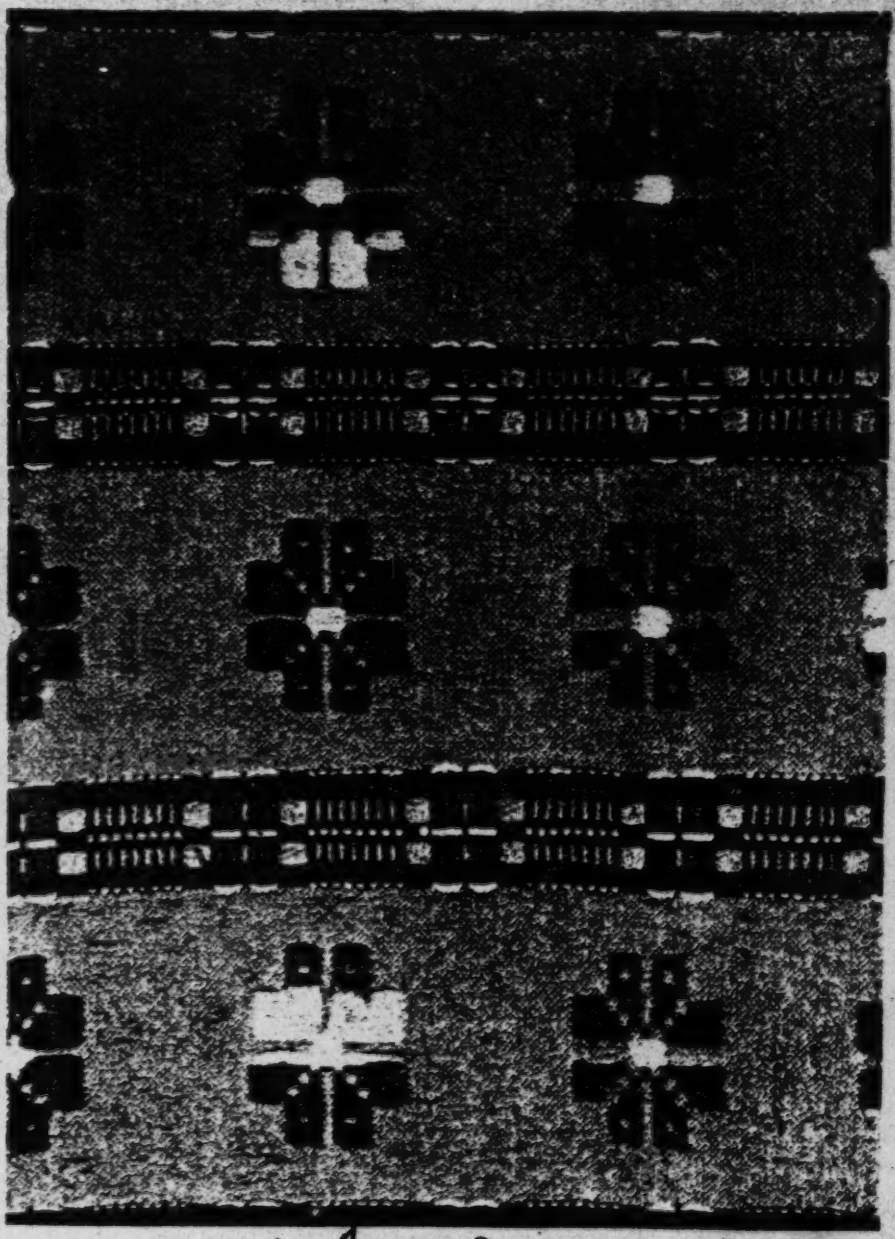

76. Apron-Design

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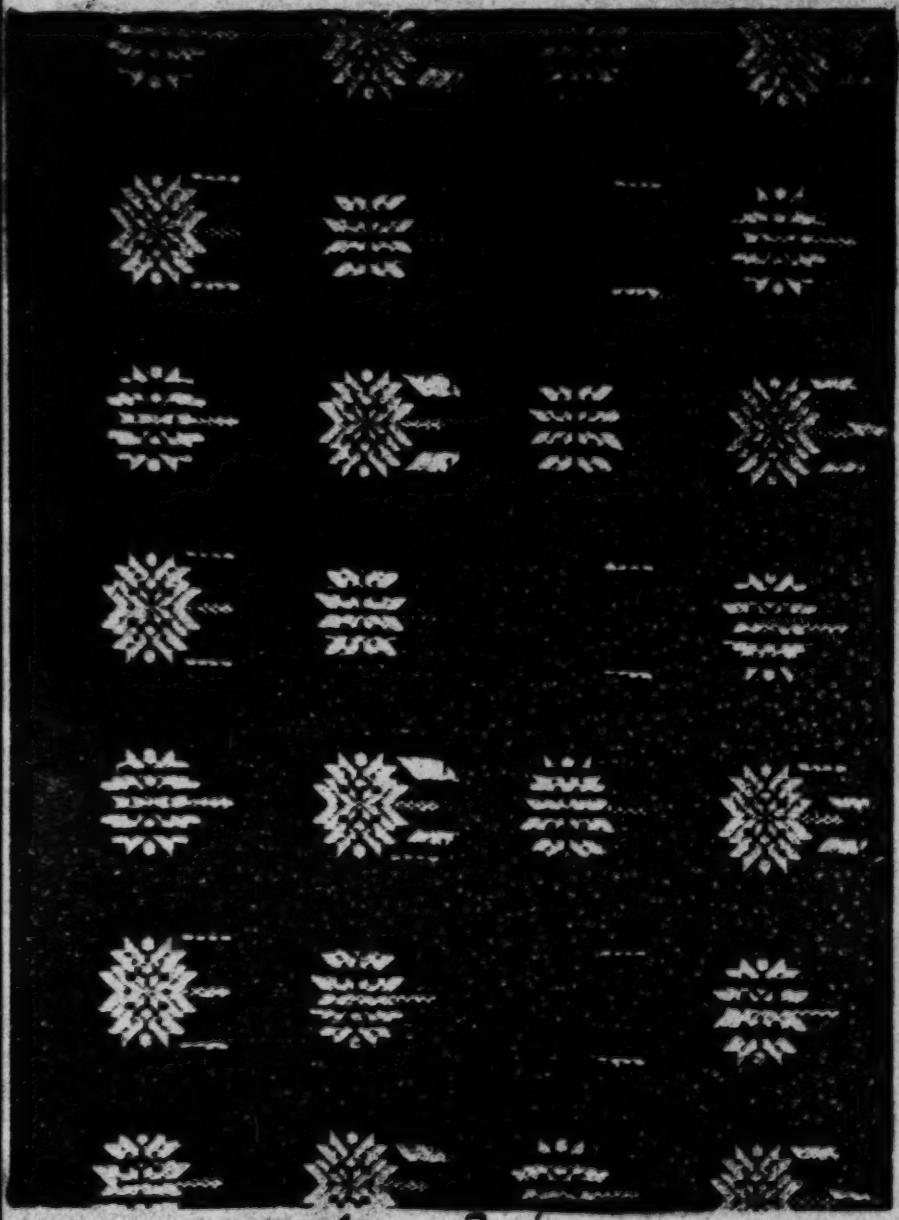

77. Apron-Design

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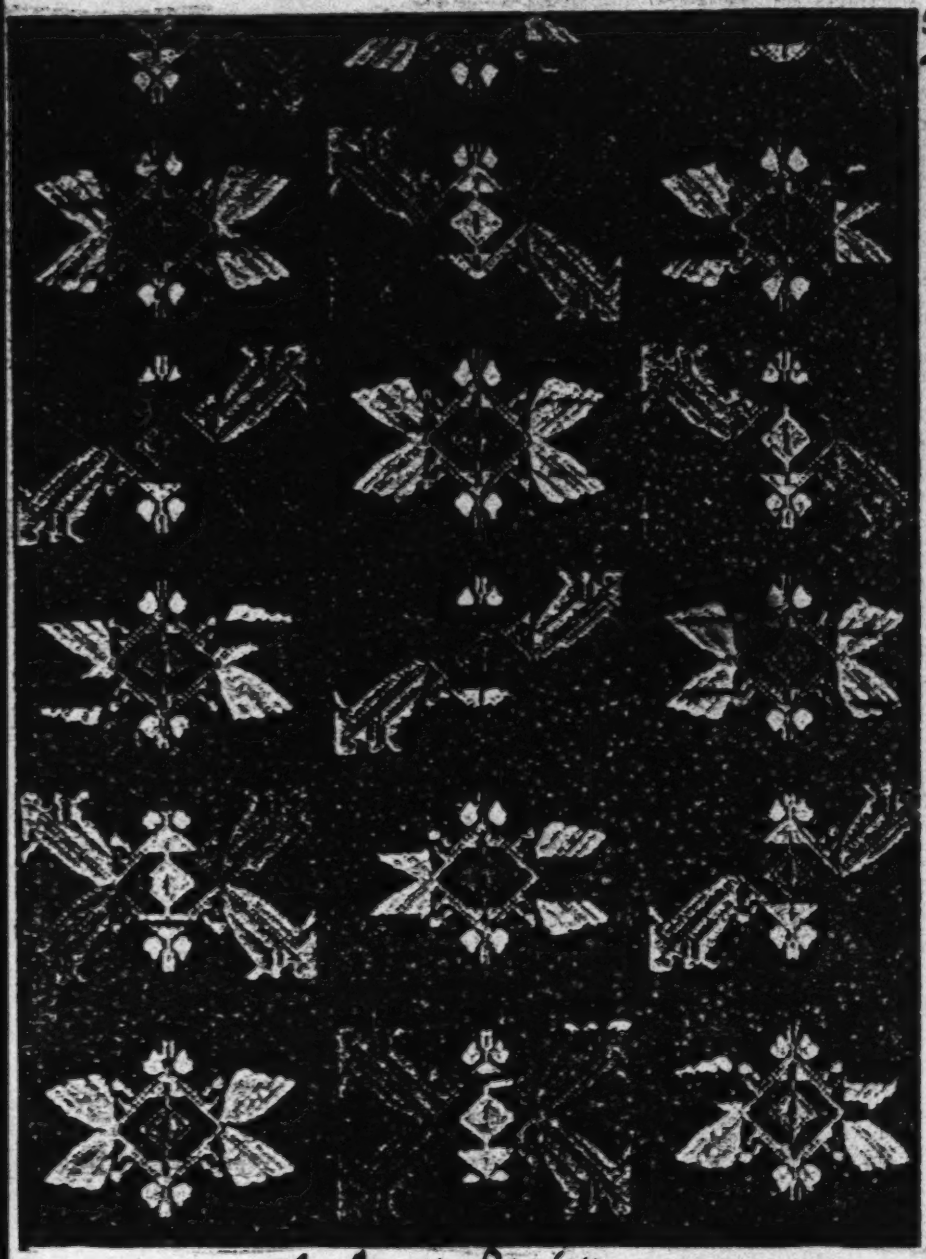

78. Apron-Design

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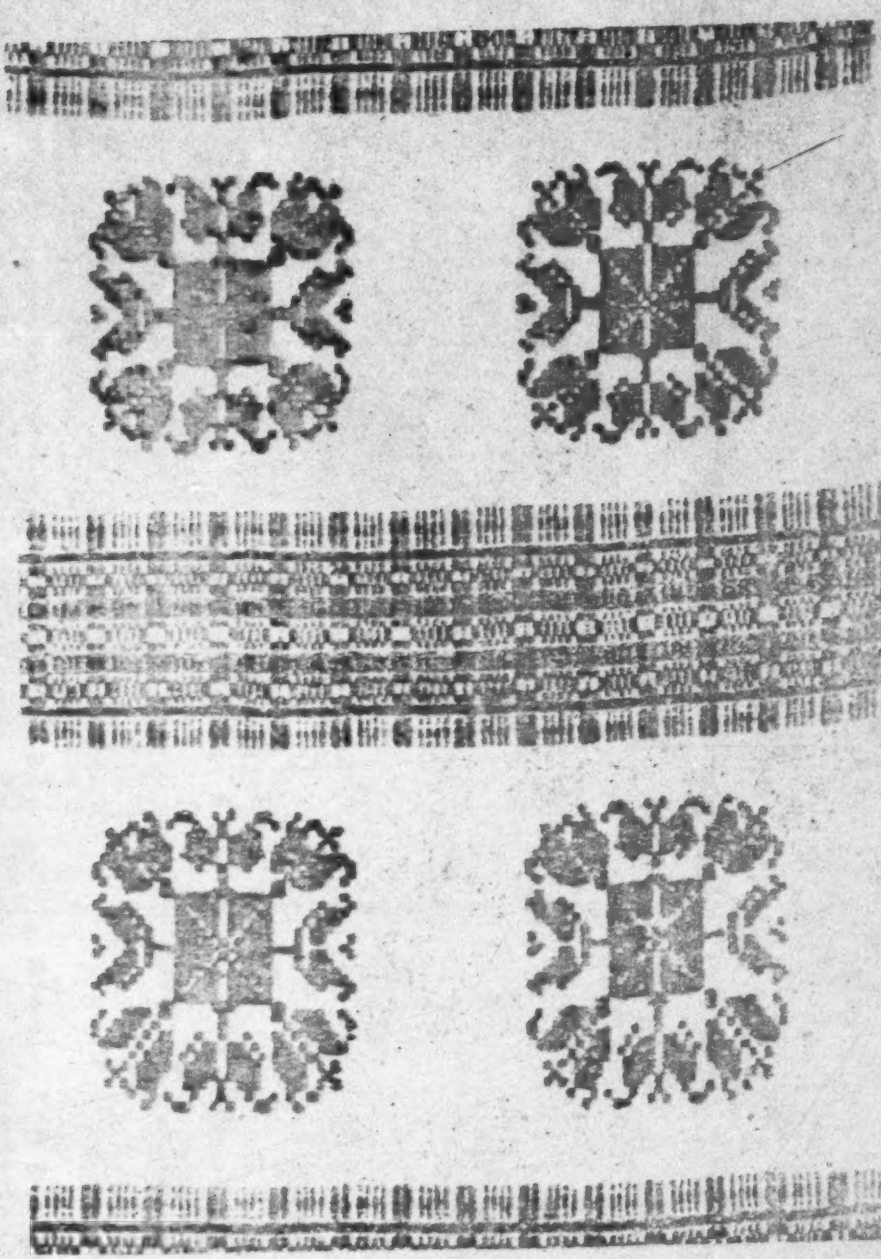

Apron Design

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10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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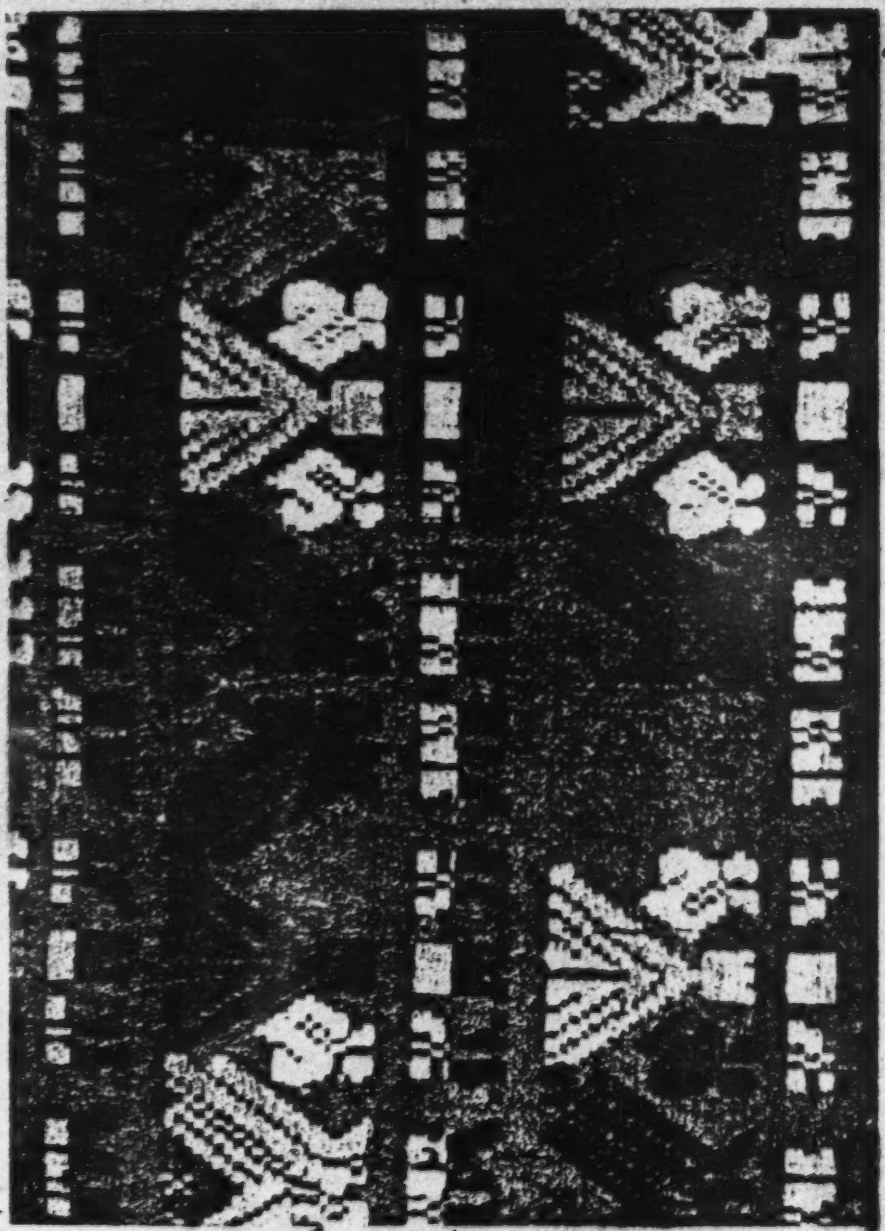

80. Apron- Design

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10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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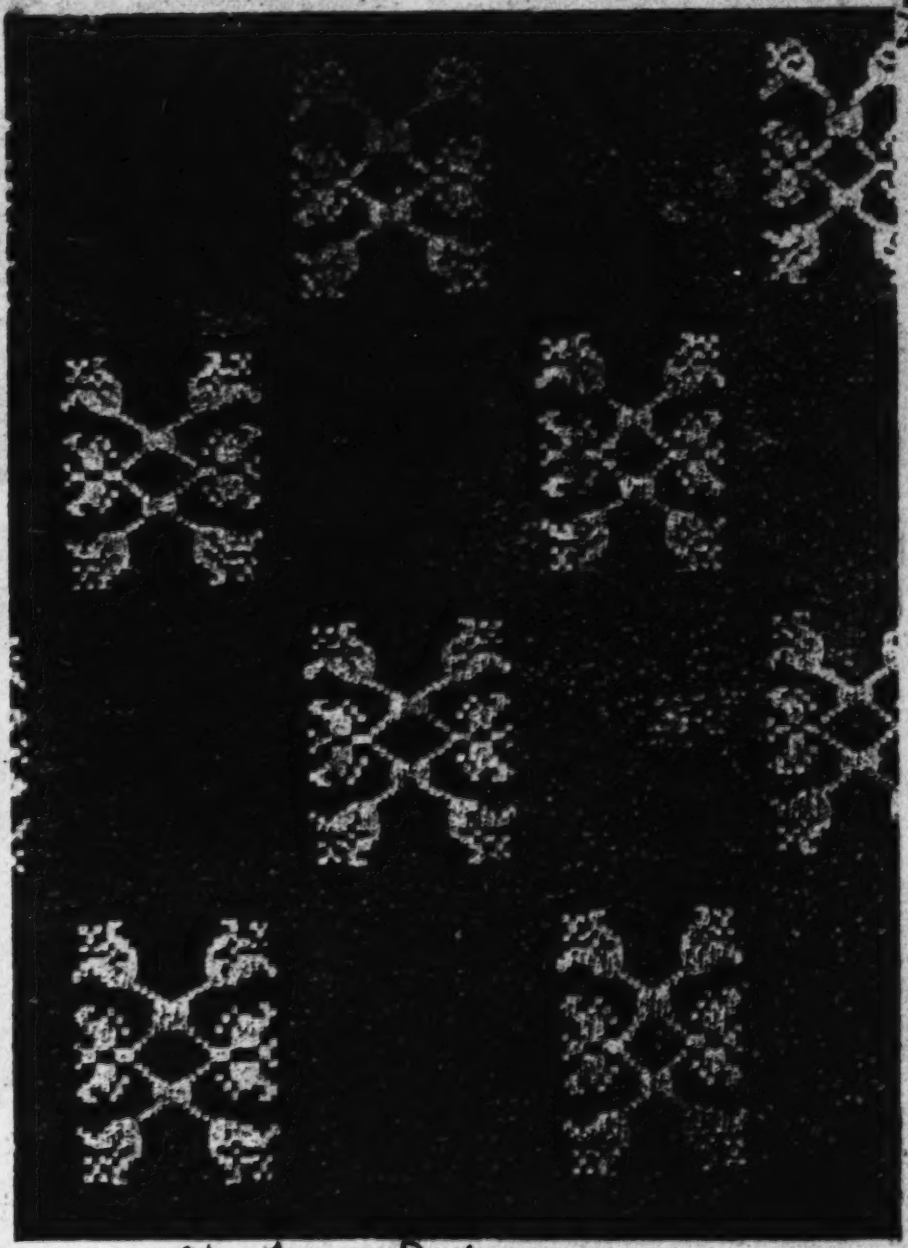

81. Apron-Design

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10;Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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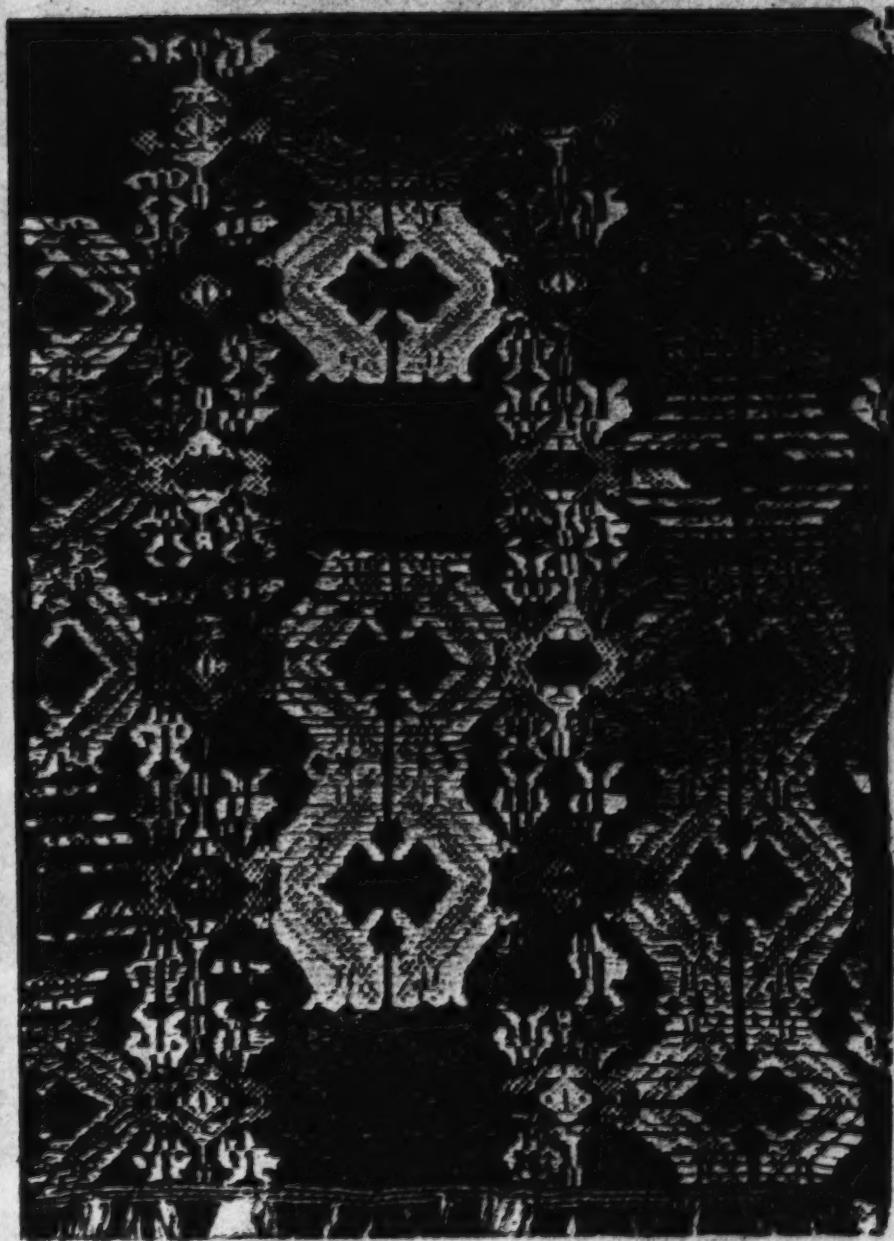

82. Apron-Design

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Weaving.

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11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

286 With so much other work to do, the farmer's wife has little time nowadays for spinning and weaving. This is indeed how 462 her artistic sense, cultivated for centuries, finds expression. There is a special material for every purpose and a special design for every material — for bed-linen and personal linen, pure linen weave; for towels and table linen, linen and cotton mixed, with hundreds of combinations of grey and white checks; for carpets and blankets, linen and woollen materials in brighter colours and bolder designs; for men's suits, woollen materials. The women's traditional costumes are still found in many districts, and attempts have recently been made to extend the use of national costumes in general. Every corner of Lithuania has its own traditions, designs and combinations of colours. The designs of the costumes bear witness to an original taste in art, while the choice of colours is remarkably 522 finely conceived. Again, a great variety of exquisite detailed designs is found in the Easter eggs. Only the son of a Lithuanian woman who had grown up in an atmosphere of mystic legends could have created the Lithuanian "Smūtkelis", the saints in the little chapels standing by the roadside, the amazing Samogitian crosses.

To recall the situation of the country before the war is to realise the importance of the humble peasant woman's rôle. During foreign domination when there were practically no books written in the national language and no Lithuanian schools, the peasant woman was the guardian of the Lithuanian language, customs and art and the inspirer of the national conscience when her sons returned home for the holidays after studying at schools which offered them only the foreign culture of the country's oppressors. The Lithuanian woman's personal beliefs and convictions revealed her integrity and sense of justice. A gentle poetry and original philosophy of life imbued the songs and tales and proverbs which she transmitted to her children. The lore she handed down to her daughters, her simple replies to their questions, reflected an exquisite beauty of character and the finest intelligence. Her bearing was marked by nobility, by a consciousness of her dignity, far above what might be regarded as corresponding to her station in life; in her relations with different classes of society, she exhibited remarkable tact and a keen sense of diplomacy.

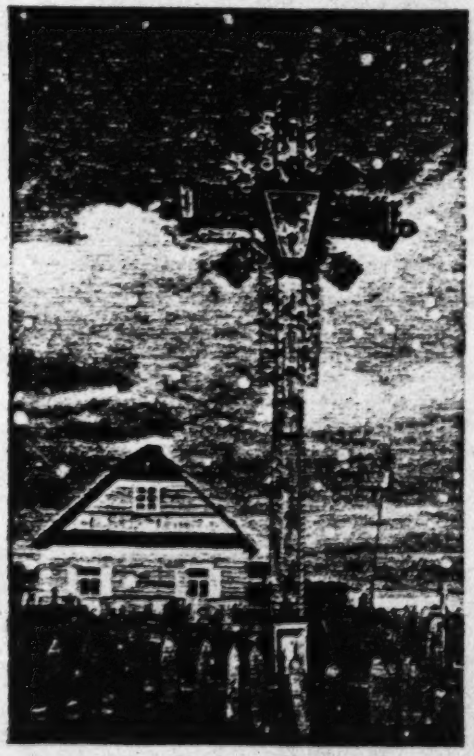
The Lithuanian peasant woman has preserved this natural dignity notwithstanding the profound transformation of the whole life of the country. The school with its army of teachers — about 60% are women — the Lithuanian book, the national Press adapted to the requirements of the various social classes, officials and private economic and cultural activities, the agrarian reform, the breaking-up of communal lands into individual

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

IX. PEASANT ART AND FOLKLORE. ORGANISATION OF LEISURE

532 From time immemorial, the villagers have been fond of manual work. By the roadside, religious monuments decorated with original designs may be seen, such as crosses and chapels; in the villages, wooden churches and belfries and attractive wooden buildings, with original carvings, have been erected.

[415] In the houses themselves, the equipment and the domestic utensils are also made by hand. Furniture, spindles, linen-beaters, towel-pegs, nut-crackers are characteristic objects of peasant art. The girls were always fond of spinning, weaving and [288] knitting. When they married, they brought with them from their home a generous supply of cloth, towels, table-cloths, bed-covers, gaily coloured dresses, etc. At weddings, in particular, it was the custom to make presents of belts, towels, cloth, etc.



Crucifix.

After the world war, when Lithuania became independent, the cultural level rose; the old articles of peasant art, with their primitive forms, no longer fulfilled modern requirements. The Chamber of Agriculture, in collaboration with the Union of Young Farmers' Clubs, accordingly endeavoured to encourage cottage handicrafts, adapting them to modern conditions.

A series of courses was organised for peasant craftsmen, to teach them new methods and familiarise them with modern tools, better raw materials and modern shapes (for which artists prepared designs based on the traditional peasant styles.

423 tary constructions. A family owning one horse must 180
656 transport 30 cords of timber to fixed stations. The owner of two horses must double the quota, in winter.

[311] In 1947, about 40% of arable land of Lithuania was unplanted, and the diet of the rural population suffered a catastrophic decline. Few tractors are available. Threshing machines were nationalized. Bribes are required to gain any assistance from the Russian managers of the MTS stations—and people prefer not to deal with the drunken and greedy representatives of the "master race." Forests are systematically destroyed and forest fires are not combatted. The MVD-MGB troops quite frequently set fire to the forests in order to "smoke out" guerrillas.

There was even less incentive to work for Russia in 1948. At least one half of the arable land went untilled. . . .

Industry

433 Peat production dropped to one-third of the level
377 of the German occupation period. Very little coal is brought to the country. For these reasons, there is a severe shortage of electric power. City dwellers must provide their own heating—for apartments, institutions and schools.

The official press occasionally reports that certain officials "abuse their office" by driving to some village, demolishing "deserted homes" and forcing the neighboring farmers to transport the lumber to the city as fuel. . . . Due to the prevalent bureaucracy and chaos, government buildings and student dormitories go unheated for weeks. Therefore, dormitory inhabitants or the office force of this or that institution mobilize and follow the example of the dignitaries: they descend on and transport deserted homes (in parts) in a "socialistic competition" to keep themselves warm. . . .

433 Brick production dropped for lack of skilled man-
[339] power. The brick works of Rokai and Palembnas produce for the army exclusively. No bricks and no tiles are available for sale to private citizens. Therefore, bricks and tiles figure in a lively black market exchange for horses.

Not a single cement plant is in operation—except on paper, in the boastful reports of "achievements" of the Russian dignitaries. The cement plants of Akmenė and Skirsnemunė are still in the stage of paper planning, though included in the five-year plan to be consummated by 1950.

[288] The textile plants of Klaipėda are idle. The Drobė plant of Kaunas is under reconstruction. The Litex and Audiniai plants began operating. The Linas plant produces for export to Russia exclusively.

The hide tanning plants of Šiauliai and the glass factories of Radviliškis and Aleksotas are operating. Dairies were mostly reactivated. The huge Maistas stockyards and canneries were burned down in Kaunas, and feeble efforts at reconstruction are forging ahead. The Maistas plant in Panevėžys is operating but production is small. The plant at Tauragė still lies in ruins.

The beet sugar refineries of Marijampolė and Panevėžys resumed operations. The paper and cardboard plant produces inferior quality products. The railway yards and repair shops of Kaunas are being expanded. The factories, as a rule, produce for war and export to Russia. The present production level amounts to less than 50% of the 1939 level.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

With the Sovietization of Lithuania by Russia all those corporations were nationalized in August, 1940, and made government establishments. On August 7, 1940, an order was published requesting even the surrender of the shares of capital stock and bonds of private corporations or government.[5] No due compensation was promised. 473

When Russian occupation was substituted by German in June, 1941, the system of private ownership was returned in Lithuania, except private, corporate, or coöperative wealth, which apparently is kept for distribution to German nationals or at least to German sympathizers. 471

THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

The textile industry showed a spectacular rise between 1927 and 1940. But even before this period it had shown considerable advance. It is estimated that in the years 1909 to 1913 this industry in Lithuania employed about 300 workers.[6] In 1927 the number of workers had grown to 1,403, almost five times as many as before the World War, while in 1939 the industry was employing 7,561 workers. 288 433

It is interesting to note that in spite of increasing textile production at home, imports did not decrease proportionately. This may be accounted for partly by the fact that rising living standards increased the demand to such an extent that even the increased production was not sufficient to satisfy it without the aid of proportionately high imports. Lithuania does not export any textile fabrics. [439]

The expanding textile industry modifies the type of textile

[5] *Darbo Lietuva* No. 50, Aug. 13, 1940. (*Darbo Lietuva* [Worker's Lithuania] was a Bolshevik daily in Kaunas, established after the occupation.)

[6] L.G.S.A., 1937, p. 405.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 35

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY OF LITHUANIA 1927–39

KIND OF ESTABLISHMENT	1927		1930		1935		1939	
	Establishments	*Workers*	*Establishments*	*Workers*	*Establishments*	*Workers*	*Establishments*	*Workers*
Linen and jute weaving	3	112	3	163	5	624	5	827
Flax preparation	16	468	9	534	8	288	11	1,296
Woolen and cotton weaving and spinning	6	589	7	1,229	16	2,922	20	4,051
Wool spinning	17	138	20	142	11	67	23	175
Silk weaving	—	—	—	—	3	651	4	964

imports: there is a tendency toward an increase in semifinished textile goods, especially woolen spun yarns, and a decrease in imports of woolen textile materials (fabrics). In cotton-goods imports this tendency is not so pronounced. This may be due partly to the fact that Lithuania has no raw cotton and the entire supply must be imported. The manufacturing of cotton fabrics is, therefore, almost entirely undeveloped. With woolen fabrics conditions are exactly opposite. A substantial part of the wool is produced at home and, although the quality of Lithuanian wool is not as high as that of Australia or New Zealand, the woolen industries, having been at first wholly dependent on the home supply, were better equipped to expand and improve their production than were the cotton factories. If breeds of sheep are improved as were those of cattle, Lithuanian woolen goods will improve in quality as well as increase in quantity.

465 wages, a rise in real wages of approximately 12% since 1931. In various individual branches, moreover, the wages standards of qualified workers were raised not only in 1937 but also in 1935 and 1936, which the above quoted average figures do not indicate, owing to the preponderance of unqualified workers, as a result of the frequent engagement of new employees.

*
* *

464 433 The internal structure of Lithuanian industry in respect of the number of undertakings and the total number of employed workers in separate industrial branches are shown by the following Table No. 1.

288 433 464 On the basis of these statistics we may conclude that the largest number of workers, viz., 20.6% of all industrial workers in Lithuania to-day are employed in the textile industry. On an average, a staff of 88 workers pertains to one textile factory.

The first place in respect of the number of employed workers has, however, been reached by the textile industry in recent years, i. e. since 1935. Among all industrial branches in Lithuania it also shows the most intensive development. In spite of the crisis, the number of employed in the textile concerns since 1928 has steadily grown and in comparison with 1928 its position in 1937 had more than quadrupled (+317.5%).

This high level of the employed reflects, however, only the maximum utilization of labour capacity. Thus in 1937 the textile industry was the only branch that employed three shifts, since according to the number of undertakings, viz., 74, it stands far behind other branches.

313 433 464 In the second place stands the timber industry with 16.9% of the total number of workers and 17.6% of the number of undertakings. The size of the staffs rose by 51.1% during the period from 1928 to 1937, the most noteworthy increase having taken place in 1937.

262 433 464 In the third place follows the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry with 16.4% of the total number of workers. According to the number of undertakings (353 concerns or 28.3%), it is, however, entitled to the first place. The total number of the staffs in 1937 in comparison with 1928 shows an increase of 35.4%, which took place during the last three years. During

on this subject is contained in the section on the trade turnover 000
of the „Maistas" joint-stock company.

The butter production figures specified in the foregoing 234
tables relate only to the quantities supplied by the dairy coope- 439
ratives, which are used almost exclusively for export. Nearly 433
the entire domestic demand is covered by the home production of the farmers (the so-called country butter) which it is difficult to judge by statistics. The supply of export butter shows constant growth. In 1937 it doubled in round figures in comparison with 1931, which must be ascribed to the fact that it has held its ground on the world market better than bacon.

Spirit, beer, and tobacco production greatly receded during 274
the crisis. The last two years brought about, in connexion with 277
the general economic revival, a new upward trend; while of 433
course the doubling of beer production in 1937 is to be attributed to the reduction of the price in consequence of the lowering of the excise, and that of spirit supply in part to its compulsory admixture with petrol („Motorin").

2. The Textile Industry

The textile industry is the second most important industrial 288
branch of Lithuania. It employs the largest number of workers 433
(in 1937, 20.7% of all industrial workers of Lithuania accrued to it); its share in the aggregate engine horse-power amounts to 9.3% and its share in the production value of all Lithuanian industry to over 14% (gross value, 14.9%; net value, 14.3%).

In the pre-war Lithuania, only approximately 300 workers [464]
were employed in this industrial branch. The development of textile undertakings since 1927 is shown by the following comparison:

	1927		1931			1938 (Jan)		1937 (July)
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	55	1 403	60	2 287	2 475	79	7 162	11 673
Including								
Flax Treatment	16	468	10	374	607	10	1 201	1 845
Linen Weaving	3	112	3	200		5	728	
Others								
Textile Industry	36	823	47	1 710	1 868	64	5 233	9 828

288 433 This table discloses that all branches of the textile industry have appreciably grown since 1927; that the textile industry proper (weaving and spinning) has, however, made much greater progress than flax manufacture. This is explained by the dependence of the latter upon export, whereas the other branches serve only the home market.

Already in the previous chapter it was pointed out that the output of the textile industry since 1929 has shown an unbroken advance, and of all industrial branches of Lithuania has increased the most vigorously. For the sake of comparison with the quantities data, the production index, calculated on the basis of ad valorem amounts, is once more quoted as converted to the basis year 1931:

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	108.1	168.4	178.4	264.0	311.2

248 288 433 The statistical data on the production quantities of separate special branches are as follows:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Flax and Tow (in tons)	4 550	5 509	1 335	4 331	5 207	5 857
Linen Yarns (in tons)	8.5	44.6	41.6	62.8	91.9	173.8
Cotton Yarns (in tons)	344.1	249.1	391.7	337.9	433.5	973.9
Woollen and Half-Woollen Fabrics (in 1000 metres)	838.8	722	1 335.3	1 384.4	2 466.1	2 411.1
Cotton Fabrics (in 1000 metres)	5 282.4	7 200	11 537.9	12 079.2	14 531.3	15 578.8
Silk Fabrics (in 1000 metres)	61.2	100.1	538.4	771.7	1 139.8	1 240.8

248 439 In regard to the flax manufacturing industry, it is interesting to compare the foregoing production quantities of machine-manufactured flax and tow with the total quantities of our flax exports in the relevant years. These are as follows (in tons):

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
7 710	8 989	10 187	10 427	19 677	16 087

From this comparison it can be seen that the machine- 248
manufactured flax to-day constitutes only a small part of the 433
total exported quantity, i. e. that flax manufactured by the farmers forms the greatest portion. Nevertheless the industrial production shows a relatively more stable course (with the exception of 1934) than the rural supply.

The production of the textile industry proper has since 1931 288
on an average quadrupled. A much more powerful development 433
therein is shown by silk-weaving, which in 1937 produced in round figures twenty times as many silk fabrics as in 1931, owing to the fact that it forms the youngest branch of our textile industry and was founded exactly in 1931.

The growth of the textile industry was undoubtedly pro- 439
moted by the tariff policy (increase of the Customs duty on 651
cotton fabrics in October, 1931, and again in April, 1932, on woollen and cotton fabrics) as also by the licence system (the import of woollen fabrics has been subject to licence since the introduction of the licence system, i. e. since December, 1932; that of cotton and silk yarns since August, 1934). This found expression in the sharp decline in 1932 of the imports of ready-made fabrics by half in round figures of the earlier imported quantity. The textile industry undoubtedly represents, concurrently with the production of knitted goods, the Lithuanian industrial branch best protected by tariff policy, which also explains its rapid growth and the concentration of large-scale undertakings in this branch. Notwithstanding this indisputable fact, it must none the less be recognized that, on the one hand, tariff protection is not equally apportioned (thus, for example, the duties on silk fabrics actually on an average amount to approximately 200% **ad valorem**; on cotton fabrics over 60%; and on linen fabrics only 25%), and that, on the other hand, the high duties on yarns (especially on artificial silk yarn) partially equalize the advantage of the high duties on ready-made fabrics.

3. The Timber Industry

To the timber industry, which may be designated the third 313
most important industrial branch of Lithuania, accrued in 1937 433
16.9% of all the workers employed in the medium and wholesale manufacturing industry; 10.5% of the engine horse-power;

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

313 pansion of the lumber industry the exported products
439 changed. In 1920 69.1 percent of lumber was exported as raw material as against 30.9 percent semifinished items, while in 1921 this percentage changed to 49.9 percent raw as against 50.1 percent semifinished.

In 1939 this industry experienced a severe blow with the seizure of Klaipeda by Germany, the industry having been concentrated in Klaipeda. With the return of the Vilnius region to Lithuania at the end of 1939, the lumber industry was compensated somewhat, but to what extent it was impossible to establish, since seven months later came the Soviet Russian occupation.

PAPER AND PRINTING INDUSTRY

•289 The paper and printing industry of Lithuania in 1938 em-
433 ployed 2,615 wage earners and accounted for 8.4 percent of the gross value of Lithuania's industrial production and 10.8 percent of the net value. Therefore, from the standpoint both of the number of wage earners employed and of the value of production, it was in the fourth place. Like the lumber industry, it suffered in 1939 when Germany seized Klaipeda where several of the larger printing establishments were located. Before the German occupation of Klaipeda, Lithuania had 88 establishments with 2,679 workers, while thereafter she had 81 establishments with 1,613 workers.[11]

From the statistics available it may be seen that in 1913 this branch of industry was only in its infancy. In that year there were only 20 establishments with 284 wage earners in the province (gouvernement) of Kaunas, while in 1927, in the same region, there were 52 establishments with 2,115 wage earners. The industry reached its high point in 1930,

[11] C.S.B., 1938 and 1939, pp. 170–71 and 160–61 respectively.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

when it had 64 establishments and employed 2,323 workers. 289 433

As the world depression of 1929 affected Lithuania much later than it did the more advanced industrial countries, the setback in this branch of industry was not felt until 1931, when the number of establishments decreased to 61 and the number of wage earners to 2,157. The all-time low was reached in 1932 when only 1,924 persons were employed. The next year a slight revival was felt and from that year the industry was on the upswing until in the beginning of 1939 it reached an all-time peak with 88 establishments and 2,679 wage earners.

The chief branch of the paper and printing industry is that of woodpulp and paper production. Although this branch is represented by only five establishments, it is greatest from the standpoint of number of workers employed: it accounts for from 40 to 45 percent of all workers in the paper and printing industry. The number employed in woodpulp and paper production was almost the same in 1938 as in 1927—1,159 and 1,133 respectively—although in 1932 it had dropped to 688. The production of woodpulp as well as paper and cardboard has increased very substantially since 1931.

The printing branch of the industry also showed considerable expansion. In 1927 there were 33 printing establishments, with 658 wage earners. By 1938 the industry had 51 printing establishments and 1,153 wage earners and in 1939, 50 establishments with 843 wage earners. Even the depression of 1929 did not greatly affect this branch of industry. Except for a slight setback in 1934 and in 1935, in which years the number of employed decreased to 801 and 777 respectively, the printing business continued to grow.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

289 The other two divisions of the paper and printing industry, cardboard manufacturing and bookbinding, have a large number of establishments, but account for only about 15 percent of all the workers.

4. The Paper and Polygraphic Industry.

289 433 464 From the standpoint of importance of its rôle in Lithuanian industrial economy, the paper and polygraphic industry stands in the fourth place. In 1937 there accrued to it 8.1% of all industrial workers; 18.1% of the engine horse-power; 8.4% of the gross value; and 10.8% of the net value of Lithuania's industrial production. According to net production value it ranked correspondingly before the timber industry in the third place. Its development since 1927 is illustrated by the following comparison:

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	52	2 115	61	2 157	8 777	76	2 559	22 602
Including:								
Cellulose and Paper	5	1 133	4	829	8 143	4	1 180	21 675
Paper and Cardboard Wares	9	284	15	365	145	18	371*)	128
Printing Offices and Book-binderies	38	698	42	903	489	54	1 100	799

Already in an earlier chapter it was pointed out that the paper industry belongs to those branches that have grown least since 1929. The index cited therein shows that the paper industry suffered the greatest setback in the crisis years (in 1932 by 32.3%) and in 1937 exceeded its position of 1929 by only 48.8%.

The explanation given in the previous section for the retrogression of timber production holds good also for the [439] paper industry. The cause of the severe recession of the production index of the paper industry in the crisis years lies in the then curtailment of cellulose export (from 60 781 tons in 1929 to 39 384 tons in 1932) and in the high percentage share of cellulose supplies in the aggregate production of the paper

*) Figures for January, 1938, because the July figures do not reflect the complete employment position.

and polygraphic industry which, measured by gross value, in 1937 amounted to 42%, and in 1932, when the paper production proper still hardly existed, to still more. 289 433

In a calculation converted to the basis year 1931, the production index figures for the paper and polygraphic industry are as follows:

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	80.9	122.1	124.5	149.4	177.9

The following statement shows the production quantity figures in tons ascertained for the same years:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Cellulose	39 300	36 800	56 093	53 957	59 203	66 101
Paper	2 800	2 400	6 214	6 921	7 407	8 922
Cardboard	·	830	681	848	1 047	943

On the strength of these data we may conclude that the cellulose production since 1931 has risen approximately 70%, but has exceeded the position of 1929 by approximately only 10%. The rise in the total production of the paper industry by 77.9% since 1931 is due to the growth of paper production which, as a result of the erection of a paper factory at Petrašiūnai in 1933, has since then more than trebled. Thanks thereto our paper imports since 1933 have receded by two-thirds in round figures.

The index figures calculated on the basis of the value amounts naturally reflect also the development of the remaining branches, for which no quantity data are available. This relates in the first place to the printing business, which has vigorously developed in independent Lithuania (the establishment of over 30 new printing offices in the first years of independence), the output of which, however, during the crisis years suffered a setback, which, especially in 1934 and 1935, exerted a restraining influence on the course of the index curve. 2/4

286 (woven ribbons)." (47)
531
[113]

47. Johanna Behr-Heyder, Cologne, "Litauische Volkskunst," Leipziger Ill. Zeitung, November 8, 1917, p. 10.

In analyzing the weaving patterns, which are almost exclusively of a geometrical nature, it is in most cases overlooked that the technique of weaving alone had of itself to lead to specific patterns. Certainly the many terms used today were given them only much later, names supplied by all kinds of visible things of the surroundings--the duck, the cuckoo, the hoopoe, the window, the broom, the rose, the fir tree, even the goat's hoof, and many others. That from the technique of weaving many similarities arose with peoples separated in space and time, is thus only natural. From the great variety of designs results the tremendous richness of this ornamentation, especially since the patterns occur in the most varied combinations. To discuss them in more detail is forbidden by the scope of this presentation, but there are certainly many hundreds of patterns.

While in western Lithuania decorative weaving is not so strongly cultivated--apart from Palanga, where primarily juostos with star and flower patterns are favored--the whole abundance of this colored ornamentation is concentrated in the area of Suvalkija, above all in the districts
291 of Marijampolė and Vilkaviškis. This area is
531 also the home of the famous tulip pattern and of
286 the colorful Lithuanian decorative aprons. Simple aprons are known also in the region of Zanavykai and Zarasai as well as in the province of Dzūkija, while in Samogitia they are completely lacking. Nowhere, however, is the coloration unfolded so subtly and the ornamentation to such a richness as in Suvalkija. On a brown, blue, red, or green background the ornament grows like a precious flower. Perhaps the most beautiful of these patterns, the tulip stylized in the most varied forms,

286 goes back to some symbolic representation, espec-
531 ially since the tulip itself was an unknown flower
291 in Lithuania. The /141/ stylization has progressed
so far here that practically only the term has re-
mained. The tulip pattern is repeated on these
aprons in a continuous scrollwork, or in fours
in a square, or also in combination with charac-
teristically stylized scrolls and leaves.

Galaunė says concerning these aprons:
"They are known only in the province of Suvalkija
and here and there in the sections of the Vilna
area bordering on Suvalkija. They form here a
kind of oasis, whose origins we are unable to trace
today because of the lack of almost any data.
This oasis is so self-contained that its influence
has hardly spread in any direction. Ribbons sim-
ilar to our juostos are found among a large number
of our close and more distant neighbors, but the
aprons with the tulip pattern woven in are com-
pletely unknown elsewhere." (48) It may be added

48. P. Galaunė, op. cit., p. 262.

that the High Lithuanians make only white woven
aprons with red cross-stripes at the bottom end,
while the aprons of the Low Lithuanians (Samogitians),
also white, exhibit red lengthwise stripes.

The weaving technique for the Suvalkija
decorative aprons is similar to that for the juostos
kaišytinės; they are woven on the loom, and the
pattern is set in during the weaving from colorful
wool threads, so that it appears as if embroidered.
Nothing certain can be said about age and origin of
these aprons. We know only that the oldest of
those now existing go back to the second half of
the eighteenth century. Perhaps, as Galaunė
assumes, they once had a symbolic significance and
symbolized innocence and virtue. And perhaps they
were so beautifully fashioned because they had no
practical purpose to serve. (49) In Prussian

49. p. 266.

286 Lithuania they were in any case not known and
531 according to Vydūnas were only taken over from
[291] later immigrants. (50) Much of the beautiful

[13]

50. Vydūnas, Litauen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart (Tilsit, 1916). Emma Dethlefsen, "Über litauische Volkstrachten in Ostpreussen," Blätter für Heimatkunde und Heimatschutz, Vol. 3, Nos. 1 and 2.

Lithuanian decorative weaving is found today in the churches as altar covers, the ribbons as ornamentation on the alms bag.

As with all settled peoples, so among the Lithuanians a rural art of rug weaving--as /142/ is customarily developed among nomadic tribes as a folk art--did not exist in earlier times. The rugs and bedspreads woven today in the countryside, which are usually of one color and are frequently found in city houses, are of more recent origin. They borrow their manifold square circle or lozenge patterns from the heavy linen weaving which the peasant woman makes for her practical use. To set off the pattern in color either bleached linen is woven in together with unbleached, or a difference of tone is gained by weaving in hemp or cotton. These patterns, too, are beautiful and of great ornamental richness. From the point of view of age they represent the oldest Lithuanian weaving patterns. We find them in the coarse woolen towels as well as in the tablecloths that are laid out on festive occasions in the peasant houses. The hand towels are often decorated with artistic cross-stitch work, usually in red, primarily the decorative towels that do not serve for daily use. They formerly hung on the richly carved hand towel racks and are given only to guests to use. Their ends are formed by peculiarly braided lace, knotted by hand from the end threads of the weave. This is a very old technique that is still

286 practised today by the shepherd girls of the country.
531 Crocheted lace is in general rarer; nevertheless among prosperous farmers we often find decorative crocheting and openwork on beautiful and valuable bed linen.

[291] Gloves and stockings are firmly and closely knitted in several colors, the various threads being carried along on the reverse side. They frequently make their way to Germany, where they appear on the handicraft market as "Swedish" gloves. The most varied-colored ornaments are knitted in, dots and stars, together with flower patterns, and occasionally also animal patterns.
[431] These gay and strong gloves with their bright colors often serve as gifts, and the priest is always presented with them on his winter "calender journeys." In contrast /143/ to other handicrafts, in which, as we saw, old patterns are frequently used in a not so successful manner, their borrowing from the weaving technique in the modern knitted handiwork has an organic and altogether charming effect.

[292] In the Lithuanian folk costume, too, particularly as it has been awakened to new life after the first World War, art and taste are shown: the long colored pleated coat, the colorful bodice, the white shirt with the long embroidered sleeves--everything breathes cheerfulness and joy in colors (see the title picture).*

Therewith is closed the circle which embraces the Lithuanian folk art in all its branches. Many things could be only briefly touched, since the various older and more recent techniques of knotting, crocheting, and knitting can be described only with difficulty.

286 The whole realm of weaving with all its related techniques is exclusively the domain of the
462 woman, while the man has chosen for himself those areas which above all demanded bodily strength or because of the size of the objects did not attract

* [Title picture was not included in HRAF reproduction -- Analyst]

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Mariampolé and of Kalvarija. At Klaipéda their decoration consists 531
of several finely embroidered horizontal strips. They are not only or- 286
naments, but also symbols of virtue. In some villages it is considered im- [183]
proper to be seen without an apron. Once, at a market, a woman was asked to sell her apron and she considered herself outraged.

The other parts of the dress of a peasant woman are: a linen shirt with 291
wide plaited sleeves, trimmed with small embroidered designs, a very ample woollen skirt, sometimes dark and plain and sometimes striped or of a Scottish pattern, gathered at the waist and a sleeveless vest, the "*kiklikas*", a kind of corslet often made of valuable brocade, which made its first appearance in the early 19th century. According to Mr. Galauné, the first specimens were perhaps imported by the soldiers of Napoleon's "Grande Armée", on their retreat from Russia. In the neighbourhood of Klaipéda, the *kiklikai* are of dark velvet. Necklets of coral and especi- 301
ally of amber are worn on the neck. Their beads, either raw or cut in facets with a knife, have not only the value of gems, but are endowed with magic qualities, they belong to times gone by and to legend. These fossil drops of resin, which have been described by Tacitus and were sold by Ligurian traders who imported them into the countries of the Mediterranean and Black Sea area, where they were deemed to be more precious than gold and who therefore jealously kept the secret of their origin, often contained imprisoned insects and other mementoes of olden times.

Young girls wear on their heads a band of tissue held at the back by a 291
flow of colored ribbons, married women wear instead "*muometas*", a sort of white veil several meters long, which is of Eastern origin, but was also adopted in the West, and Tertullian recommended its use. At first this fashion found but few followers and was later abandoned, but it became the rule for married women from 1300 until 1500. During that time a large number of themes of sculptural models were imported into Lithuania, the survivals of which have been described above. It is possible that this fashion followed the same route. And do not certain weavers, with their dour yet finely cut profiles encircled in white, resemble some statues of the Middle Ages? The veil with its folds and its ritual knots is sacred, it bestows upon such as have taken it a certain measure of authority and of office. With their head-dress resembling that of the Saints of the Church, these peasant women would seem to belong to a religious order.

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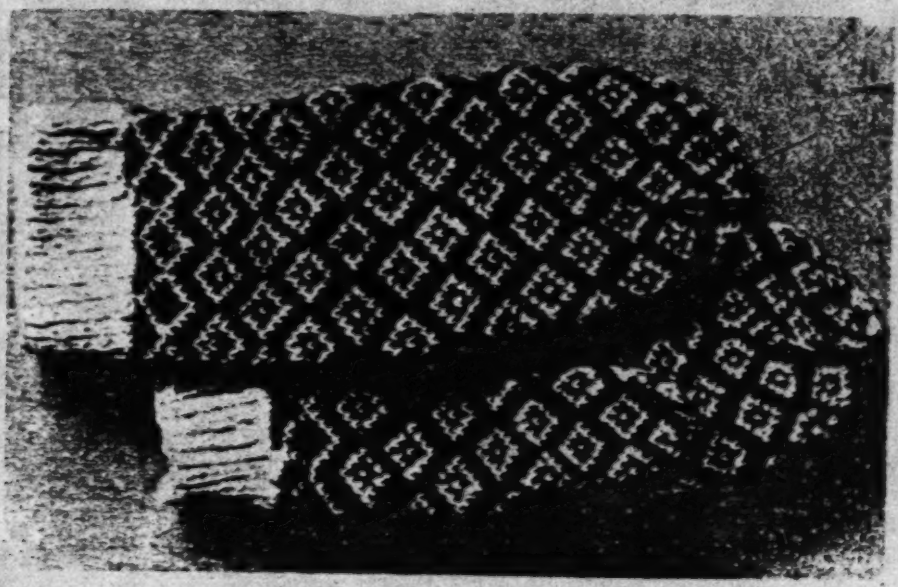

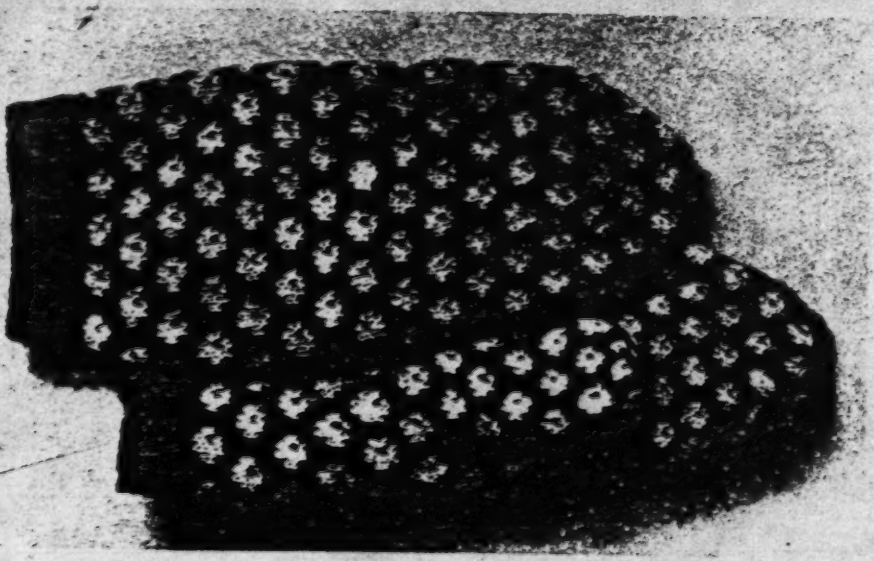

58.-59. Gloves
District of Telšiai

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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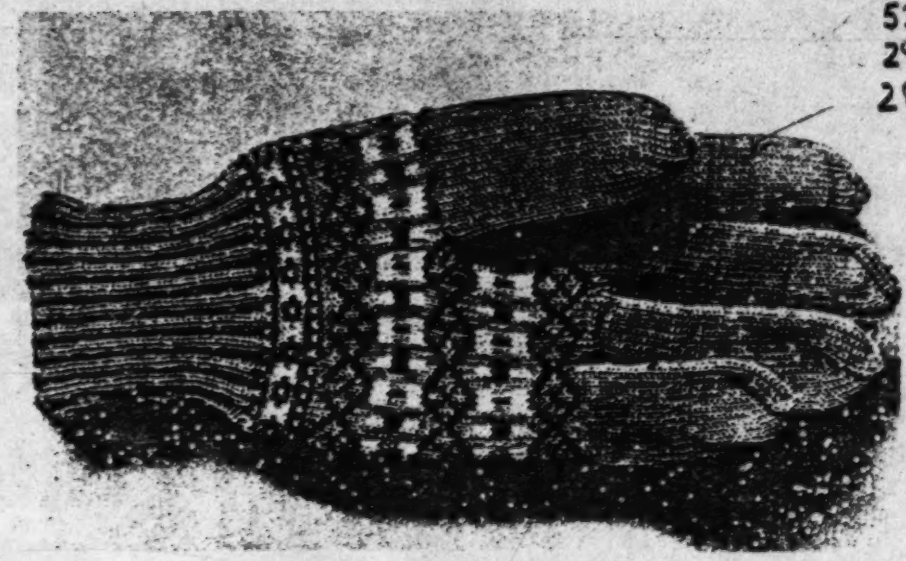

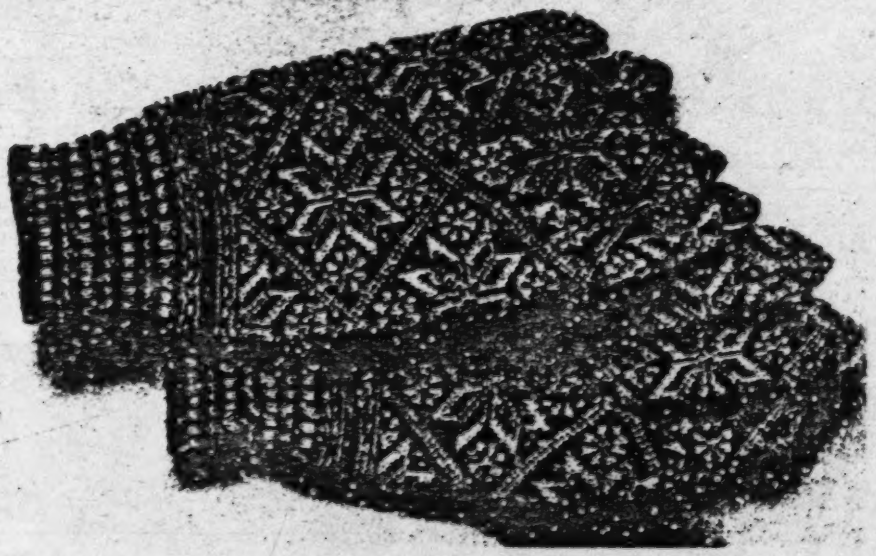

60.-61. Gloves
District of Telšiai and Klaipeda

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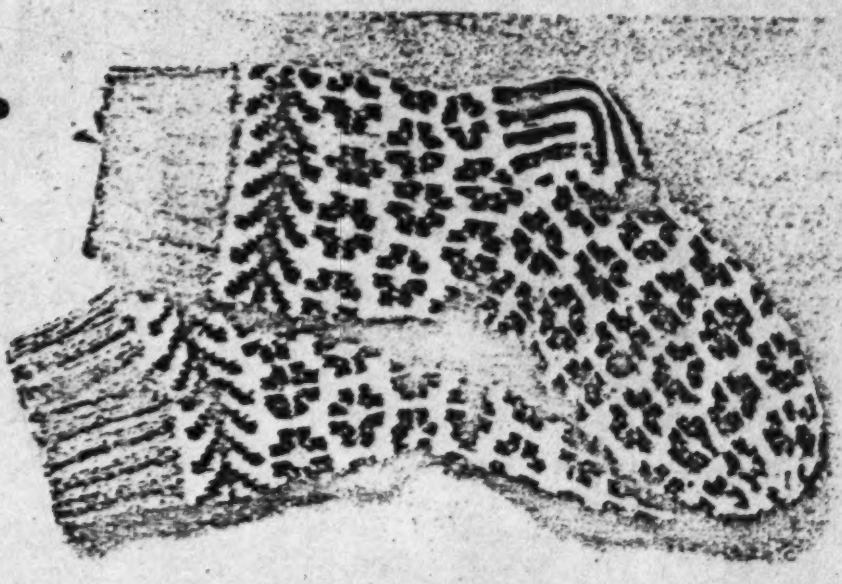

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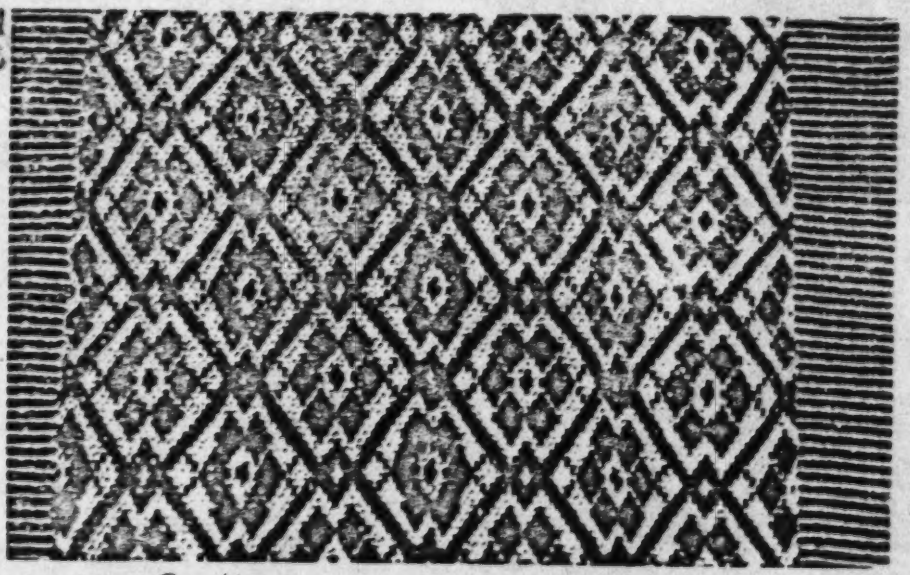

62. Socks
District of Kretinga

63. Carpet Design

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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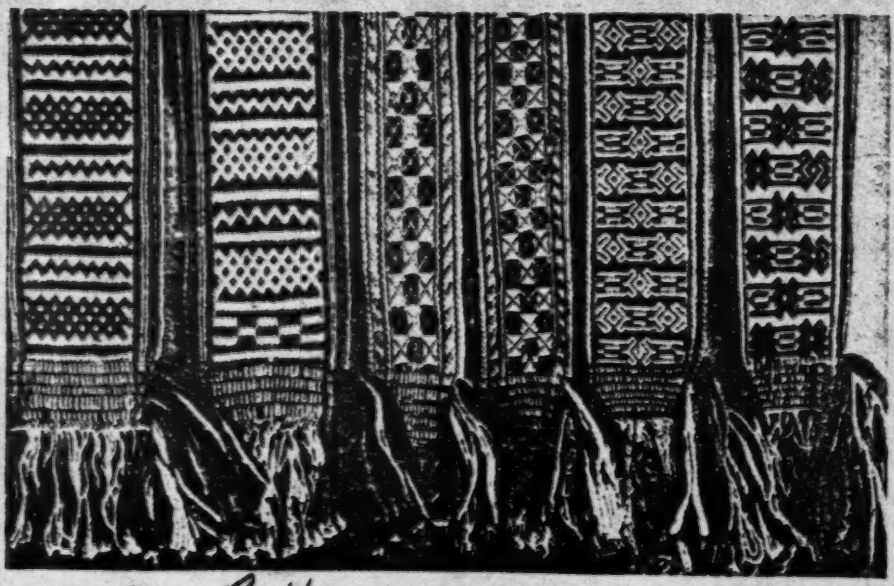
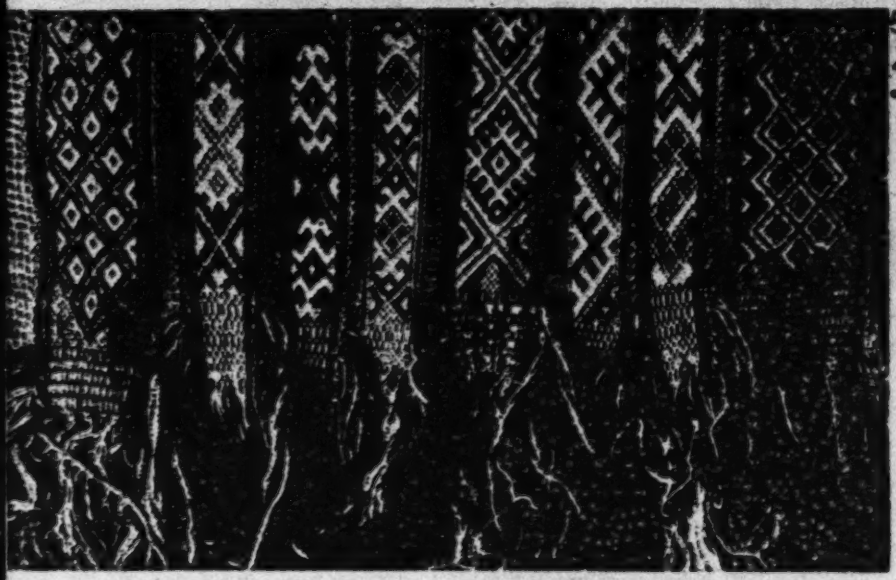
69. Belts

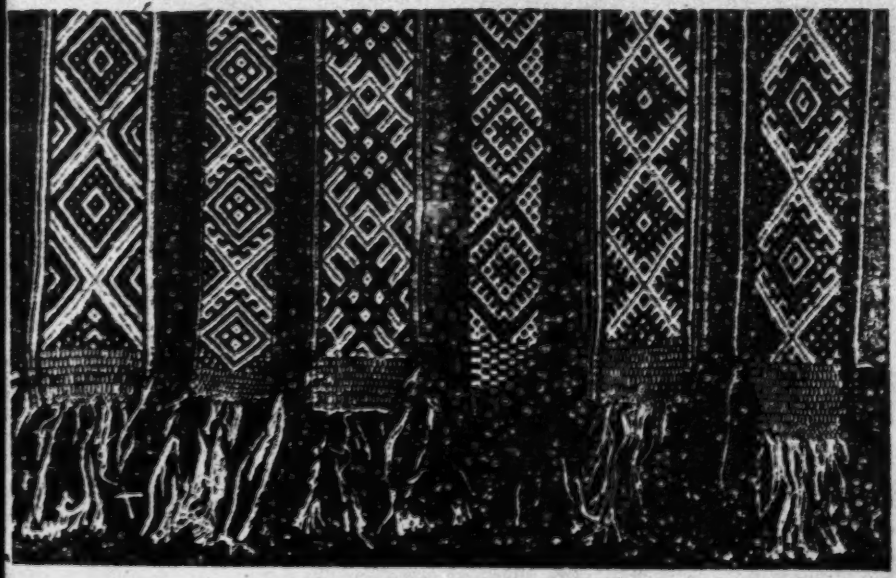
10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5



70.-71. Belts

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5





72.-73. Belts

10: Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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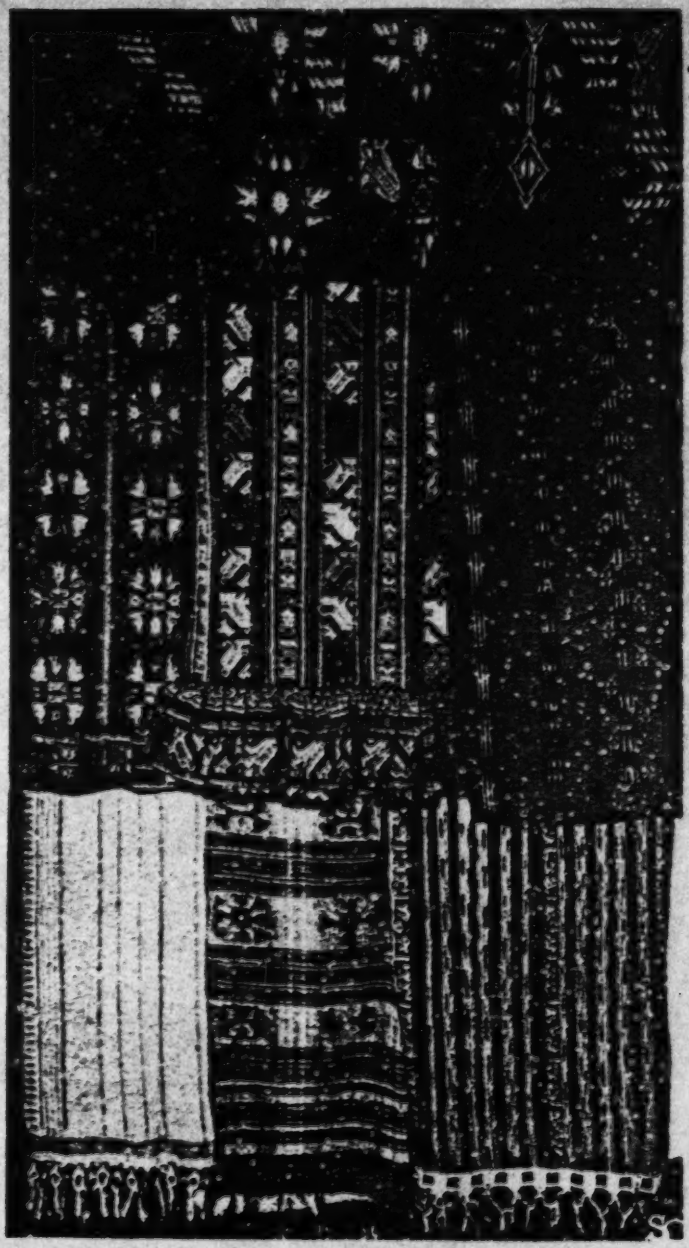

74. Aprons

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

fresh meat and poultry 13 millions, cereals about 20 millions and eggs 7.8 millions). 439

The total value of exports of raw materials and half-finished goods was 73.4 million litai. Exports of hemp and tow accounted for 25 million litai, cellulose for 12.7 millions and timber for 21 millions.

Among imports, manufactured products head the list (133 million litai, comprising machinery and tools, automobiles, chemical products, textiles and yarns, etc.), followed by raw materials and half-finished goods totalling 78.7 million litai (gilt metals, cement, chemical fertilisers, coal, naphtha and petroleum, cotton, etc.).

As long as the territory of Klaipėda (Memel) belonged to Lithuania, the foreign trade of the country passed almost exclusively through the Port of Klaipėda (Memel). Under the treaty concluded in March 1939 with Germany, Lithuania retains a free port at Klaipėda. [304]

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There has been a fairly big increase in population; rural families tend to be large. The women, though very fully occupied with their children and domestic duties, find time to look after the animals and work in the fields. This type of work is, however, more often left to women who have no children or domestic duties to attend to — that is, to girls or women whose children are older. Lithuanian women are, as a rule, fit and healthy; nevertheless, they are sometimes forced to neglect their homes, owing to the claims of agriculture and the rearing of children. They are naturally clean and orderly, and like to have a little garden of their own; in winter, they devote themselves to home industries — spinning, knitting, embroidery and sometimes weaving. The artistic value of a great deal of the handwork done in the country is of exhibition standard and has been shown both in Lithuania and abroad — for example, in 1937, at the Paris International Exhibition and, in 1938, at the Berlin International Exhibition of Arts and Crafts. 462

The Lithuanian peasant is somewhat deliberate in character; he is long-suffering and is prepared when necessary to go through difficult times without complaint. This was proved during the war, when, notwithstanding intense suffering, the popular songs and jokes dear to the peasant heart were never forgotten. 156

The rural population used formerly to wear homespun woollen and linen clothing — the production of flax is relatively greater in Lithuania than in any other European country. Of recent years, this type of clothing has disappeared, its place being taken by ready-made factory goods. 291

[415] earthenware remains completely simple in technique and form. In
291 the way of clothing the old has not been preserved. Figure 2, from
177 the 17th century, points to similarities with the Letts. In East Prussia, German influences then had their effect, and beyond the border Polish
771 influences made themselves felt. For a long time, until well into the 19th century, remnants of the ancient religion were preserved. This religion was a knowledge of divine forces in nature, everywhere, from the sun and the stars to the plants and stones; as well as a knowledge of the unity between nature and man, of inner and lasting relations and interinfluences between them. How clearly the divine in nature was beheld is indicated by conceptions like the one that believes that actual pain is inflicted upon the deity if the bark is peeled off the trees! How clearly the unity was experienced is to be seen from the custom of of keeping trees in the farmyard, with the thriving of which the prosperity and health of the inhabitants remained connected; or from folk songs like the following:

Alas, I poor man went hence,
Cried bitter tears.
Was not the oak tree
Transformed into my father.

Gnome-like earth spirits lived in the roots of the juniper bushes--not reminiscences of tiny original inhabitants of the type familiar among the Reindeer Lapps, as has been stated, but clearsighted visions of elementary beings. Spring, summer, and autumn festivals united the people for the communal experience of the light, the sun as the spiritual center of the world and of existence; in sacred forests
793 they came to the gods and sacrificed to them. Yes, the chief of the
771 Waideloten priesthood, the Kriwe, sacrificed himself after he had become old; he admonished the people to do penance, climbed upon the stake, let himself be burned and knew that he would rise up the gods in the flames. In the same sense, it was considered a particular sign of divine mercy to be struck and killed by lightning. At one time the religious knowledge and feeling was guarded by a liberally organized, but nevertheless hierarchically ordered priesthood with an elected chief priest, and these were mediated to the people in exoteric forms. Then they maintained a perpetual fire which, only in the year 1387, was ceremoniously extinguished for ever in the castle at Vilna by the duke Jagello(!). Then they made sacrifices to the sun, they prophesied

286 practised today by the shepherd girls of the country.
531 Crocheted lace is in general rarer; nevertheless among prosperous farmers we often find decorative crocheting and openwork on beautiful and valuable bed linen.

[291] Gloves and stockings are firmly and closely knitted in several colors, the various threads being carried along on the reverse side. They frequently make their way to Germany, where they appear on the handicraft market as "Swedish" gloves. The most varied-colored ornaments are knitted in, dots and stars, together with flower patterns, and occasionally also animal patterns.
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286 The whole realm of weaving with all its related techniques is exclusively the domain of the
462 woman, while the man has chosen for himself those areas which above all demanded bodily strength or because of the size of the objects did not attract

* [Title picture was not included in HRAF reproduction -- Analyst]

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

292 The national costume, though little worn on ordinary occasions, is much in evidence on holidays and on festive occasions, particularly among the women.

Since the redistribution of the communal lands, the farms 342 have all been scattered over the vast plain, at some distance 241 from one another. Most of the buildings are of wood, as timber costs far less than masonry; the roofs are generally of thatch or wood, though quite often of iron or tiled. Most of the houses are fairly roomy, and even small peasant farmers have three or four rooms. The Lithuanian peasant does not live in a house under the same roof as the stables or other farm buildings, as is so often the case in Western and Southern Europe; he regards such an arrangement as inconvenient and unhealthy. There is generally a little orchard and vegetable garden near the house. The Lithuanian peasants do not plant orchards for commercial purposes; they grow fruit for their own requirements and very few of them sell their fruit on the home markets or for export.

184 The country being comparatively small in area, no great differences are noticeable between the types of farm or the peasants in different regions. Of recent years, the various means of communication, particularly motor-bus services, have improved, and this tends very largely to eliminate such differences as did exist between the various regions. Practically all the peasantry is Roman Catholic. Though dialects exist, peasants [212] from all parts of the country understand one another. For some years now, over half of them have been able to read the newspapers and to become familiar with the literary language; farming papers alone have a circulation of over 150,000, though the total number of farms does not exceed 290,000. From the point of view of nationality also, the Lithuanian peasantry constitutes a homogeneous mass. Lithuania does possess national minorities (about 18% of the population) but these consist mainly of urban dwellers, whereas the rural districts are populated almost exclusively by persons of Lithuanian race.

* * *

000 The Lithuanians have full confidence in the future. Always supposing that no restrictions are placed on their activities and that their territory is not once again turned into a battlefield, the exploitation of the natural riches of the country should proceed rapidly and on a comprehensive scale, while the living conditions of the rural population will improve correspondingly. This confidence in the future is justified by the very considerable progress already achieved during the brief period since Lithuania recovered her independence, progress which is explained by the attachment of country dwellers to the land and by their hard-working, intelligent and long-suffering character, and, lastly,

5. The Clothing and Footwear Industry.

295 433 The clothing and footwear industry shows in recent years, among all Lithuanian industrial branches, after the textile industry, the most vigorous growth. Its production in 1937 more than quadrupled in comparison with 1929. To this industrial branch in the past year pertained 8.6% of the industrial workers; 5.3% of the gross value; and 6.9% of the net value of Lithuania's industrial output, whereas its share in the aggregate engine horse-power amounted only to 0.7%. The clothing and footwear industry has therefore the weakest degree of mechanization of all industrial branches of Lithuania.

Its structural development since 1927 is shown in the following table:

[464]

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	139	1 607	157	1 994	482	157	2 707	832
Including:								
Output of Woven Goods	20	328	31	669	143	42	1 158	348
Footwear Industry	53	737	43	629	185	48	782	277
Underwear and other Branches	66	542	83	696	114	67	767	207

On the basis of these data one may conclude that while the footwear industry ten years ago represented the leading branch, to-day the woven goods supply (hosiery and knitted wares) heads the list. The number of undertakings of this special branch has doubled since 1927, and the number of its staff almost quadrupled. The total number of workers employed in the production of underwear and in the tailoring and hat industry has since 1927 risen by 43%; and that of the staffs of the footwear industry during the same period only 6%. It would, however, be a mistake to draw therefrom conclusions concerning the development of the scope of production of the two groups. Footwear output, thanks to the construction of its own factories, has grown more vigorously than that of underwear.

Quantity data for the period under review are available only for leather footwear output; they give the following series (in 1000 pairs): 295 433

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
260.4	220.6	270.4	337.2	361.5	532.2

These figures show that footwear production has doubled in round figures since 1931. If, however, we take into consideration the improvement of quality and the introduction of new classes, we may estimate the growth of production at approximately two and a half times, which also the development of the value amounts cited below attests.

Since there are no quantity data available for woven goods production and underwear supply (with the exception of 1937), we must content ourselves with value amounts for the sake of comparison of the development of separate branches of the clothing and footwear industry. Expressed in the prices of 1929, on the basis of the price indices of the Lietuvos Bankas Bulletin for woven goods and of the Central Statistical Bureau for boots and shoes, the following figures (in 1000 litas) afford the relevant production data:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Woven goods	7 217	7 952	11 633	13 374	17 388	20 956
Footwear	6 204	5 080	7 054	9 108	11 660	15 079
Underwear, etc.	2 742	2 529	3 507	3 764	4 271	5 404

These data show:

(a) That the woven goods output also was not checked in its advance during the crisis years and reveals the most vigorous growth, i. e. in 1937 by 190.4% in comparison with 1931;

(b) That the footwear production and the underwear output in 1932 suffered a setback, and that the production growth of the former during the period under review amounted to 143.0% and of the latter to 97.1%.

The average production index of the clothing and footwear industry (appraised according to gross values) adapted to the basis year 1931, gives the following figures:

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	96.3	137.3	162.4	206.2	256.4

295 439 [651]

The development of the woven goods and footwear industry was successfully promoted by the tariff policy, i. e. especially by the Laws of October 1931 and August 1934. The woven goods production to-day entirely covers the demand of the home market, and on that account also the imports of foreign goods, which in 1928 still represented 173.3 tons, by 1937 had sunk to only 7.3 tons. The imports of leather footwear, thanks to the consolidation of native production, have also declined, although not by a long way to the same extent. in 1928, they amounted to 36.1 tons; in 1937, on the other hand, to 19.4 tons.

4. The Metal and Machinery Industry.

392 433 [464]

The number of workers employed in the metal and machinery industry in 1937 amounted to 2 792 or 8.8% of all the industrial workers of Lithuania. Its share in relation to the total of the engine horse-power amounted to 3.7%; its share in relation to the gross production value to 5.2%; and in relation to the net production value to 6.4%. This industrial branch was in the pre-war Lithuania more highly developed than to-day. In 1913, in the present political territory of Lithuania approximately 4 000 workers were employed in the metal industry. The diminution of the scope of production is due to the curtailment of the outlet for export goods. Nevertheless, during the last two years one can again discern a rapid development tempo

The comparative figures on the changes in structure since 1927 are shown as follows:

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	94	1 895	95	1 863	3 134	103	2 792	4 677
Including.								
Metal Industry	11	547	20	665		32	1 190	
Machinery Industry and Means of Transport Production	16	528	19	722	2 781	14	1 059	4 271
Mechanical Workshops and Sheet Metal Supply	62	772	51	422		46	414	
Electro-Technical Concerns	5	48	5	34	353	10	109	406

286 leaves, oak and alder bark, and the method was
386 guarded as a family secret. Their production was very laborious. The plants were broken up and cooked with the thread; the ashes of the plants were used as a stain. Always only the thread was dyed, never the finished fabric. Thus one obtained serene colors of unlimited durability. Aprons a hundred years old exhibit a quiet brilliance which is still enchanting today. Although the natural colors have gradually been supplanted by modern aniline colors, knowledge of the old coloring technique is still preserved in many peasant families.

286 The use of colors change. Brown, blue, and
●301 red were probably the oldest colors. To them was
531 added green. The pattern originated on a white background. We can best recognize the Lithuanian interpretation of color in the juostos, those colorful decorative ribbons which /137/ serve as ribbons for belts and aprons, as fastenings of fur coats, and as decorations for the girls. They are distributed across the whole country, but show provincial differences both in the colors and in the patterns and techniques. Their coloration is analyzed in a fine manner by Karl Brammer: (44)

[113]

44. Karl Brammer, "Litauische Webereien," Litauenbuch, loc. cit., p. 52.

"The nature of complementary colors is grasped here with astonishing sureness; an error never occurs. Red and greenish blue, orange and cyanic blue, greenish yellow and violet are placed next to each other in striking fashion. Furthermore the skillful use of white with opposite colors has a very fine effect. From the use of red and yellow on a black background (*) it can be clearly be seen

* The latter occurs only very rarely. V.J.

that the relationship between dark and brilliant

301 286 531 colors is also very well known. Joy in an abundance of colors indeed exists among the Lithuanians, but not loud joy in loud, bright colors as among the Poles; rather, the nature of color is here much more deeply and clearly comprehended." In addition it may be noted that coloration in the Lithuanian weaving has undergone a development in the course of time--above all in the technique, which on the one hand considerably increased the number of available colors and on the other enhanced their brilliance. We can recognize this when we compare, for example, the thoroughly simple coloration of the oldest ribbons and aprons known to us with that of a later period. This means, however, no lessening of the value of the later colorful weaving patterns; and above all Brammer is right when he lays the principal weight on the sensitivity of the color composition. But just this sensitivity could only later unfold itself to full expression.

An actually inspired hymn to the colorful juostos is sung by another German artist, who was also brought to Lithuania by the World War: Hans Heinrich Schaeder. He writes: "The color is here still freer, since it is liberated from consideration of the body, the three-dimensional space, /138/ and lives only for the surface. The surface is infinitely delicate like the soft material of the ribbons; the color slings to it. One does not grasp the fact that here colorful threads are woven together; did not these patterns grow like flowers under a rising and setting sun? All the secreta and longings of the Lithuanian soul are hidden in these ribbons. These wonderful, serene colors, were they not subdued by the tears of the woman who did the weaving? This melody of lines and colored surfaces, is it not intimately related to the infinite sweetness of the Lithuanian songs?"(45)

45. Heinrich Schaeder, op. cit., p. 64.

In earlier times the juostos were never put

531
286 on the market. Women and girls gave them to those
801 whom they loved. On an old juosta the beginning
[431] of a little yearning love song is woven in. A woven dedication mentioned by Kurschat (1911) reads:

> I wove as I was able to, I gave it to
> whom I wanted.
> But I always believed that my beloved
> should receive it.

Thus these ribbons often speak of a rare tenderness of feeling, and their colorful patterns seem illuminated by longing and love, by fate and sorrow. In many ribbons there were also, as Otto Glagau (1869) informs us, mottoes in English and French whose meaning the peasant girls naturally didn't know, but which remained preserved in certain families and were always imitated anew. Here, to be sure, we have forms of a later development, just as the occasional use of metal threads goes back to the influence of the Lyon silk industry in the eighteenth century. Otherwise one used in an earlier period only threads of flax, wool, and hemp; the use of silk, on the other hand, has arisen only in most recent times. Frequently these silk juostos are sold today as binders or crocheted together as table runners, but in the villages these uses are unknown.

The production of the juostos proceeds in three different ways. We know pintinės, austinės, and kaišytinės--/139/ i.e. a braiding, a weaving, and a darning technique. The oldest of them is the braiding technique, which is still practised in the north of the province of Aukschtaiten in the districts of Zarasai, Panevėžys, and Ukmergė, though it has become quite rare. (46) The threads

46. A. Rukštelė, loc. cit., pp. 22-23 and 46.

are laid over a board and then braided, beginning

1[juostos, i.e. colorful ribbons -- Analyst]

286 from the middle. Thus result two parts in which
531 the same pattern begins at the middle and runs
301 toward the outer edges. The ribbons thus produced, which can be well stretched, are especially wide. They usually contain a simple pattern of different stripes which cross each other. Their production no more demands equipment than that of the woven ribbons (juostos austinės), which today are the most familiar types and are distributed over all of Lithuania. The weaver ties the colorful wool threads from which the juosta will be made to a hook on the wall with one end, with the other to her belt, after she has wound the threads around a little stick and laid them parallel in such a way that half of the threads are on top and half on the bottom. Thus the warp is formed. With a shuttle in her hand the weaver pulls the cross threads--the so-called woof--through the lengthwise threads according to the pattern, and pushes each cross thread against the other with a kind of wooden folder [Falzbein]. The most difficult part is the stretching out of the pattern.(46)

46. A. Rukštelė, op. cit., pp. 22-23 and 46.

In contrast to these woven ribbons, the third, the darning technique (juostos kaišytinės), has today become about as rare as the braiding technique. Its home is the Suvalkijan area. In the darning technique the colored threads that produce the pattern are pulled through by hand. During the weaving itself, the colorful pattern is embroidered in and pulled fast with the next turn. This technique, for which the weaver needs a little hand loom, "represents considerable progress in the Lithuanian ribbon technique, brought about by the increased use of stylized flowers as weaving patterns, /140/ whose imitation would encounter insurmountable difficulties in the juostos austinės (woven ribbons)." (47)

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Mariampolé and of Kalvarija. At Klaipéda their decoration consists 531
of several finely embroidered horizontal strips. They are not only or- 286
naments, but also symbols of virtue. In some villages it is considered im- [183]
proper to be seen without an apron. Once, at a market, a woman was asked to sell her apron and she considered herself outraged.

The other parts of the dress of a peasant woman are: a linen shirt with 291
wide plaited sleeves, trimmed with small embroidered designs, a very ample woollen skirt, sometimes dark and plain and sometimes striped or of a Scottish pattern, gathered at the waist and a sleeveless vest, the "*kiklikas*", a kind of corslet often made of valuable brocade, which made its first appearance in the early 19th century. According to Mr. Galauné, the first specimens were perhaps imported by the soldiers of Napoleon's "Grande Armée", on their retreat from Russia. In the neighbourhood of Klaipéda, the *kiklikai* are of dark velvet. Necklets of coral and especially of amber are worn on the neck. Their beads, either raw or cut in facets with a knife, have not only the value of gems, but are endowed with magic qualities, they belong to times gone by and to legend. These fossil drops of resin, which have been described by Tacitus and were sold by Ligurian traders who imported them into the countries of the Mediterranean and Black Sea area, where they were deemed to be more precious than gold and who therefore jealously kept the secret of their origin, often contained imprisoned insects and other mementoes of olden times. 301

Young girls wear on their heads a band of tissue held at the back by a 291
flow of colored ribbons, married women wear instead "*nuometas*", a sort of white veil several meters long, which is of Eastern origin, but was also adopted in the West, and Tertullian recommended its use. At first this fashion found but few followers and was later abandoned, but it became the rule for married women from 1300 until 1500. During that time a large number of themes of sculptural models were imported into Lithuania, the survivals of which have been described above. It is possible that this fashion followed the same route. And do not certain weavers, with their dour yet finely cut profiles encircled in white, resemble some statues of the Middle Ages? The veil with its folds and its ritual knots is sacred, it bestows upon such as have taken it a certain measure of authority and of office. With their head-dress resembling that of the Saints of the Church, these peasant women would seem to belong to a religious order.

increased. Against this, the number of concerns and of workers 278
in the colours and technical fats industry since 1927 has 303
doubled and in the production of pharmaceutical and cosmetic 464
goods trebled. The establishment of a rubber goods factory 383
in 1933 had, however, decisive importance, and to this nearly 464
half of the workers employed in the chemical industry pertained. The second rubber goods factory, established at the end of 1937, was not yet working in the period under review.

The following quantity figures show the development of 381
production of separate branches of the chemical industry for 433
the period 1931—1937:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Matches (in million boxes)	45.8	43.3	39.4	41.1	8.7	14.3
Washing soap and powder (in tons)	3 441	2 226	2 072	2 303	2 595	2 794
Toilet soap (in tons)	.	154	200	200	234	230
Rubber boots (in 1000 pairs)	—	—	772	313	786	986
Superphosphates (in tons)	43 400	37 000	47 100	31 605	18 713	42 972

As has already been explained above, the cutting down of match production has been caused by the decline in consumption during the crisis years. The statistics of sale of matches prove this in a clearer manner. There have been sold (in million boxes):

1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
45.9	42.4	39.4	33.8	26.9	26.9	27.1

The output of washing-soap, which shrank appreciably 493
during the crisis years, has not yet regained the pre-crisis [388]
position in spite of recovery during the last three years. The
production of toilet-soap shows a better course. The produc- [387]
tion of artificial fertilizers proceeds irregularly, and its pro-
gress does not coincide with the contingent economic deve-
lopment. A sharply upward tendency is seen in the production [383]
of the youthful rubber industry. The recession in 1935 was
evoked by technical difficulties of the inception period.

In order to be able to form a general idea of the production 381
development of the chemical industry, we must utilize the value 433

18a

423 656 tary constructions. A family owning one horse must transport 30 cords of timber to fixed stations. The owner of two horses must double the quota, in winter.

[311] In 1947, about 40% of arable land of Lithuania was unplanted, and the diet of the rural population suffered a catastrophic decline. Few tractors are available. Threshing machines were nationalized. Bribes are required to gain any assistance from the Russian managers of the MTS stations—and people prefer not to deal with the drunken and greedy representatives of the "master race." Forests are systematically destroyed and forest fires are not combatted. The MVD-MGB troops quite frequently set fire to the forests in order to "smoke out" guerrillas.

There was even less incentive to work for Russia in 1948. At least one half of the arable land went untilled. . . .

Industry

433 377 Peat production dropped to one-third of the level of the German occupation period. Very little coal is brought to the country. For these reasons, there is a severe shortage of electric power. City dwellers must provide their own heating—for apartments, institutions and schools.

The official press occasionally reports that certain officials "abuse their office" by driving to some village, demolishing "deserted homes" and forcing the neighboring farmers to transport the lumber to the city as fuel. . . . Due to the prevalent bureaucracy and chaos, government buildings and student dormitories go unheated for weeks. Therefore, dormitory inhabitants or the office force of this or that institution mobilize and follow the example of the dignitaries: they descend on and transport deserted homes (in parts) in a "socialistic competition" to keep themselves warm. . . .

433 [339] Brick production dropped for lack of skilled manpower. The brick works of Rokai and Palembnas produce for the army exclusively. No bricks and no tiles are available for sale to private citizens. Therefore, bricks and tiles figure in a lively black market exchange for horses.

Not a single cement plant is in operation—except on paper, in the boastful reports of "achievements" of the Russian dignitaries. The cement plants of Akmenė and Skirsnemunė are still in the stage of paper planning, though included in the five-year plan to be consummatted by 1950.

[288] The textile plants of Klaipėda are idle. The Drobė plant of Kaunas is under reconstruction. The Litex and Audiniai plants began operating. The Linas plant produces for export to Russia exclusively.

The hide tanning plants of Šiauliai and the glass factories of Radviliškis and Aleksotas are operating. Dairies were mostly reactivated. The huge Maistas stockyards and canneries were burned down in Kaunas, and feeble efforts at reconstruction are forging ahead. The Maistas plant in Panevėžys is operating but production is small. The plant at Tauragė still lies in ruins.

The beet sugar refineries of Marijampolė and Panevėžys resumed operations. The paper and cardboard plant produces inferior quality products. The railway yards and repair shops of Kaunas are being expanded. The factories, as a rule, produce for war and export to Russia. The present production level amounts to less than 50% of the 1939 level.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

THE LAND AND ITS RESOURCES

Lithuania is situated on the southeastern shore of the Baltic Sea between 53°35′ and 56°27′ north latitude and between 20°57.5′ and east longitude. The two other Baltic states, Latvia and Estonia, are farther north. 131

The surface of Lithuania is for the most part level, with none of her hills measuring more than 767 feet (234 meters) above sea level. In size, the nation has less than six percent of the territory of Europe, its area being 21,489 square miles. This figure, however, does not include all the territory of ethnographic Lithuania, which is about 33,937 square miles, divided as follows: [133]

	SQ. MI.	SQ. KM.
Lithuania Major	20,389	52,820
Klaipeda (Memel) Territory	1,100	2,850
Lithuania up to March 22, 1939	21,489	55,670
Vilnius Region according to the Peace Treaty of July 12, 1920, with Russia	12,448	32,250
TOTAL	33,937	87,920

According to the Mutual Assistance Treaty between Lithuania and Soviet Russia, concluded October 10, 1939, part of the Vilnius region, about 2,569 square miles (6,656 square kilometers), was returned to Lithuania. However, all figures of economic activity used in this monograph refer to the territory of 21,489 square miles (55,670 square kilometers) that was under the sovereignty of Lithuania from January, 1923, to March 22, 1939. 648 131

Lithuania uses a larger percentage of its land for intensive agricultural purposes than its neighboring Baltic states. This may be seen from the comparative figures given in Table 4. 311

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB2

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TABLE 4

LAND USE IN THE BALTIC STATES

TYPE OF LAND	LITHUANIA		LATVIA		ESTONIA	
	Thousands of Acres	*Per-cent*	*Thousands of Acres*	*Per-cent*	*Thousands of Acres*	*Per-cent*
Arable land	6,667	48.5	5,243	32.2	2,671	23.9
Meadows and pasture land	2,817	20.5	4,094	25.2	4,305	38.5
Forests	2,599	18.9	4,317	26.6	2,315	20.7
All others	1,673	12.1	2,602	16.0	1,885	16.9
TOTAL	13,756 [a]	100.0	16,256 [b]	100.0	11,176 [c]	100.0

[a] 5,567,000 hectares.
[b] 6,579,000 hectares.
[c] 4,523,000 hectares.

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To enable the reader to gain a better understanding and judgment of statistics about the Baltic states given elsewhere in this work, some comparative figures are given in Table 5 regarding the territory and population of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

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Lithuania is lacking in natural resources that are necessary to a well-rounded economic life. One of the country's most serious deficiencies is the absence of its own fuel supply. There is no coal in Lithuania. In 1923 Lithuania imported 5,367,100 litas worth of coal and liquid fuel. By 1928 this figure had almost tripled, imports that year amounting to 14,905,700 litas. The only form of domestic fuel is peat, of which there are 162,221 acres (65,650 hectares). The possibilities of peat have not yet been fully explored, but if peat were made to supplant coal, it is estimated that Lithuania would possess fuel reserves for 132 years.[20]

[20] A. K. Kubilius, *Lietuvos Ukio Perspektyvos* (The Prospects of the National Economy of Lithuania), Kaunas, 1930, p. 190.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

132 In general, the climate of Lithuania is not so favorable for the cultivating of grain crops as it is for the breeding of livestock. An effort has been made in recent years, under the guidance and encouragement of the country's leading economists, to concentrate on livestock breeding and to reduce grain crop culture. The winters in Lithuania are long, although not cold enough to affect winter crops, which are grown in substantial quantities. Heavy rainfall in the au-
[311] tumn aids in the germination of the winter crops. In 1935, 1,258,085 acres (509,140 hectares), or 18.98 percent of all arable land, were used for the growing of winter rye, while 8,723 acres (3,530 hectares) about 0.12 percent of the arable land, were used for spring rye. Because of the long winters and the concentration on grain culture, a great amount of man power is kept comparatively inactive for several months of the year.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Though wheat is mankind's most 243
popular cereal food, rye is the first choice in Lithuania. Only 311
about 8 percent of all the arable land is utilized for wheat, while 19 percent of the land is devoted to the growing of rye. Another of the world's largest crops—corn (maize)—is not grown in Lithuania. The same is true of rice. The more popular grain crops, besides rye, are oats, barley, and wheat. Most favored of root crops in Lithuania are the potato and 244
various species of root vegetables. The sugar beet, entirely unknown before the World War, is now quite popular and is grown in sufficient quantities to supply three sugar refineries. Of the fibers, flax is the only one that is widely grown. 248
Hemp is also produced, but in small quantities and only for the consumption of farmers themselves, who use the fiber for ropes and the seeds for several kinds of food.

Another important branch of the agriculture of Lithuania 232
is livestock breeding, which has been vastly improved and extended since the World War.

Economic reconstruction after the World War was not as 433
general among agricultural countries as it might at first ap- 241
pear. Timoshenko points out several unfavorable factors.[5] 651
First of all, the prices of agricultural commodities began to decline early in the period of prosperity. This affected the purchasing power of agricultural and raw-material producing countries. Another adverse factor was the reëstablishment of a system of agricultural protection in the industrial countries of Europe. Cereal production was given less tariff protection during the earlier post-war period than before the war. In some countries of central Europe, including Germany, tariff protection of grain products was completely discontinued during the first post-war years.

[5] Vladimir P. Timoshenko, *World Agriculture and Depression*, Michigan Business Studies, Vol. V, No. 5, University of Michigan, 1933, pp. 541–663.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

small part of this available for export. Almost half of all the arable land of Lithuania is used for grain culture, a fact that is evident from Table 12. Although the amount of arable land used for grain culture increases slowly, the exports of grain have varied widely. The heavy grain exports in 1935

[311] 439 245

TABLE 11

EXPORTS OF GRAIN 1924–39[a]

YEAR	GRAIN EXPORTED[b] (*Metric tons*)	VALUE (*1,000 litas*)
1924	24,966	10,022
1926	16,541	9,894
1928	12,310	6,377
1930	40,664	11,526
1932	7,035	2,268
1934	25,504	4,682
1935	162,023	20,465
1936	130,562	14,578
1937	5,795	1,628[c]
1938	132,379	21,696
1939	85,365	11,700

[a] In the statistics of grain exports are included not only rye, wheat, oats, and barley but also the seeds of vetch, peas, buckwheat, chick-peas, and lentils.

[b] The metric ton or 10 quintals = 36.743 U.S. bushels of wheat or potatoes, 39.369 U.S. bushels of rye or linseed, 45.931 U.S. bushels of barley, 68.894 U.S. bushels of oats, according to the League of Nations' *Statistical Year Book of 1940*.

[c] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 104, for the period 1924–37.

and 1936, which according to Professor Kriksciunas[27] may be regarded as accidental, were made possible by an exceptionally large yield in 1934 and 1935. The bulk of production is intended for home consumption.

The most popular grain crops in Lithuania are winter

[27] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

243 The most popular grain crops in Lithuania are winter
311 rye, winter wheat, oats, and barley; the respective importance of each is indicated by the proportion of the land used for various crops, as shown in Table 12.

TABLE 12

LAND USED FOR VARIOUS CROPS

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CROPS	1909–13 [a] (1,000 acres)	1938 [b] (1,000 acres)	PERCENTAGE OF ALL ARABLE LAND
Rye (winter and spring)	1,365.0	1,304.8	19.2
Wheat (winter and spring)	202.0	500.5	7.4
Oats	783.8	877.4	13.0
Barley	452.7	536.3	8.1
Buckwheat	16.1	19.6	.3
TOTAL GRAIN	2,819.6 [c]	3,238.6 [d]	48.0
Legumes	140.8	192.7	2.8
Potatoes	294.3	459.7	6.8
Sugar beets, fodder beets, carrots, and turnips	([e])	160.0	2.4
Clover and other grass fodder	([e])	1,378.2	20.3
Flax	([e])	192.5	2.8
Vegetables	136.4	63.1	.9

[a] J. Krikscimas, *Die litauische Landwirtschaft* (Lithuanian Agriculture), Kaunas, 1933, p. 133.
[b] C.S.B., 1938, pp. 114–17.
[c] 1,141,100 hectares.
[d] 1,310,640 hectares.
[e] Figures not available.

243 In general, there is a tendency to reduce rye cultivation. For instance, the total of 1,365,000 acres used for rye in the years 1909–13 is 7.2 percent greater than was used in the same territory in the post-World War period.

In Lithuania rye is used principally for a special dark

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB1

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YEAR	LITHUANIA	LATVIA	ESTONIA
SUGAR BEETS			
1928–29	—	20	—
1929–30	—	35	—
1930–31	—	69	—
1931–32	67	94	—
1932–33	164	245	—
1933–34	73	291	—
1934–35	137	539	—
1935–36	198	451	—
1936–37	245	382	—
1937–38	257	442	—
1938–39 [b]	208	296	—

[a] Conversion coefficients: see footnote b of Table 11.
[b] *Revue internationale d'agriculture*, 1940, No. 2.

FLAX

L 248 439

Lithuania is one of the chief flax-producing countries in Europe, for the climate and the soil are very favorable for the cultivation of this crop. It is to be noted that in spite of its small area Lithuania ranks as the third flax exporter of the world, being surpassed only by Soviet Russia and Poland. About 200,000 acres, or a little more than three percent of all the arable land in Lithuania, is used for flax growing. Although this is a comparatively small percentage, the income derived therefrom is high. The income from flax and linseed exports in 1920–36 was greater than that from butter, pigs and pork, eggs, or grain.[31]

L [311]

L 248

Because there are no uniform standards for the preparation of the flax, the export products vary in quality. For example, in southern Lithuania flax is plucked out only after full maturity. Later it is submitted to a process of dew retting

[31] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 103. See Table 19 for figures.

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

175 this circumstance and remained inferior to that of the more
181 progressive countries of Western Europe. Most of her peasant farmers, who were not released from serfdom until 1862-1865, were still living under the same conditions as in the Middle Ages. They owned narrow strips of land, practised the old three-year crop rotation, had common grazing land in a very neglected condition, bred only native stock and relied almost exclusively on cereal crops. Farming methods were thus very primitive and the farmer's income very small, while the houses were almost entirely of wood with thatched or wooden roofs.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, intellectuals, who were still few in number, began to take an interest in rural life : they cut up part of the communal land to form separate farms, organised more paying forms of activity, carried on active propaganda for the improvement of rural dwellings and encouraged the introduction of more rational methods of work. Their efforts met invariably with systematic opposition from the Russian Government.

During the world war, Lithuania was for many months the scene of hostilities. From 1915 to the end of 1918, the Germans occupied the country, which was the victim of requisitions of all kinds and lost much of its wealth.

The Proclamation of Lithuanian independence was followed by a strong movement of national renaissance and rural reconstruction. The Government's task was a difficult one. Tremendous efforts were made to build up a country which was just emerging from war; farming methods were improved and land reform was instituted. Communal land was redistributed, undeveloped estates were broken up, new branches of agriculture were developed — dairying, pig-breeding, poultry-farming; numerous schools of agriculture were founded, such roads as existed were rebuilt, and new means of communication were opened. In a word, the farmer's life was to be reorganised on modern lines. True, not all these ideals have proved capable of fulfilment in so short a time; but great strides have been made, and present day agriculture in Lithuania differs profoundly from the pre-war conditions obtaining in that country.

* * *

423 Lithuania now consists in the main of small and medium-
311 sized rural properties. A farm of 5 or 6 hectares provides an adequate livelihood for an average working farmer's family. An estate of 80 or 100 hectares is also regarded as a working peasant's farm, as it is generally run by the owner in person. Farms ranging from 5 to 100 hectares account for over 90% of the agricultural land. Miniature farms up to 2 hectares represent only 0.44% of the area under cultivation, which is all

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1399 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

423 to the good, as such farms generally contribute nothing towards
311 agricultural production and are far from being a social asset. There are no latifundia in Lithuania. The largest estate comprises about 1,000 hectares, and the larger properties exceeding 100 hectares number only 1602, or 0.56% of the total farms.

162 The proportion of men and women in the rural population is about equal. The country people do not go to the towns in search of work, as urban and country dwellers carry on different trades and their lives are quite separate.

An old barn.

134 The soil is of average fertility. In the east and south-east, there is a small area which is sandy and not very fertile, while, in the north again, a small area consists of very fertile land. The vast plains of Lithuania are covered with clay — more or less light — deposited during the Ice Age and subjected to centuries of erosion and impoverishment.

[132] The rainfall is fairly heavy, so that much of this low-lying
242 land necessitates drainage works. The State makes itself
[654] responsible for the large-scale regularisation of rivers and watercourses and the cutting of drainage channels. The farmers are responsible, with the help of Government subsidies, for ditching and drain-laying on water-logged land. By no means all of the land is satisfactorily drained. The yield cannot

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

As regards *agricultural research*, the Institute of Agricultural Research (founded in 1927) is in charge of experimental work in the field of agriculture throughout the country, with the exception of the work conducted by the Agricultural Academy at Dotnuva. It has at present under its control seven experimental stations dealing with various matters relating to the cultivation of crops, an experimental fruit-growing station (in process of organisation), a crop improvement station (at Dotnuva), a crop protection station (at Dotnuva) and a station for research on the breeding of pigs for bacon. Proposals are under consideration for the foundation of an agricultural machinery testing station and of stations for research into cattle- and sheep-breeding respectively. 242

In consequence of these measures, and particularly the activities of the agricultural intelligence service, agriculturists have begun to introduce a more rational system of crop rotation, to prepare the soil more carefully and fertilise it more rationally (the progress of stock-breeding increases the quantities of manure available), to use better quality seed, to improve meadow- and pasture-land, to make more extensive use of agricultural machinery (through the foundation of co-operative societies for the joint use of machinery), etc. The results have been a decrease in the area of land left fallow and a corresponding increase in the area sown from an average of 2,079,000 hectares for the years 1928 to 1930 to 2,312,000 hectares for the period 1935 to 1937, the increase chiefly affecting the land under the more intensively cultivated crops (wheat, sugar-beet, mangel-wurzels). There has also been an increase in the yield per hectare of all the principal crops (wheat, rye, barley, oats, peas and potatoes), the yield from 1933 to 1937 being almost half as great again as during the years 1901 to 1910. It is worthy of note that, whilst the cultivation of sugar-beet was entirely unknown in the country before the war, the refineries now pay out almost 6½ million litai to the growers each year. The productivity of meadow- and pasture-land has increased to an even greater extent than that of arable land. 311 241 433

This latter circumstance has permitted the development of stock-breeding and the number of farm animals has risen considerably (in the case of cattle, for example, from 766,000 in 1913 to 1,172,000 in 1937). As a result of the organisation of milk control societies, breeding centres, the keeping of stud books, etc., the productivity of stock has also increased very considerably. 233 433

Progress has been particularly noteworthy in the case of cattle (which, in Lithuania, are mainly bred for the production of milk). In 1923, with a view to the transformation of surplus milk into exportable produce, chiefly butter, dairymen's co-operative societies were founded with the financial support 234 474 433

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 ! ithuanians RB5

III. SOIL IMPROVEMENT AND AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS

647 The Ministry of Agriculture controls the organisation for the encouragement of technical progress in agriculture, the aim 242 of which is to improve the conditions of existence of the 433 agricultural classes. The Ministry is responsible for carrying out agrarian reform and agricultural improvements, schools of agriculture, the organisation and improvement of veterinary work and supervision of the export of agricultural produce, etc.

In addition to the Ministry, the Chamber of Agriculture (founded in 1927) is also active in agricultural development. It is in charge of all the forms of agricultural training not under the authority of the Ministry, including the agricultural intelligence service; it supervises and co-ordinates the activities of the stock-breeders' associations, the flax-growers' association, the sugar-beet-growers' association and other similar organisations; it also subsidises various agricultural organisations and individual agriculturists with a view to the promotion or improvement of some particular branch of agriculture, and organises agricultural shows, etc.

474 Working in conjunction with the Ministry of Agriculture are various central organisations concerned with the processing 242 of agricultural produce, and its marketing abroad and at home, 433 and with supplying to agriculturists all such goods as they may require. These organisations are: "Lietuvos Žemės Ūkio Kooperatyvų Sąjunga" ("Lithuanian Union of Agricultural Co-operative Societies"), abbreviated to "Lietūkis", "Centralinė Lietuvos Pieno Perdirbimo Bendrovių Sąjunga" ("Lithuanian Central Union of Dairymen's Co-operative Societies"), abbreviated to "Pienocentras", and the "Maistas" and "Lietuvos Cukrus" joint-stock companies.

The chief measures taken with a view to the improvement of agricultural production are the consolidation of holdings (see above), land drainage, the development of agricultural training (see under V) and agricultural research.

312 Systematic work on the drainage of agricultural land could not be begun until 1921. The Ministry of Agriculture is proceeding with the regularisation of the beds of streams and the cutting of dykes which enable agriculturists to drain water-logged land completely by means of open ditches or drainage pipes. The total area of the land drained by means of dykes from 1921 to 1937 (inclusive) is approximately 416,000 hectares, or more than 10% of all the land used for agricultural purposes.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

and cigarette factories with 569 workers, continued to operate at about the same level throughout these past years. 438 433

LUMBER INDUSTRY

Some understanding of the lumber industry may be obtained from Table 38.[10] It will be observed that sawmilling 313 433

TABLE 38

LUMBER INDUSTRY

BRANCH OF INDUSTRY	1927		1930		1935		1938		1939 [a]	
	Establishments	*Workers*	*Establishments*	*Workers*	*Establishments*	*Workers*	*Establishments*	*Workers*	*Establishments*	*Workers*
Sawmilling	131	2,731	114	1,718	124	2,853	175	2,970	170	1,901
Plywood production	—	—	3	443	3	602	3	767	1	27
Cabinet-making	6	90	10	229	8	251	88	963	61	839

[a] After seizure of Klaipeda by Germany.

is the leading branch of the lumber industry, although it does not show great expansion. The same may be said of the plywood industry. The latter felt the greatest setback with the loss of Klaipeda. The lumber industry, producing mainly [439] for export, was hit by the world depression more severely than any other industry.

Before the agricultural products industry was developed 313 for export, lumber was one of the most important items exported from Lithuania. It is to be noted that with the ex- 439

[10] C.S.B., 1938 and 1939, pp. 170–71 and 160–61 respectively.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

313 439 pansion of the lumber industry the exported products changed. In 1920 69.1 percent of lumber was exported as raw material as against 30.9 percent semifinished items, while in 1921 this percentage changed to 49.9 percent raw as against 50.1 percent semifinished.

In 1939 this industry experienced a severe blow with the seizure of Klaipeda by Germany, the industry having been concentrated in Klaipeda. With the return of the Vilnius region to Lithuania at the end of 1939, the lumber industry was compensated somewhat, but to what extent it was impossible to establish, since seven months later came the Soviet Russian occupation.

PAPER AND PRINTING INDUSTRY

289 433 The paper and printing industry of Lithuania in 1938 employed 2,615 wage earners and accounted for 8.4 percent of the gross value of Lithuania's industrial production and 10.8 percent of the net value. Therefore, from the standpoint both of the number of wage earners employed and of the value of production, it was in the fourth place. Like the lumber industry, it suffered in 1939 when Germany seized Klaipeda where several of the larger printing establishments were located. Before the German occupation of Klaipeda, Lithuania had 88 establishments with 2,679 workers, while thereafter she had 81 establishments with 1,613 workers.[11]

From the statistics available it may be seen that in 1913 this branch of industry was only in its infancy. In that year there were only 20 establishments with 284 wage earners in the province (gouvernement) of Kaunas, while in 1927, in the same region, there were 52 establishments with 2,115 wage earners. The industry reached its high point in 1930,

[11] C.S.B., 1938 and 1939, pp. 170–71 and 160–61 respectively.

465 wages, a rise in real wages of approximately 12% since 1931. In various individual branches, moreover, the wages standards of qualified workers were raised not only in 1937 but also in 1935 and 1936, which the above quoted average figures do not indicate, owing to the preponderance of unqualified workers, as a result of the frequent engagement of new employees.

*
* *

464 433 The internal structure of Lithuanian industry in respect of the number of undertakings and the total number of employed workers in separate industrial branches are shown by the following Table No. 1.

288 433 464 On the basis of these statistics we may conclude that the largest number of workers, viz., 20.6% of all industrial workers in Lithuania to-day are employed in the textile industry. On an average, a staff of 88 workers pertains to one textile factory.

The first place in respect of the number of employed workers has, however, been reached by the textile industry in recent years, i. e. since 1935. Among all industrial branches in Lithuania it also shows the most intensive development. In spite of the crisis, the number of employed in the textile concerns since 1928 has steadily grown and in comparison with 1928 its position in 1937 had more than quadrupled (+317.5%).

This high level of the employed reflects, however, only the maximum utilization of labour capacity. Thus in 1937 the textile industry was the only branch that employed three shifts, since according to the number of undertakings, viz., 74, it stands far behind other branches.

●313 433 464 In the second place stands the timber industry with 16.9% of the total number of workers and 17.6% of the number of undertakings. The size of the staffs rose by 51.1% during the period from 1928 to 1937, the most noteworthy increase having taken place in 1937.

262 433 464 In the third place follows the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry with 16.4% of the total number of workers. According to the number of undertakings (353 concerns or 28.3%), it is, however, entitled to the first place. The total number of the staffs in 1937 in comparison with 1928 shows an increase of 35.4%, which took place during the last three years. During

From this comparison it can be seen that the machine- 248
manufactured flax to-day constitutes only a small part of the 433
total exported quantity, i. e. that flax manufactured by the farmers forms the greatest portion. Nevertheless the industrial production shows a relatively more stable course (with the exception of 1934) than the rural supply.

The production of the textile industry proper has since 1931 288
on an average quadrupled. A much more powerful development 433
therein is shown by silk-weaving, which in 1937 produced in round figures twenty times as many silk fabrics as in 1931, owing to the fact that it forms the youngest branch of our textile industry and was founded exactly in 1931.

The growth of the textile industry was undoubtedly pro- 439
moted by the tariff policy (increase of the Customs duty on 651
cotton fabrics in October, 1931, and again in April, 1932, on woollen and cotton fabrics) as also by the licence system (the import of woollen fabrics has been subject to licence since the introduction of the licence system, i. e. since December, 1932; that of cotton and silk yarns since August, 1934). This found expression in the sharp decline in 1932 of the imports of ready-made fabrics by half in round figures of the earlier imported quantity. The textile industry undoubtedly represents, concurrently with the production of knitted goods, the Lithuanian industrial branch best protected by tariff policy, which also explains its rapid growth and the concentration of large-scale undertakings in this branch. Notwithstanding this indisputable fact, it must none the less be recognized that, on the one hand, tariff protection is not equally apportioned (thus, for example, the duties on silk fabrics actually on an average amount to approximately 200% **ad valorem**; on cotton fabrics over 60%; and on linen fabrics only 25%), and that, on the other hand, the high duties on yarns (especially on artificial silk yarn) partially equalize the advantage of the high duties on ready-made fabrics.

3. The Timber Industry

To the timber industry, which may be designated the third 313 ●
most important industrial branch of Lithuania, accrued in 1937 433
16.9% of all the workers employed in the medium and wholesale manufacturing industry; 10.5% of the engine horse-power;

313 9.1% of the gross value, and 9.0% of the net value of the aggregate industrial production.
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The development of the timber industry since 1927 is shown by the following table:

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	185	3 446	193	4 308	10 676	219	5 346	13 186
Including:								
Plywood production	.	.	3	473	9 812	3	846	11 861
Sawmills	131	2 731	118	2 741		139	3 548	
Cabinet-makers	43	488	60	786	864	64	658	1 325
Other Branches	11	227	12	308		13	294	

It will be seen from the foregoing that the strongest group of the timber industry is formed by the sawmills. Its lower position until 1936 compared with the pre-war period is due to the loss of round timber formerly drawn from the Vilna region. [464] The vigorous growth of its staff ensued for the first time in 1937. In 1936 the number of workers employed in the sawmills still amounted to only 2 712, a position therefore below the level of 1931. The impetus to the expansion of this branch was given by the greatly increased prices for sawn timber in 1937. The plywood industry, which like the sawmills works for export, had in 1929 already reached the peak of employed workers (851). For the first time in 1937 could the staff be brought again to the same position. The remaining branches, among them the most important, cabinet-making, judged by the dimensions of their staffs, grew only until 1931, and remain, notwithstanding the partial retrieval of the crisis losses, still below the position of that year.

Owing to the exceedingly large share of the special branches of the timber industry working for export, the contingent course of their production has been influenced to a greater degree and more rapidly by the world economic crisis than was the case with other industrial branches. The production index already cited in the previous chapter shows that the timber industry even in 1930 had suffered a setback, and for the first

time in 1934 surpassed the position of 1929. The following index figures, converted to 1931, show indeed constant growth: 313 433

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	105.3	148.5	163.9	183.5	208.0

The data on production quantities are as follows (in 1000 cubic metres):

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Sawn timber	256.5	280.6	304.2	294.7	282.8	335.7
Plywood	5.9	4.7	9.9	9.8	10.0	12.4
Match straws (in tons)	.	.	2 246	2 269	2 322	2 614

It will be seen from these figures that the development of separate production branches does not proceed uniformly. The recovery of sawn timber (this refers chiefly to the working-up of Russian round timber which since 1930 has been imported through the Memel Timber Syndicate) showed from 1932 to 1936 no great changes. For the first time the growth of production quantity in 1937 was able to exceed the position of 1931 by 30%. The plywood supply in 1937 doubled in comparison with 1931. It must, however, be noted in this context that the high position of 1929 (12 425 cubic metres), although caught up, could not be exceeded. The biggest advance is shown by the production of match straws. Its estimated amount in 1931 and 1932 was approximately 1 000 tons, and since then has increased more than two and a half times, i. e. thanks to the expanded export to the United Kingdom and the Dominions (Australia) since 1934. There are no quantity data available in respect of the remaining production branches of the timber industry. The above cited index figures reckoned on the basis of the production value and taking price changes into consideration show that on an average the scope of production of our timber industry has doubled since 1931, but that nevertheless its growth in comparison with 1929 amounts to only 75%.

A. The Rural Architecture

1. The Farmhouse

In the previous chapter we have shown how the artistic will and talent of the Lithuanian people is expressed in its songs, sagas, fairy tales, proverbs, and riddles. Power of presentation and instinct for form, however, are no less strongly revealed in the characteristic elaboration and creative manipulation of such materials as belong to the most primitive of human life; we may think here of the motifs of the peasant art of weaving or of the art of wood-carving in all its ramifications.

•322 The Lithuanian art of wood-carving grew out of an unknown but spiritually rich antiquity. Still today the wooden house of the peasant stands next to the wooden church and the wooden bell tower in the villages of the country. At crossroads and in the cemeteries the old crosses tower into the air, with their rich ornaments and decorative motifs and with their figures of saints carved out of wood. Here, too, we meet the same elements of an aesthetic rhythmic, and mystical nature from which all artistic experience traces its origin. Before, however, we pass on to the separate spheres of this art, we must cast a brief glance at the Lithuanian farmhouse and the Lithuanian village church.

342 /102/ It should be noted at the outset that usually the most varied influences are at work on the farmhouse and its form; first of all geographic influences, and also those connected with the general economic situation and culture of the country. Every economic revolution affects also the form of the houses, and Lithuania has not lacked such revolutions. Thus the present house types in this country point to a relatively recent development. To trace this thread backward from the present would lead too far in this context; let then a few thoughts be repeated only

342 restraint, a mental flexibility of its inhabitants and follows along the path of the natural development that has led from the old "smoke house" to the present-day form of the Lithuanian farm. (10)

10. Cf. the presentation of the types of design of the Lithuanian farmhouse in Mortensen (op. cit., pp. 93-96) and the analogous drawings in Galaunė (op. cit., p. 55). [See cat. 13, pp. 113 + 114 -- Analyst]

531 If the external form and organization of
322 the farmhouse resulted at first from practical
342 requirements, at the same time the wood construction was easier to work with and met the needs of decoration to a greater degree then the simple stone construction. It is understandable that the artistic embellishment extended predominantly to the appendages of the buildings. Here Lithuanian ornamentation unfolded in beautiful patterns based partly on the surrounding nature and partly constructed according to strict geometrical principles. The richest decorations of this type are found in the klėtis, again proof that this peculiar building was not a simple granary but the primitive dwelling. We find the instinct for artistic forms both in the various types of carved columns of the porch and the beautifully vaulted arches at the ends of the sides. (11)

11. P. Galaunė, op. cit., p. 62.

The front part of the dwelling, resting on four columns, exhibits in its ornamentation elements of the baroque and the renaissance, whose models, following Galaunė, /106/ we will have to seek first in the buildings of Lithuanian castles and farms of that period. A parallel phenomenon of this sort of adaptation to a more general cul-

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tural level is formed by the colorful ornamentation of the old South German farmhouses. Especially the carved decorative mouldings which close the front part of the Lithuanian dwelling toward the roof exhibit a great ornamental richness. The massive front doors of the farmhouses are usually decorated with a rosette, the symbol of the sun. Stylized animal and plant patterns are born primarily by the upper end mouldings of the windows, while the often brightly painted shutters themselves are decorated with carved rosettes. The so-called "gable horns" are basically no more than the gable-shaped supports of the long pole that forms the ridge of the wooden house. A lively need for ornamentation has shaped them in Lithuania, similarly as in North Germany, into the most varied forms. We find the silhouetted imitations of horse heads, as well as birds, flowers, and people.

The ornamental decoration of the Lithuanian farmhouse frequently exhibits in the north and northeast of the country Russian influences of style which differ distinctly from the Lithuanian patterns. The latter extend farther back into antiquity. "We will not be mistaken," says the Lithuanian art historian Galaunė, "if we maintain that among no other people, with the possible exception of the Letts and Finns, such an abundance of primitive elements has been preserved as in our ornamentation." (12) This ornamentation,

12. Ibid., p. 23.

concerning which more must be said in another place, in its application to the Lithuanian farmhouse, is of strict proportions and pure form. It is harmoniously fitted into its principles of construction as to proportion and line. And as there is no farmhouse in the whole country that does not have its little flower garden which is

531 lovingly cared for by the girls, this same loving
322 attitude took the elements of Lithuanian ornament-
342 ation out of the surrounding nature and decorated the simple house of the Lithuanian farmer with its symbols.

/107/ 2. The Village Church

000 From what was said above results also the special mood which hovers over the Lithuanian villages and which hardly an artist who has once stayed in Lithuania has escaped. One must, perhaps, have wandered oneself through the country and entered one of these quiet farms, which nothing betrays from afar but the circle of trees which surrounds it. One must once have made a long journey through the country, have experienced the colorful shades of an evening in the East, the rushing of a village stream, the fragrance of the little hidden gardens. For this mood is necessary to the understanding of the Lithuanian village.

[346] On the highest hill in the village lies the church, plainly built in the simple forms of log construction.

Let us remember how we regard the city church or cathedral as the symbol of soaring worship of God in a wealthy commercial and royal city. Here everyone feels the concentrated energy of the whole population directed toward the attainment of a higher goal, dedicated to a higher, supernatural idea, desirous of giving here its best. But is it basically any different with the little Catholic village churches of Lithuania? Is not in the last analysis everything which the human spirit has created in the sense of a higher idea, a pious ideal, to be considered as equally valuable?--with the sole difference that in the one case the idea was able to unfold freely, while in the other case it remained bound within simple limits. With such thoughts one may enter

346 With the close relationship of Lithuania to these
177 countries they were bound to exert an influence on it, so that Galaunė arrives at the conclusion: "The bell towers of the Ukraine, above all however of Galicia, are known from a much older period (the beginning of the sixteenth century) than ours; several of them differ in their form only little from our bell towers. For this reason, in my opinion one must seek the elements of the wooden fortress in the architecture of the Lithuanian bell towers too." (19)

19. Galaunė, op. cit., p. 92.

346 /111/ If these established points prove that in all probability the Lithuanian bell towers go back in their origin to older models, these towers also contain numerous independent architectonic elements which are to be regarded as purely Lithuanian. The village artist strove for the greatest possible variety within the framework at his disposal. We are always surprised anew by the great richness of form, the diversity of the distribution of the masses, which contain all phases of expression from light enthusiasm to calm seriousness and from simple modesty to complicated expression. Thus each of these wooden bell towers is an individual work of art, deeply rooted in the life of the Lithuanian peasants and indispensable to the picture of the Lithuanian countryside.

B. The Village Art

778 1. The Roofed Crosses

●322 If the village artist was bound by the prac-
764 tical purposes of his work in the construction of the farmhouses, village churches, and bell towers, his art could be that much more freely unfolded in those strange, towering crosses which represent the real landmarks of the Lithuanian landscape. The German poet Herbert Eulenberg reproduces the

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impression of these crosses in the following beautiful words: "Nowhere in the world except perhaps in the Tyrol does one see as many crosses as in Lithuania. Like high masts they stand individually by the village street, on the ridges of fields, and at crossroads. One finds them grouped together in the cemeteries of Lithuania, where they grow out of the graves like great, gloomy lilies. Bent over by time, these high grave crosses greet the passing hiker or traveller like tokens of the dead, with whom the Lithuanian people as no other live in constant fearful or friendly contact. Especially in the winter it makes an often uncanny impression when out of the broad surface of snow which /112/ covers the whole land the high black crosses project and seem to beckon one with an earnest finger. And the sight of a Lithuanian cemetery in the winter will remain unforgettably impressed in the memory of anyone, when the gloomy outlines of such a group of crosses rise against the glowing red of the sunset like the shadows of Golgotha." (20) The East

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20. Hermann Struck and Herbert Eulenberg, Skizzen aus litauen, Weissrussland und Kurland (Berlin, 1916).

Prussian Alfred Brust says of the same crosses: "There are among them works of art which, surrendered to every wind and weather, belong to the great rarities of simplest but most profound folk art." (21) Prof. Otto Schwindrazheim defines the

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21. Alfred Brust, "Die litauische Kultur und der Expressionismus," Das neue Litauen, 1918, No. 14, pp. 50-51.

Lithuanian crosses as "masterpieces of popular wooden art," (22) and the Italian art historian

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Luigi Caglio actually describes them as the "most typical manifestation of folk art in Europe.' (23)

23. Luigi Caglio, Alla Biennale di Monza (1925). (Quoted according to Galaunė, op. cit., p. 103.)

No artist, however, has more strongly grasped and reproduced the mystical impression which proceeds from these crosses than the Lithuanian painter Čiurlionis in his picture "Samogitian Cemetery." It is characteristic that almost every observer who surrendered himself to the strong mood of these crosses felt at the same time the contrast that exists between these apparent manifestations of Christian faith and the rational nature of Christianity itself--a contrast which naturally does not enter the consciousness of the present-day "God carvers" /Herrgottsschnitzer/, who work within the framework of primitive traditions. And it is really not the abundance of pagan symbols with which these monuments of devout veneration of the dead are decorated, but rather the totality of the impression, which seizes the observer with compelling force. Already their majestic height--five or six meters--is unique and distinguishes them from all similar monuments of Christian origin. But scholarly research too, which has turned its attention to the Lithuanian crosses since the beginning of this century and has tried first and foremost to solve the problem of their origin, proceeding from the most varied viewpoints, has arrived at the same conclusion: the Lithuanian crosses grew out of the pagan veneration of the dead by the Lithuanians and represent a primitive /Unnumbered page with illustration--Roofed Crosses, after a Painting by Čiurlionis/ /113/ monument of ancient Lithuanian culture. Only at a later period did they acquire their present Christian appearance, without, how-

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ever, casting off completely their old forms. We encounter this view, first vaguely indicated by Szukiewicz, the first investigator of the crosses of the Vilna area, in the work of Brensteyn on the Samogitian roofed crosses, in 1906, as an already confirmed theory, which is later extensively supported by the archaeological investigations of Dr. Basanavičius. The famous ecclesiastical prohibition with which Michael, the Bishop of Sambia, in 1426, forbade the erection of crosses in the cemeteries agrees with these conclusions. The founding of the Lithuanian state gave this research a further impetus: many thousands of crosses in the country were photographed and recorded in drawings, so that the history of art has today at its disposal an incomparably greater amount of material than before the World War.

According to our present knowledge, as expressed in the works of Galaunė and Rukštelė,(24)

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24. W. Szukiewicz, Krzyże zdobne w gubernju Wilenskiej ("Wisła" 1903), Vol. XVII. Brensteyn, Krzyże i kapliczki (1906). Dr. J. Basanavičius, Lietuviu kryžiai archeologijos šviesoje (The Lithuanian Crosses in the Light of Archaeology). Brensteyn investigates in his work exclusively the roofed crosses of Samogitia. The essay of Dr. Basanavičius forms the introduction to the picture book of Jaroševičius mentioned at the beginning: Lietuvii Kryžiai. An abstract in German in V. Jungfer, Alt-Litauen (Berlin, 1926), pp. 71-90.) The most recent literature: Antanas Rukštelė, Lietuviu Tautodailė (Kaunas, 1929), pp. 55-69. Scholarly: Galaunė, op. cit., pp. 101-142 (with detailed references).

the modern roofed crosses resulted from simple wooden columns which were erected by the graves of

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the dead as early as in pagan times. They originated from the cult of the dead and were probably intended as dwelling places for the souls of the departed. As such they are also attested to among neighboring peoples.

The development probably proceeded as follows: on these columns a two-part, later polygonal or circular, roof was placed in order to protect the stem from rain and snow. In these square columns, which were of considerable strength, little niches were carved out, perhaps in order thus to provide a dwelling for the souls of the dead, perhaps already under Christian influence; for in these niches, which are still occasionally encountered today, we have the original form of those little saints' chapels with which most of the present-day crosses are decorated. With the decrease in strong trees, the chapels were set free from their bonds, gained structural independence, /114/ and were set on top of the wooden columns--at first in place of the roof, which then appeared raised and supported by little columns, later as real little chapels with partially closed side walls. This facilitated their further artistic development in which Lithuanian wooden ornamentation was able to unfold its characteristic forms. Only at the end of the seventeenth or at the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, in Galaunė's view, did the Lithuanian grave columns described here obtain in part the form of a cross. It resulted from the prohibitions of the clergy, who were opposed to the placing of the figures of saints in such chapels which were attached to simple wooden columns or carved out of them. (25)

25. P. Galaunė, op. cit., p. 110.

The forms of the Lithuanian crosses, their chapels, and their ornamentation exhibit an infinite diversity. Almost every province, even

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every parish has its peculiarities. Among the thousands of photographs mentioned above, which today are found in the Lithuanian folklore museum in Kaunas, hardly one looks like any of the others. So strongly, in spite of all traditional restrictions, have the God-carvers expressed their individuality.

In the spiritual life of the country people these crosses have until quite recently occupied a prominent position. They were set up on all important occasions, at births, baptisms, and weddings, at disasters and illnesses, at bad harvests and as thanksgiving for good ones. They were placed not only in cemeteries, but also at the entrances to villages, in private gardens, on hills and fields, at rivers and springs and in dark forests. Their number was so great that the traveller through Samogitia met them at every turn, and in the region of Vilna, as Szukiewicz reports, (26) they even took the place of the trees.

26. p. 131.

Although in the meantime many have been destroyed by nature itself and many others have fallen victim to war, the ancient Lithuanian province of Samogitia still has at its disposal today an immense quantity of cross motifs and decorative forms. An organization of these crosses into specific types, which /115/ research in art history has repeatedly attempted, is only possible with this abundance of forms if one proceeds from the structural forms of the crosses themselves and disregards all decorative motifs. (27) We

27. p. 127.

then obtain three large groups--the wooden columns provided only with a roof, second the columns with chapels, and third the crosses proper. Among

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the roofed columns Galaunė distinguishes 44 different types, among the columns with chapels 12, and among the crosses with a crossbar no less than 46. (27) Of these groups the first and most

27. p. 127.

ancient has today almost disappeared in Lithuania; the last and most recent is the most frequently represented.

Not all the crosses, though very many, are decorated with the saints' chapels mentioned at the beginning. The latter, to be sure, as can be seen in their style, go back to a considerably more recent period, and seem to have found their model in the style of the wooden bell towers and village churches.

We find such little chapels not only in connection with the crosses--whether it be at the point of intersection of the crossbar or at the end of the wooden column--chapels one or two meters high resting on the earth or built on a stone foundation are also no rarity. In their decoration various types of style from Gothic to baroque, even rococo, can be clearly recognized. As already mentioned in another place, the baroque style obviously met more than any other the decorative requirements of the peasant artist. Its application frequently betrays great taste. From the decorative elements of these little works of art flows, as Galaunė says, "such simplicity, such earnestness, and such subtle sensitivity that one must arrive at the conviction that in Lithuania the baroque style was closely related not only to the stone architecture of the country's cities, but also the psyche of the people." (28) These

28. p. 137.

chapels are filled with statuettes of saints carved

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of wood with occasional votive offerings between them, and at times we see the representation of whole biblical scenes, above all the Way of the Cross.

/116/ The saints' chapels on the crosses and columns themselves are also very diverse. We find up to three arranged on top of each other, and sometimes four on all sides of the column. Thus the Lithuanian cross occasionally has more the effect of a little Chinese pagoda than of a Christian cross. The number of chapels depends on the number of saints' figures which one desired to house in them. Each tier is divided into sections, so that each saint is housed by himself. The form of the chapels is usually quadrangular, but hexagonal and octagonal ones with open fronts are also not rare. Still others, which rest on only moderately high columns, have the form of little altars. Still others are not attached to crosses, but to trees. In addition we find quite simple ones with only a roof over the picture of Christ, which we can hardly describe as chapels.

Among the decorative forms of the little chapels the sawed-out, scalloped, wavy, and open-work edges of the boards, at times completely sawed-out ornamental boards, are most evident.(29)

29. Schwindrazheim, op. cit., p. 48.

In addition there is, both in the crosses and chapels, a great abundance of ornamentation: twisted columns, baroque spiral ornaments, little wooden bells hanging down, stylized wreathes, leaves, and flowers. Many of these ornaments undoubtedly stem from very old, pre-Christian times, primarily those geometrical patterns which we will meet later in other products of the folk art, and which remind us of the ornamentation of prehistoric pots and articles of bronze. The zigzags, the ribbon patterns, the braid patterns, the fir tree

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patterns, the rosettes--they all are repeated in constantly new combinations. In the stylization of animals--the latter occur more seldom--we find birds and snakes, reminders of the serpent cult of the ancient Lithuanians. The crosses obtain their special characteristic, however, in the representation of sun, moon, and stars. The sun is usually represented as an iron cross with beams set on top, at times moved to the intersection of the crossbar. Its symbol /117/ is the circle, at times also a clearly executed sun disc from which rays radiate. In stark contrast to those of the Christian halo, the rays of the Lithuanian cross are zigzags, spirals, or the shape of lotus leaves and thorns. Others are formed like flowers, anchors, and crosses, or like hammers and arrows. The stars appear at the ends of the rays of the sun cross; the moon is a half moon open toward the top beneath the sun disc. Next to the pagan symbols of life are the Christian symbols of the suffering and death of Jesus--spear, hammer, and ladder--in addition chalices and monstrances, angels holding crowns and blowing trumpets, and many other Christian attributes. Nevertheless, this second group is subordinate to the first.

Perhaps later folklore research will be able to explore more deeply the meaning of the symbolism represented here. (30) The pagan symbols

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30. Among others, H. Schaeder attempts a penetrating symbolic interpretation in an essay, "Litauische Ornamentik, Das Land Ober-Ost" (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1917), p. 63.

of life, trees and plants; the symbols of light and animating warmth, the sun and stars; the symbols of love and tender affection, hearts, flowers,

778 and birds; and many others whose meaning is hidden
322 to us grow out of the Lithuanian crosses as the
764 expression of a deep mental attitude which flows from the spiritual life of an inwardly rich people. From the purely artistic angle, in the Lithuanian cross ornamentation, which recalls both a most loyal attachment to faith and a close communion with the dead, we are touched by the compactness with which it grows out of the crosses and blends into a unity with them. (31) In current times, to

[113] 31. V. Jungfer, Alt-Litauen, op. cit., p. 87. V. Jungfer, Hinter den Seen, hinter den Wäldern, Bilder litauischen Volkstums (Königsberg, 1932), pp. 45 and 58.

be sure, it must be recognized how amid a younger and more rationalistic generation the old symbolism of the forefathers is more and more forgotten. Not only does the old custom of setting up crosses disappear; even where wooden crosses are still erected, one meets more and more frequently slender, smooth crosses without any ornamentation, of which only the majestic height still recalls their primitive tradition. (32)

32. A few beautiful and artistically valuable crosses have today been set up in the garden of the Vytautas Museum in Kaunas.

/118/ 2. The Wood Sculpture

532 Our survey of the Lithuanian crosses and their chapels would not be complete if we did not include in our presentation those wooden sculptures of the Christian saints which were mentioned above and for whose sake the chapels of the Lithuanian crosses were created.

Lithuanian wood sculpture, to which we thus turn our attention, has, in its origin and its early stages, not been clarified. Romantic research,

532 been to any greater extent. This happened in connection with the emergence of a new nationalism which is intent at tracing the spiritual forces of its own country as they are manifested in folk art and folk customs--on the other hand through the development of expressionism, whose representatives created mood and suggestive animation out of the art of the primitive. All external phenomena are reduced by expressionism to the last degree of their simplicity. External experiences yield to inner spiritual phenomena. Thus it is no wonder that the products of Lithuanian folk art, above all the peasant wood sculptures, at the international art exhibition in Monza, in 1925, had an unusual success. It was precisely the contrast between the naivete of presentation and the power of their expression which found understanding appreciation and recognition.

/128/ The expressionistic elements mentioned by us are characteristic not only of the area of religious folk art which we have treated so far. They are manifested with equal strength in the secular areas of peasant art. We have thus come to the extensive field of handicraft, which has been independently developed in Lithuania in the manifold forms of wood carving, weaving, pottery, decorative painting, and many others, and whose products have found loving appreciation and recognition especially among German artists and scholars.

531 4. The Home and in the Village
322 Woodwork, Ceramics, Ironwork, Decorative Painting

In considering these branches of folk art, too, we must proceed first from wood carving, for the forest gave the Lithuanian from olden times everything which he needed for his life in the way of household articles--from the wicker cradle to the towering cross in his cemetery.

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If he gave to the laboriously carved object a special beauty, a characteristic ornamentation, he raised it thus above the ordinary and gave it its own stamp and individual significance. In his already mentioned essay, (39) the East Prussian poet Alfred Brust writes concerning this wood-

39. Alfred Brust, cf. note 21.

work: "The center of gravity of creative art in Lithuania has rested in handicrafts. Especially in the wooden objects of practical use an expressionistic spirit of joy and satisfaction is felt. Although very much of this home art has been lost through fire in the war, there are in the farms of remote villages still a quantity of beautiful objects which, if shown in an exhibition, would leave a deep impression among the connoisseurs. Chests, tubs, and mortars of every variety attest to great artistic /Unnumbered page with illustration--Bell Tower in the District of Telšiai/ /129/ industry, and pine-chip holders of deceptive primitiveness betray an excellent taste for a unified pattern in household articles."

The strong artistic force which speaks from these peasant articles of everyday use has also directed to itself the attention of many other artists; I may name among others Prof. Buhe and Prof. von Osterroth. Above all it is the manner in which the Lithuanian ornamentation grows out of the object itself with absolute artistic logic. Hans Heinrich Schaeder speaks of this in an essay written with great love; (40)

40. Heinrich Schaeder, loc. cit., p. 62.

"The whole creative activity of the Lithuanian is a unity, and rooted in the deepest foundations of his soul. Thus it comes about that every individual part of his life's utterances is basically

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bound to every other and seeks a relationship to the totality of his life. He does not have the intention of decorating the objects which he makes for his use, but lets the ornaments, the arabesques, sprout out of them with no less necessity than that with which a plant produces the blossom out of itself. Thus there is no handicraft among the Lithuanians; whether he weaves a belt or applies colors to the shell of an egg--always it is the truly artistic instinct that moves him. All these things have the direct effectiveness of great art."

Still a fourth person may be mentioned in this regard, the founder of the Kaunas City Museum, the old Tadas Daugirdas (Thaddäus von Dowgird), who was not only an eccentric, but also an artist, and from whom stems the characteristic saying: "The Lithuanian does not make, he creates. To make is nothing; to create is everything."

Thereby the nature of Lithuanian household art is clearly enough paraphrased: out of a creative imagination, bound by inherited traditions, originated the forms and decorative motifs of the wooder household objects as well as the patterns and colors of those colorful ribbons and aprons which will occupy us at the end of this chapter.

/130/ The ornaments which decorate the practical objects of the peasant household contain no hidden symbolism. In part they are the same geometrical forms that we already have encountered in another place. They resulted from the technique of lines and nothces which were primarily used in such articles as come frequently in contact with water, like the wash paddles which the Lithuanian peasant woman still uses today for her laundry. The most beautiful objects, however, are executed in deep carving, or the ornament is completely cut out, as we see it, for example, in towel racks, and thereby developed into some-

322 thing of their own. We find as ornaments rosettes,
531 stars, and wavy lines, interrupted and lozenge frets, also stylized plant patterns--though less often--on chests, dishes, platters, canes, etc. On spindles and distaffs, on the other hand, the favorite ornament is the circle divided into six segments, the ancient symbol of the sun, whose production presents only little difficulty and therefore is often repeated. Only on coat racks do animal forms appear, taken from nature, primarily birds. Splendidly carved towel and spoon racks, knives, forks, and spoons, shuttles and whetstone holders, boxes and caskets, even carved flasks show great technical skill and artistic manipulation. Only in rare cases does an object of household use remain without ornamentation.
[354] The old žibintuvas, the pine chip holder, an often very beautifully carved frame holding the chips that illuminated the work room, is today
[533] found only in museums as is the kanklēs, the ancient zither-like instrument of the Lithuanians, which is also richly carved, and which today has awakened to a new life. (41) In all of these

[113] 41. On the development of the kanklēs cf. the basic work of the Swedish Professor Tobias Norlind, Bidrag Till Kantelens Historia (Särtryck ur Rig, 1923).

patterns sways an inner rhythm that attests to an absolute feeling for style. One should also never overlook the fact that these objects were created only for personal pleasure or for the pleasure of people to whom they were given--as perhaps by a youth to a maid. Thus they maintained the charm of the personal and direct and also the value of uniqueness.

/131/ In view of this joy in the ornamentation of practical objects it is almost astonishing not to find furniture decorated with carving in the

531 Lithuanian village--be they peasant beds, tables
502 or benches. Here rules rather a peculiar sobriety, which is to be explained only by the fact that there has never been a bourgeois culture in the Western sense of the term in this country, formerly a part of Russia. But this seems under any circumstances to be a prerequisite to a rural residential culture.

[438] A home industry bringing artistically worked wooden objects onto the market did not formerly exist in Lithuania. Quite in contrast to Germany, for example, folk art, although reaching such height of expression, did not produce a national
[569] handicraft. Neither was this art developed into a handicraft in the countryside--this was opposed by the peasant's home economy--nor was the city handicraft--we may think, for example, of the interior furnishings of the city church--stimulated by it. The reasons for this will be discussed in the chapter on the intellectual culture of the city.* We speak, therefore, quite intentionally in this regard of a home culture. Only in recent times has a handicraft arisen in Lithuania on a national basis, such as Daugirdas aspired even before the World War.

000 There is no question that the rich store of forms of the Lithuanian home art offers a favorable soil for the development of an independent handicraft. To be sure, modern Lithuanian handicraft, as it is promoted, for example, by the trade schools, the orphanages, and similar institutions, is still today trying to develop its own avenues. This development is not without danger, for not every path leads to the goal. We see here at times efforts simply to take over Western forms and give up the indigenous ones; this would be an unfortunate break with the Lithuanians' own independently developed, /132/ tradition. On the other hand, attempts at transferring directly to wooden furniture and wooden objects the primitive weaving patterns

* [cat. 116, pp. 145-195--Analyst]

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

DOMESTIC ART

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[531] During the long winter months of enforced retirement in his dwelling the peasant does not remain inactive, he repairs and manufactures all the things he needs. He also tries to decorate and embellish familiar objects and his faithful tools, such as the spinningwheel, the distaff, the loom, the beating arms, the sheaths of the whetstones, the napkin-rings and the nutcrackers. Similarly to the *dievdirbis*, he cuts and carves wood. He uses it even to make such appliances as are generally made of iron; primitive ploughs made of oak were still in existence a few decades ago, the locks are often a device made of boards, the bells for the cattle are made of hollowed-out branches and emit the dull sound of a rattle, and last but not least, so are most of his musical instruments, the *"trimitai"* trumpets, 1.50 or 2 meters long, wrapped in bark, — the *"kanklés"*, a sort of zither with an archaic box. Certain containers, tuns, buckets, pails and devices for measuring agricultural produce, are composed of simple staves held together by rings. Sometimes they are made of bark so tightly plaited that they can hold water. Such plaited vessels are used in Žemaitija in the manufacture of beer. The liquid within them is heated by means of incandescent stones. Even in our days such enormous *"dundulos"*, resembling Greek jars serve as containers for flour and cereals.

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Part of the crockery is made of wood. Cups, spoons, saucers, goblets for tasting spirits, all present a great variety of shapes. Each type serves a special purpose. Sometimes they have a ritual meaning. The museum of Kaunas (Kovno) owns twin cups, from which bride and bridegroom drank on their wedding-day. It is cut from a single piece of wood in the shape of a horn, and is the equivalent of the ancient rhyton. The raw material used, readily submits to treatment with a knife and favors carved decoration. Sometimes the wood is engraved in the manner of a bone by simple striation, sometimes it is carved. The many sharp edges produce an effect of dry lights and shades. Sometimes a board is entirely perforated and the designs seem to have been punched out. This method is chiefly applied to window frames. The two other methods are applied to all sorts of objects. Designs containing figures are rare. Distaves and beaters are often decorated with birds or two flaming hearts, such are gifts exchanged between lovers. But generally the ornamentation consists of vegetation or geometrical figures. The design of plants is most frequently made by slight incisions. On thread-like stalks large leaves and flowers are suspended, spread as on a sheet of a herbarium. The contours are regular and supple. They freeze and become harder the deeper the incision. Work with a cutting tool entails regular movements, which produce both straight lines and curves. It is under such technical conditions that the abstract style is originated. Zigzags, crosses, triangles unite in a thousand ways and are ceaselessly renewed. On plane surfaces prisms and diamond shaped points are cut. Inside the large figures small designs are cut, a trellis of polygones and rosaces. These "ornamented ornaments" are placed side by side, they intersect and fit into each other, and in their apparent monotony an infinite variety is manifested. A distaff and a spindle, thus carved with care and precision, become precious objects.

No doubt this gamut contains elements which are common to nearly all rustic arts, and the tool everywhere leads the hand to execute the same designs. The geometric themes entail designs which very often coincide. Some of them composed of interlaced circles are common to all ages and to all countries, they can be seen on the ceramics of Susa, on Roman mosaics, Syrian lintels and Merovingian manuscripts. The shepherds of the Pyrenees reproduce them on their crockery up to the present day. But the distribution and the place of these designs lends them

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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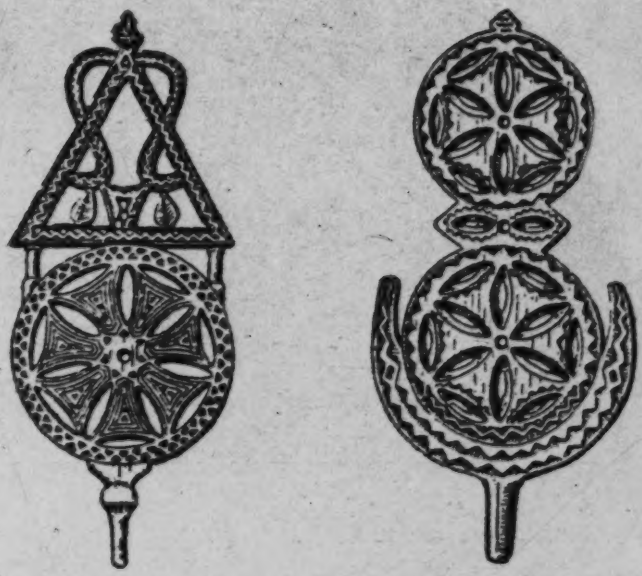

156. Carved Distaves, used on a Spinning-Wheel

a personal note. Sometimes the decoration is made in high relief, the edges disappear and the outlines become more subtle, while maintaining their clear-cut precision. Plants again invade the panels, flowers crush each other on the polished surfaces of the boards. Instead of graphic roses, we find an abundant vegetation. Small baroque volutes sometimes mingle with rustic decoration. This decorative sculpture sometimes takes on a grotesque character, especially on walking sticks and nutcrackers. Such walking sticks are entirely covered with geometrical ornaments and are crowned with a head or a torso. Some of them serve as marks of distinction or of clanship. etc. These so-called *"krivulés"* belong to chieftains and are passed from hand to hand in case of a summons or the transmission of an order. The nutcrackers represent monsters with powerful jaws, in which can be recognized domestic animals, the fauna of the steppes or grimacing human faces.

The great wooden coffers serving at the same time as trunks and cup-

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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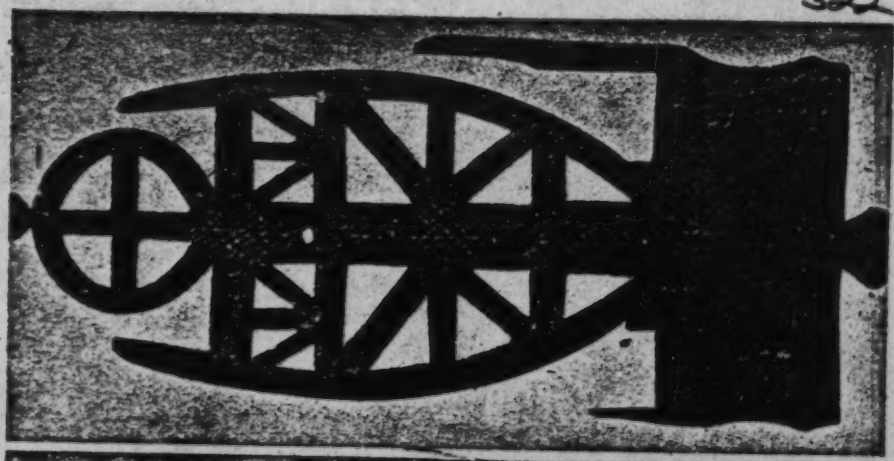

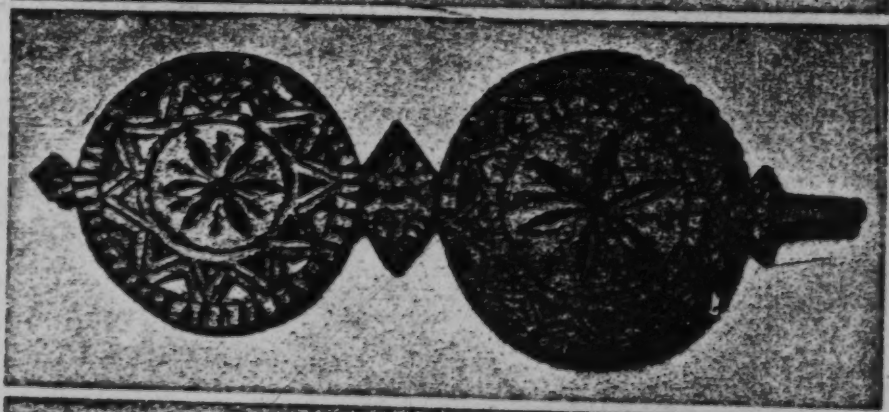

40-42. Carved Distaves
Used on a spinning wheel

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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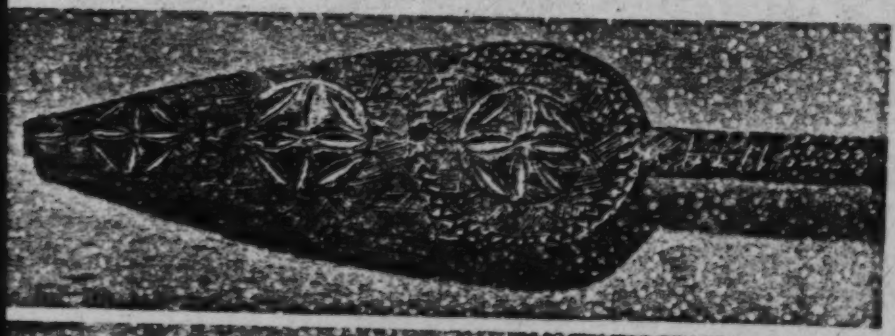

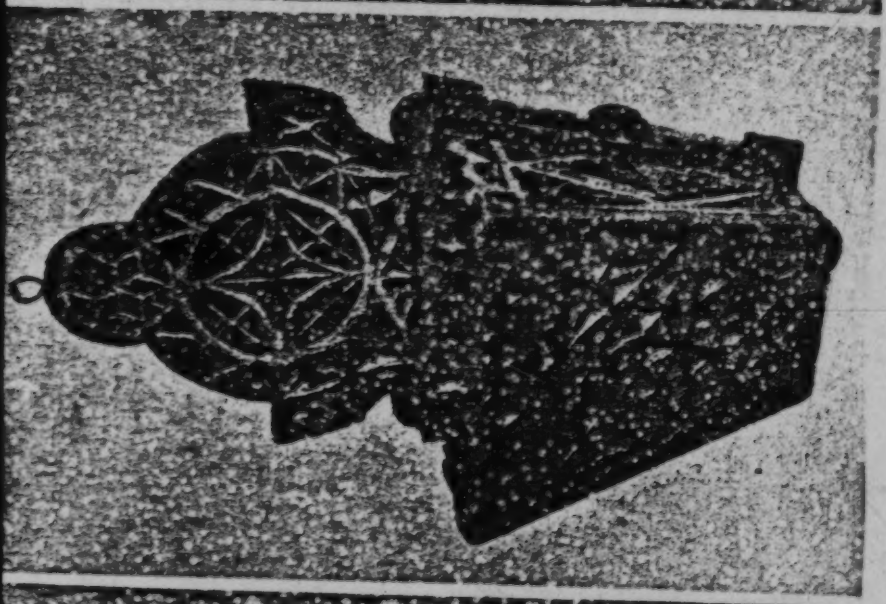

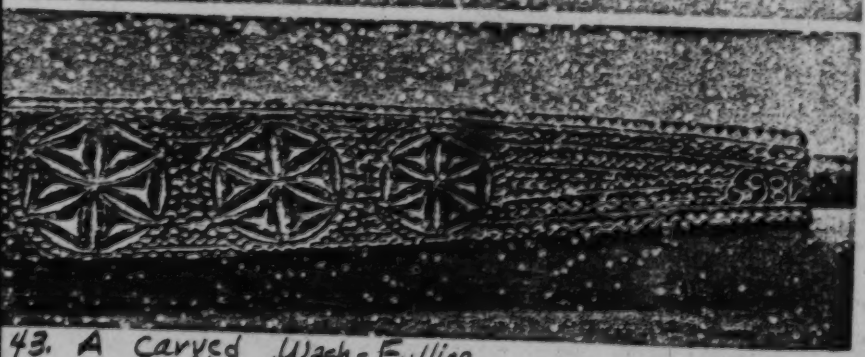

43. A carved Wash-Fulling (Left picture)
44. An old Salt-Box Wood-carved
45. A carved Distaff (Right picture)

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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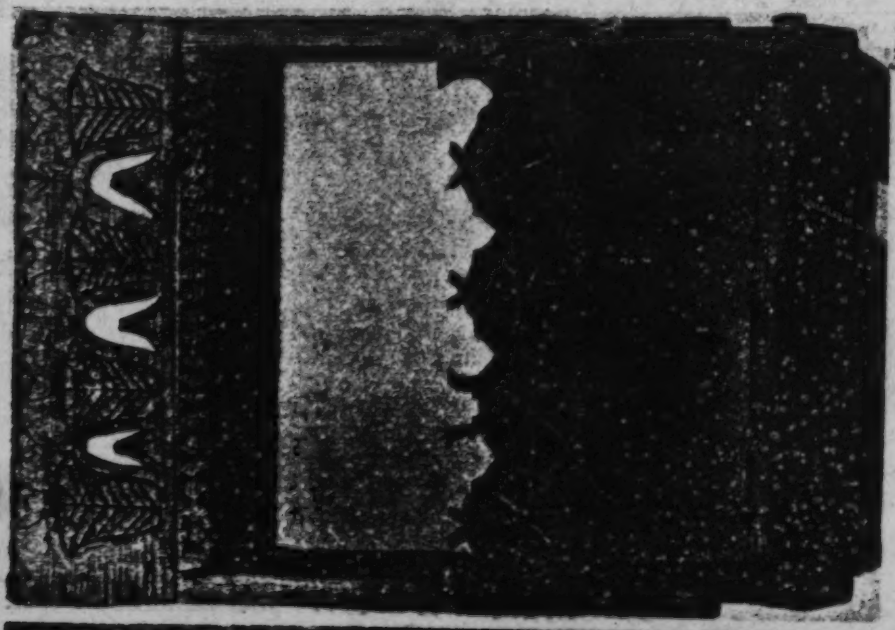

46.-47. Old Towel-Racks
Wood-carved

[534] consisting of a pig's bladder, the long shepherd's horn.--The Lithuanian
533 is very gifted musically as well as poetically. His folk songs, the dainos, present in brief, firm trochaic measures and in soft iambs the sincere and heart-felt, vividly experienced joys and sorrows of a sensitive human soul which tends towards melancholy. These songs have frequently been translated, and they were greatly appreciated by Herder and Goethe. The latter reproduced a daina in his musical play, Die Fischerin. The tenderness and fervor of the folk poetry is repeated in
764 the appearance and the mood of the graveyards. Their silents seclusion along mountain slopes and on hilltops, their--romantically neglected --enclosures of flowers and creepers, their enormous, dark, and forcibly admonitory Golgotha crosses and moss-covered crucifixes with the instruments of torture, the sight of which and the walk through which, make them into veritable experiences. In spite of all the neglect, one is conscious here that the Lithuanian is close to his dead, even if such customs have disappeared, as still existed during the 16th century, according to which the deceased was placed fully dressed on a chair and wailing women were made to sing songs of mourning around him.

/31: Illustrations./

/32/ The Lithuanians.

II.

000 1. Lithuanian farmer. 2. Costume of the 17th century. 3. Costume of the 19th century. 4. Tub. 5. Earthenware pot. 6.-10 Pots. 11. Spoon. 12. Ladle. 13, 14. Salt grinders. 15. Pouch made of birch bark used for collecting berries. 16. Butter tub made of a hollowed-out stem. 17. Chair with a perforated back. 18. Spoons. 19. Flax-scutcher and basket made of straw-ropes used to store grain.[1]

415 It is of course impossible for the Lithuanian wood culture to
[322] remain exclusively such today. Stampers and grinders and the tankards for the ancient native barley beer are still fashioned in the completely original manner by being worked out of a solid block and hollowed out. But, however much this is true, and, however much birch bark is still used, there exists, nevertheless, home-made earthenware, next to the wood products, especially in the fringe areas. But even the

[1] [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 28a--analyst]

600 which were conditioned precisely by the technique of weaving must destroy the inner relationship between object and ornament. Burned or carved juostos on wooden book covers are warning examples. Nevertheless we do meet individual personalities who by their own artistic power accomplish in this area exemplary results; we may think for example of the modern weaving of the Bagnickaitė.

•323 531 Compared to the products of a highly developed art of woodwork, those of Lithuanian ceramics are far inferior. Here predominate the primitive stroke, line, zigzag, and ribbon patterns, which are pressed into the clay with a stone or a splinter of wood, and which hardly differ from the patterns of the clay shards from the Old Prussian graves. In addition we find painted vessels. In recent times various attempts have been made to renew the technique of glazed painting on platters, dishes, pitchers, and vases, which has almost been forgotten today.

The forms of the pots are in general not very individual. This is probably connected with the fact that until recently the Lithuanian made his pots, too, of wood or bark, while pottery for a long time lay mostly in the hands of Jewish artists. We find here a retrogression composed to earlier times, for at the art exhibition "Vilna-Minsk" of 1918 there was among the exhibited tiles a special piece from a very old period which came from Panevėžys and was noteworthy in that it represented the Mother of God in the native costume. 531 Nevertheless this seems to have been an exception, 327 for in general ceramics experienced no strong artistic development among the Lithuanian people--quite in contrast to iron work, which has been briefly dealt with in the paragraph on roofed crosses.[1] Almost every one of these high crosses ends in a /133/ second, smaller, ironwork cross, which is attached to the other with a thorn. These

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 124-133 -- Analysis]

The great wooden coffers serving at the same time as trunks and cup-
boards in which the family valuables are piled up, are generally decorated 531
with paintings. On a monotone background are carved idealized flowers, 352
framed in rectangles or planted in pots, such as tulips, roses, daisies, harebells. They often sprout forth on the same straight or undulated twig at regular intervals. Animals, such as horses, cocks and hens, oriental lions and even the image of a mermaid with the tail of a fish are less frequent. The colors are usually brillant blue, yellow and white. The strokes of the brush are energetic and clear. They contrast by their breadth and their spontaneousness, with the minutely calculated ornament carved with a knife. In the *klétis*, with their bare walls, such large painted panels play the part both of pictures and frescoes. In the same spirit the village painter applies himself to the decoration of window shutters, the doors of houses, small chapels and crosses. Among the art still in existence, cera- 323
mics plays a large part. The tumuli, *anthapiai* and *piliakalniai*, have yielded 531
numerous prehistoric specimens. There is earthenware of solid and simple profile thrown by hand. Such vessels are sometimes narrow with an elongated neck, and sometimes low and wide. Large plates with vertical or oblique edges have also been found. The bottom is generally flat. The decoration is composed of fir trees or saw-teeth or indentations. These elements subsist up to the present time. The peasant pottery follows the same procedures and is decorated with the same ornaments. The gray, black, brown or red earth is modelled on a primitive throw, dried and baked over a moderate fire. Here the whole gamut of the ancient designs can be seen, such as dentelated and undulated designs, rhombs, crosses. They run along the rims, cover the bodies and sometimes even extend to the bottoms. The designs become more regular, but their elements do not change. Even when provided with improved tools, the potter returns incessantly to the same old designs. This constancy however does not exclude an enrichment of the craft. The number of types increases, milk-jugs, — *"puodyné"* or *"dubenélis"* — with oval bodies, large neck and without handles, water-jugs, — *"asotis"* — which resemble the antique oenochoi, bowls, saucers, special vessels designed as containers for the meals of the workers in the fields and with a double body connected by a single handle. Sometimes the clay jugs are wrapped in plaited bark.

The ceramic items are nowadays glazed and influenced by painting, the ornaments are now not only engraved, but also painted with a brush. New

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

531 figures appear, stars of intersected lines, flowers similar to those painted
323 on trunks. They radiate from the centre of the plates and dishes, emphasize the curves of the bodies, the rims and the necks. They are animated designs which seem to have been invented by the rapid movement of a clever hand, and which always occupy the place intended for them. Here also the colors are free and vivacious. Yellow, red, blue spots are clearly visible on a ground often of a darker color, brown, gray or green. When covered by a varnish or glazed, such objects which are made of a somewhat coarse material, frequently assume metallic tints. The simple shapes usual in household ware, become more complicated in vases, candlesticks, small pots designed for the decoration of dwellings and holy water containers. Sometimes the design is even overloaded, multiple bodies, small vases set on rims of the main body, double, triple or even multiple handles sinuously undulating, undulated or embossed rims, handles rolled up in baroque convolutions. Curve and countercurve, used with discretion, lend a singular elegance to this robust pottery.

Zoomorphic themes which are not used in pottery, are developed with much imagination in children's whistles. There is a distinct series of odd figures, horsemen, rams with big horns, birds, dogs, horses, fantastic monsters. With their arms formed in guise of small handles, their bodies reduced to a trunk and the limbs to small projecting branches, they resemble the schematized statuettes of archaic Greece. As everywhere else popular ceramic art has been threatened by industrial production. But in the neighbourhood of Biržai, Radviliškis and Vilkoniai, potteries are still in existence and the potters are still active. Those of the region of Biržai have managed to maintain their old reputation.

531 Certain designs of the ceramic are also employed in the decoration of egg-shells which is still common in most parts of the countries of Eastern Europe, in Poland, Roumania, Czechoslovakia and Russia, though not with the neighbouring Latvians. In Lithuania this custom is mentioned in documents of the 16th century. Egg shells are not only painted at Easter, but, in certain regions, at other feasts also, as e. g. on St. George's Day or at Whitsuntide. This is done in two different manners; either the eggs are plunged in the colored liquid and the design is then engraved with a knife, or in imitation of the technique of the Javanese batik, the figures are designed by the application of wax and the egg is afterwards soaked in

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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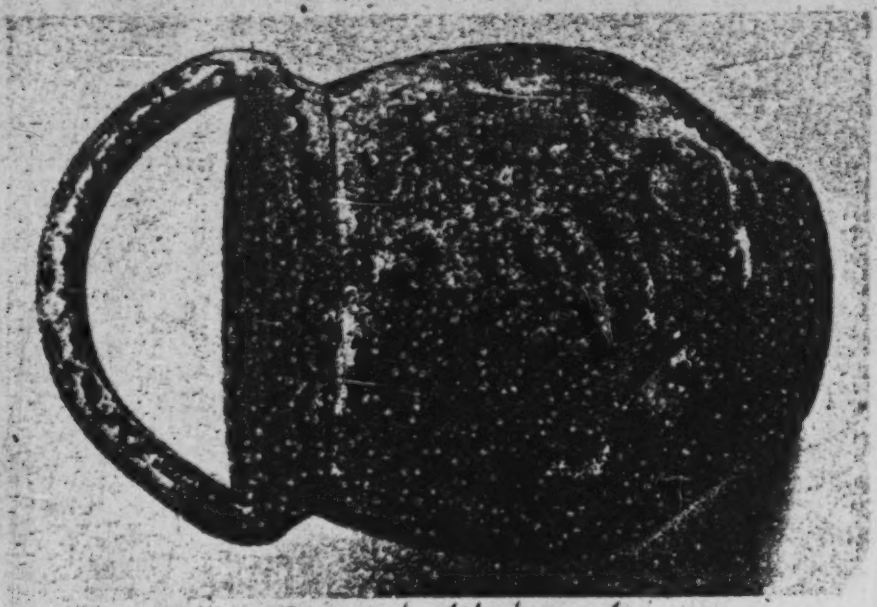

52.-53. Clay-Jug and Waterpot
District of Šiauliai and Ukmergė

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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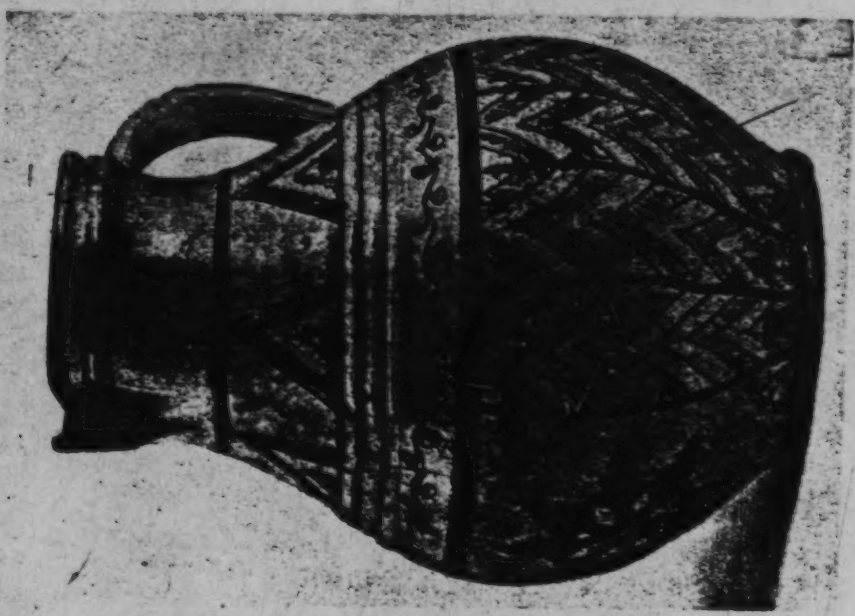

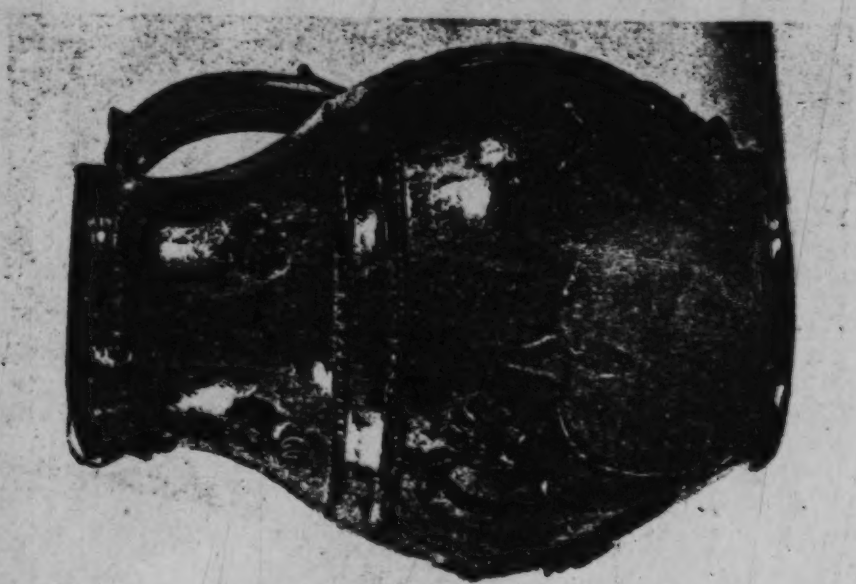

54-55. Clay-Jugs
District of Biržai

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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56. Various Clay Workings
57. Painted Clay Pitchers and Plate

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
In Millions of kWh	18.7	18.8	22.3	25.7	28.4	35.6
In 1 000 Litas	12 500	11 880	11 310	12 068	12 851	15 172

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The following indices are calculated on the basis of the foregoing data:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Production Index	100.0	100.5	119.3	137.4	151.9	190.4
Price Index	100.0	94.0	76.1	70.1	67.2	64.2

If we compare the course of this price index with the price - index of industrial raw material and produce of the Lietuvos Bankas Bulletin (vide the chapter on „Home Trade"), we must recognize that the prices of current in 1932 were maintained disproportionately high; that in 1937, on the other hand, the average price in comparison with the previous year, contrary to the general price tendency, abated only negligibly. In the interest, indeed, of mechanization of the industry, a further price reduction would be desirable. [435]

10. The Stone and Earth Industry.

A relatively higher percentage share of the employed industrial workers is apportioned to the stone and earth industry, the most important branches of which consist of brick and glass production. This in 1937 amounted to 2 827 or 9.0%, in which context, however, one must bear in mind that these figures relate only to the summer months, because in winter the brick-kilns are not working. The share in respect of the aggregate engine horse-power was far lower, viz., 3.1%, and the share in respect of the gross production value 2.0% and net 3.7%, which signifies a marked improvement. 324 464 433

This industrial branch in the pre-war Lithuania employed approximately 700 workers. It developed vigorously in independent Lithuania and has during the past decade more than doubled both the number of the staff and the scope of production.

600 which were conditioned precisely by the technique of weaving must destroy the inner relationship between object and ornament. Burned or carved juostos on wooden book covers are warning examples. Nevertheless we do meet individual personalities who by their own artistic power accomplish in this area exemplary results; we may think for example of the modern weaving of the Bagnickaitė.

323 531 Compared to the products of a highly developed art of woodwork, those of Lithuanian ceramics are far inferior. Here predominate the primitive stroke, line, zigzag, and ribbon patterns, which are pressed into the clay with a stone or a splinter of wood, and which hardly differ from the patterns of the clay shards from the Old Prussian graves. In addition we find painted vessels. In recent times various attempts have been made to renew the technique of glazed painting on platters, dishes, pitchers, and vases, which has almost been forgotten today.

The forms of the pots are in general not very individual. This is probably connected with the fact that until recently the Lithuanian made his pots, too, of wood or bark, while pottery for a long time lay mostly in the hands of Jewish artists. We find here a retrogression composed to earlier times, for at the art exhibition "Vilna-Minsk" of 1918 there was among the exhibited tiles a special piece from a very old period which came from Panevėžys and was noteworthy in that it represented the Mother of God in the native costume. 531 Nevertheless this seems to have been an xception, 327 for in general ceramics experienced no strong artistic development among the Lithuanian people--quite in contrast to iron work, which has been briefly dealt with in the paragraph on roofed crosses.[1] Almost every one of these high crosses ends in a /133/ second, smaller, ironwork cross, which is attached to the other with a thorn. These

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 124-133 -- Analysis]

327 iron pieces are of unusual grace and lightness.
531 They rise in a rhythmic upswing and repeat the theme of the symbolic ornamentation in their own language. Rosettes, flowers, sun, moon, and all the other symbols of the early pagan period awaken in them to a new life, and so great is the diversity of forms that among hundreds of these products of ironwork hardly one resembles another. This high development of form appears especially striking in a country which has no iron supply of its own. Perhaps just for that reason iron was valued as an especially precious metal, for it was worked almost exclusively for such decorative forms. In the daily life of the people it was not able to supplant wood. Therefore, apart from metal work on doors and windows and a very few practical articles of wrought iron, almost nothing has been preserved from olden times. The fact that the art of ironwork, too--insofar as it was art at all--satisfied only the religious need for ornamentation has made it today into a dying branch of the old Lithuanian village art.

531 Unfortunately, the same also applies to the
352 use of colored ornament and decorative painting of practical objects which was earlier practised in the country. The "colorful little windows" of which the old dainos sing have become rare, and beautifully painted chests have been relegated to museums. In Samogitia they were decorated with strong and heavy colors; in the northeast of the country, on the other hand, probably under Slavic influence, with light and lively colors. (42) In

42. A. Rukštelė, see above, p. 42.

the chests that are preserved, principally bridal chests, the predominant ornament is the lily; in addition we find other flowers and leaf patterns, sometimes in imaginative stylizations--also occasionally birds, primarily those which wear rich

423 tary constructions. A family owning one horse must 18a
656 transport 30 cords of timber to fixed stations. The owner of two horses must double the quota, in winter.

[311] In 1947, about 40% of arable land of Lithuania was unplanted, and the diet of the rural population suffered a catastrophic decline. Few tractors are available. Threshing machines were nationalized. Bribes are required to gain any assistance from the Russian managers of the MTS stations—and people prefer not to deal with the drunken and greedy representatives of the "master race." Forests are systematically destroyed and forest fires are not combatted. The MVD-MGB troops quite frequently set fire to the forests in order to "smoke out" guerrillas.

There was even less incentive to work for Russia in 1948. At least one half of the arable land went untilled. . . .

Industry

433 Peat production dropped to one-third of the level
377 of the German occupation period. Very little coal is brought to the country. For these reasons, there is a severe shortage of electric power. City dwellers must provide their own heating—for apartments, institutions and schools.

The official press occasionally reports that certain officials "abuse their office" by driving to some village, demolishing "deserted homes" and forcing the neighboring farmers to transport the lumber to the city as fuel. . . . Due to the prevalent bureaucracy and chaos, government buildings and student dormitories go unheated for weeks. Therefore, dormitory inhabitants or the office force of this or that institution mobilize and follow the example of the dignitaries: they descend on and transport deserted homes (in parts) in a "socialistic competition" to keep themselves warm. . . .

433 Brick production dropped for lack of skilled man-
[339] power. The brick works of Rokai and Palemonas produce for the army exclusively. No bricks and no tiles are available for sale to private citizens. Therefore, bricks and tiles figure in a lively black market exchange for horses.

Not a single cement plant is in operation—except on paper, in the boastful reports of "achievements" of the Russian dignitaries. The cement plants of Akmenė and Skirsnemunė are still in the stage of paper planning, though included in the five-year plan to be consummated by 1950.

[288] The textile plants of Klaipėda are idle. The Drobė plant of Kaunas is under reconstruction. The Litex and Audiniai plants began operating. The Linas plant produces for export to Russia exclusively.

The hide tanning plants of Šiauliai and the glass factories of Radviliškis and Aleksotas are operating. Dairies were mostly reactivated. The huge Maistas stockyards and canneries were burned down in Kaunas, and feeble efforts at reconstruction are forging ahead. The Maistas plant in Panevėžys is operating but production is small. The plant at Tauragė still lies in ruins.

The beet sugar refineries of Marijampolė and Panevėžys resumed operations. The paper and cardboard plant produces inferior quality products. The railway yards and repair shops of Kaunas are being expanded. The factories, as a rule, produce for war and export to Russia. The present production level amounts to less than 50% of the 1939 level.

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[464]

The structural development since 1927 will be clear from the following table:

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P
Total	94	1 357	104	2 160	2 206	99	2 827	3 826
Brick Production	69	970	74	1 703	2 139	73	2 082	2 924
Glass Production	6	2 077	5	248	67	5	349	902
Other Branches	19	180	25	209		11	396	

It must moreover be observed that during the years 1932—1936 the number of workers suffered a severe recession, and that the position of 1931 was for the first time in 1937 overtaken and surpassed.

The production statistics show the following quantity data:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Brick production (in Millions)	54.4	45.3	42.6	42.2	47.7	60.7
Bottles (in 1 000)	·	2 760	3 780	3 883	4 776	6 762

It is clear from the foregoing that brick output was severely restricted by the crisis and that the upward trend of 1937 exceeds the position of 1931 by only 12%. A far more favourable development is shown by bottle production, which in 1937 was two and a half times as large as in 1932.

The production index of the stone and earth industry, which expresses the average development tendency of separate branches, proceeded as follows (converted to the basis year 1931):

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	92.3	105.2	101.5	124.4	153.8

On the strength of these figures, we may conclude that, on the striking of a balance of production of the total industrial branches, the losses of brick production through the advance of the glass industry were already in 1934 more than compensated. Also the final figures, which signify a growth of 53.8% since 1931, are for the most part to be credited to the account of the glass industry.

369 the military, and liberal professions, opened up
162 to the younger peasant generation. An initially
565 favorable economic development encouraged this
563 influx, which again completely changed the face of the city: the city of Kaunas alone doubled its population in a few years. In all areas a lively activity is being unfolded; along with material problems intellectual ones, literature, art, music, theater, science, are suddenly factors in the life of the people.

341 Knowledge of the development sketched here
121 is essential for the understanding of what follows. It might seem, that is, as if a presentation of the cultural elements of the Lithuanian people would have to be restricted solely to this most recent period of time, insofar as the city is concerned. /147/ The historic architecture of the city would then be excluded from our treatment, since it does not bear the stamp of the same racial type. This is perhaps also the reason why until today there is hardly a single Lithuanian presentation of the historic structures of the country.

341 Nevertheless the present work must consider the architecture of the Lithuanian city for various reasons: first of all it was the Lithuanian Grand Dukes, the high nobility, and the clergy who ordered the construction of churches and castles. Furthermore--we may think for example of classicism--the great artistic epochs are more or less international; and third, the baroque, the most important building style for Lithuania, exercised unquestionable influence on the Lithuanian folk art.

346 There are probably no foreigners visiting
177 the country to whom the great religious structures, especially in Kaunas, would not be objects of attention and deliberation. The face of these buildings is clearly turned toward the West and not toward the Russian East. From the west came the Roman-Catholic faith, proclaimed by Benedictines, Dominicans, Cistercians, and other orders in the

* [see cat. 116, pp. 162-165 -- Analyst]

346

In the seventeenth century it still bore a tower, while today it is decorated only by simple crosses. This church, too, was destroyed at various times by fire, the last time in 1812. As a result it also had to undergo the stylistic change from Gothic to baroque, just as the little Church of St. Gertrude, which today leads a hidden existence in a courtyard off the main street (No. 61) and belongs among the oldest buildings of the city.

The Benedictine Church of St. Michael lies apart from the religious buildings we have mentioned. It has a peculiar effect through its lack of symmetry, but the purely Gothic style of its apse must be mentioned. From the outside it resembles more a medieval fortress than a church. In his monograph on the city of Kaunas V. Bičiūnas expresses the idea that this peculiar building, on whose origin no reports are available, may be identical with the building which Guillebert de Launnoy saw on his journey in 1413-14 and mistook for a fortress. The church is mentioned in documents only in a later period; thus we hear of privileges which were granted it in 1495. At present it belongs to the order of the Benedictine nuns; the monastery built next to the church stems from the beginning of the last century. (9)

[13] 9. V. Bičiūnas, Kaunas, 1030-1930 (Kaunas, 1930), p. 208.

Therewith the circle of the old Gothic and formerly Gothic structures in Lithuania is closed. The simplicity of their external forms frequently contrasts strongly with the ostentatious interior decoration of a later period. With the relatively small number of Gothic church buildings it right almost appear as if this artistic epoch /154/ attained very little prominence in Lithuania. Nevertheless, it did have a stronger influence on secular construction. In Kaunas there are still

341 many gabled houses in the Gothic style, and indeed here and there an old granary, hidden in the maze of twisted courtyards. Often these buildings also are hidden today under the disguise of a later period. Especially the streets behind the steamer landing are still full of old gabled brick structures today. Sometimes the courtyards of these houses, like those in Vilna, have passageways of wood which stem from a later period. How much the whole artistic epoch which is understood under the name of Gothic could be forgotten is proved by the fact that a small house with a late Gothic gable rising freely into the air is today called a "Perkunas temple" in the vernacular. The gable is found across from the city hospital; it shows the typical overly slender pilasters which blossom out in decorative finials and are connected by curved interlinking arches. Possibly this was also a little church, perhaps a secular building. (10)

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10. Cf. A. Thomas "Rombinus," in Mitteilungen der litauischen litterarischen Gesellschaft, 1884, Vol. II, No. 2. In addition see the colored illustration in Vol. IV, No. 4 together with a ground plan according to the record of Kulakowski of the year 1823.

341 3. Renaissance and Baroque
177

Whoever surveys the city from the hill of the Linksmadvaris estate, rising up steeply across from the old section of Kaunas, has an unusually beautiful view of the churches of the old city. The cathedral and the Vytautas church, the Seminary Church and Trinity Church lie at his feet in a harmonious grouping. Between them rise the light towers of the Jesuit church and the slender tower of the city hall. The last three buildings lead us to a new period of style which replaced the Gothic in Lithuania. It began in the middle of the

●341 177 sixteenth century and received strong stimulation through the introduction of the Counter Reformation. The late Renaissance and the baroque are characteristic of this period.

/155/ Concerning the introduction of these new styles Dr. Kairiūkštytė-Jacynienė writes in her detailed monograph on the monastery of Pažaislis: "From the beginning of the sixteenth century on the true Italian Renaissance penetrated into the country by way of Hungary, specifically through the mediation of immigrant Italian artists and artisans, who as early as the year 1502 were summoned to Cracow by King Sigismund the Elder and his wife Bona Sfroza, Duchess of Milan. . .From Cracow the Renaissance style rapidly spread through the whole country. The influx of Italian artists, principally architects, went on uninterruptedly from the sixteenth century on; they kept the leadership for three centuries, since there were no trained native elements . . . Besides the Italians, Dutch architects also worked in Poland and Lithuania from the seventeenth century on. French and German influences were added to the Italian ones, especially in the eighteenth century. All this, together with certain peculiarities of the native, indigenous interpretation of style, produced a mixed style. But the Italian artists continued to be dominant. The Italian baroque created a foundation not only for the construction of churches, but also for secular construction. Today the baroque is still the most common style in the country, and the one which speaks with the greatest force." (11)

[113] 11. Kairiūkštytė-Jacynienė, Pažaislis, ein Barockkloster in Litauen, Zürich dissertation, 1928. Special publication of Tauta ir Žodis (Kaunas, 1928), pp. 1-2.

The transition from Renaissance to baroque

113 also Tarasenka, "Gelgaudų pilis" (The Fortress of Gelgaudai) in Iliustr. Lietuva, 1927, No. 39; for the fortress of Kaunas: Volteris, "Kauno senosios pilies pēdsakai ir palaikai" (Traces and Remains of the Oldest Fortress in Kaunas), ibid., No. 45.

342 The castle in the modern sense, which serves the economically and socially prominent for representation and enjoyment of life, was not built in the open country of Lithuania as of the whole Baltic area before the eighteenth century. (23)

[113] 23. Carl Meissner, Das schöne Kurland (Munich, 1917), p. 101.

Remains of this period, the mighty ruins of the castle of Biržai still tower on high, built by Prince Radvila in the year 1701. Now wars, revolutions, and devastating fires have probably in no country had a more destructive effect than in Lithuania. This is also the reason why most of the present-day manor houses go back to a much more recent time, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Thus we find among the castles of the country not a single one left which would be characteristic of the baroque of the eighteenth cen-
341 tury. The forms of the rococo, too, if we except the interior decoration of a few castles, exerted only a very limited influence in Lithuania. Only separate rococo elements mix here with the late baroque and enliven it. But most of what may have existed once has been destroyed by the storms of the first World War and postwar period.

4. From Classicism to Modernity

341 About 1800 a new style, classicism, was in-
177 troduced into Lithuania with a certain suddenness; this style had gradually spread in Western Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century. It

●341 177 advanced on the one hand from Vilna and owed its introduction here principally to the activity of the architect and university professor Lauras Gucevičius, who became enthusiastic about the new direction of art during his studies in France. This first Lithuanian architect belongs among the most interesting minds of Lithuanian /162/ art history. Born in 1753, the son of a serf in the district of Ukmergė, he was early destined for the priesthood and attended the school in Panevėžys for five years. Later he succeeded in coming to Vilna. Through his unusual talent he drew to himself the attention of Bishop Massalskis, who took him along on his journeys abroad in 1778. He became acquainted with Königsberg, Danzig, Berlin, and Hamburg (here he had several adventures and was initiated into the mysteries of the Jewish cabala), visited Copenhagen and Stockholm, and later stayed in Paris and Rome. His years of study in Paris were decisive. Having returned to Vilna he obtained the chair of architecture at the university there. The castle of Verkiai as well as the cathedral and the city hall of Vilna show his work. Gucevičius can be considered the founder of classicism in Lithuania, but for the sake of completeness it should be added that even before his activity began, Paul Brzostowski, who also became acquainted with the new trend in art in Western Europe, had classicistic buildings erected on his estate near Vilna. (24)

[113] 24. Paulius Galaune, Vilniaus Meno Mokykla (The Art School of Vilna) 1793-1831 (Kaunas, 1928), pp. 12-45. On Brzotowski of the article in the Lietuviška Enciklopedija.

Courland seems to have been a second starting point for the new artistic trend, above all the city of Mitau. We should not forget that in that period German architects like Leo Klenze came

•341 to St. Petersburg, where part of the Baltic nob-
177 ility was assembled. Thus the impetus which created the so-called Alexander style in Mitau and found its brilliant expression in buildings like the palace of Medem and the castle of Mesothen probably came by way of St. Petersburg. With the close relationship between the Baltic nobility and the nobility of Lithuania, an influence through
342 this channel, too, is to be assumed. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, in any case, there arose everywhere in Lithuania mansions and castles in the empire style, whose symmetrical partitions are characteristic of the feeling for style of the period. They give a certain character to the country even today. The center of these mansions is formed by a front of columns, which plays an important role in the total aesthetic picture and /163/ organically divides the long front of the building. This, on the one hand, creates a passageway; on the other hand, there is room for a balcony or even a terrace. At times, as in the castle of Baisogala, a dome built from the middle of the building dominates the picture and provides the setting for a representative entrance hall or a garden room. In general mansions of middling estates predominate in Lithuania. We find in them the classic style permeated with many Biedermeier elements, so that frequently a quite comfortable impression is created specifically where the buildings are executed in wood.

Characteristic of the so-called Neo-Hellenistic style is the splendid castle of Pakrojus, above which one might actually wish for the blue sky of Greece. In its classic forms it has from afar the effect of a Greek temple--it is also unique in that the same style is repeated in all the court and farm buildings, so that a rare pictorial compactness is attained. The interior corresponds to the exterior, and the great hall seems worthy of a Schinkel in its noble, bright

342 simplicity. To be sure, a castle like Pakrojus belongs to the rare exceptions in the country, especially since Courlandic models are definitely followed here. (25)

[113] 25. Otto Grautoff, Die baltischen Provinzen, Vol. 3, Bauten und Bilder, (Berlin, 1916), pp. XVII and 118. Jasenas, loc. cit., Vol. III, No. V, pp. 308-311.

[341] Although neo-classicism must be regarded as a world wide style dominating the whole monumental architecture of its century, it maintained its importance in the East considerably longer than in the Western countries--far beyond the middle of the nineteenth century. Among the castles built from the second half of the century on we find nearly all types of style; thus one could imagine the castle of Apytalauke just as well in Grunewald. Since up to now there is neither a comprehensive presentation nor a sufficient quantity of illustrations of Lithuanian castles, a detailed treatment of this subject must be left to the future. It may be added that the location of all these mansions was chosen with great taste. /164/ Situated in broad parks, at times on little hills, they are frequently mirrored in artificial lakes and ponds or gain the necessary framework for the unfolding of their artistic effects through broad lawns. To be sure, a number of these buildings are destined to decay, since their owners no longer possess the means for their upkeep as a result of the agrarian reform.

346 In general the construction of important religious buildings in the larger cities of Lithuania came to an end from the nineteenth century on. On the other hand, church construction in the provinces greatly increased. Here, however, the model of antiquity exercises a far smaller influence than the new romanticism which permits the

346 forms of the Middle Ages to come to life again. Concerning this period Prof. Weber says in the essay already mentioned: "The beauty of rising pointed spires and slender, high-pointed arch windows, and also the charm of natural brick color were discovered anew. A second great layer of Gothic red brick churches is now being laid over Lithuania's cities and villages, this time, to be sure, only imitations of real Gothic." (26) Ex-

26. Prof. P. Weber, Litauische Kirchen, op. cit., p. 138.

amples of this are the churches of Jonava and Vilkija on the Memel as well as the church of
341 Rokiskis built by Tiesenhausen. Moreover the second half of the nineteenth century is a period of imitations of all possible styles and in Lithuania, as elsewhere, completely dependent on the eclecticism with its resulting confusion of style which is characteristic of the West. Thus we frequently find in later church buildings a combination of the most varied forms of style which can
[344] no longer be called organic. That even the baroque style celebrated its resurrection in the course of this neo-Renaissance[1] is seen, for example, in the former gouvernement palace, the present palace of the president. The baroque facade here is well divided by two side projections, with a rustica. The end of the roof, a cornice resting on brackets, is carried over the portal and the side projections in slightly wavy lines. These lines have their correspondence in uniquely formed /165/ chimneys.
[345] From most recent times[1] finally, dates the building of the state theater, also to be mentioned in this connection, whose front shows a special lightness of organization through three high windows. The interrupted lines of the roof, which are repeated in great volutes, underline the impression of animation, movement, and grace.

1 [19th century -- Analyst]

346

to the museum is connected with it through a sort of protected passageway, whose arcades find no correspondence in the overall arrangement. The interior architecture of the building, within its large, light exhibition halls and office rooms, serve well the purpose for which the museum is intended.

344 Out of the great number of public buildings which have arisen since the re-establishment of the state, in this context only those few can be discussed which seem characteristic of the trends in the new architecture of the country. Specific characteristics can /169/ not yet be recognized there, except, in most recent times, the transition from stone construction to cement and steel framework construction. Along with the already discussed building of the Kaunas District Administration, the building of the National Bank is representative of this style. Here one has already progressed quite a bit farther along the road to functionalism. It is a building of complete anonymity and impersonality. Large continuous verticals divide the block of the structure into narrow strips of windows. It is symmetrically fashioned out of surface and line, without decorative elements, without relation to the human factor--a many-storied office building with a regular series of windows and of functionally logical construction. The building of the National Bank, in which also the Foreign Ministry is located, was completed in 1935.

341 It is not without interest that the newest warehouse style--steel houses with broad, poster-like horizontal surfaces--such as is characteristic, for example, of the latest development in Holland (but also in Germany), has as yet met with no approval in Lithuania. Perhaps this is connected also with reasons of climate, since in a northern country natural obstacles stand in the way of the construction of broad window surfaces. We find

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perhaps a slight suggestion of this style in the house of the Union of Dairy Companies (Pienocentras).

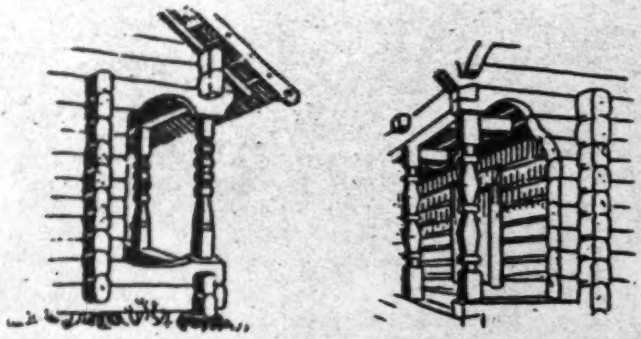
[349] In the provinces, too, state and communal building activity has been very lively in the last decades. Even to the casual observer who may know Lithuania from the preward period, it should seem remarkable that all along the railroad sections station buildings of stone have replaced the earlier Russian wooden barracks. The impression is strengthened, particularly by a visit to the district cities, for in a few years a whole series of large buildings has arisen here on Western models, above all schools and hospitals of often surprising, though necessary proportions (e.g. in Kėdainiai), and in addition many other public and private buildings. For all /170/ these buildings demonstrate a decisive effort, with the support of proven Western forms, to combine the particular purpose of the building, which is the most essential element, with a harmonious form and an overall aesthetic impression.

[361] The face especially of cities such as Šiauliai, that were completely or partially destroyed in the first World War and were rebuilt in stone has completely changed. Thus the transition to stone construction proceeds in the provinces with greater and greater speed and also reaches into the villages, primarily through the example of those who return from America. This development is hastened by the effort to protect and preserve as much as possible the forests of the country, which are not in themselves large. Perhaps only a few more decades will pass and the "Lithuania of stone" which already plays a great role in architectural discussions will have partially become a reality. The character of the Lithuanian countryside would thereby experience a basic change which is for the moment unimaginable.

7: Jungfer RB5 Lithuanians RB5
341

[For the development of various architectural styles in Lithuania, see category 116, pp. 111-124 (architecture in the country), and 162b-194 (architecture in the cities).]

342



26.—27. "Pricklétis" of the Storehouse

342 ported by two or four posts which form a kind a pillar-borne frontal,
531 "*prieklétis*." The vertical section and plan resemble those of a small Greco-Roman prostyle. The *klétis* corresponds to the naos, the *prieklétis* to the pronaos. This is a wooden temple, Mr. Galaunė compared them with one. The proportions, the distribution of parts and the whole arrangement of the front are nearly identical. Horizontal branches supported by the pillars form the architrave, above which appears the frontal. The transversal beams, with their ends inserted in the entablature of the roof, bear some resemblance to triglyphs and metopes.

341 There can be no doubt that this architectural type, which originated in centres of human culture that had no contact whatever with Greece, is completely independent from classical buildings, but the absence of direct ties renders such coincidences all the more remarkable. Indeed they are of great interest for the investigation of the genesis of the ancient type of architecture. The principal factors which produced the Doric style are well known. Several trends are knotted together therein and form a homogenous order, but it is a Northern strain that seems to define its particular character. The triglyphes, the metopes, the steep roof as well as certain parts of the plan are due not to the technique of stone building, but to the timber-framing system hailing from the North. Unfortunately we can form nothing but hypotheses with regard to the pre-Hellenic huts of Thessalia and other regions which may have co-operated in their

[Errata: Should be kind of. Cf. Errata Sheet, P. 204, Cat. 116--- Analyst]

28. "Klétis", Storehouse
District of Kedainiai

development. Only by way of comparison with later and frequently distant monuments, which nevertheless follow the same rudimentary procedure, is it possible to catch a glimpse of these initial elements. It was thought that the *klétis* might give the best idea of them. Similarity of material, of the very limited means and of constructive nercessities should give rise to similar forms. But the *klétis* is only a prototype which is apt to become more complicated. Sometimes the *prieklétis* is shifted to one of the lateral walls, in such a case the space is developed, not in depth but in breath as in certain oriental architectures. The most ancient known Syrian dwelling is built on the same plan. No doubt in this case, as in that of the temple, it is an accidental analogy, but this analogy deserves to be pointed out. Even when built in our time the *klétis* is sometimes filled with the smoky dust of yore.

341 [342]

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29. "Klétis", Storehouse
District of Biržai

[Errata: should be necessities. Cf. Errata sheet, p.204, cat. 116. --- Analyst]
[Errata: should be breadth. Cf. Errata sheet, p.204, cat. 116. --- Analyst]

A. The Rural Architecture

1. The Farmhouse

In the previous chapter we have shown how the artistic will and talent of the Lithuanian people is expressed in its songs, sagas, fairy tales, proverbs, and riddles. Power of presentation and instinct for form, however, are no less strongly revealed in the characteristic elaboration and creative manipulation of such materials as belong to the most primitive of human life; we may think here of the motifs of the peasant art of weaving or of the art of wood-carving in all its ramifications.

322 The Lithuanian art of wood-carving grew out of an unknown but spiritually rich antiquity. Still today the wooden house of the peasant stands next to the wooden church and the wooden bell tower in the villages of the country. At crossroads and in the cemeteries the old crosses tower into the air, with their rich ornaments and decorative motifs and with their figures of saints carved out of wood. Here, too, we meet the same elements of an aesthetic rhythmic, and mystical nature from which all artistic experience traces its origin. Before, however, we pass on to the separate spheres of this art, we must cast a brief glance at the Lithuanian farmhouse and the Lithuanian village church.

342 /102/ It should be noted at the outset that usually the most varied influences are at work on the farmhouse and its form; first of all geographic influences, and also those connected with the general economic situation and culture of the country. Every economic revolution affects also the form of the houses, and Lithuania has not lacked such revolutions. Thus the present house types in this country point to a relatively recent development. To trace this thread backward from the present would lead too far in this context; let then a few thoughts be repeated only

342 briefly, as formulated approximately as follows by Prof. H. Naumann in his Deutsche Volkskunde: "Ur" Europe was familiar with two forms of houses, the circular stone construction in the southern and central regions and the wood construction in the north and east. Both forms were conditioned by the material. The larger forests of the east supplied the building material, just as did the stony soil of the southern European regions, which were poor in forests. "The wooden house still reaches directly into the forest; the stone house bears witness of a glaring sun, from which it offers better protection. The right-angled wooden house was erected principally with the purpose of enclosing the hearth in a protected space and
343 creating a place of warmth." (1) Thus the hearth

[113] 1. Hans Naumann, Grundzüge der deutschen Volkskunde, 2nd ed. (1929), pp. 28-29.

or smoke house is the oldest type of wooden house. It was necessarily developed into a house with an entrance hall. Since the smoke drew off only incompletely through the roof, it was found necessary to construct an entrance hall in which air could be obtained.

If, to be sure, Dlugosz still describes the Samogitian house in the year 1413 as a smoke house, in which men and cattle lived together, this representation is obviously biased, for the few older so-called "inventories" already mention all the buildings of the present Lithuanian farm, together with their own Lithuanian designations, although the "inventories" were written in the White Russian or Polish languages. Where under particularly miserable conditions men and cattle lived together under one roof, the stable was in any case /103/ separated by a partition from the human lodgings. Also the existence of the pirtis, the Lithuanian steam bath, has, in contrast to

343 White Russia, has been confirmed as early as the sixteenth century as a special structure within the framework of the Lithuanian farmhouse. (2)

[113] 2. P. Galaunė, Lietuvių liaudies menas, jo meninių formų plėtojimosi pagrindai, Hum. Mok. fakulteto leidinys (Lithuanian Folk Art, the Foundations of the Development of its Artistic Forms, Publication of the Humanities Faculty) (Kaunas, 1930), pp. 33-38.

342 In contrast to frame construction the Lithuanian farm knows only the joining of logs, which was made possible by the abundance of wood in the country. The roof consists usually of straw, less often of shingles. The walls are put together of long beams in the familiar manner of wooden miter construction /Schurzholzbau/ (Gehrsassbau)/. The partitions are made in exactly the same way. Doors and windows are made by cutting out pieces of the logs and mortising the pieces to jambs attached to the sides of the window. "This is the form which occurs everywhere in log construction; it results from the nature of wood." (3)

[113] 3. Cornelius Gurlitt, "Alt-litauisches Bauwesen," Der Tag, Berlin, September 8, 1918.

The rural farm typical of Lithuania today is grouped around a courtyard in various separate buildings. The stable lies at right angles to the dwelling, the large barn opposite the dwelling, and on the fourth side of the rectangle is the klėtis, the storeroom of the farmer in which he preserves his best possessions and in which also a sleeping room is located. Its windows are unusually small for security. In front of the entrance is a porch supported by columns and usually

342 beautifully decorated, to which several steps lead up. (4)

[113] 4. Cf. on this point also Dr. Dethlefsen, Führer durch das Ostpreussische Heimatmuseum (1913), p. 12.

We must dwell a little on this most noteworthy building of the Lithuanian farm, for we have here apparently the primitive type of the Lithuanian house, of which Caspar Hennenberger already reports, in 1595, in his description of the Lithuanians living on Prussian soil: "The house within which they all eat is called the black house / and is in truth black enough from
343 smoke and soot. In addition every married couple has a separate little house / that is called a kleidt (klēte) / constructed of round logs / below it has something like a low little cellar/ on top a sort of chamber without windows/ only one door/ where they /104/ go in /. . ." (5) The

[113] 5. Quoted according to Dr. Hans Mortensen, Litauen, Grundzüge einer Landeskinde (Hamburg, 1926), p. 97.

present-day klētis, which in its simplest form contains only a small quadrangle space, sometimes square, sometimes rectangular, carries a straw roof whose ridge runs parallel to the long axis, but at times it runs perpendicular to it and then makes the roof surfaces slope to the front and rear instead of to right and left. "Thus this strange granary has the unmistakable plan of a little ancient Greek temple of the earliest period." (6)

[113] 6. Hans Naumann, "Vom litauischen Bauernhaus," Das neue Litauen, Vol. 2 (1918), Nos. 1/2, pp. 98, 99, 106.

342
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The development then probably proceeded in such a way that, with increased requirements, out of the forms of the old klētis the dwelling house was developed, while the klētis itself obtained its present designation. On the basis of the Samogitian numas (house) described by Tumas, Galaunē shows that the Lithuanian farmhouse, as it later developed, contains within it all the elements of construction of the old klētis, (7) and

7. P. Galaunē, op. cit., pp. 46-50.

Pfor. Naumann also points to this connection when he writes: "If we separate the right and left wings of the farmhouse from the middle section and nothing but the latter is left, do we not then obtain exactly our granary, that prototype of a simple little ancient Greek temple? May we have here perhaps a relationship reaching into the southeast of Europe? Does it not appear as if we have before us the primitive eastern European house, which here became a granary, there a temple, when there was need for expanded facilities?"(8)

8. Hans Naumann, Vom litauischen Bauernhaus, op. cit., p. 106.

A description of the interior organization of the Lithuanian dwelling lies outside the scope of this presentation. In connection with Naumann's propositions we may only refer to the three-part structure of the Lithuanian farmhouse, constantly repeated in various forms, as well as its typical front section of columns. Although the latter is not found everywhere, the farmhouse has been taken over in this form into the cities, where often enough it has found its imitation in stone. (9)

113

9. For the Lithuanian farmhouse cf. further: Baurat Richard Dethlefsen, Bauernhäuser und

113 Holzkirchen in Ostpreussen (Berlin, 1911), Chapter: "Litauen," pp. 17-35. Adalbert Bezzenberger, "Über das litauische Haus, Ein Versuch," Altpreussiche Monats-Schrift. N.F., Vol. 23 (Königsberg, 1886), pp. 34-79. R. Virchow, "Die altpreussische Bevölkerung, namentlich Letten und Litauer, sowie deren Häuser," Verhandlungen der Berl. Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte (Berlin, 1891). A Bezzenberger, "Bemerkungen über den Hausbau im russischen Litauen und in einem Teile Kurlands," Sitzungsber. d. Altert. Gesellsch. Prussia, No. 19 (Königsberg, 1895), pp. 130 ff. Basic: H. Grisebach, "Das polnische Bauernhaus," Veröffentlichungen der Landeskundlichen Kommission beim Kaiserl. Deutschen Gen.-Gouv. Warschau, Beiträge zur poln. Landeskunde, Series B (Berlin, 1917).

342

Special interest is awakened by the roof forms: the most common is the house with a perpendicular gable in which the uppermost triangular section of the /105/ gable wall consists of boards. Along with this form we find as the simplest form the full slope with or without "owl's nest", and far more frequently the half slope, which appears in various forms. Dr. Hans Mortensen, who has investigated more closely the roof forms of Lithuania with regard to their topographical differences, was able to establish no "direct geographical conditioning of the various types of design." The house with the fully sloped gable appears to him the basic form of the individual types. "This basic form, according to Grisebach, resulted from the 'pavilion' through the addition of a ridge." The co-existence of six different types of designs, as we meet them today in the Lithuanian farmhouse, betrays in any case, in spite of all traditional

342 restraint, a mental flexibility of its inhabitants and follows along the path of the natural development that has led from the old "smoke house" to the present-day form of the Lithuanian farm. (10)

10. Cf. the presentation of the types of design of the Lithuanian farmhouse in Mortensen (op. cit., pp. 93-96) and the analogous drawings in Galaunė (op. cit., p. 55). [See cat. 113, pp. 113 + 114 -- Analyst]

531 322 342 If the external form and organization of the farmhouse resulted at first from practical requirements, at the same time the wood construction was easier to work with and met the needs of decoration to a greater degree then the simple stone construction. It is understandable that the artistic embellishment extended predominantly to the appendages of the buildings. Here Lithuanian ornamentation unfolded in beautiful patterns based partly on the surrounding nature and partly constructed according to strict geometrical principles. The richest decorations of this type are found in the klėtis, again proof that this peculiar building was not a simple granary but the primitive dwelling. We find the instinct for artistic forms both in the various types of carved columns of the porch and the beautifully vaulted arches at the ends of the sides. (11)

11. P. Galaunė, op. cit., p. 62.

The front part of the dwelling, resting on four columns, exhibits in its ornamentation elements of the baroque and the renaissance, whose models, following Galaunė, /106/ we will have to seek first in the buildings of Lithuanian castles and farms of that period. A parallel phenomenon of this sort of adaptation to a more general cul-

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342

tural level is formed by the colorful ornamentation of the old South German farmhouses. Especially the carved decorative mouldings which close the front part of the Lithuanian dwelling toward the roof exhibit a great ornamental richness. The massive front doors of the farmhouses are usually decorated with a rosette, the symbol of the sun. Stylized animal and plant patterns are born primarily by the upper end mouldings of the windows, while the often brightly painted shutters themselves are decorated with carved rosettes. The so-called "gable horns" are basically no more than the gable-shaped supports of the long pole that forms the ridge of the wooden house. A lively need for ornamentation has shaped them in Lithuania, similarly as in North Germany, into the most varied forms. We find the silhouetted imitations of horse heads, as well as birds, flowers, and people.

The ornamental decoration of the Lithuanian farmhouse frequently exhibits in the north and northeast of the country Russian influences of style which differ distinctly from the Lithuanian patterns. The latter extend farther back into antiquity. "We will not be mistaken," says the Lithuanian art historian Galaunė, "if we maintain that among no other people, with the possible exception of the Letts and Finns, such an abundance of primitive elements has been preserved as in our ornamentation." (12) This ornamentation,

12. Ibid., p. 23.

concerning which more must be said in another place, in its application to the Lithuanian farmhouse, is of strict proportions and pure form. It is harmoniously fitted into its principles of construction as to proportion and line. And as there is no farmhouse in the whole country that does not have its little flower garden which is

531 lovingly cared for by the girls, this same loving
322 attitude took the elements of Lithuanian ornament-
342 ation out of the surrounding nature and decorated the simple house of the Lithuanian farmer with its symbols.

/107/ 2. The Village Church

000 From what was said above results also the special mood which hovers over the Lithuanian villages and which hardly an artist who has once stayed in Lithuania has escaped. One must, perhaps, have wandered oneself through the country and entered one of these quiet farms, which nothing betrays from afar but the circle of trees which surrounds it. One must once have made a long journey through the country, have experienced the colorful shades of an evening in the East, the rushing of a village stream, the fragrance of the little hidden gardens. For this mood is necessary to the understanding of the Lithuanian village.

[346] On the highest hill in the village lies the church, plainly built in the simple forms of log construction.

Let us remember how we regard the city church or cathedral as the symbol of soaring worship of God in a wealthy commercial and royal city. Here everyone feels the concentrated energy of the whole population directed toward the attainment of a higher goal, dedicated to a higher, supernatural idea, desirous of giving here its best. But is it basically any different with the little Catholic village churches of Lithuania? Is not in the last analysis everything which the human spirit has created in the sense of a higher idea, a pious ideal, to be considered as equally valuable?--with the sole difference that in the one case the idea was able to unfold freely, while in the other case it remained bound within simple limits. With such thoughts one may enter

• 342 Few castles in the baroque style have been
346 preserved in present-day Lithuania. We know that the high nobility followed the example of the court and built splendid mansions on its properties in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On the basis of the available contemporary illustrations Galaunė finds here a close relationship with the present old Lithuanian synagogues, which faithfully preserved the style of those country mansions with their high, pyramid-like, graded [gebrochene] roofs and the cubic forms of the anteroom. Thus the old synagogues seem to him to be the "last echo of an architecture of wood, already vanished, which was employed in the building of the Lithuanian estates." (21)

[113] 21. Cf. Galaunė, "Lietuvių liaudies means" (The Lithuanian Folk Art), Veröff, d. Hum. Fak. d. Univ. Vytautas d. Gr. (Kaunas, 1930), pp. 153 and 154, as well as the Russian and Polish references given there.

342 In discussing the modern castles we should
712 not forget that most of the manor houses arose in those quiet and peaceful times when the castle no longer represented a fortress. Real fortresses which served the purpose of defense did not exist in Lithuania (Unnumbered page with illustrations--Village Sculpture) /161/ in any great number. Their remains go back almost exclusively to the wars of the orders, for example the ruins of the fortresses of Kaunas and Gelgaudai, the old Christ Memel /Christmemel/. On the foundation walls of others rise castles of recent times, such as those of Raudonė and Raudondvaris. (22)

113 22. Tarasenka, Gimtoji senovė (Olden Days of the Homeland) (Šiauliai, 1925), pp. 90-92. Tarasenka, Medžiaga Lietuvos archeologijai (Material for Lithuanian Archaeology). For the fortress of Gelgaudai cf.

113 also Tarasenka, "Gelgaudų pilis" (The Fortress of Gelgaudai) in Iliustr. Lietuva, 1927, No. 39; for the fortress of Kaunas: Volteris, "Kauno senosios pilies pėdsakai ir palaikai" (Traces and Remains of the Oldest Fortress in Kaunas), ibid., No. 45.

• 342 The castle in the modern sense, which serves the economically and socially prominent for representation and enjoyment of life, was not built in the open country of Lithuania as of the whole Baltic area before the eighteenth century. (23)

[113] 23. Carl Meissner, Das schöne Kurland (Munich, 1917), p. 101.

Remains of this period, the mighty ruins of the castle of Biržai still tower on high, built by Prince Radvila in the year 1701. Now wars, revolutions, and devastating fires have probably in no country had a more destructive effect than in Lithuania. This is also the reason why most of the present-day manor houses go back to a much more recent time, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Thus we find among the castles of the country not a single one left which would be characteristic of the baroque of the eighteenth cen-
341 tury. The forms of the rococo, too, if we except the interior decoration of a few castles, exerted only a very limited influence in Lithuania. Only separate rococo elements mix here with the late baroque and enliven it. But most of what may have existed once has been destroyed by the storms of the first World War and postwar period.

4. From Classicism to Modernity

341 About 1800 a new style, classicism, was in-
177 troduced into Lithuania with a certain suddenness; this style had gradually spread in Western Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century. It

341 to St. Petersburg, where part of the Baltic nob-
177 ility was assembled. Thus the impetus which created the so-called Alexander style in Mitau and found its brilliant expression in buildings like the palace of Medem and the castle of Mesothen probably came by way of St. Petersburg. With the close relationship between the Baltic nobility and the nobility of Lithuania, an influence through
●342 this channel, too, is to be assumed. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, in any case, there arose everywhere in Lithuania mansions and castles in the empire style, whose symmetrical partitions are characteristic of the feeling for style of the period. They give a certain character to the country even today. The center of these mansions is formed by a front of columns, which plays an important role in the total aesthetic picture and /163/ organically divides the long front of the building. This, on the one hand, creates a passageway; on the other hand, there is room for a balcony or even a terrace. At times, as in the castle of Baisogala, a dome built from the middle of the building dominates the picture and provides the setting for a representative entrance hall or a garden room. In general mansions of middling estates predominate in Lithuania. We find in them the classic style permeated with many Biedermeier elements, so that frequently a quite comfortable impression is created specifically where the buildings are executed in wood.

Characteristic of the so-called Neo-Hellenistic style is the splendid castle of Pakrojus, above which one might actually wish for the blue sky of Greece. In its classic forms it has from afar the effect of a Greek temple--it is also unique in that the same style is repeated in all the court and farm buildings, so that a rare pictorial compactness is attained. The interior corresponds to the exterior, and the great hall seems worthy of a Schinkel in its noble, bright

342 simplicity. To be sure, a castle like Pakrojus belongs to the rare exceptions in the country, especially since Courlandic models are definitely followed here. (25)

[113] 25. Otto Grautoff, Die baltischen Provinzen, Vol. 3, Bauten und Bilder, (Berlin, 1916), pp. XVII and 118. Jasenas, loc. cit., Vol. III, No. V, pp. 308-311.

[341] Although neo-classicism must be regarded as a world wide style dominating the whole monumental architecture of its century, it maintained its importance in the East considerably longer than in the Western countries--far beyond the middle of the nineteenth century. Among the castles built from the second half of the century on we find nearly all types of style; thus one could imagine the castle of Apytalauke just as well in Grunewald. Since up to now there is neither a comprehensive presentation nor a sufficient quantity of illustrations of Lithuanian castles, a detailed treatment of this subject must be left to the future. It may be added that the location of all these mansions was chosen with great taste. /164/ Situated in broad parks, at times on little hills, they are frequently mirrored in artificial lakes and ponds or gain the necessary framework for the unfolding of their artistic effects through broad lawns. To be sure, a number of these buildings are destined to decay, since their owners no longer possess the means for their upkeep as a result of the agrarian reform.

346 In general the construction of important religious buildings in the larger cities of Lithuania came to an end from the nineteenth century on. On the other hand, church construction in the provinces greatly increased. Here, however, the model of antiquity exercises a far smaller influence than the new romanticism which permits the

7. Jungfer-189 S-4,5(no date)1938 RB5LithuaniansRB5

565
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369

We thereby have arrived in the midst of modernity,* which has brought with it a complete revolution of all living conditions through the powerful events of the first World War and the re-establishment of the Lithuanian state. This regrouping has also taken place in the area of social organization: if originally there existed only two large classes--nobility and peasantry--along with which the working class gained a certain importance in the countryside only, a new group, an urban middle class, now began to crystalize. How great a significance the urban middle class can have for the unfolding of the cultural forces of a people, the architecture of the East in general is the most telling example. In contrast to Western countries, which, along with public and religious buildings, exhibit a compact group of artistically valuable bourgeois houses, this architecture is completely lacking in Lithuania. The simple, half rural city dweller built his house through centuries either in a completely unartistic brick style--the undecorated, single-storied brick houses were almost typical of the nucleus, inhabited principally by Jews, of the small Lithuanian provincial cities--or he stuck to the familiar wood structure. The latter was transferred to the city almost unchanged and is characteristic primarily of the outer sectors not only of the small towns, but also of the larger cities. "The persistence of tradition is quite surprising. The people proper has remained untouched by all the changes of the 'great architecture,' let the foreign immigrants, let the church and nobility build as they wanted."(27

[113] 27. Prof. P. Weber, Wilna, Eine vergessene Kunststätte (Vilna, 1917), p. 118.

/166/ The new urban middle class, which after the first World War became the bearer of the concept of the state and of cultural progress, substantially

* [19th century modernity -- Analyst]

342 369 [565] changed the external appearance of the cities of the country in a few years, especially since state and communes provided the outer frame for the new bourgeois houses by asphalting on a large scale and by creating green parks. One sees this most clearly in Kaunas. Apart from the actual center, the single dwelling predominates, although, with the relatively small amount of space available in the inner sectors, it was in many cases the row house which was called for. The growth of the city, which took place at an almost American tempo, the unusual housing shortage, and the independence of the builders led in the first years to an unorganic development. In this the artistic architecture found at first no place, since the first and most necessary goal was only to create four walls and a roof over the heads of the rapidly growing population of the city. Even the building with wood was hard hit by these necessities of life, for in most cases it was no longer the comfortable forms of the roomy farmhouse which were transferred to the city, but there arose sober, quadrangular, tin-roofed wooden houses consisting of a first and second story, unattractively set in bare courtyards--houses made for profit, where even the presence of a little garden or a few blossoming shrubs constituted an exception. Along with those styleless, boxlike buildings of wood or stone, however, very recently, after the most pressing necessities of life had been satisfied, various attempts have been made to solve the housing problem according to the artistic model of the West, primarily in smaller private houses and villas in the style of the country house. The development here is still fully in foux, so that a final judgment would be premature, especially since the building activity has not come to a standstill, in spite of the difficult economic situation and the great crisis which began in 1931.

/167/ In the sphere of public building, too,

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

ARCHITECTURE

342 In all forest-clad countries the dwellings of the peasants resemble each other. The most usual type is the low-walled cabin, built of logs under a roof sloping towards the front and the back. This shape is familiar in three quarters of Europe, but Lithuania preserves very ancient patterns of it. The simplest form of such buildings consists of one room. They stand on four cornerstones or poles. They are mentioned in certain documents of the 16th century, but the tradition goes still further back to prehistoric buildings. The timber framing is fitted together without the aid of metal parts, by joggle joints — *"raktas"*, — or by a central key way cut in the beam with dents, *"iškarpa"*. The house has only two openings, a door and one attic window. The roof is protected by a thick layer of straw. Inside, a hearth, a bed, a chest, a table and few seats

342

1. "Numas" of Žemaičiai

Inside, a hearth, a bed, a chest, a table and a few seats [352]
constitute the modest fittings of a Spartan way of living. Such was without doubt the Black House, black with smoke and soot, mentioned by Caspar Hannenberger in 1595, and the houses built on the rectilinear plan, traces of which have been discovered during excavations at Dukštas. Such was certainly the primitive Nordic cabin.

The twin system of dwelling was very often used and shows several variations. The first addition consists of a terrace. The arrangement of the interior was changed, the number of windows was increased. Sometimes the one room, was also divided by a partition, but the general lines of the plan were maintained. If other buildings were added this was done in the centre, in the direction of the reception hall. Sometimes it is only one wing, sometimes a real transept was built. A special type was evolved in Žemaitija (Lower Lithuania, Samogitia). If a family became wealthy it used to abandon its old home — which henceforward served as a barn — and to build a new and vaster dwelling, the *"numas"*, consisting of two equal parts: the stable and the human dwelling. As in Biblical times man and beast are sheltered under the same roof. The principal room is spacious and contains the hearth. Another room used to be built on the Southern side. It had no communication with the interior and served as a bedroom for the landlord and for young married couples. On the same side there

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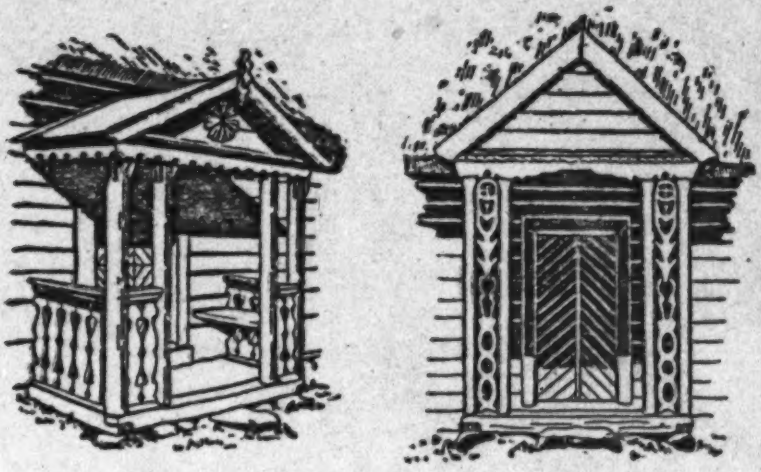

2.—3. Porches

was a large terrace where in summer the inhabitants could take their meals and sleep.

342 Decoration was generally scarce and usually limited to the front of the
531 house. Perforated boards embellished the cornices, the cross beams and the window frames. They were cut in saw pattern or in a design of intersecting segments of a circle. They were decorated with rows of hearts and various other ornaments. Sometimes birds or other arimals surrounding a vase were placed on both sides of the holy tree of the Orient, the "Hom", which is perfectly recognizable. The oculi are surrounded by rosaces. The bodies of the pillars were often decorated with spheres or tores placed one above the other. The balustrades imitated the carvings
[777] on the rail posts. On the façade circular designs were often used. On the gable two intersecting branches representing horses or birds showed the ancient zoomorphic combinations we find so often in Romanesque sculpture. They were believed to protect the dwellers against ruin, disease and fires. According to legend, evil spirits flying over a village only entered dwellings which lacked this ornament on which they could perch and take breath.

1 [Errata: should be other animals. Cf. Errata Sheet, p. 204, cat. 116. --- Analyst]

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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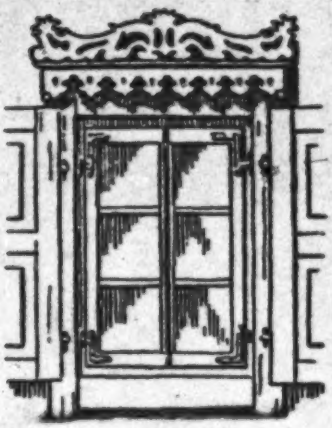

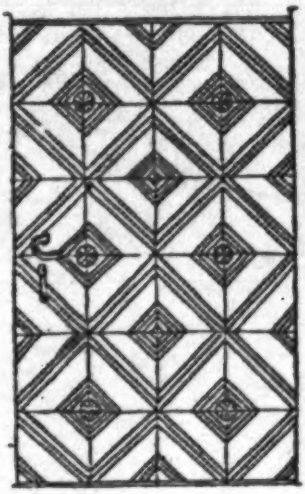

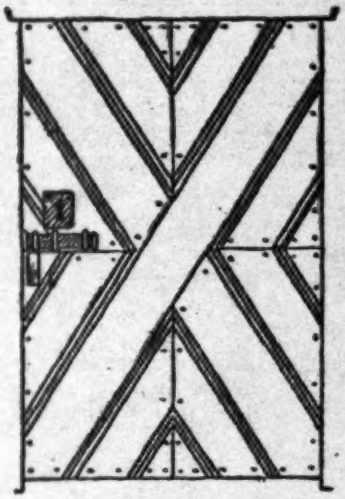

4.—7. Windows and Doors

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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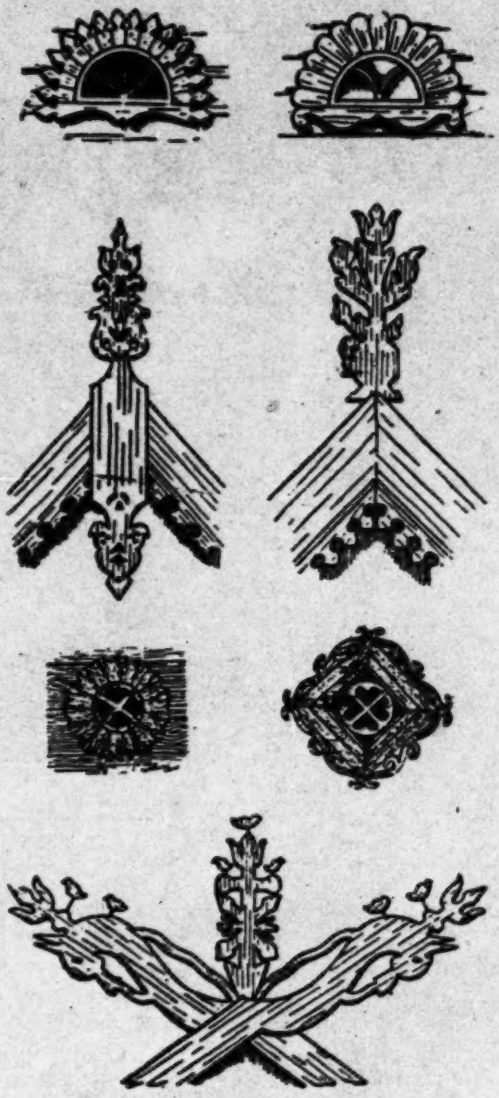
Such were the simple dwellings in which the peasant still succeeded in improving his condition of life and in introducing some progress. All these designs repeat themselves with remarkable constancy through generations and they are also to be found in buildings adapted to modern requirements.

When it became necessary to enlarge the dwelling-house, the attached storehouse gave rise to interesting architectural developments. Such houses are called "*klétis*", a name derived from *kali* — wood in Sanscrit — compare with the Greek *kality* and the Celtic *kliath*, words more than a thousand years old.

The roof is extended on one side or projected over the gable and sup-



15.—21. Gable Ornaments and Windows

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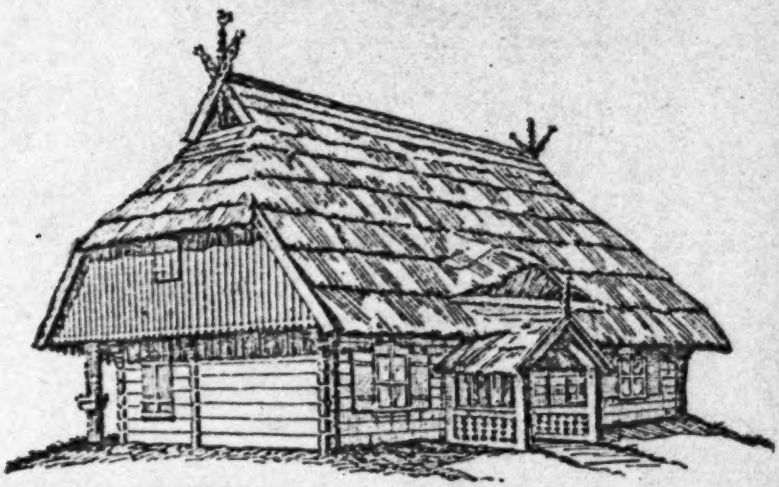
22. *Dwelling-House, District of Alytus*



23. *Dwelling-House, District of Stalupénai (Stallupönen, Prussian Lithuania)*

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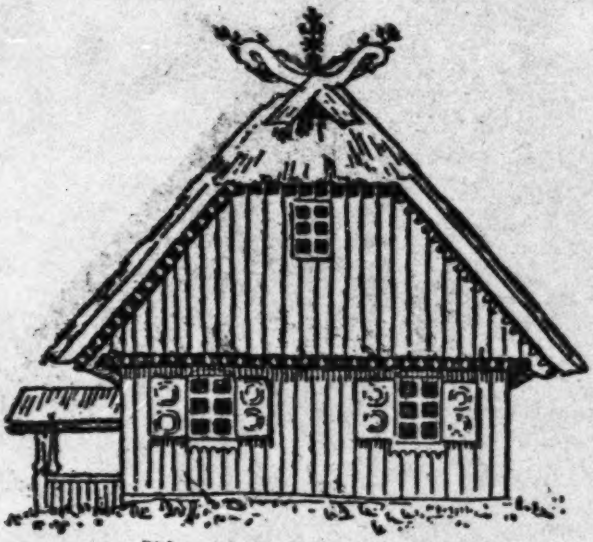
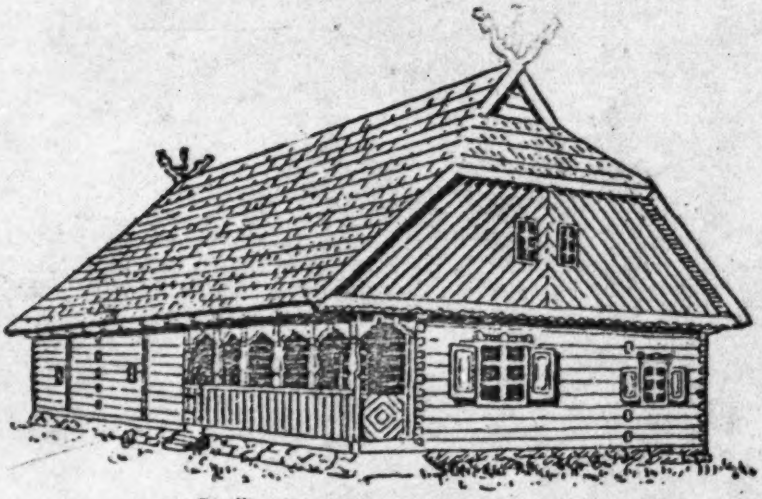


24. *Fisherman's Dwelling at Nida (Nidden)*



25. *Dwelling-House, District of Pagėgiai (Pogegen)*

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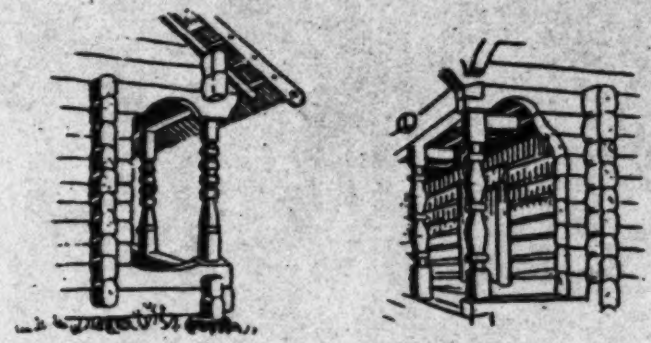

26.—27. "Prieklétis" of the Storehouse

342 531 ported by two or four posts which form a kind a[1] pillar-borne frontal, "*prieklétis*." The vertical section and plan resemble those of a small Greco-Roman prostyle. The *klétis* corresponds to the naos, the *prieklétis* to the pronaos. This is a wooden temple, Mr. Galauné compared them with one. The proportions, the distribution of parts and the whole arrangement of the front are nearly identical. Horizontal branches supported by the pillars form the architrave, above which appears the frontal. The transversal beams, with their ends inserted in the entablature of the roof, bear some resemblance to triglyphs and metopes.

341 There can be no doubt that this architectural type, which originated in centres of human culture that had no contact whatever with Greece, is completely independent from classical buildings, but the absence of direct ties renders such coincidences all the more remarkable. Indeed they are of great interest for the investigation of the genesis of the ancient type of architecture. The principal factors which produced the Doric style are well known. Several trends are knotted together therein and form a homogenous order, but it is a Northern strain that seems to define its particular character. The triglyphes, the metopes, the steep roof as well as certain parts of the plan are due not to the technique of stone building, but to the timber-framing system hailing from the North. Unfortunately we can form nothing but hypotheses with regard to the pre-Hellenic huts of Thessalia and other regions which may have co-operated in their

[1] [Errata: Should be kind of. Cf. Errata Sheet, p. 204, cat. 116 --- Analyst]

28. "Klétis", Storehouse
District of Kedainiai

development. Only by way of comparison with later and frequently distant monuments, which nevertheless follow the same rudimentary procedure, is it possible to catch a glimpse of these initial elements. It was thought that the *klétis* might give the best idea of them. Similarity of material, of the very limited means and of constructive nercessities should give rise to similar forms. But the *klétis* is only a prototype which is apt to become more complicated. Sometimes the *prieklétis* is shifted to one of the lateral walls, in such a case the space is developed, not in depth but in breath as in certain oriental architectures. The most ancient known Syrian dwelling is built on the same plan. No doubt in this case, as in that of the temple, it is an accidental analogy, but this analogy deserves to be pointed out. Even when built in our time the *klétis* is sometimes filled with the smoky dust of yore.

341 [342]

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29. "Klétis", Storehouse
District of Biržai

[Errata: should be necessities. Cf. Errata sheet, p.204, cat. 116. --- Analyst]
[Errata: should be breadth. Cf. Errata sheet, p.204, cat. 116. --- Analyst]

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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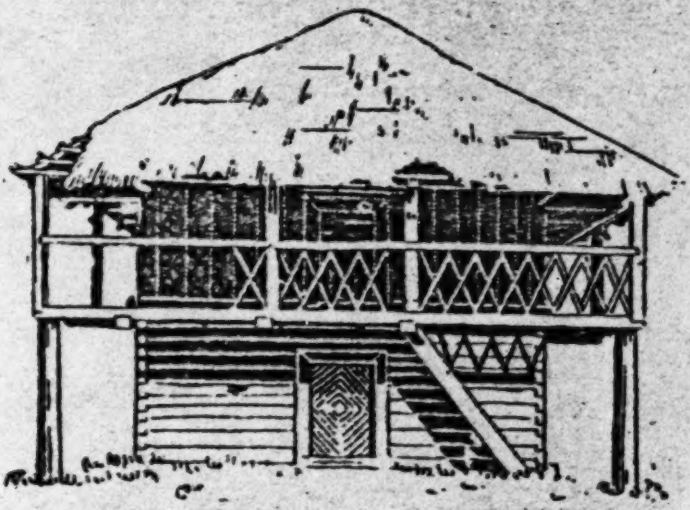

30.—31. "Klėtis", Storehouse, District of Eržai (above) and Vilnius

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

2. Porch of an Old Farmhouse
District of Utena

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

292 The national costume, though little worn on ordinary occasions, is much in evidence on holidays and on festive occasions, particularly among the women.

342 241 Since the redistribution of the communal lands, the farms have all been scattered over the vast plain, at some distance from one another. Most of the buildings are of wood, as timber costs far less than masonry; the roofs are generally of thatch or wood, though quite often of iron or tiled. Most of the houses are fairly roomy, and even small peasant farmers have three or four rooms. The Lithuanian peasant does not live in a house under the same roof as the stables or other farm buildings, as is so often the case in Western and Southern Europe; he regards such an arrangement as inconvenient and unhealthy. There is generally a little orchard and vegetable garden near the house. The Lithuanian peasants do not plant orchards for commercial purposes; they grow fruit for their own requirements and very few of them sell their fruit on the home markets or for export.

184 The country being comparatively small in area, no great differences are noticeable between the types of farm or the peasants in different regions. Of recent years, the various means of communication, particularly motor-bus services, have improved, and this tends very largely to eliminate such differences as did exist between the various regions. Practically all the peasantry is Roman Catholic. Though dialects exist, peasants [212] from all parts of the country understand one another. For some years now, over half of them have been able to read the newspapers and to become familiar with the literary language; farming papers alone have a circulation of over 150,000, though the total number of farms does not exceed 290,000. From the point of view of nationality also, the Lithuanian peasantry constitutes a homogeneous mass. Lithuania does possess national minorities (about 18% of the population) but these consist mainly of urban dwellers, whereas the rural districts are populated almost exclusively by persons of Lithuanian race.

* * *

000 The Lithuanians have full confidence in the future. Always supposing that no restrictions are placed on their activities and that their territory is not once again turned into a battlefield, the exploitation of the natural riches of the country should proceed rapidly and on a comprehensive scale, while the living conditions of the rural population will improve correspondingly. This confidence in the future is justified by the very considerable progress already achieved during the brief period since Lithuania recovered her independence, progress which is explained by the attachment of country dwellers to the land and by their hard-working, intelligent and long-suffering character, and, lastly,

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

I. DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

162 Lithuania is essentially an agricultural country : the 1923 census showed that 76.7% of the inhabitants live in the rural areas and are occupied in agriculture. According to estimates [161] based on the most recent statistics, the total population on January 1st, 1938, was 2,549,668.

At the time of the agricultural census of 1930, the total [423] area (including forest and land not under cultivation) of the agricultural undertakings (287,380) with an area of over 1 hectare was 4,318,514 hectares. As no more recent data are available, it is impossible to calculate the exact density of the rural population or the extent of migration from the country to the [166] towns since 1923. It is, however, clear that, as a result of industrial developments, many landless agricultural labourers have settled in the towns in recent years.

342

A Lithuanian house.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

The farm consists of the following separate buildings: the farm-house, a byre or stable, a barn, a loft, a bath-house (at some distance from the house), and a cellar, with a small orchard, a kitchen-garden and a little flower-garden. 342 343

The house, usually of wood, includes a large kitchen, which is also the living-room (gričia), a large guest-room (seklyčia), one or two small bedrooms, a storeroom, a hall (with one room on either side), and a porch. In the loft (where grain, flour, etc., are stored), one or two bedrooms are often fitted up during the summer. In some districts, a special kitchen is constructed for the summer.

The rooms are about 3 metres high; the air circulates freely through the windows and wooden partitions. The inner walls are whitewashed and the floor is generally of boards. The house is warmed by means of stoves, which are often unpractical, particularly in the older houses.

Nearly every farm has a well, which is kept covered for sanitary reasons.

The privies are generally of a primitive kind, situated at a fair distance from the house.

The animals are kept in byres or stables at some distance from the house, with portions divided off for the smaller farmyard animals; the latter are occasionally housed separately.

A special loft is used to store grain, flour, etc. Cereals and forage are kept in a separate barn, while vegetables and other particularly perishable products are stored in a separate cellar, or in a special cellar under the house.

The farm-houses and out-buildings do as yet not compare with those of farmers in Western Europe. Under the former Russian Government, agriculture remained at a standstill, and rural recovery was precluded. During the war, all the farmers' savings disappeared, and a large number of farms — some 16,000 — were destroyed. These had to be rebuilt, while many new buildings were required in connection with the agrarian reform, thereby adding to the difficulties of rural administration. The development of agriculture and the improvement in rural standards of living make it a matter of urgent necessity that buildings better adapted to the farmers' needs should be erected without delay.

The Government and the agricultural organisations are taking energetic measures to improve rural building: Active propaganda is carried on, farmers are taught how to plan their buildings, so that they may be put to better use, grants are made for the erection of model buildings, prizes are awarded for farms run on rational lines, etc. Quite recently, at the instance of the Government in collaboration with the Chamber of Agriculture, the Lithuanian Society of Engineers and Architects and other institutions and organisations, a long-term plan

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

342 was framed to encourage the use of brick and stone for building
343 purposes, as Lithuania is not rich in timber. The plan includes the erection of stone houses for farmers and agricultural labourers and stables and byres, and provision is made for long-term credits to be granted to farmers for the purpose, at reduced rates. Care will be taken, when the plan is carried out, to see that the buildings are rationally constructed, in accordance with economic and sanitary requirements; æsthetic considerations will also be borne in mind.

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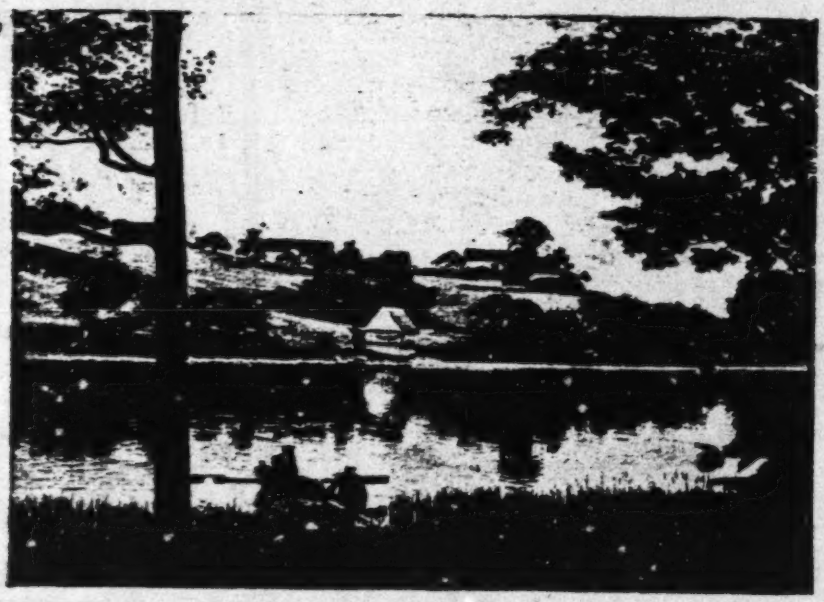

Lithuanian landscape.

181 They are industrious, peace-loving, and
unassuming people, described by ancient chroniclers as "rough but pious."
Since time immemorial and ever spiritually attuned to nature, they
have built their entire culture upon a natural basis. Like the Letts, who
are related to them, they live to a great extent in a "wood age" which
is very ancient but for that reason no less many-sided, skillful, and
342 sensible. The houses are made of wood; their foundation beams rest on
the bare soil or on field boulders. The roof at one time probably con-
sisted of spruce bark, as the covering sheets for the peat still do today;
but now the roof is made of straw which is held on to the ridge by ridge rid
In front of the door there is usually placed a narrow porch with a gabled
roof and with little benches to the right and to the left. Formerly the
houses had only one room, smoking-room style, but now they usually
have a tripartite division with entrance hall in the middle, and living
room and bedroom to the right and the left of it. The floor consists of
352 a loam coating or of boarding. The furniture consists of wall benches,
loose benches, well-carved solid chairs, a table, wall boards, and pine-
353 wood splinter holders; on the walls are hung pictures of saints, fre-
quently portraits of the old Lithuanian rulers, and, symptomatic for the
343 great amount of emigration, photographs from America. Aside from
the living quarters, granaries (klete), barns, stables, wells, and bath
515 house belong to the Lithuanian farmstead. In the bath house they bathe
in steam which rises from heated stones on which the water is poured.
This, incidentally, is also the way the Indians do it. The bather lies
on a bench and cools and massages himself at the same time by means
412 of a cluster of birch twigs which he dips in fresh water. The hand-
operated mill is a very ancient instrument. It has one stationary and
[231] one turning stone in a wooden box. Likewise ancient is the beehive
made of a hollow tree stem--bee keeping is the most original native
and the most highly developed form of the collecting economy, which is
here, as among the Letts, universally practiced and skillfully cultivated--;
ancient, too, is the zoche, the plow with the forked share, which, as
late as the 16th century, was made entirely of wood, and which even
today is completely wooden except for the iron shoe; just like the har-
rows with branches tied to them, and the snowshoes made of hollowed-
534 out oakboards tied under the foot. Ancient, also, are the musical in-
struments: the nine-stringed kanklys, the truba made of a birch branch
cut lengthwise, hollowed out, and tied together again; the short reed
pipe, the trapezoid shaped cymbal, the stringed zither made of an osier
switch, played with a bow fashioned in the same way; with a resonator

342 briefly, as formulated approximately as follows by Prof. H. Naumann in his Deutsche Volkskunde: "Ur" Europe was familiar with two forms of houses, the circular stone construction in the southern and central regions and the wood construction in the north and east. Both forms were conditioned by the material. The larger forests of the east supplied the building material, just as did the stony soil of the southern European regions, which were poor in forests. "The wooden house still reaches directly into the forest; the stone house bears witness of a glaring sun, from which it offers better protection. The right-angled wooden house was erected principally with the purpose of enclosing the hearth in a protected space and
• 343 creating a place of warmth." (1) Thus the hearth

[113] 1. Hans Naumann, Grundzüge der deutschen Volkskunde, 2nd ed. (1929), pp. 28-29.

or smoke house is the oldest type of wooden house. It was necessarily developed into a house with an entrance hall. Since the smoke drew off only incompletely through the roof, it was found necessary to construct an entrance hall in which air could be obtained.

If, to be sure, Dlugosz still describes the Samogitian house in the year 1413 as a smoke house, in which men and cattle lived together, this representation is obviously biased, for the few older so-called "inventories" already mention all the buildings of the present Lithuanian farm, together with their own Lithuanian designations, although the "inventories" were written in the White Russian or Polish languages. Where under particularly miserable conditions men and cattle lived together under one roof, the stable was in any case /103/ separated by a partition from the human lodgings. Also the existence of the pirtis, the Lithuanian steam bath, has, in contrast to

•343 White Russia, has been confirmed as early as the sixteenth century as a special structure within the framework of the Lithuanian farmhouse. (2)

[113] 2. P. Galaunė, Lietuvių liaudies menas, jo meninių formų plėtojimosi pagrindai, Hum. Mok. fakulteto leidinys (Lithuanian Folk Art, the Foundations of the Development of its Artistic Forms, Publication of the Humanities Faculty) (Kaunas, 1930), pp. 33-38.

342 In contrast to frame construction the Lithuanian farm knows only the joining of logs, which was made possible by the abundance of wood in the country. The roof consists usually of straw, less often of shingles. The walls are put together of long beams in the familiar manner of wooden miter construction /Schurzholzbau/ (Gehrsassbau)/. The partitions are made in exactly the same way. Doors and windows are made by cutting out pieces of the logs and mortising the pieces to jambs attached to the sides of the window. "This is the form which occurs everywhere in log construction; it results from the nature of wood." (3)

[113] 3. Cornelius Gurlitt, "Alt-litauisches Bauwesen," Der Tag, Berlin, September 8, 1918.

The rural farm typical of Lithuania today is grouped around a courtyard in various separate buildings. The stable lies at right angles to the dwelling, the large barn opposite the dwelling, and on the fourth side of the rectangle is the klėtis, the storeroom of the farmer in which he preserves his best possessions and in which also a sleeping room is located. Its windows are unusually small for security. In front of the entrance is a porch supported by columns and usually

342 beautifully decorated, to which several steps lead up. (4)

[113] 4. Cf. on this point also Dr. Dethlefsen, Führer durch das Ostpreussische Heimatmuseum (1913), p. 12.

We must dwell a little on this most noteworthy building of the Lithuanian farm, for we have here apparently the primitive type of the Lithuanian house, of which Caspar Hennenberger already reports, in 1595, in his description of the Lithuanians living on Prussian soil: "The house within which they all eat is called the black house / and is in truth black enough from
•343 smoke and soot. In addition every married couple has a separate little house / that is called a kleidt (klēte) / constructed of round logs / below it has something like a low little cellar/ on top a sort of chamber without windows/ only one door/ where they /104/ go in /. . ." (5) The

[113] 5. Quoted according to Dr. Hans Mortensen, Litauen, Grundzüge einer Landeskinde (Hamburg, 1926), p. 97.

present-day klētis, which in its simplest form contains only a small quadrangle space, sometimes square, sometimes rectangular, carries a straw roof whose ridge runs parallel to the long axis, but at times it runs perpendicular to it and then makes the roof surfaces slope to the front and rear instead of to right and left. "Thus this strange granary has the unmistakable plan of a little ancient Greek temple of the earliest period." (6)

[113] 6. Hans Naumann, "Vom litauischen Bauernhaus," Das neue Litauen, Vol. 2 (1918), Nos. 1/2, pp. 98, 99, 106.

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The development then probably proceeded in such a way that, with increased requirements, out of the forms of the old klētis the dwelling house was developed, while the klētis itself obtained its present designation. On the basis of the Samogitian numas (house) described by Tumas, Galaunē shows that the Lithuanian farmhouse, as it later developed, contains within it all the elements of construction of the old klētis, (7) and

7. P. Galaunē, op. cit., pp. 46-50.

Pfor. Naumann also points to this connection when he writes: "If we separate the right and left wings of the farmhouse from the middle section and nothing but the latter is left, do we not then obtain exactly our granary, that prototype of a simple little ancient Greek temple? May we have here perhaps a relationship reaching into the southeast of Europe? Does it not appear as if we have before us the primitive eastern European house, which here became a granary, there a temple, when there was need for expanded facilities?"(8)

8. Hans Naumann, Vom litauischen Bauernhaus, op. cit., p. 106.

A description of the interior organization of the Lithuanian dwelling lies outside the scope of this presentation. In connection with Naumann's propositions we may only refer to the three-part structure of the Lithuanian farmhouse, constantly repeated in various forms, as well as its typical front section of columns. Although the latter is not found everywhere, the farmhouse has been taken over in this form into the cities, where often enough it has found its imitation in stone. (9)

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9. For the Lithuanian farmhouse cf. further: Baurat Richard Dethlefsen, Bauernhäuser und

10; Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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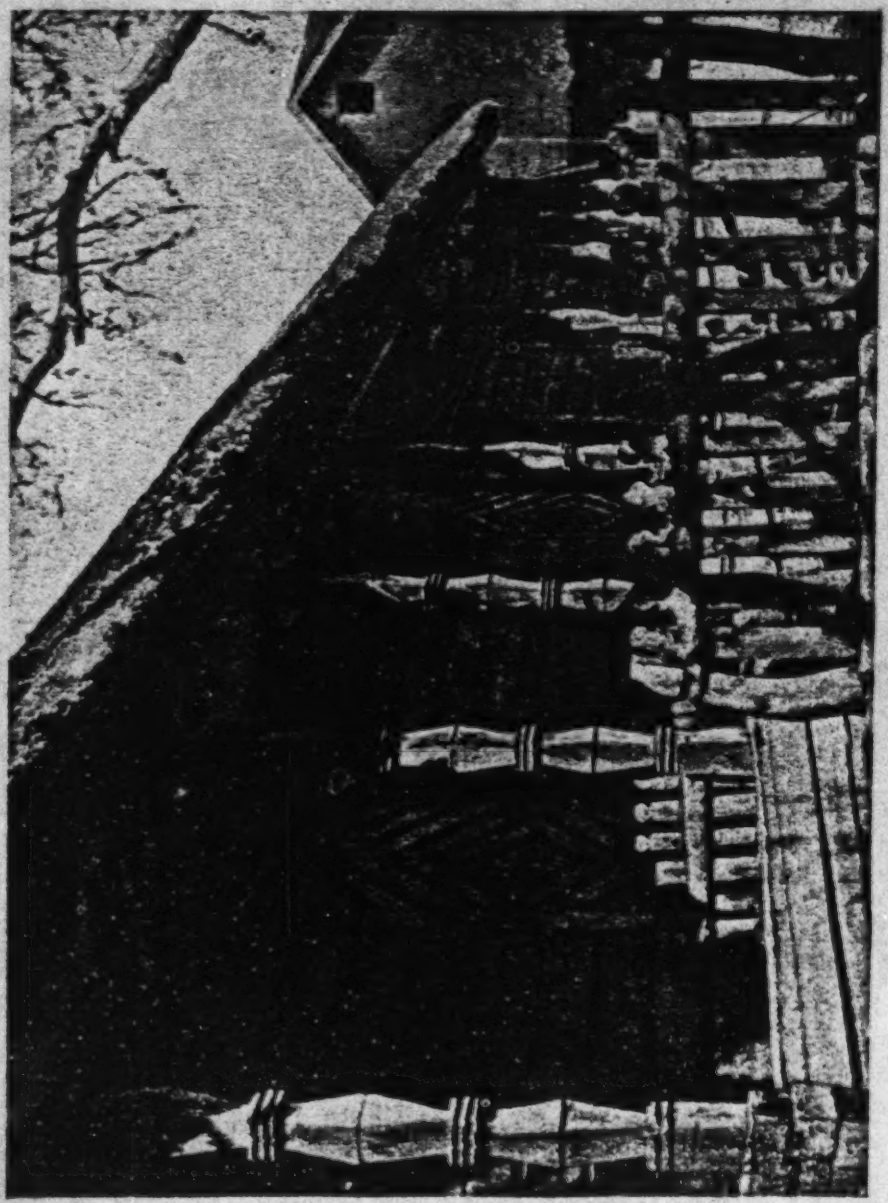

I. "Klėtis", Storehouse
District of Biržai

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

342 was framed to encourage the use of brick and stone for building
343 purposes, as Lithuania is not rich in timber. The plan includes the erection of stone houses for farmers and agricultural labourers and stables and byres, and provision is made for long-term credits to be granted to farmers for the purpose, at reduced rates. Care will be taken, when the plan is carried out, to see that the buildings are rationally constructed, in accordance with economic and sanitary requirements; æsthetic considerations will also be borne in mind.

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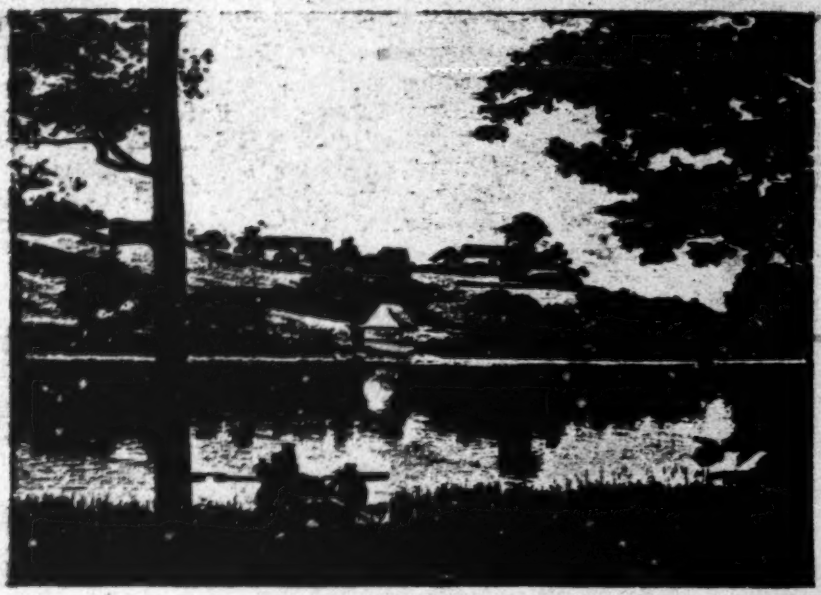
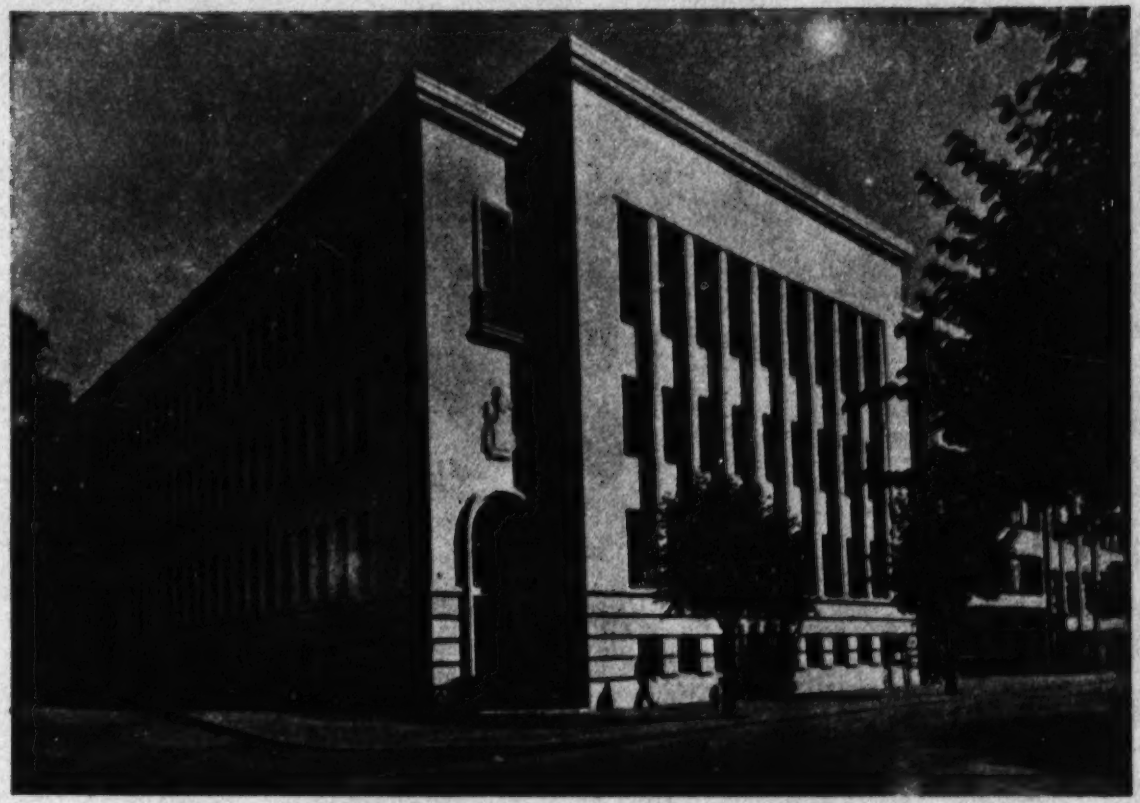


Lithuanian landscape.

181 They are industrious, peace-loving, and
unassuming people, described by ancient chroniclers as "rough but pious."
Since time immemorial and ever spiritually attuned to nature, they
have built their entire culture upon a natural basis. Like the Letts, who
are related to them, they live to a great extent in a "wood age" which
is very ancient but for that reason no less many-sided, skillful, and
342 sensible. The houses are made of wood; their foundation beams rest on
the bare soil or on field boulders. The roof at one time probably con-
sisted of spruce bark, as the covering sheets for the peat still do today;
but now the roof is made of straw which is held on to the ridge by ridge rid
In front of the door there is usually placed a narrow porch with a gabled
roof and with little benches to the right and to the left. Formerly the
houses had only one room, smoking-room style, but now they usually
have a tripartite division with entrance hall in the middle, and living
room and bedroom to the right and the left of it. The floor consists of
352 a loam coating or of boarding. The furniture consists of wall benches,
loose benches, well-carved solid chairs, a table, wall boards, and pine-
353 wood splinter holders; on the walls are hung pictures of saints, fre-
quently portraits of the old Lithuanian rulers, and, symptomatic for the
● 343 great amount of emigration, photographs from America. Aside from
the living quarters, granaries (klete), barns, stables, wells, and bath
515 house belong to the Lithuanian farmstead. In the bath house they bathe
in steam which rises from heated stones on which the water is poured.
This, incidentally, is also the way the Indians do it. The bather lies
on a bench and cools and massages himself at the same time by means
412 of a cluster of birch twigs which he dips in fresh water. The hand-
operated mill is a very ancient instrument. It has one stationary and
[231] one turning stone in a wooden box. Likewise ancient is the beehive
made of a hollow tree stem--bee keeping is the most original native
and the most highly developed form of the collecting economy, which is
here, as among the Letts, universally practiced and skillfully cultivated--;
ancient, too, is the zoche, the plow with the forked share, which, as
late as the 16th century, was made entirely of wood, and which even
today is completely wooden except for the iron shoe; just like the har-
rows with branches tied to them, and the snowshoes made of hollowed-
534 out oak boards tied under the foot. Ancient, also, are the musical in-
struments: the nine-stringed kanklys, the truba made of a birch branch
cut lengthwise, hollowed out, and tied together again; the short reed
pipe, the trapezoid shaped cymbal, the stringed zither made of an osier
switch, played with a bow fashioned in the same way; with a resonator

6: Anonymous U-4,5 (no date) 1938 RBS Lithuanian RBS



The Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Crafts, erected in 1938. Architect V. Landsbergis-Žemkalnis.

[Frontispiece]

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oggen), 1844; Naumiestis (Neustadt), 1845; Priemai, 1847; Šiauliai (Schaulen), 1851. A new period of Evangelical church construction began with the immigration in the 60's --Raseiniai (Rossieny), 1862; Vištitis (Wischtyten), 1864; Švekšniai (Schwekschny), 1867; Vilkaviškis (Wilkowischki), 1868; Garliava (Godlewo), 1870; -- and at the end of the 70's: Šakiai, 1877; Virbalis (Wirballen), 1878; Batokiai, 1885; Jurbarkas (Georgenburg), 1892. From the most recent period, finally date the churches of Sudargiai, 1914, and Pilviškis, 1926. The Evangelical congregations themselves, however, are much older.

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/160/ Finally, a brief glance may be directed at the secular buildings of the baroque period, of which two in Kaunas are worthy of attention, the so-called Maironis house on the market place at the city hall (named after the poet Maironis) and the city hall of Kaunas itself.

The Maironis house originated as the city palace of a magnate. Its builder was Christopher Paz, the master builder of Pažaislis. Noteworthy in this building is the graded [gebrochene] roof and the high facade which does not face the market place at the city hall. The city hall was built in its present form in 1771. It is a single-storied, quadrangular building with a rustica, on the front side of which there is a terrace which leads around the tower. The tower itself is of great beauty and elegance. It tapers steadily as it rises, and gains special grace and lightness throug the octagonal form which is resolved into a square from the third story on. In addition we find still a few other baroque buildings, such as the house of the Evangelical consistory, stemming from the seventeenth century.

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Few castles in the baroque style have been

346 forms of the Middle Ages to come to life again. Concerning this period Prof. Weber says in the essay already mentioned: "The beauty of rising pointed spires and slender, high-pointed arch windows, and also the charm of natural brick color were discovered anew. A second great layer of Gothic red brick churches is now being laid over Lithuania's cities and villages, this time, to be sure, onlv imitations of real Gothic." (26) Ex-

26. Prof. P. Weber, Litauische Kirchen, op. cit., p. 138.

amples of this are the churches of Jonava and Vilkija on the Memel as well as the church of
341 Rokiskis built by Tiesenhausen. Moreover the second half of the nineteenth century is a period of imitations of all possible styles and in Lithuania, as elsewhere, completely dependent on the eclecticism with its resulting confusion of style which is characteristic of the West. Thus we frequently find in later church buildings a combination of the most varied forms of style which can
[344] no longer be called organic. That even the baroque style celebrated its resurrection in the course of this neo-Renaissance[1] is seen, for example, in the former gouvernement palace, the present palace of the president. The baroque facade here is well divided by two side projections, with a rustica. The end of the roof, a cornice resting on brackets, is carried over the portal and the side projections in slightly wavy lines. These lines have their correspondence in uniquely formed /165/ chimneys.
[345] From most recent times[1] finally, dates the building of the state theater, also to be mentioned in this connection, whose front shows a special lightness of organization through three high windows. The interrupted lines of the roof, which are repeated in great volutes, underline the impression of animation, movement, and grace.

1 [19th century -- Analyst]

• 344 In the sphere of public building, too

the architectural thinking of the West found its expression. To be sure, one was not able here at first to free oneself of the preference for the representative building style of the prewar period, of which, for example, the pompous organization of the columns of the Bank of Lithuania or the facade of the Palace of Justice are characteristic. Free treatment of antique formal elements is shown in the small structure of the art school.

Along with buildings intended primarily for representation, which understandably filled a need in the first years of new statehood, there were others in which the interpretation of a new publicity is visible even from the outside; we may think for example of the new main post office with its broad, soaring glass windows, behind which in uniform rooms the whole public business--this applies incidentally also to the interior arrangement of the Lithuanian Bank--takes place before the eyes of the people. But here, too, facade and organization are strongly emphasized, and the impression of representativeness, of rhythm, and of proportion is deliberately maintained. Only in a very few of these public buildings do we find an attempt to limit them exclusively to the functional and to free them from the expression of the human element. Even a modern cement structure like the building of the Kaunas District Administration in the main street does not do away with a well executed organization--pilaster-like projecting verticals, against which the powerful horizontals of the side projections are balanced--the whole clear, cool, and though remote and impersonal with its many small windows, of a conscious refinement in all its functionality. In other buildings again we meet attempts to enliven the functional forms of modern architecture through decorative ornamentation and decorative motifs, for example in the state insurance building, where to be sure, the impression of organic consistency is

344 not achieved. On the other hand, the decoration of the ceiling in the interior of the main post office represents a thoroughly happy solution.

346 /168/ Among the most interesting buildings of the most recent times belongs the Museum of Vytautas the Great of the year 1935. In this building, which is dedicated to the old memories of a glorious past, the fortress-like character of the whole arrangement seems intentional, although the contrast between the front side of the structure and the rear is somewhat too pronounced. On a lower floor with two side wings, whose facade is divided by an unusually great number of broad, symmetrically spaced windows, the compact, windowless wall of the upper story is built up. Especially the mighty side wings are effective through the uniformly white surface of their walls, while the projection of the central facade is divided by slender, rising pilasters which seem almost too strong for the entablature which rests on them. We find here a complete renunciation of the clear separation of supporting and supported elements, the harmonizing of bearer and burden in the sense of conservative aesthetic feeling. A single example from the past, the doge palace of Venice, shows a similar distribution of mass. Perhaps, however, this example is too far-fetched, for as a matter of fact the structural feeling of the modern architect has been basically changed in relation to a still recent past through the use of steel skeletons and cement. This building, which naturally ran up against protests, (28)

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28. Cf. for example Dr. H. Kairiūkštytė-Jacynienė, "Dėl Vytauto Didžiojo vardo muziejaus projekto" (On the Project of the Museum of Vytautas the Great), in Židinys, 1931, Vol. XIV, No. 8/9, pp. 167-170.

is thus characteristic. The high tower erected ne

346

to the museum is connected with it through a sort of protected passageway, whose arcades find no correspondence in the overall arrangement. The interior architecture of the building, within its large, light exhibition halls and office rooms, serve well the purpose for which the museum is intended.

344 Out of the great number of public buildings which have arisen since the re-establishment of the state, in this context only those few can be discussed which seem characteristic of the trends in the new architecture of the country. Specific characteristics can /169/ not yet be recognized there, except, in most recent times, the transition from stone construction to cement and steel framework construction. Along with the already discussed building of the Kaunas District Administration, the building of the National Bank is representative of this style. Here one has already progressed quite a bit farther along the road to functionalism. It is a building of complete anonymity and impersonality. Large continuous verticals divide the block of the structure into narrow strips of windows. It is symmetrically fashioned out of surface and line, without decorative elements, without relation to the human factor--a many-storied office building with a regular series of windows and of functionally logical construction. The building of the National Bank, in which also the Foreign Ministry is located, was completed in 1935.

341 It is not without interest that the newest warehouse style--steel houses with broad, poster-like horizontal surfaces--such as is characteristic, for example, of the latest development in Holland (but also in Germany), has as yet met with no approval in Lithuania. Perhaps this is connected also with reasons of climate, since in a northern country natural obstacles stand in the way of the construction of broad window surfaces. We find

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanian RB5

IV. ORGANISATION OF MARKETS

The action of the Government and of the central agricultural organisations with a view to the organisation of markets and the standardisation of agricultural products may be briefly summarised as follows : 474 473

To enable the small agricultural undertakings (which predominate in the country) to produce standardised agricultural products for foreign (and home) markets and to export in large quantities, the Government, even before the world depression, had taken steps to combine the small agriculturists into big central organisations (dealing both with production and marketing). The following three organisations were founded : (1) " Lietuvos Žemės Kooperatyvų Sąjunga " (Lithuanian Union of Agricultural Co-operative Societies). abbreviated to " Lietūkis ", which now centralises all cereal exports ; (2) " Centralinė Lietuvos Pienos Perdirbimo Bendrovių Sąjunga " (Lithuanian Central Union of Dairymen's Co-operative Societies), abbreviated to " Pienocentras ", which now centralises the production of butter for export and the export of butter and eggs ; (3) the " Maistas " joint-stock company (the shareholders being the State and the pig-breeders), which at present centralises the production of bacon and other meat preparations for export and also the export of the meat preparations, animals for slaughter and poultry. In 1930, a joint-stock company 473

344

Chamber of Agriculture at Kaunas.

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[345] From most recent times[1] finally, dates the building of the state theater, also to be mentioned in this connection, whose front shows a special lightness of organization through three high windows. The interrupted lines of the roof, which are repeated in great volutes, underline the impression of animation, movement, and grace.

1 [19th century -- Analyst]

875 [872] since not all children in Lithuania attend school all the year. First-grade and second-grade pupils in the rural districts go to school only 4 months; September 1 to November 1, and May 1 to July 1. In winter the country schools are attended only by third-, fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-grade pupils. In urban areas pupils attend throughout the school year.

871 The maintenance of elementary schools devolves on the local authorities. The costs of one school and one grade are around 11,890.-23 and 5,519.6 litas respectively. One lita is 16.93 cents in coinage of the United States. According to the figures of 1937, the cost of keeping one child in an elementary school is 99.4 litas annually. Towards the upkeep of elementary schools an average of 11.48 litas was paid by every inhabitant in 1937.

School Buildings

●346 871 The school buildings are for the most part erected by the localities, grants-in-aid being made by the Ministry of Education which assigns in its budget over a million litas yearly for this purpose. At present about 80 new school buildings are constructed each year at an expenditure of two million litas. With the additional sums assigned for the acquisition of equipment and educational appliances, about three millions are spent annually.

871 On January 31, 1938, there was a total of 2,599 schools, 5,613 teachers, and 301,188 pupils or approximately 12 percent of the entire population enrolled in elementary schools.

871 873 The secondary school system was reorganized in 1936 by a special law. The 8-year gymnasia, modeled after the former Russian

Schmaillinas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RS5 Lithuanians RS5

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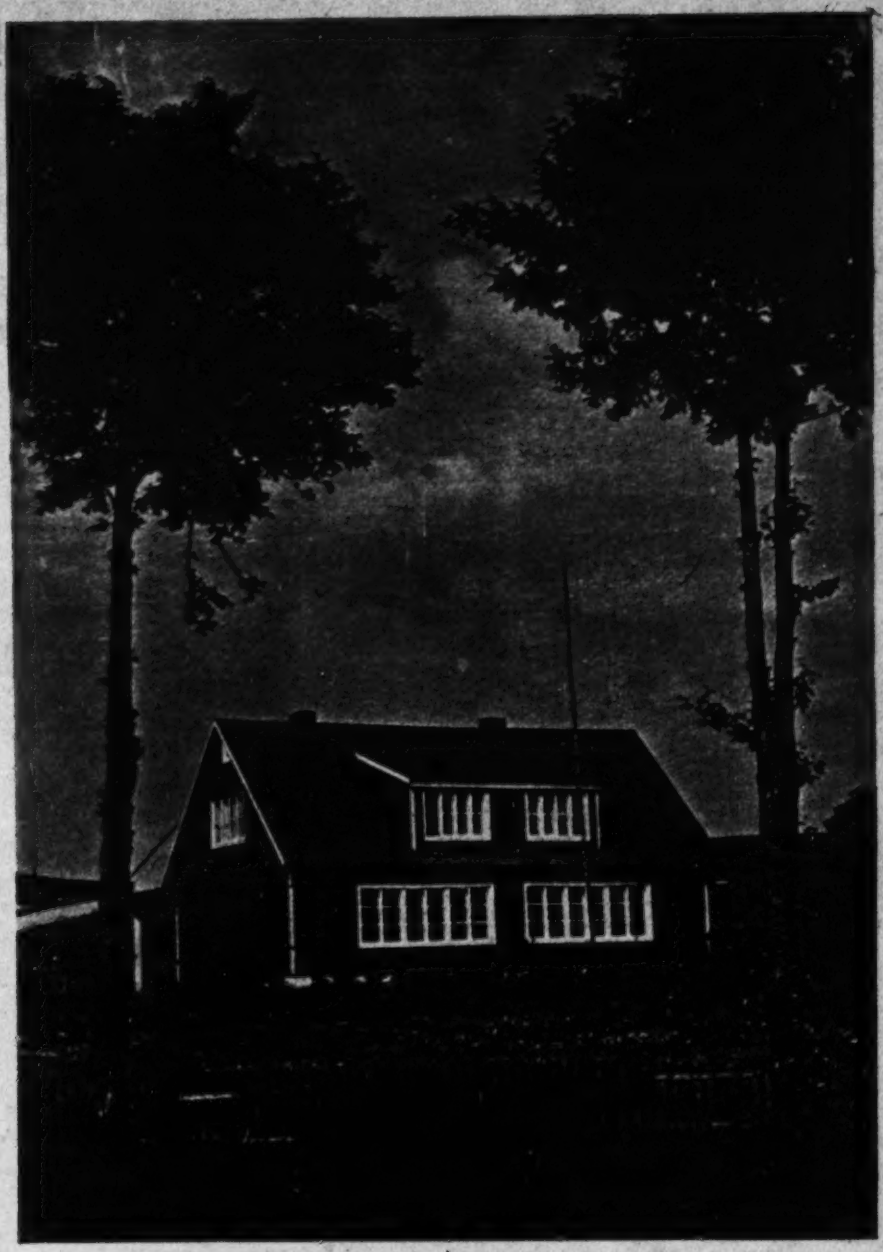

Typical country school.

531 lovingly cared for by the girls, this same loving
322 attitude took the elements of Lithuanian ornament-
342 ation out of the surrounding nature and decorated the simple house of the Lithuanian farmer with its symbols.

/107/ 2. The Village Church

000 From what was said above results also the special mood which hovers over the Lithuanian villages and which hardly an artist who has once stayed in Lithuania has escaped. One must, perhaps, have wandered oneself through the country and entered one of these quiet farms, which nothing betrays from afar but the circle of trees which surrounds it. One must once have made a long journey through the country, have experienced the colorful shades of an evening in the East, the rushing of a village stream, the fragrance of the little hidden gardens. For this mood is necessary to the understanding of the Lithuanian village.

[346] On the highest hill in the village lies the church, plainly built in the simple forms of log construction.

Let us remember how we regard the city church or cathedral as the symbol of soaring worship of God in a wealthy commercial and royal city. Here everyone feels the concentrated energy of the whole population directed toward the attainment of a higher goal, dedicated to a higher, supernatural idea, desirous of giving here its best. But is it basically any different with the little Catholic village churches of Lithuania? Is not in the last analysis everything which the human spirit has created in the sense of a higher idea, a pious ideal, to be considered as equally valuable?--with the sole difference that in the one case the idea was able to unfold freely, while in the other case it remained bound within simple limits. With such thoughts one may enter

000 the little Lithuanian village churches.

346 If we proceed from the idea that every artistic accomplishment was conditioned by what preceded it and conditions that which comes after, one must on principle, in considering the Lithuanian churches, hold to the clear distinction between the simple wooden churches in the countryside and the Gothic or baroque, churches in the /108/ cities. The two have originally nothing in common. They have resulted from different traditions.

The Lithuanian farmhouse has already shown us that the only building material which had been available in the countryside since olden times was wood. The earliest churches of the country were also built of wood. These dwelling places which the people erected in the countryside to their God hardly differed in the beginning from the dwellings of the peasants themselves. They were little chapels, as we can still see them today in many Lithuanian cemeteries, in ground plan a longish rectangle, at one of whose narrow sides the roof was extended forward and supported by four columns, similarly as in the klētis. A little turret tower served for the installation of the bell. Thus the words with which Naumann describes the German village church, formed of the same elements, can also be applied to the old Lithuanian village church: "Almost never do we find a transept; usually there is only a simple, small, rectangular main aisle [langhaus] which, particularly in wood, makes a primitively ancient impression. In the German districts of Hungary and Transylvania and in Upper Silesia the wooden churches bear a remarkable resemblance to the Nordic ones; they show log construction and small windows . . .At the front is found the usually open entrance hall." (13)

13. Hans Naumann, Volkskunde, op. cit.,p. 40.

346 Unfortunately the oldest Lithuanian wooden churches of this type from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are no longer preserved; the earliest of those which still exist originated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and, as a result, already have a considerable development of style behind them. The most important task was in most cases the problem of spanning a larger space. Thus log construction had to yield in favor of skid and framework construction. To increase the limited spans there was a transition to pillars and thereby to a three-aisled arrangement. Originally there was no choir. Later the lack of space forced its construction, and the back side of the nave was built out into an apse, which thereby was added to the church as a new independent section.

/109/ In contrast to the farmhouse the development of the style of the village church in the seventeenth century led to a stronger introduction of baroque elements. Even the form of the churches themselves underwent a change: the ground plan of the nave obtained the form of a cross through the addition of two almost symmetrical side wings, in one of which the sacristy, the other a chapel were located. The significance of this change of form lies in the fact that a shorter transept cut the nave exactly in half. A central space was thereby formed at the point of intersection, "but the shortness of the cross arms shifts the central spacial impression in favor of the longitudinal direction. (14) The

113 14. Dr. Günther Grundmann, Die Bethäuser und Bethauskirchen des Kreises Hirschberg (Breslau, 1922), p. 8. On the development of the village church cf. further: Wippert and Burgemeister, Die Holzkirchen und Holztürme der preussischen Ostprovinzen (Berlin, 1905). Gruner, Die Dorfkirche im Königreich

113 Sachsen. Paul Brinkmann, Baukunst des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts, I and II. Richard Konwiarz, Alt-Schlesien, Architektur, Raumkunst, Kunstgewerbe.

346 towers were changed into baroque cupolas. The roof became higher; the outer walls of the church were covered with boards and ornamented with sawed out decorative mouldings. The nineteenth century then brought with it a strong influence of the Gothic. Thus today we occasionally come upon large wooden churches which, seen from afar, give the effect, or want to give the effect, of stone churches, which undoubtedly must be described as a "deviation from the logical use of the material." (15) The peasant wanted to build

[113] 15. Prof. Dr. Paul Weber, "Litauische Kirchen," in Bilder aus Litauen, 2nd ed. (Kowno, 1917), p. 121.

his church on the model of the city church. Modestly though he lived for his own person, he wanted to see his church beautiful, even ostentatious; between village and church there exist quite special relationships in a country in which the village is only a village which knows no tavern, hardly even a modest store. Thus "the church with its feasts and processions, its colors and sounds, its candles and clouds of incense, is to the peasant exaltation and relaxation as well; it is for him a good parlor and festive hall."(16)

16. Ibid., p. 121.

It was precisely the magnificence of the baroque, brought to the country from Vilna in the seventeenth century by the Jesuits, which must have met especially well the peasant's need for ornamentation. Thus we find the interior furnish-

346 ings of the wooden village churches permeated with elements of baroque style; yet, in contrast to the stone church of the city, this style did not unfold freely but /110/ was changed into primitive forms in the hands of peasant workmen. We see this above all in the decoration of the altars and confessionals. (17)

17. P. Galaunė, op. cit., p. 86.

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177 Although architecture and interior furnishings of the present-day Lithuanian village church point to numerous foreign influences, the bell tower, which today in most cases maintains its place as an independent building next to the church, preserves in Lithuania very old and characteristic forms. It belongs to the most charming creations of peasant architecture and is still today--even where the primitive wooden church has long given way to stone construction--usually built of wood. Architectonically it does not form any unity with the church standing next to it.

The original significance of these old bell towers does not seem to have been that of the campanile. For this function the turret tower mentioned before would have fully sufficed. We must rather seek the origin of these peculiar towers in warlike purposes. We still find today in Germany and Austria real fortress-like defense churches, erected on the highest and strategically most secure point of the village. "There the tower stood out like a watchtower, attached on the model of the fortress." (18) That in the Ukraine

18. Naumann, Volkskunde, loc. cit., p. 40.

and Poland, too, wooden towers provided the models for the later bell towers is proved by the investigations of Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian art historians like Moklowski, Iwarnicki, and Pawlucki.

346 With the close relationship of Lithuania to these
177 countries they were bound to exert an influence on it, so that Galaunė arrives at the conclusion: "The bell towers of the Ukraine, above all however of Galicia, are known from a much older period (the beginning of the sixteenth century) than ours; several of them differ in their form only little from our bell towers. For this reason, in my opinion one must seek the elements of the wooden fortress in the architecture of the Lithuanian bell towers too." (19)

19. Galaunė, op. cit., p. 92.

346 /111/ If these established points prove that in all probability the Lithuanian bell towers go back in their origin to older models, these towers also contain numerous independent architectonic elements which are to be regarded as purely Lithuanian. The village artist strove for the greatest possible variety within the framework at his disposal. We are always surprised anew by the great richness of form, the diversity of the distribution of the masses, which contain all phases of expression from light enthusiasm to calm seriousness and from simple modesty to complicated expression. Thus each of these wooden bell towers is an individual work of art, deeply rooted in the life of the Lithuanian peasants and indispensable to the picture of the Lithuanian countryside.

B. The Village Art

778 1. The Roofed Crosses

322 If the village artist was bound by the prac-
164 tical purposes of his work in the construction of the farmhouses, village churches, and bell towers, his art could be that much more freely unfolded in those strange, towering crosses which represent the real landmarks of the Lithuanian landscape. The German poet Herbert Eulenberg reproduces the

369 the military, and liberal professions, opened up
162 to the younger peasant generation. An initially
565 favorable economic development encouraged this
563 influx, which again completely changed the face of the city: the city of Kaunas alone doubled its population in a few years. In all areas a lively activity is being unfolded; along with material problems intellectual ones, literature, art, music, theater, science, are suddenly factors in the life of the people.

341 Knowledge of the development sketched here[1]
121 is essential for the understanding of what follows. It might seem, that is, as if a presentation of the cultural elements of the Lithuanian people would have to be restricted solely to this most recent period of time, insofar as the city is concerned. /147/ The historic architecture of the city would then be excluded from our treatment, since it does not bear the stamp of the same racial type. This is perhaps also the reason why until today there is hardly a single Lithuanian presentation of the historic structures of the country.

341 Nevertheless the present work must consider the architecture of the Lithuanian city for various reasons: first of all it was the Lithuanian Grand Dukes, the high nobility, and the clergy who ordered the construction of churches and castles Furthermore--we may think for example of classicism-the great artistic epochs are more or less international; and third, the baroque, the most important building style for Lithuania, exercised unquestionable influence on the Lithuanian folk art

346 There are probably no foreigners visiting
177 the country to whom the great religious structures, especially in Kaunas, would not be objects of attention and deliberation. The face of these buildings is clearly turned toward the West and not toward the Russian East. From the west came the Roman-Catholic faith, proclaimed by Benedictines, Dominicans, Cistercians, and other orders in the

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 162-165 -- Analyst]

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Gothic churches of the country. From the west the ideas of Lutheranism were imported, and, during the brief span of a half century, embraced by the high nobility of the country. From the West, finally, penetrated the mighty and imposing movement of the Counter Reformation, which strewed the magnificence of the baroque like precious flowers over the nordic land and won it back forever to the Roman church. Thus the history of the religious culture of the country is sealed within these buildings.

In contrast to the mighty religious witnesses of the Western spirit, what we encounter in Lithuania in the way of evidence of Eastern culture in architecture seems rather insignificant. The few monuments of Russian religious art speak the language of another spiritual world, which stands outside of the historic religious development of the country. /148/ Most of the Russian domed churches still existing today were built after the revolutions of the years 1830 and 1863, when the Russian government dispossessed Catholic monasteries and churches and summoned Russian monastic orders and settlers into the country. Monuments of Russian power politics, they were frequently erected on the most prominent points of the cities; we may think for example of the Russian cathedral in Kaunas, which today has become the Roman-Catholic garrison church. Erected in 1880, and constructed in a purely academic style, it makes up to a truly artistic organization by the massiveness of its forms. To be sure, seen from the mountain, it presents, through its location as the terminal point of the main street, its powerful contours fade in the fog, a picture that is not without its own charm, especially in the evening. For this reason, too, it probably escaped the fate of demolition which a number of the Russian churches in the provinces suffered after the departure of the Russian military and officials.

The cathedral of Kaunas is also characteristic of the rest of the Russian religious structures in the country, to which specific structural regulations applied since the middle of the nineteenth century. Here we meet the main aisle, the large central dome, and the little onion-shaped towers surrounding it (Christ and the four evangelists). There also appears the compact central construction, which, for example, in the church of Ukmergė found an exceptionally good architectonic solution. In general the Russian provincial churches still preserved today, which, when constructed of wood, partially resemble the Lithuanian log churches, lose style or artistic value when built of stone. The same applies to the solitary Mohammedan mosques.(4) On the other hand, among the wooden Jewish

4. The settlement of the Tatars, who have mostly become assimilated, goes back to Vytautas. About 700 Tatars still live today in the district of Alytus. Also in Kaunas they have their own unadorned mosque.

synagogues there are some noteworthy structures, which, primarily through the broken forms in which their roofs rise like pyramids, make a singular impression. The very old synagogue of Šaukėnai may be named here. That the Jewish synagogues have taken over much ornamental decoration from the Lithuanian folk art, is clearly /149/ proved by the synagogue of Jurbarkas (Georgenburg) on the Memel.

The religious structures of Judaism can only be briefly touched upon in this context, since the Jews in Lithuania have led the life of a strictly isolated minority for centuries and have remained without influence on the cultural development of the country. The latter was exclusively controlled by that great spiritual current which the church of the West sent out over the country in an uninterrupted stream since the late Middle Ages.

terrupted stream since the late Middle Ages.

●346 2. Gothic
177 Almost the whole artistic energy of the Middle Ages spent itself in mighty religious structures. The Gothic cathedrals of France and Germany speak of freedom and bold, resplendent sublimity. They are symbols of soaring adoration of God in a period whose piety and mystical excitement penetrated all classes of society. But gradually this spirit hardened, and the style which it created also hardened in its strict architectonic constraint. In this period of late Gothic the art of the Middle Ages sent out its last offshoots toward Lithuania.

Measured on the buildings--including the secular buildings--of this period which exist in the Baltic, Lithuania plays a subordinate part, a
797] fact which is again historically conditioned: not until the year 1387 did High Lithuania embrace the Christian faith, and Low Lithuania (Samogitia) not until 1415. Now if we realize that the high period of the Gothic in Germany belonged in the fourteenth century, and the fifteenth century already was the period of the so-called late Gothic, it becomes evident why the influence of the Gothic in Lithuania was of lesser impact than that of later artistic styles. It must be mentioned, to be sure, that in Lithuania, as everywhere in the East, all styles--from Gothic through baroque to classicism--/150/ have held out longer than in the Western countries, so that one can actually speak of a
346 conservatism in Eastern architecture. Thus the Gothic St. Ann church in Vilna, whose charming facade, with its slender, rising pilasters through which the strong keel arch is laced, has often been admired, was not built until after 1500. The church of Simnas in the district of Alytus, too, built in 1520 and reconstructed in the wrong style in the eighteenth century, belongs, together with

● 346 other provincial buildings, into the Gothic architectural period of Lithuania.

The Gothic style has been preserved in Lithuania only in its simplest forms. We find no magnificent portals, no gigantic towers. Only the heavy and constrained is fashioned here; the liberating movement and rhythmic organization of the Western cathedral is lacking. Numerous ravaging wars, fires, and reconstructions of later periods led to the further result that the original forms were often covered over and lost their real character. While the wooden church in the countryside hardly changed its style at all through centuries, the church construction in stone faithfully followed the formal changes of the Western styles, from late Gothic to the most recent time insofar as buildings for the Roman Catholic form of worship were concerned. In the provinces we still find Gothic churches today in Kedainiai (founded in 1403), in Šiauliai, and at Jonava on the Vilija. Among the buildings of the early period belongs further the charming little country church of Zapyškis, situated below Kaunas on the Memel. It was built shortly after the introduction of Christianity.

Nevertheless the traditional dates given in this connection for founding of the individual churches say nothing concerning the question whether the churches were already executed in stone at that time, or whether it was not at first perhaps a matter only of simple wood structures. With individual churches this seems in fact to have been the case. According to Cornelius Gurlitt, stone construction /151/ reached Lithuania only relatively late. To be sure, it was already employed in northeastern Germany in the twelfth century, although almost exclusively in the construction of churches. Prof. Paul Weber, who during the World War occupied the post of art curator for the occupied areas, dates the brick structures of the

346 Gothic churches in Kaunas between 1400 and 1500. Stone construction--even already in private houses--is documented in the privilege of the basilica of the year 1503; a far older stone construction is treated in detail in the inventory of the Kaunas deanery (sheet 15). In the same way we can probably regard as reliable the presentation, thoroughly based on sources, of Bishop Valenčius, who in his History of the Kaunas Churches, expressly stresses in discussing, among others, the Cistercian church (Seminary Church) that the oldest Cistercian church was built of wood, while the stone construction of the church as well as of the monastery dates from the year 1468. (5)

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5. The question of the oldest brick construction in Lithuania is treated by Cornelius Gurlitt, "Alt-Litauisches Bauwesen," Baltisch-Litauische Mitteilungen, No. 127, September 4, 1918. Cf. further on this point Prof. P. Weber, "Litauische Kirchen," in Bilder aus Litauen, 2nd ed. (Kaunas, 1917), p. 123. Important for the study of sources: Kun. P. Veblaitis, "Kauno Bazilika" (The Basilica of Kaunas), Naujoji Romuva, 1935, Vol. V, No. 16/17, pp. 379-380. Further: Vyskupas M. Valančius, "Trumpa Kauna bažnyčių istorija" (Short History of the Kaunas Churches) in the periodical Žinyčia (Tilsit), 1900, No.2, pp. 32-51. According to Valančius the Franciscan church was also executed in stone as early as 1400.

In Kaunas the steep Gothic roofs which cover the red brick churches dominate a large section of the old city. In the interior we find the typical six-part vault construction which resolves the ceiling into star and net vaults and thus absorbs the rising force of the columns. Five old churches

346 of this type, all of which date from the fifteenth century, are still preserved today in Kaunas. The oldest is the Vytautas church (Franciscan church) built in 1400, which the grand duke erected in memory of the recognition of Lithuanian independence by Jogaila. The history of its founding is set down on a marble plaque near the main entrance. The interior decoration is very simple. [532] Noteworthy is a picture by Kalpokas over the main altar, whose upper half represents the ascension of Mary, while the lower half shows Vytautas with his soldiers at the Vorskla, as he pledges himself with a solemn oath to build the church. The grand duke gave this church to the Franciscan order, whose monastery then stood on the site of the present city hospital. (6) Although the church /152/ was

[113] 6. Kan. J. Tumas, "Iš Vytauto bažnyčios istorijos" (From the History of the Vytautas Church), Iliustr. Lietuva, Vol. 1927, Nos. 15 and 16.

destroyed in the seventeenth century by the Swedes, in 1812 by the French, and in the middle of the nineteenth century was transformed into a Russian church, it remained the only one of the old churches which faithfully preserved its Gothic character. Its peculiar tower stems from the beginning of the nineteenth century, the facade decoration of the side wings from the same period.

The construction of the gigantic cathedral of the archbishop (Cathedral of Peter and Paul) also reaches back into a very early period. In the renewal of its privileges, of 1503, it is mentioned that the church was built "in very old times, almost at the beginning of Christianity," and was richly endowed. (7) In its size alone--

7. Valančius, see above.

it is 84 meters long, 34 meters wide, and 28 meters

346

high--it makes a powerful impression. After the great fire of 1770, which left only the foundation walls standing, it was rebuilt in a different form. Probably the church was originally built with two towers (in its present form the one tower interferes with the symmetry of the exterior). In the nineteenth century a side chapel was added to the south front by Bishop Paliulionis; it contains pictures by Tyrolian artists and a beautifully carved altar. Further to be mentioned is the building of the cathedral library, which reminds one of the Marienburg castle. The interior of the cathedral was completely covered over by later artistic styles after its reconstruction: the pilasters, the columns, and above all the numerous altars sparkle in the magnificence of the baroque, whose animation is increased still more by numerous rococo forms. But, as K. Jasenas correctly points out in his art history, a counterbalance is created by the powerful compactness of the main altar (from the year 1775), which subdues the total impression into serious and mighty solemnity. (8) Precisely this

[113] 8. Jasenas, Visuotinė meno istorijz /General History of Art/, V, p. 267.

altar, between whose Corinthian columns tower gigantic figures of the apostles, has a particularly majestic effect. Thus the impression which proceeds from this cathedral is unusually strong, and the spirit of medieval piety and religious artistic instinct becomes directly alive. The church paintings[1] were mostly /153/ painted in the middle of the nineteenth century by Elviro Andriolli, an Italian artist who settled in Lithuania and was naturalized.

Considerably younger than the cathedral, but also still stemming from the fifteenth century, the Seminary Church of St. George first meets the eye of anyone who approaches the city from the river.

1 [in Cathedral of Peter and Paul in Kaunas -- Analyst]

346

In the seventeenth century it still bore a tower, while today it is decorated only by simple crosses. This church, too, was destroyed at various times by fire, the last time in 1812. As a result it also had to undergo the stylistic change from Gothic to baroque, just as the little Church of St. Gertrude, which today leads a hidden existence in a courtyard off the main street (No. 61) and belongs among the oldest buildings of the city.

The Benedictine Church of St. Michael lies apart from the religious buildings we have mentioned. It has a peculiar effect through its lack of symmetry, but the purely Gothic style of its apse must be mentioned. From the outside it resembles more a medieval fortress than a church. In his monograph on the city of Kaunas V. Bičiūnas expresses the idea that this peculiar building, on whose origin no reports are available, may be identical with the building which Guillebert de Launnoy saw on his journey in 1413-14 and mistook for a fortress. The church is mentioned in documents only in a later period; thus we hear of privileges which were granted it in 1495. At present it belongs to the order of the Benedictine nuns; the monastery built next to the church stems from the beginning of the last century. (9)

[113] 9. V. Bičiūnas, Kaunas, 1030-1930 (Kaunas, 1930), p. 208.

Therewith the circle of the old Gothic and formerly Gothic structures in Lithuania is closed. The simplicity of their external forms frequently contrasts strongly with the ostentatious interior decoration of a later period. With the relatively small number of Gothic church buildings it might almost appear as if this artistic epoch /154/ attained very little prominence in Lithuania. Nevertheless, it did have a stronger influence on secular construction. In Kaunas there are still

346 The transition from Renaissance to baroque
177 becomes clear, for example, in the cathedral of Seinai, built in 1619. The most important baroque churches of Lithuania, however, stem for the most part from the baroque period proper, between 1650 and 1750, when, in the train of the Jesuits many other Catholic orders also settled in the country and started a lively building activity. The outward incentive for this was given by the fact that after the devastations of the Russian invasion, in 1655, the building of numerous churches and monasteries became necessary.

The new builders brought with them from Italy a completely different interpretation of space. The Gothic main aisle /156/ was now replaced by a ground plan the form of the Greek cross, with a lengthened main nave and deep chapels at both sides. But what has already been said concerning the Gothic applies also to the baroque construction in Lithuania: its architecture is more simplified than in the West, and above all, it does not have the powerful dome vault over the crossing of the nave with the transept, otherwise so typical of the baroque church. There is in Lithuania only one exception to this--the mighty monastery church of Pažaislis, which will be treated later.

346 Along with the new interpretation of space
531 went a different world of forms.[1] The linear Gothic
177 decorative forms disappeared and made way for the "decorative ideas of the Italian late Renaissance and baroque, springing forth plastically and conceived for broad surfaces." (12) In the same way

12. Prof. P. Weber, op. cit., p. 128.

the coloration changed; in place of the red brick color came the white plaster surface which was supposed to simulate the marble of the south. Characteristic of this type of construction is the Jesuit church at the city hall square in Kaunas.

1 [From beginning of 16th century -- Analyst]

346 The high facade with its two towers, between which
531 a richly decorated ornamental gable often rises,
177 became typical for the new interpretation of the front.

The temporal relationship which existed between the emergence of baroque in Lithuania and the influx of the Jesuits was not accidental, for these buildings express a very specific spiritual attitude and intention, above all in the way these churches are decorated. (13) According to the in-

[113] 13. The Jesuits did not enter Kaunas until 1642. Cf. on this point K. Lerkis, S. J., "Kaip jezuitai isikūrė Kaune?" (How Did the Jesuits Settle in Kaunas?), Židinys, 1934, Vol. XX, pp. 184-192.

tention of the Jesuits, "mankind in the whole world should continually be torn anew from the sphere of everyday interests and should be directed to the divine through splendid churches, resplendent altars, gilded images of saints, statues, confessionals, and through perspective frescoes on the ceilings pointing up toward heaven." (14) How well

[113] 14. René Fülop-Miller, Macht und Geheimnis der Jesuiten (Berlin, 1932), p. 523.

the Catholic church succeeded with this striking architecture in influencing the peasant population of the country, is seen both in Lithuanian folk art and in the fact that the name of Queen /157/ Bona, who transplanted the Italian style to Lithuania, was kept alive through the centuries among the people and gradually took on a legendary ring.

346 Of all the baroque buildings of the city of Kaunas the Dominican church built in 1612 (the so-called student church in the Vilniaus gatvė) is the oldest. In the period of Russification it was

turned into a Pravo-Slavic church, and was not given back to the Roman Church until 1919. This transformation did not remain without influence on its outward appearance.

Of the churches in the center of the old city the Trinity Church built in 1643 (earlier the Cistercian church) makes from the outside a simple impression. In the interior it is greatly overladen with ornamental elements and contains even gold and silver plated images of saints.

A completely different feeling speaks from the Jesuit Church in the city hall square, mentioned at the beginning, which dates from the middle of the eighteenth century (built in 1759) and is of interest primarily because of its light, soaring towers, which taper steadily and end in cupolas. Finally, the very charming Carmelite Church, built in 1685, shows in its architecture a stronger echo of the high Renaissance. Its interior decoration is justly praised by Jasenas: "If one enters the interior, one stands moved by the harmony of the forms and colors, whose delicate tones are concentrated in the splendid central dome, which powerfully grips the human soul with the magic of its frescoes."(15)

15. Jasenas, op. cit., p. 270.

Unfortunately this dome does not rise to the roof and receives its light from the side (a Bohemian dome).

The most splendid example of the power which the baroque displayed in Lithuania, and at the same time a unique monument of religious architecture in general, is the tremendous monastery of Pažaislis, a mile distant from Kaunas, situated high above the Memel in the middle of the woods on the "Mountain of Peace." Its master builder was Christopher Paz, Lord High Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Like all magnates of that time /158/ he had Italian artists and painters come to Lithuania. The

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monastery was built according to the plans of the architect Lodovico Fredo, who was later followed by Pietro Putini. (16) Thus arose a baroque structure

16. Kairiūkštytė-Jacynienė, op. cit., p. 19.

on the Italian model of imposing grandeur. It required means unheard of at that time. The cut stone which covers the facade of the church and the entrance gate came from abroad, Danzig and Riga supplied the iron, the marble quarries of Cracow supplied the white, red, and black marble that covers the whole interior of the church up to the principal cornice. It was carried by waterway via Warsaw and Danzig to Königsberg, and transported on from there in wagons.

Of particular interest from the point of view of art history is the completely symmetrical composition of the whole monastery, as well as the six-sided ground plan of the church, "a highly rare, almost unique case in architecture." (17) The

17. Ibid., p. 128.

tremendous, towering dome, through which an abundance of light pours onto the main altar, while the side chapels fade in a half light, makes a powerful impression on the entering visitor, and draws his gaze upward. All the ceilings of the church[1] and of all the neighboring rooms are decorated with exuberant stuccos and fresco paintings, in which the whole art of the boldest Italian perspective painting comes alive. In their splendid colors live the traditions of Titian, Tintoretto, and Veronese. These frescoes undoubtedly belong among the most beautiful and artistically most valuable not only of Lithuania, but of the closer eastern countries in general. Of the painters three are known, Ferdinando delle Croce, Angelo Palloni da Compi, and Delbene, among whom the last should be especially mentioned.

946 582

1 [of Monastery of Pažaislis near Kaunas -- Analyst]

ially mentioned.

346 Of the monastery, which was begun in 1667, only the facade was completed by 1681. After that it took more than 30 years before the building was [193] completed. This monastery[1], too, has suffered greatly in the course of time, primarily through its transfer to a Russian /159/ monastic order which took place in 1840 (it was founded as a Camaldulian monastery). The Russian order occupied it until the first World War and throughout this war itself. In 1920 it was turned over to nuns from Chicago, of the Congregation of Saint Kazimir, and since then has been renovated as much as circumstances permitted.

Within the scope of this work it is impossible to include also the Catholic church buildings in the provinces in the presentation of Lithuanian baroque architecture, especially since all preliminary work is lacking. In the countryside, too, the baroque--in contrast to the Gothic--has had a decisive effect, as numerous splendid church buildings prove. Here only the beautiful monastery of Tytuvėnai may be mentioned. Thus the baroque gained a special home in Lithuania, where it should be evaluated not only as an expression of the power of Roman Catholicism, but also as a manifestation of a special mental attitude of its inhabitants. Even the primitive forms of the wooden village church, as was pointed out in another place, did not remain free of its influence.

[195] Protestant church construction left behind only a few traces in Lithuania. As Dr. Purickis notes, at the time of their greatest influence in Lithuania, the Protestants had many adherents but very few open followers, and possessed in the sixteenth century neither a clergy nor their own places of worship. Later they sometimes took over Catholic churches. (18) The first churches of the Pro-

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18. Cf. Purickis, "Die Glaubensspaltung in Litauen im 16. Jahrhundert bis zue Ankunft der Jesuiten im Jahre 1569," (dissertation) in the periodical Litauen, 1917, Vol. II,

1 [Monastery of Pažailis, near Kaunas--Analyst]

• 346

testants were built in the seventeenth century. Noteworthy here is the church of the Calvinists in Kedainiai, built by Christoph Radvila (Radziwill) in 1629, which differs considerably from the Catholic baroque buildings of the period. It shows the cool style of the late Renaissance and is decorated with a beautiful pulpit with inlaid woodwork. The present-day Evangelical church in Kaunas, on the other hand, also built in the seventeenth century (1682), looks like a comfortable village church, (19) and most of the few other Evangelical

[113] 19. On the history of the Evangelical church and its congregation in Kaunas cf. the work of Pastor Joh. Wischeropp, Die Evang.-Luth. Trinitatiskirche zu Kaunas, 1683-1933 (Kaunas 1933).

churches in the country bear the character of village and small town churches; almost without exception they were built in the nineteenth century. (20)

[113] 20. Prof. P. Weber, op. cit., p. 141. On the church in Kedainiai see "Die evangelisch-lutherische Kirche zu Keidany," in Deutscher Genossenschaftskalender für Litauen (1931), pp. 37-41 (after a lecture by Propst Tittelbach), as well as the essay by Prof. Jonas Yčas, "Das Kulturwerk des Hauses Radziwill in Kedainiai," Deutscher Genossenschaftskalender für Litauen (1930), pp. 100-105. The immigration from Germany is reflected in the dates of the founding of the Evangelical churches in Lithuania. Up to the year 1840 the churches of Kedainiai (Keidany), 1714, and Skuodas (Schoden), 1821, were built. In the years after 1840 immigration was stepped up. Churches were built in Markjampolė, 1841; Taurage (Taur-

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oggen), 1844; Naumiestis (Neustadt), 1845; Prienai, 1847; Šiauliai (Schaulen), 1851. A new period of Evangelical church construction began with the immigration in the 60's --Raseiniai (Rossieny), 1862; Vištitis (Wischtyten), 1864; Švekšniai (Schwekschny), 1867; Vilkaviškis (Wilkowischki), 1868; Garliava (Godlewo), 1870; -- and at the end of the 70's: Šakiai, 1877; Virbalis (Wirballen), 1878; Batokiai, 1885; Jurbarkas (Georgenburg), 1892. From the most recent period, finally date the churches of Sudargiai, 1914, and Pilviškis, 1926. The Evangelical congregations themselves, however, are much older.

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/160/ Finally, a brief glance may be directed at the secular buildings of the baroque period, of which two in Kaunas are worthy of attention, the so-called Maironis house on the market place at the city hall (named after the poet Maironis) and the city hall of Kaunas itself.

The Maironis house originated as the city palace of a magnate. Its builder was Christopher Paz, the master builder of Pažaislis. Noteworthy in this building is the graded [gebrochene] roof and the high facade which does not face the market place at the city hall. The city hall was built in its present form in 1771. It is a single-storied, quadrangular building with a rustica, on the front side of which there is a terrace which leads around the tower. The tower itself is of great beauty and elegance. It tapers steadily as it rises, and gains special grace and lightness throug the octagonal form which is resolved into a square from the third story on. In addition we find still a few other baroque buildings, such as the house of the Evangelical consistory, stemming from the seventeenth century.

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Few castles in the baroque style have been

342 Few castles in the baroque style have been
346 preserved in present-day Lithuania. We know that the high nobility followed the example of the court and built splendid mansions on its properties in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On the basis of the available contemporary illustrations Galaunė finds here a close relationship with the present old Lithuanian synagogues, which faithfully preserved the style of those country mansions with their high, pyramid-like, graded [gebrochene] roofs and the cubic forms of the anteroom. Thus the old synagogues seem to him to be the "last echo of an architecture of wood, already vanished, which was employed in the building of the Lithuanian estates." (21)

[113] 21. Cf. Galaunė, "Lietuvių liaudies means" (The Lithuanian Folk Art), Veröff, d. Hum. Fak. d. Univ. Vytautas d. Gr. (Kaunas, 1930), pp. 153 and 154, as well as the Russian and Polish references given there.

342 In discussing the modern castles we should
712 not forget that most of the manor houses arose in those quiet and peaceful times when the castle no longer represented a fortress. Real fortresses which served the purpose of defense did not exist in Lithuania (Unnumbered page with illustrations--Village Sculpture) /161/ in any great number. Their remains go back almost exclusively to the wars of the orders, for example the ruins of the fortresses of Kaunas and Gelgaudai, the old Christ Memel /Christmemel/. On the foundation walls of others rise castles of recent times, such as those of Raudonė and Raudondvaris. (22)

113 22. Tarasenka, Gimtoji senovė (Olden Days of the Homeland) (Šiauliai, 1925), pp. 90-92. Tarasenka, Medžiaga Lietuvos archeologijai (Material for Lithuanian Archaeology). For the fortress of Gelgaudai cf.

342 simplicity. To be sure, a castle like Pakrojus belongs to the rare exceptions in the country, especially since Courlandic models are definitely followed here. (25)

[113] 25. Otto Grautoff, Die baltischen Provinzen, Vol. 3, Bauten und Bilder, (Berlin, 1916), pp. XVII and 118. Jasenas, loc. cit., Vol. III, No. V, pp. 308-311.

[341] Although neo-classicism must be regarded as a world wide style dominating the whole monumental architecture of its century, it maintained its importance in the East considerably longer than in the Western countries--far beyond the middle of the nineteenth century. Among the castles built from the second half of the century on we find nearly all types of style; thus one could imagine the castle of Apytalauke just as well in Grunewald. Since up to now there is neither a comprehensive presentation nor a sufficient quantity of illustrations of Lithuanian castles, a detailed treatment of this subject must be left to the future. It may be added that the location of all these mansions was chosen with great taste. /164/ Situated in broad parks, at times on little hills, they are frequently mirrored in artificial lakes and ponds or gain the necessary framework for the unfolding of their artistic effects through broad lawns. To be sure, a number of these buildings are destined to decay, since their owners no longer possess the means for their upkeep as a result of the agrarian reform.

346 In general the construction of important religious buildings in the larger cities of Lithuania came to an end from the nineteenth century on. On the other hand, church construction in the provinces greatly increased. Here, however, the model of antiquity exercises a far smaller influence than the new romanticism which permits the

346 forms of the Middle Ages to come to life again. Concerning this period Prof. Weber says in the essay already mentioned: "The beauty of rising pointed spires and slender, high-pointed arch windows, and also the charm of natural brick color were discovered anew. A second great layer of Gothic red brick churches is now being laid over Lithuania's cities and villages, this time, to be sure, only imitations of real Gothic." (26) Ex-

26. Prof. P. Weber, Litauische Kirchen, op. cit., p. 138.

amples of this are the churches of Jonava and Vilkija on the Memel as well as the church of
341 Rokiskis built by Tiesenhausen. Moreover the second half of the nineteenth century is a period of imitations of all possible styles and in Lithuania, as elsewhere, completely dependent on the eclecticism with its resulting confusion of style which is characteristic of the West. Thus we frequently find in later church buildings a combination of the most varied forms of style which can
[344] no longer be called organic. That even the baroque style celebrated its resurrection in the course of this neo-Renaissance[1] is seen, for example, in the former gouvernement palace, the present palace of the president. The baroque facade here is well divided by two side projections, with a rustica. The end of the roof, a cornice resting on brackets, is carried over the portal and the side projections in slightly wavy lines. These lines have their correspondence in uniquely formed /165/ chimneys.
[345] From most recent times[1] finally, dates the building of the state theater, also to be mentioned in this connection, whose front shows a special lightness of organization through three high windows. The interrupted lines of the roof, which are repeated in great volutes, underline the impression of animation, movement, and grace.

1 [19th century -- Analyst]

344 not achieved. On the other hand, the decoration of the ceiling in the interior of the main post office represents a thoroughly happy solution.

346 /168/ Among the most interesting buildings of the most recent times belongs the Museum of Vytautas the Great of the year 1935. In this building, which is dedicated to the old memories of a glorious past, the fortress-like character of the whole arrangement seems intentional, although the contrast between the front side of the structure and the rear is somewhat too pronounced. On a lower floor with two side wings, whose facade is divided by an unusually great number of broad, symmetrically spaced windows, the compact, windowless wall of the upper story is built up. Especially the mighty side wings are effective through the uniformly white surface of their walls, while the projection of the central facade is divided by slender, rising pilasters which seem almost too strong for the entablature which rests on them. We find here a complete renunciation of the clear separation of supporting and supported elements, the harmonizing of bearer and burden in the sense of conservative aesthetic feeling. A single example from the past, the doge palace of Venice, shows a similar distribution of mass. Perhaps, however, this example is too far-fetched, for as a matter of fact the structural feeling of the modern architect has been basically changed in relation to a still recent past through the use of steel skeletons and cement. This building, which naturally ran up against protests, (28)

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28. Cf. for example Dr. H. Kairiūkštytė-Jacynienė, "Dėl Vytauto Didžiojo vardo muziejaus projekto" (On the Project of the Museum of Vytautas the Great), in Židinys, 1931, Vol. XIV, No. 8/9, pp. 167-170.

is thus characteristic. The high tower erected ne

346 to the museum is connected with it through a sort of protected passageway, whose arcades find no correspondence in the overall arrangement. The interior architecture of the building, within its large, light exhibition halls and office rooms, serve well the purpose for which the museum is intended.

344 Out of the great number of public buildings which have arisen since the re-establishment of the state, in this context only those few can be discussed which seem characteristic of the trends in the new architecture of the country. Specific characteristics can /169/ not yet be recognized there, except, in most recent times, the transition from stone construction to cement and steel framework construction. Along with the already discussed building of the Kaunas District Administration, the building of the National Bank is representative of this style. Here one has already progressed quite a bit farther along the road to functionalism. It is a building of complete anonymity and impersonality. Large continuous verticals divide the block of the structure into narrow strips of windows. It is symmetrically fashioned out of surface and line, without decorative elements, without relation to the human factor--a many-storied office building with a regular series of windows and of functionally logical construction. The building of the National Bank, in which also the Foreign Ministry is located, was completed in 1935.

341 It is not without interest that the newest warehouse style--steel houses with broad, poster-like horizontal surfaces--such as is characteristic, for example, of the latest development in Holland (but also in Germany), has as yet met with no approval in Lithuania. Perhaps this is connected also with reasons of climate, since in a northern country natural obstacles stand in the way of the construction of broad window surfaces. We find

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

346

The architecture of the churches is linked to the same traditions. Since time immemorial wood was used to build them. The Cathedral of Vilnius was constructed in 1387 and was consecrated in that year. It was burnt down by the Teuton Knights.

32. Wooden Church at Rumšiškės

33. Wooden Church at Verpena

In 1390 Jagellon complained to the Pope of the destruction of the new wooden church by the Teuton Knights, who used the material to build a bridge across the Neris river. The cathedral was rebuilt, but it was again burnt down entirely in 1394. These sanctuaries of Christian Lithuania were often erected on the very spots formely occupied by ancient temples. According to the chronicles the first cathedral just

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

● 346

34. Wooden Church at Gruzdžiai

mentioned above, had been erected on the very spot of the altar on which the eternal fire used to burn.

> "*Principalem autem aram in loco ubi ignis qui falso perpetuus creditus est, accendebatur, constituit, ut error gentilis fieret cunctis patentior.*"

Their construction and design certainly could not have differed much from that of the civilian buildings. As in the times of the first Christians, it was the private dwelling that at first received the new God. Up to the present the *klėtis* often serves as a church. When dedicated to the cult, the dwelling of the peasant was enlarged, its plan was extended, the roof was built higher, the windows became wider, but the general lines remained

P. 26

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

35. Wooden Church at Salantai, 17th cent.

unchanged. The altar was separated from the nave by a simple railing and the *prieklėtis* then played the part of a direct porch. Where an apse was provided for it was either formed by a prolongation of the lateral walls, or it was narrower, of the usual dimensions only. In the interior the walls were painted in uniform color, the ceiling was often blue and strewn with gilded stars. The windows were sometimes decorated with multicolored panes of glass, a last reflection of the monumental Gothic church windows. On certain holidays the beams, the ceiling, the altar and the [353] statues were overladen with garlands of flowers and foliage. Peasants' fairy plays were later acted in this adornment of plants and stars. The church in its Sunday splendor sparkles under its clothing of wood.

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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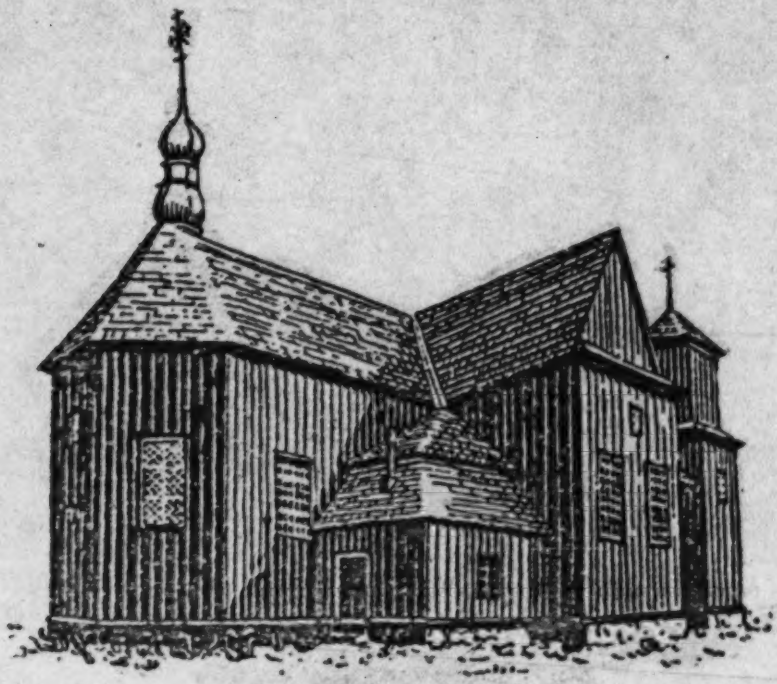

36. Wooden Church at Kedainiai, 18th cent.

The bell was sheltered in a small tower, situated at first on the churches. It was suspended under the porch or even in the vestry. But in most cases a separate building was erected for it. The steeple proper never constituted a part of the church, it developed independently. At Vabalninkas at Varéna long beams, supporting a double sloped roof replaced the steeple. In general however the construction was more complicated. The plan was sometimes a square and sometimes octagonal. There are innumerable variations, from a simple pyramid protected by a roof to the boldest scaffoldings, the stories of which seem to evolve from each other as from a magic box. At Vajasiškis the three stories, receding one above the other, constitute a kind of ziggurat. The tower frequently rose upon a pyramidal base which in certain cases formed the main part of the

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

346

37. Wooden Church at Ukmergė

buildings. Its walls were perpendicular or inclined. The number of stories later increased. The divisions between them were marked off by cornices. The apertures were large and sometimes transformed into arcades.

Resting on their large bases with their solid and uniform fronts, these towers often give an impression of imposing weight, which one is astonished to find in a building erected of such light materials. They have the shape and the ruggedness of a military construction, it is a massive architecture without superfluous decorations. The types with slanting walls remind one of big windmills without wings. They have been compared with Ukrainian and Polish monuments, in particular with those of Galicia, where such church towers may have been developed from observation towers and defence keeps of ancient strongholds. Such rustic churches and steeples however could satisfy only small villages. Whenever a vaster

1 [Errata: should be however. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, cat. 116.--- Analyst]

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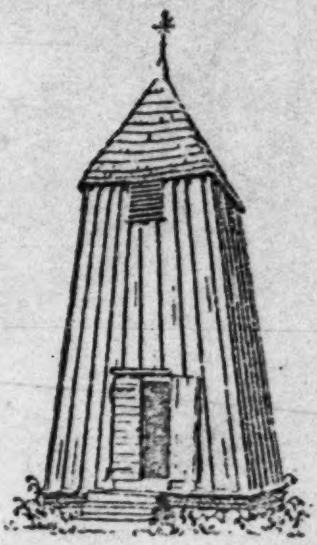
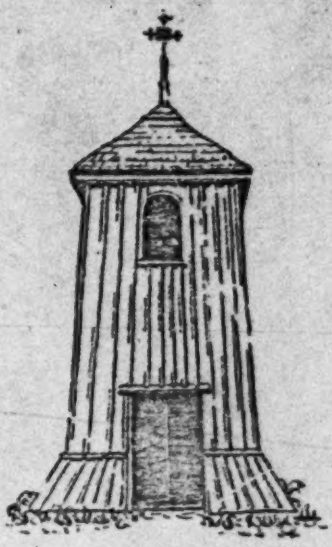


38. Bell-Tower at Varputėnai



39. Bell-Tower at Degučiai

building was necessary the plans and vertical sections of Western monuments were adopted, such as those of the churches consisting of several naves or provided with a dome. But the cathedral conceived for an architecture in stone completely changed its aspect when built of wood. Often imported systems mingle with the local forms and the elements of a large church are then grafted upon the *klétis*.

Small chapels were divided into three naves separated from each other by columns. Galleries were built on the sides of the aisles and towards the entrance. The number of vestries was increased, transepts appeared, a tower or two steeples were added to the front, the windows, though enlarged remained faithful to their primitive rectangular plan and only in some cases they were surmounted by a mitre-shaped arch. Being built of wood the edifice lost its habitual ornamentation. Buttresses and arcades were suppressed. Curves were completely banished and there was nothing left to attenuate an impression of nudity. All harmony was reduced to the proportions and equilibrium of the masses.

10:Baltrušaitis R-4,5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
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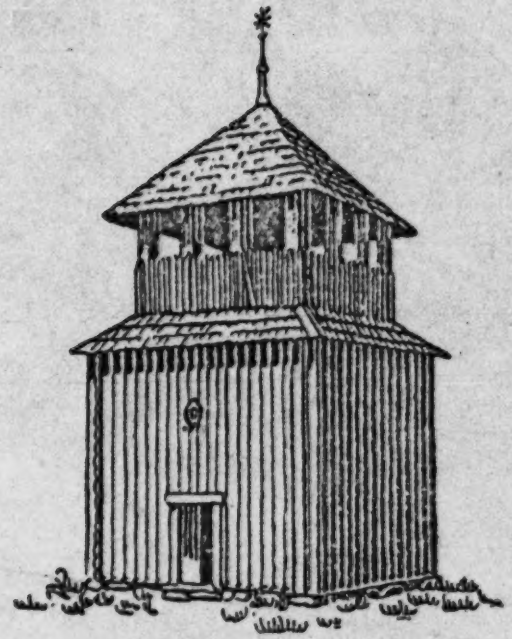
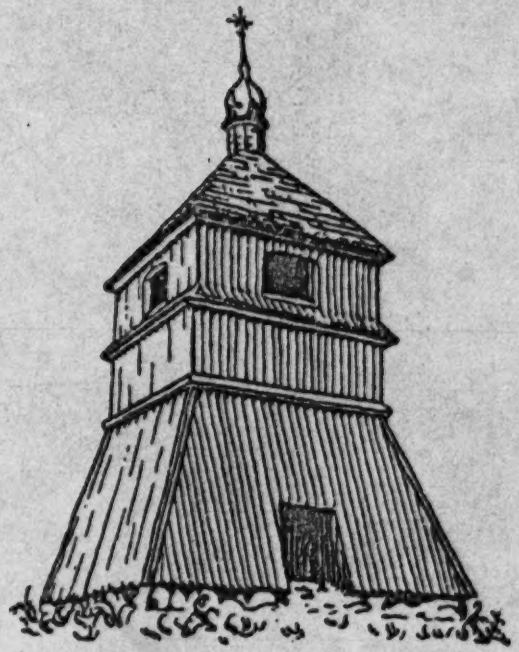


40. Bell-Tower at Pasvalis, 18th cent.



41. Bell-Tower at Rozalimas, 18th cent.

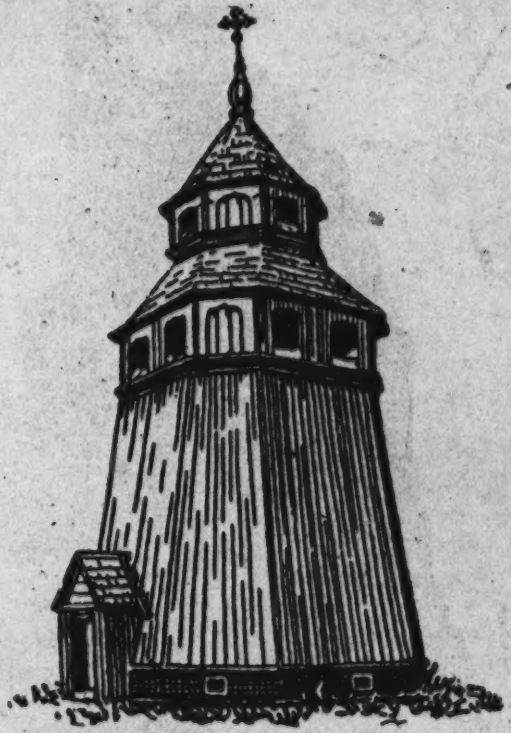
531

42.—44. Iron Heads of Crosses on Churches and Bell-Towers

346 They are formidable barns, the austerity of which reminds one of Cistercian architecture. The same may be said of the churches which reproduced classic models with marble panelings, colonnades and cornices. At Utena the entablature is replaced by a supplementary roofing running along the walls, as is to be seen on certain church towers. The dome is composed of an octagon with a roof supporting a small square turret, the lantern. The reduction of curves to straight lines gives the structure an air of particular solidity. No luxury, no clever distribution in which everything is calculated, in which every profile has been meditated, but only a frank and sober framework of timber. In the churches of the 17th and 18th centuries there are baroque bulbs on the roofs or on the towers, but such light designs only serve to accentuate the massiveness of the construction. The wood is not hidden behind a coating of stucco. Friezes and mouldings are replaced by simple boarding. The seafaring peoples of the North built their church to resemble the hull of a boat. In Lithuania they are the work of the wood chopper. Even if inspired by the mason the builder of huts will not renounce his craft. He will discover therein new possibilities and succeed in erecting buildings on a hitherto unusual scale. By suppressing such elements of construction and ornamentation which belong to monuments built of stone only, he will succeed in avoiding what is not genuine and only calculated to deceive the eye and in creating an art belonging to him alone.

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

45. Bell-Tower at Trylkiai, 18th cent.



46. Bell-Tower at Saukinai, 18th cent.

346

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

346

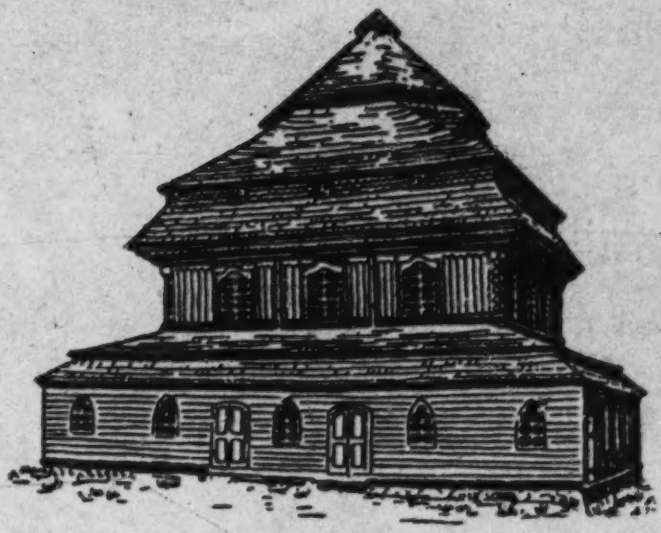
47. Synagogue at Valkininkai

The same dexterity in the handling of material may be seen in the synagogues. As early as 1388 Vytautas the Great granted to the Jews privileges that assured them liberty of worship. Article 14 of this decree protects their temples: "Whosoever throws something into a Jewish school — i. e. a synagogue — shall be fined two talents or two pounds of pepper." Such religious tolerance has become a matter of tradition.

The most ancient buildings which have been preserved go back to the 17th century. The rectangular buildings are surrounded by galleries and by numerous outbuildings. Towers are sometimes placed at the corners, but the whole complex is dominated by an enormous roof. This is above all an architecture of masses. The pyramidal masses crush the walls. They are multiplied and accumulated. At Vyžuoniai there are two and at Jurbarkas three. These phantastic superstructures are not infrequently many times higher than the wall of the front side. Between two roofings a second story is often built in. In most important synagogues a dome rises above this structure, which is covered also by a roof. At Šaukėnai the synagogue is built on an octagonal plan, at Valkininkai on

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

346

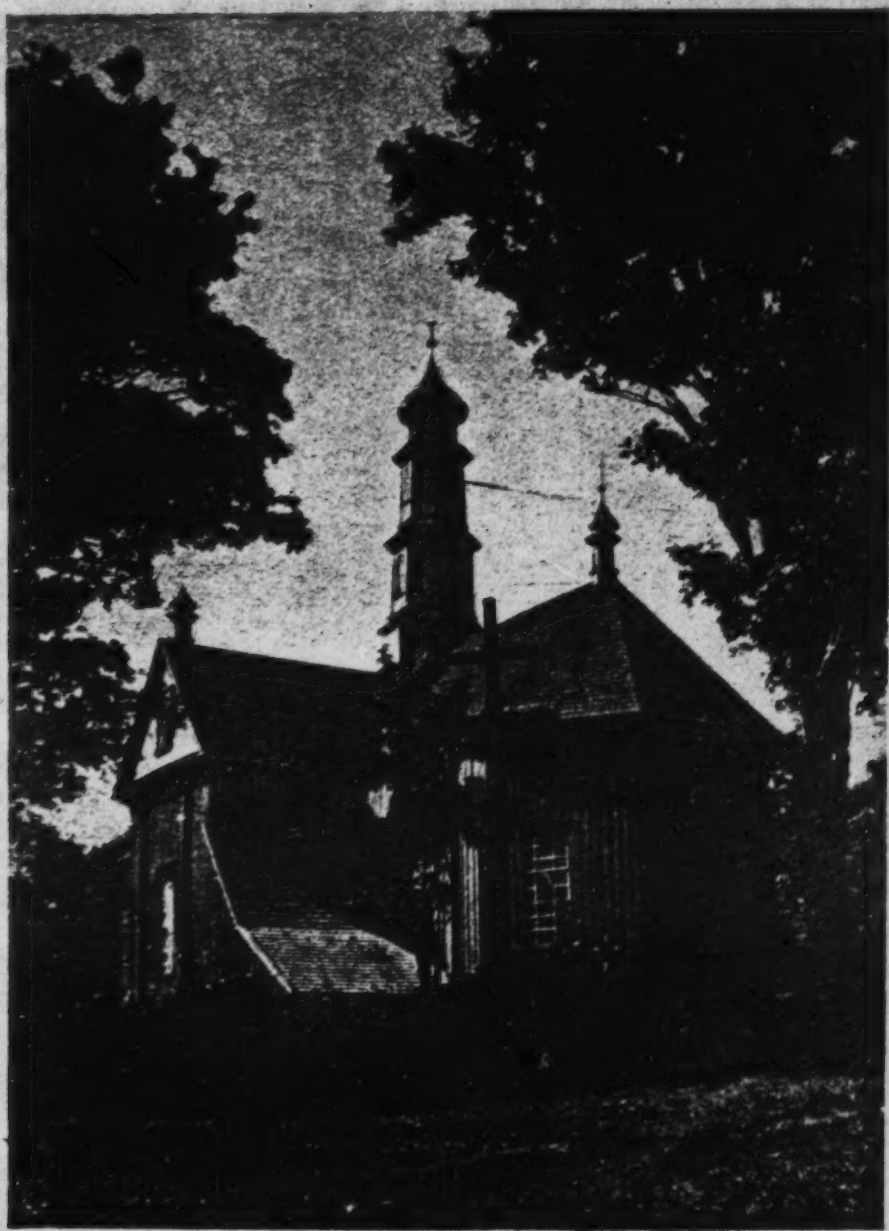


48. Synagogue at Šaukėnai

a square plan externally, but octagonal in the interior. The principle of a double plan, which is used in the East in the so-called encasing system, can be recognized here. With the exception of the dome however, architecture due to local builders seems to be linked with local tradition. This perhaps gives the most correct idea of what the vast mansions of the nobility were in the 17th and 18th centuries. According to documents they were very large buildings, often provided with cubic pavillons at the corners and with gigantic attics. By their dimensions and their construction they belong to the same series as the large churches and church towers. If the family of buildings of the *klėtis* order is characterized by a rational economy of construction, we have here a superabundance of plastics and of bold effects in the proportions.

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

346



3: Wooden Church at Loliai
District of Raseinial, 16th cent.

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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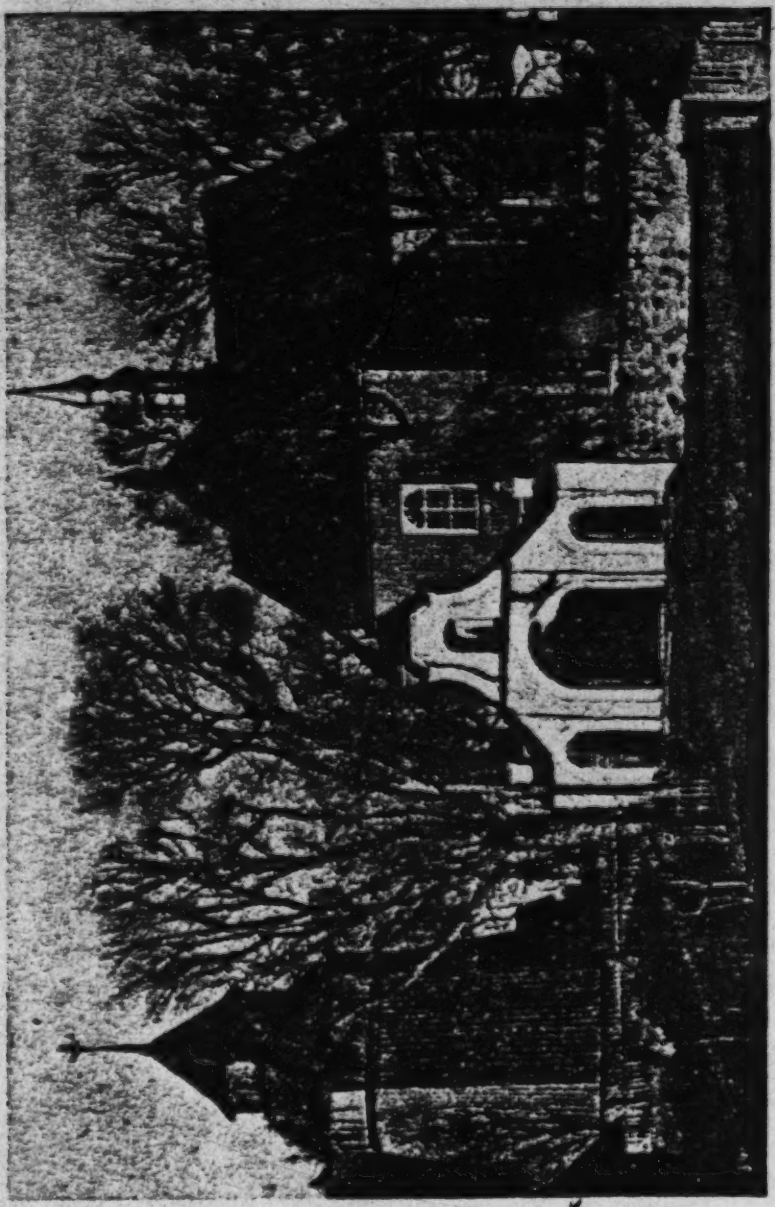

4: Wooden Church and Bell-Tower at Šaukėnai
District of Šiauliai

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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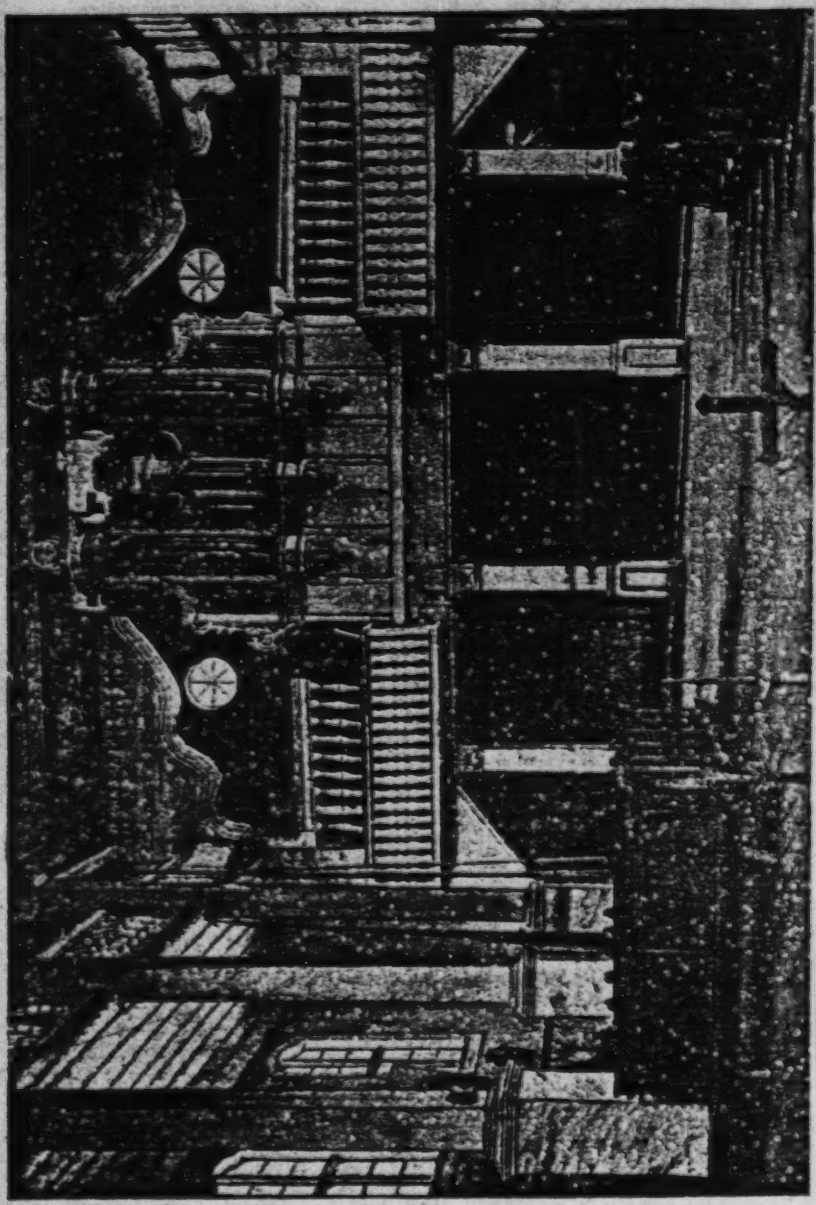

5: Interior of a wooden Church

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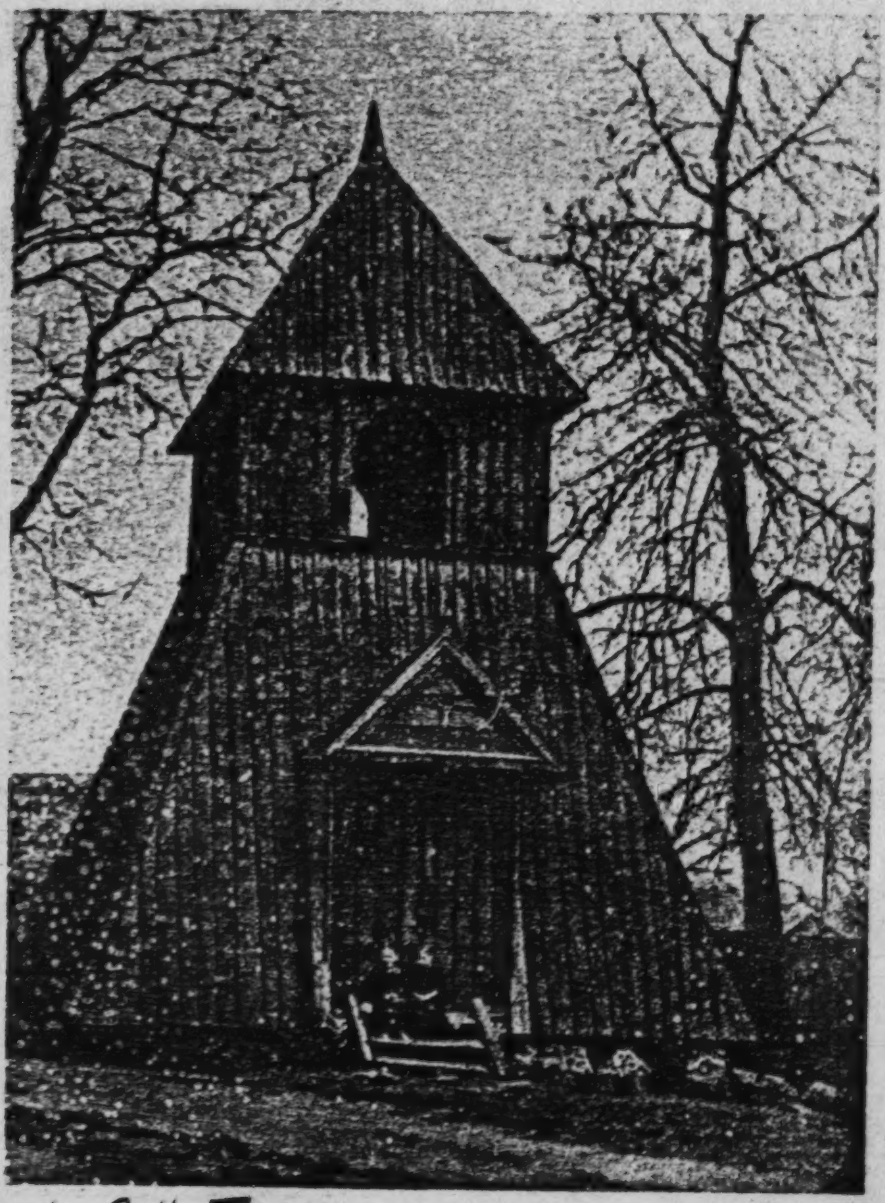

6. Bell-Tower
In Žemaitija

341
perhaps a slight suggestion of this style in the house of the Union of Dairy Companies (Pienocentras).

[349] In the provinces, too, state and communal building activity has been very lively in the last decades. Even to the casual observer who may know Lithuania from the preward period, it should seem remarkable that all along the railroad sections station buildings of stone have replaced the earlier Russian wooden barracks. The impression is strengthened, particularly by a visit to the district cities, for in a few years a whole series of large buildings has arisen here on Western models, above all schools and hospitals of often surprising, though necessary proportions (e.g. in Kēdainiai), and in addition many other public and private buildings. For all /170/ these buildings demonstrate a decisive effort, with the support of proven Western forms, to combine the particular purpose of the building, which is the most essential element, with a harmonious form and an overall aesthetic impression.

[361] The face especially of cities such as Šiauliai, that were completely or partially destroyed in the first World War and were rebuilt in stone has completely changed. Thus the transition to stone construction proceeds in the provinces with greater and greater speed and also reaches into the villages, primarily through the example of those who return from America. This development is hastened by the effort to protect and preserve as much as possible the forests of the country, which are not in themselves large. Perhaps only a few more decades will pass and the "Lithuania of stone" which already plays a great role in architectural discussions will have partially become a reality. The character of the Lithuanian countryside would thereby experience a basic change which is for the moment unimaginable.

327 iron pieces are of unusual grace and lightness.
531 They rise in a rhythmic upswing and repeat the theme of the symbolic ornamentation in their own language. Rosettes, flowers, sun, moon, and all the other symbols of the early pagan period awaken in them to a new life, and so great is the diversity of forms that among hundreds of these products of ironwork hardly one resembles another. This high development of form appears especially striking in a country which has no iron supply of its own. Perhaps just for that reason iron was valued as an especially precious metal, for it was worked almost exclusively for such decorative forms. In the daily life of the people it was not able to supplant wood. Therefore, apart from metal work on doors and windows and a very few practical articles of wrought iron, almost nothing has been preserved from olden times. The fact that the art of ironwork, too--insofar as it was art at all--satisfied only the religious need for ornamentation has made it today into a dying branch of the old Lithuanian village art.

531 Unfortunately, the same also applies to the
352 use of colored ornament and decorative painting of practical objects which was earlier practised in the country. The "colorful little windows" of which the old dainos sing have become rare, and beautifully painted chests have been relegated to museums. In Samogitia they were decorated with strong and heavy colors; in the northeast of the country, on the other hand, probably under Slavic influence, with light and lively colors. (42) In

42. A. Rukštelė, see above, p. 42.

the chests that are preserved, principally bridal chests, the predominant ornament is the lily; in addition we find other flowers and leaf patterns, sometimes in imaginative stylizations--also occasionally birds, primarily those which wear rich

531/ decorative colors in nature. On the other hand,
352 any representation of human life, /134/ so dear to
• Poles and Russians, is lacking. From the darkly toned background the colors are set in relief forcefully and without transitions--green and yellow; white and red; green, violet, and yellow--and in still other combinations, which always speak of a sure feeling for colors. In their total impression these chests, in spite of the liveliness of their colorings, have a calm effect. Nevertheless the few examples of this art which I have so far seen seem to me not to express shat I should like to consider the truly characteristic feature of coloring in Lithuanian folk art--the creative force of the colors. This can become truly effective only where it no longer stands in the service of drawing, but makes the surface itself subordinate, as in the flow of the colorful patterns of the Lithuanian decorative ribbons or in the margučiai, the Easter eggs.

531 The Lithuanian margučiai (marginti--to
776 decorate in colors) exhibit the same stylized ornamentation in a state of stability that is fluidly shaped in the juostos--leaves, flowers, geomettrical figures in infinitely changing form--but here it is the color which brings it forth, which becomes an end in itself, and which controls and fashions the surface. It is precisely in the margučiai that one can observe how the nature of the complementary colors is fully grasped. The extent of the oval is seen as a unit and only rarely divided into segments. The loving investigator and collector of these little works of art, Tadas Daugirdas, has written some interesting things concerning this branch of folk art. (43) He relied

[113] 43. Thaddäus von Daugird, "Margutschai--die litauischen Ostereier," Kownoer Zeitung, 1917.

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

1. "Numas" of Žemaičiai

Inside, a hearth, a bed, a chest, a table and a few seats [352] constitute the modest fittings of a Spartan way of living. Such was without doubt the Black House, black with smoke and soot, mentioned by Caspar Hannenberger in 1595, and the houses built on the rectilinear plan, traces of which have been discovered during excavations at Dukštas. Such was certainly the primitive Nordic cabin.

The twin system of dwelling was very often used and shows several variations. The first addition consists of a terrace. The arrangement of the interior was changed, the number of windows was increased. Sometimes the one room, was also divided by a partition, but the general lines of the plan were maintained. If other buildings were added this was done in the centre, in the direction of the reception hall. Sometimes it is only one wing, sometimes a real transept was built. A special type was evolved in Žemaitija (Lower Lithuania, Samogitia). If a family became wealthy it used to abandon its old home — which henceforward served as a barn — and to build a new and vaster dwelling, the *"numas"*, consisting of two equal parts: the stable and the human dwelling. As in Biblical times man and beast are sheltered under the same roof. The principal room is spacious and contains the hearth. Another room used to be built on the Southern side. It had no communication with the interior and served as a bedroom for the landlord and for young married couples. On the same side there

The great wooden coffers serving at the same time as trunks and cup-
boards in which the family valuables are piled up, are generally decorated 531
with paintings. On a monotone background are carved idealized flowers, 352
framed in rectangles or planted in pots, such as tulips, roses, daisies, harebells. They often sprout forth on the same straight or undulated twig at regular intervals. Animals, such as horses, cocks and hens, oriental lions and even the image of a mermaid with the tail of a fish are less frequent. The colors are usually brillant blue, yellow and white. The strokes of the brush are energetic and clear. They contrast by their breadth and their spontaneousness, with the minutely calculated ornament carved with a knife. In the *klétis*, with their bare walls, such large painted panels play the part both of pictures and frescoes. In the same spirit the village painter applies himself to the decoration of window shutters, the doors of houses, small chapels and crosses. Among the art still in existence, cera- 323
mics plays a large part. The tumuli, *antkapiai* and *piliakalniai*, have yielded 531
numerous prehistoric specimens. There is earthenware of solid and simple profile thrown by hand. Such vessels are sometimes narrow with an elongated neck, and sometimes low and wide. Large plates with vertical or oblique edges have also been found. The bottom is generally flat. The decoration is composed of fir trees or saw-teeth or indentations. These elements subsist up to the present time. The peasant pottery follows the same procedures and is decorated with the same ornaments. The gray, black, brown or red earth is modelled on a primitive throw, dried and baked over a moderate fire. Here the whole gamut of the ancient designs can be seen, such as dentelated and undulated designs, rhombs, crosses. They run along the rims, cover the bodies and sometimes even extend to the bottoms. The designs become more regular, but their elements do not change. Even when provided with improved tools, the potter returns incessantly to the same old designs. This constancy however does not exclude an enrichment of the craft. The number of types increases, milk-jugs, — *"puodyné"* or *"dubenélis"* — with oval bodies, large neck and without handles, water-jugs, — *"asotis"* — which resemble the antique oenochoi, bowls, saucers, special vessels designed as containers for the meals of the workers in the fields and with a double body connected by a single handle. Sometimes the clay jugs are wrapped in plaited bark.

The ceramic items are nowadays glazed and influenced by painting, the ornaments are now not only engraved, but also painted with a brush. New

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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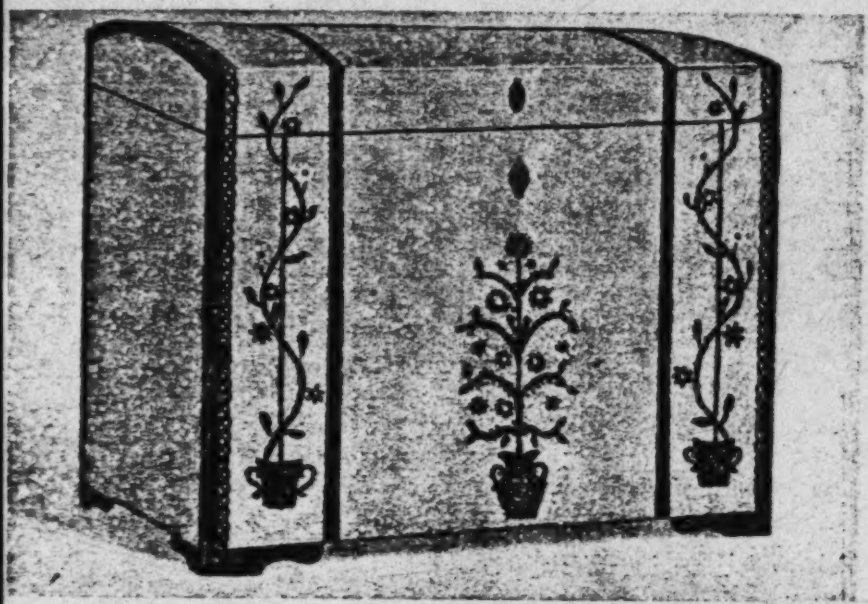

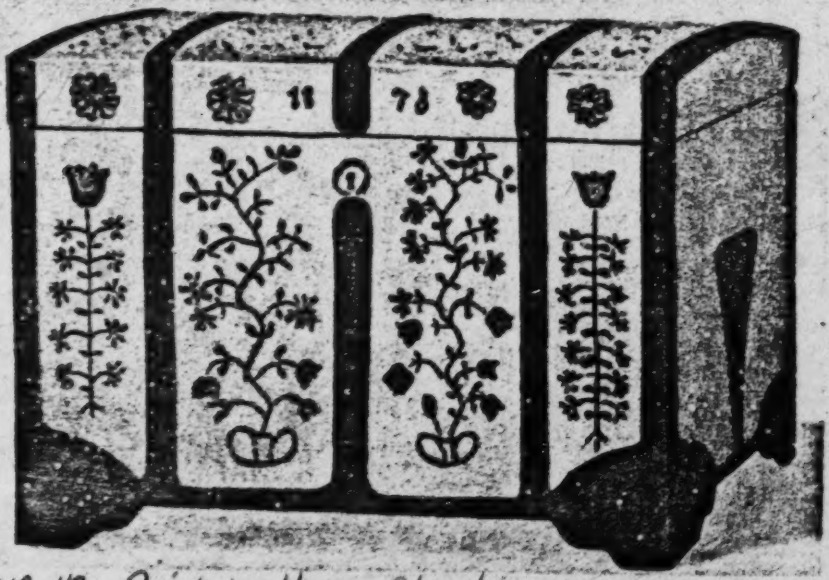

48.-49. Painted Hope-Chests
District of Utena

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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50.-51. Painted Hope-Chests
District of Utena and Raseiniai

181 They are industrious, peace-loving, and
unassuming people, described by ancient chroniclers as "rough but pious."
Since time immemorial and ever spiritually attuned to nature, they
have built their entire culture upon a natural basis. Like the Letts, who
are related to them, they live to a great extent in a "wood age" which
is very ancient but for that reason no less many-sided, skillful, and
342 sensible. The houses are made of wood; their foundation beams rest on
the bare soil or on field boulders. The roof at one time probably con-
sisted of spruce bark, as the covering sheets for the peat still do today;
but now the roof is made of straw which is held on to the ridge by ridge rid
In front of the door there is usually placed a narrow porch with a gabled
roof and with little benches to the right and to the left. Formerly the
houses had only one room, smoking-room style, but now they usually
have a tripartite division with entrance hall in the middle, and living
room and bedroom to the right and the left of it. The floor consists of
● 352 a loam coating or of boarding. The furniture consists of wall benches,
loose benches, well-carved solid chairs, a table, wall boards, and pine-
353 wood splinter holders; on the walls are hung pictures of saints, fre-
quently portraits of the old Lithuanian rulers, and, symptomatic for the
343 great amount of emigration, photographs from America. Aside from
the living quarters, granaries (klete), barns, stables, wells, and bath
515 house belong to the Lithuanian farmstead. In the bath house they bathe
in steam which rises from heated stones on which the water is poured.
This, incidentally, is also the way the Indians do it. The bather lies
on a bench and cools and massages himself at the same time by means
412 of a cluster of birch twigs which he dips in fresh water. The hand-
operated mill is a very ancient instrument. It has one stationary and
[231] one turning stone in a wooden box. Likewise ancient is the beehive
made of a hollow tree stem--bee keeping is the most original native
and the most highly developed form of the collecting economy, which is
here, as among the Letts, universally practiced and skillfully cultivated--
ancient, too, is the zoche, the plow with the forked share, which, as
late as the 16th century, was made entirely of wood, and which even
today is completely wooden except for the iron shoe; just like the har-
rows with branches tied to them, and the snowshoes made of hollowed-
534 out oak boards tied under the foot. Ancient, also, are the musical in-
struments; the nine-stringed kanklys, the truba made of a birch branch
cut lengthwise, hollowed out, and tied together again; the short reed
pipe, the trapezoid shaped cymbal, the stringed zither made of an osier
switch, played with a bow fashioned in the same way; with a resonator

10:Baltrusaitis R-4,5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

35. Wooden Church at Salantai, 17th cent.

unchanged. The altar was separated from the nave by a simple railing and the *prieklêtis* then played the part of a direct porch. Where an apse was provided for it was either formed by a prolongation of the lateral walls, or it was narrower, of the usual dimensions only. In the interior the walls were painted in uniform color, the ceiling was often blue and strewn with gilded stars. The windows were sometimes decorated with multicolored panes of glass, a last reflection of the monumental Gothic church windows. On certain holidays the beams, the ceiling, the altar and the statues were overladen with garlands of flowers and foliage. Peasants' fairy plays were later acted in this adornment of plants and stars. The church in its Sunday splendor sparkles under its clothing of wood.

[353]

1: Karutz--27 E-4 (no date) 1925 E1 Europe
Lithuanian RB5

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switch, played with a bow fashioned in the same way; with a resonator

322 thing of their own. We find as ornaments rosettes,
531 stars, and wavy lines, interrupted and lozenge frets, also stylized plant patterns--though less often--on chests, dishes, platters, canes, etc. On spindles and distaffs, on the other hand, the favorite ornament is the circle divided into six segments, the ancient symbol of the sun, whose production presents only little difficulty and therefore is often repeated. Only on coat racks do animal forms appear, taken from nature, primarily birds. Splendidly carved towel and spoon racks, knives, forks, and spoons, shuttles and whetstone holders, boxes and caskets, even carved flasks show great technical skill and artistic manipulation. Only in rare cases does an object of household use remain without ornamentation.
[354] The old žibintuvas, the pine chip holder, an often very beautifully carved frame holding the chips that illuminated the work room, is today
[533] found only in museums as is the kanklēs, the ancient zither-like instrument of the Lithuanians, which is also richly carved, and which today has awakened to a new life. (41) In all of these

[113] 41. On the development of the kanklēs cf. the basic work of the Swedish Professor Tobias Norlind, Bidrag Till Kantelens Historia (Särtryck ur Rig, 1923).

patterns sways an inner rhythm that attests to an absolute feeling for style. One should also never overlook the fact that these objects were created only for personal pleasure or for the pleasure of people to whom they were given--as perhaps by a youth to a maid. Thus they maintained the charm of the personal and direct and also the value of uniqueness.

/131/ In view of this joy in the ornamentation of practical objects it is almost astonishing not to find furniture decorated with carving in the

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perhaps a slight suggestion of this style in the house of the Union of Dairy Companies (Pienocentras).

[349] In the provinces, too, state and communal building activity has been very lively in the last decades. Even to the casual observer who may know Lithuania from the preward period, it should seem remarkable that all along the railroad sections station buildings of stone have replaced the earlier Russian wooden barracks. The impression is strengthened, particularly by a visit to the district cities, for in a few years a whole series of large buildings has arisen here on Western models, above all schools and hospitals of often surprising, though necessary proportions (e.g. in Kēdainiai), and in addition many other public and private buildings. For all /170/ these buildings demonstrate a decisive effort, with the support of proven Western forms, to combine the particular purpose of the building, which is the most essential element, with a harmonious form and an overall aesthetic impression.

[361] The face especially of cities such as Šiauliai, that were completely or partially destroyed in the first World War and were rebuilt in stone has completely changed. Thus the transition to stone construction proceeds in the provinces with greater and greater speed and also reaches into the villages, primarily through the example of those who return from America. This development is hastened by the effort to protect and preserve as much as possible the forests of the country, which are not in themselves large. Perhaps only a few more decades will pass and the "Lithuania of stone" which already plays a great role in architectural discussions will have partially become a reality. The character of the Lithuanian countryside would thereby experience a basic change which is for the moment unimaginable.

133 Neringa* presents a remarkable natural wonder. It is a long strip of earth stretching several tens of kilometers to the south, separating the Baltic Sea from Kurshiu Marios (Courland Spit). It is covered in places by young woodland or low pines, and in some places magnificent sand dunes rise, which around the hamlet of Nida are the highest in Europe. Lithuania's largest river is the Nemunas (Neman). It is navigable from the Alytus. Its most important tributaries inside Lithuania are the Neris (which in turn has its tributaries Shventoiya* and Nevezys), and also the Dubysa and the Sheshupe.

The lowest parts of Lithuania are swampy. There are especially many swamps in the Siauliai area and to the west from the middle of the Nemunas.

137 Wooded surface comprised before the Second World War, 19 percent of the whole Republic. About two-thirds of the woods are coniferous, and about one-third is deciduous. Among the coniferous varieties fir trees and pines predominate. Among the deciduous varieties the ash, the birch, the aspen, and, less often, the alder and oak predominate. The meadows are covered with dense, mellow grass. The natural pastures, and also fodder grass, are the basis for the development of animal husbandry.

132 Owing to the proximity of the sea, the climate is damp and mild. There are no severe winters and no dry winds. The average annual temperature is from plus 6.5° to 7° C.; the average temperature in /5/ January is from minus 2.5° to minus 4.7°; in July it is from plus 17° to 18.6°.

162 The population of Soviet Lithuania (according to the statistics of 1940) is 3,150,000. The bulk of the population consists of Lithuanians (80 per cent). In addition there are Russians, Poles, White Russians, Jews, and Latvians.

631 Administratively Soviet Lithuania is divided into 41 uyezds, 320 volosts, and 2,774 apilinks (selsoviets).

● 361 The capital of the Republic is Vilnius. The city of Vilnius was founded in the tenth century and has been the capital since 1323. It is situated at the junction of the rivers Vilnele (Vileika) and Neris, on the shores of both rivers.

The largest cities of the Republic are Kaunas, Klaipeda, Siauliai, Paniveshis.

135 In the Republic there are rich resources in water power, of peat and mineral construction material.

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union
Letts RB4
Lithuanians RB5

Le 665

cultural life. The lack of communist intellectuals made itself felt not only in the narrow sphere of university life from which professors imbued with 'bourgeois anti-scientific ideas' could not be ousted quickly enough, but it also put a brake on 're-education' in the Soviet sense of the masses of the Latvian people.[38]

LITHUANIA: BOTH ALLY AND VICTIM

Li. 648 [181]

In terms of geography the Soviet Baltic Republics are not fully identical with the 'bourgeois' Baltic States. Both Estonia and Latvia have each lost to the R.S.F.S.R. border territories of about 800 square miles. Soviet Lithuania, however, has added to her pre-September 1939 territory 3,200 square miles in the east and more than 1,000 square miles in the south.

This difference in treatment seems clearly to indicate that the U.S.S.R. considered Lithuania useful from the point of view of Soviet foreign policy, whereas Estonia and Latvia were from the Soviet Russian standpoint no more than internal problems of the Soviet Union.

Furthermore, her geographical position made Lithuania much more valuable to Russia than Estonia and Latvia. Lithuania had common frontiers with two big European nations, Poland and Germany. Russia had thus an obvious interest in using Lithuania against both of them as a pawn in the diplomatic and military game.

This is why relations between Russia and Lithuania during the inter-war period were on a different footing from Russian-Latvian or Russian-Estonian relations. In Soviet eyes Lithuania was an oppressed nation deserving sympathy ever since Poland had wrested from her the city of Vilnius (Vilna in Russian, Wilno in Polish) by a *coup de force* in November 1920. This feeling was but little affected by the fact that the country was ruled most of the time by right-wing régimes which oppressed the local communists.

A Comintern appeal to the world proletariat, issued in 1928 in defence of Lithuanian independence, was perhaps the most striking evidence of the special position which Lithuania occupied among the Baltic States with regard to her relations with Russia. The appeal in question, adopted by the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern, referred to the hostile intentions which the Polish Marshal Pilsudsky never ceased to harbour against the small Lithuanian State and called upon the workers of Poland, Britain, France and Germany to give unrestricted support to the Lithuanian workers and peasants.

Li. 648 361

The Soviet Government always considered that Vilna should belong to Lithuania, it being her historical capital, even though the Lithuanians formed only a tiny percentage of its population. When Russia and Lithuania concluded the peace treaty of September 28th, 1920, the

[Cf. cat. 116, p. 116, R1 Sov. Union, 21: Kolarz -- Analyst]

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Lithuanians RBS

Soviet Government allocated to Lithuania the city and district of Vilna, and thereafter the Russian attitude never wavered in its opposition to the Polish annexation of the Vilna area. Li. 648 361

Lithuania also never recognized the loss of her capital and gratefully acknowledged the Soviet attitude in a question in which the entire Lithuanian national prestige was engaged. Lithuania therefore refused to join any anti-Soviet coalition. As early as 1923 she reacted favourably to a Russian offer of a guarantee pact, and in 1926 the Soviet-Lithuanian Guarantee Treaty was signed, the first to be concluded by Russia with one of her western neighbours. In October 1939, Russia having, in co-operation with Germany, liquidated the Polish Republic, handed over to Lithuania the long-coveted Vilna district. According to Polish statistics the territory which had been added to the Lithuanian Republic had over 500,000 inhabitants, of whom 11·3 per cent were Lithuanians, 3·3 per cent Jews, 2·5 per cent Byelorussians and 69·2 per cent Poles. In the town of Vilna itself at the time of the Polish census in 1931, only 1 per cent of all inhabitants gave Lithuanian as their mother tongue; and even as late as 1943 Lithuanians accounted for only 21·7 per cent of Vilna's population. By giving Vilna to Lithuania the Soviet Government made a present which cost them nothing. Indeed, Vilna turned out to be a present given by Russia to Russia. Nine months after the incorporation of Vilna into Lithuania the Soviet Union not only recovered that city but annexed the whole of Lithuania through its transformation into a Soviet Republic. A popular Lithuanian saying gives the whole situation in a nut-shell: 'Vilnius is ours, but Lithuania is Russia's'. Li. [162]

Not only the Soviet occupation as such but also the shifting of the capital from Kaunas (Kovno) to Vilna, is detrimental to the interests of the Lithuanian people. While Kaunas, the emergency capital of the inter-war period, was located in the very centre of the Lithuanian 'living-space', Vilna is situated at the ethnical border between Lithuanians and Byelorussians, and is thus strongly exposed to Slav influence. Li. 361 17736

From the Russian point of view Lithuanian national aspirations not only represented a useful pretext for pressing Poland back to the west, but they also helped towards the establishment of the 'unity of the Njeman valley'. The Njeman – called Memel by the Germans and Nemunas by the Lithuanians – has its source in Byelorussia and is an important means of communication for the Russian timber export trade. Up to 1945 Russia had never controlled the entire course of the river. In Czarist times the mouth of the Njeman was in German hands. In the inter-war period its middle course belonged to Poland, while its mouth had a dramatic history. In January 1923 Lithuania occupied the river mouth together with the port and district of Memel (Klaipeda in Lithuanian), a territory with 150,000 inhabitants, most of them German- SU 728 487

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

neutrality toward Poland in the hour of distress during the 648
German-Polish war.

On March 22, 1939, Germany, under the threat of invasion, forced Lithuania to surrender Klaipeda. After Poland collapsed in September, 1939, Soviet Russia seized Vilnius and, according to the Mutual Assistance Pact of October 10, 1939,[17] returned it to Lithuania together with 2,569 square miles of territory. On June 15, 1940, Soviet Russia, subse- 726
quent to its ultimatum, invaded and occupied Lithuania. Almost exactly a year later, on June 23, 1941, the Lithuanians seized an opportunity to start a violent uprising against the Russians, but already the Germans were pouring in from the south and west. They overran Lithuania, dispersed the newly organized Lithuanian government, and started a new period of oppression, Nazi style.

THE POPULATION PATTERN

The Lithuanians were famous from ancient times for 181
their physical health, strength, and vitality. Even today there is still a substantial percentage of elderly persons who have never taken medicine and have never been seriously ill. In general, Lithuanians are farm-loving people, industrious and peaceful. Being great individualists, the Lithu- 369
anians prefer to live on farms because it keeps them close to nature and at the same time affords every man a greater chance of being "his own boss." The cities of Lithuania are therefore inhabited by minorities, mostly Jews. Even in present-day Lithuania, the towns do not show the real character of the nation, as the influx from the farms to the cities has never been strong enough to change the political, economic, and social conditions that have existed for several centuries.

[17] See Appendix E for the text.

531 Lithuanian village--be they peasant beds, tables
322 or benches. Here rules rather a peculiar sobriety, which is to be explained only by the fact that there has never been a bourgeois culture in the Western sense of the term in this country, formerly a part of Russia. But this seems under any circumstances to be a prerequisite to a rural residential culture.

[438] A home industry bringing artistically worked wooden objects onto the market did not formerly exist in Lithuania. Quite in contrast to Germany, for example, folk art, although reaching such height of expression, did not produce a national handicraft. Neither was this art developed into [369] a handicraft in the countryside--this was opposed by the peasant's home economy--nor was the city handicraft--we may think, for example, of the interior furnishings of the city church--stimulated by it. The reasons for this will be discussed in the chapter on the intellectual culture of the city.* We speak, therefore, quite intentionally in this regard of a home culture. Only in recent times has a handicraft arisen in Lithuania on a national basis, such as Daugirdas aspired even before the World War.

000 There is no question that the rich store forms of the Lithuanian home art offers a favorable soil for the development of an independent handicraft. To be sure, modern Lithuanian handicraft, as it is promoted, for example, by the trade schools, the orphanages, and similar institutions, is still today trying to develop its own avenues. This development is not without danger, for not every path leads to the goal. We see here at times efforts simply to take over Western forms and give up the indigenous ones; this would be an unfortunate break with the Lithuanians' own independently developed, /132/ tradition. On the other hand, attempts at transferring directly to wooden furniture and wooden objects the primitive weaving patterns

* [cat. 116, pp. 145-195--Analyst]

181 that we have here a rounded-off and self-contained culture. Such a culture never originates through a random accumulation of human beings, but always through a nation. In our case this culture was a typical peasant culture.

•369 A combination of the most varied historical
565 circumstances, which cannot be gone into in this
162 context, led to the result that the Lithuanian
563 settling in villages and individual farms has found his way to the city only in most recent times and is beginning to imprint his own stamp on it.

The cultural upper class which determined the face of the Lithuanian city in the past centuries has changed in the course of time. Little is known concerning the city's earliest inhabitants.(1)

[113] 1. A. Bezzenberger, "Der Werdegang des litauischen Volkes," Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 1915, Vol. XIII, No. 1, p. 26. "Cities existed only sparsely and, like Vilna, founded in 1321, has probably more foreign than Lithuanian inhabitants."

In the fourteenth century Grand Duke Gediminas summoned German artisans and tradesmen into the country. (2) There followed the Hanse, which had

[113] 2. On the history of the Hanse in Lithuania cf. Walther Stein, "Vom deutschen Kontor in Kowno," Hansische Geschichtsblätter, 1916, Vol. XXII, Nos. 1 and 2, as well as the references given there.

an office in Kaunas. About the same time the Jews made their entrance and completely changed the city picture. Confined to the border provinces by Russian legislation in later centuries they also /146/ gave their stamp to the Lithuanian provincial cities before the first World War. Accord-

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[113]

ing to Ljubawski and Lithuanian cities of the sixteenth century were already overcrowded with Jews (3)

3. Cf. on this point Ljubawski, Oblastnoe dielenie i miestnoe upravlenie Litovski-Russkago gosydarstva ko vremeni izdaniia pervago Litovskago statuta (Districting and Local Administration of the Lithuanian-Russian State at the Time of the Issuance of the First Lithuanian Statute), as well as S. A. Berschadski, Litovski evrei (The Lithuanian Jews) (1883). In recent times the history of Judaism experienced a detailed presentation in Prof. A. Janulaitis, Žydai Lietuvoje (The Jews in Lithuania) (Kaunas, 1923).

The third city element, however, the Poles--as the upper class--at first assimilated the Lithuanian country population which moved in. Even in the nineteenth century a Lithuanian upper class still could not be formed in the cities of the country, since Russian legislation forbade the Lithuanians to occupy any official positions in their own country. Thus--by the irony of history--the first nucleus of an educated Lithuanian bourgeoisie arose in the cities of inner Russia, where the prohibition did not apply. In place of its own officialdom the land received Russian officials and garrisons, whose religious edification was taken care of by the state in this Roman Catholic country with the erection of Orthodox churches.

The World War finally ended this development through the founding of the Lithuanian state. All at once there is a city class educated abroad and now back home, which, though, not numerous, includes all professions, even artists and scholars. In addition a strong immigration from the countryside set in, for suddenly numerous possibilities to make a living in the cities, in officialdom, in

•369 the military, and liberal professions, opened up
162 to the younger peasant generation. An initially
565 favorable economic development encouraged this
563 influx, which again completely changed the face of the city: the city of Kaunas alone doubled its population in a few years. In all areas a lively activity is being unfolded; along with material problems intellectual ones, literature, art, music, theater, science, are suddenly factors in the life of the people.

341 Knowledge of the development sketched here*
121 is essential for the understanding of what follows. It might seem, that is, as if a presentation of the cultural elements of the Lithuanian people would have to be restricted solely to this most recent period of time, insofar as the city is concerned. /147/ The historic architecture of the city would then be excluded from our treatment, since it does not bear the stamp of the same racial type. This is perhaps also the reason why until today there is hardly a single Lithuanian presentation of the historic structures of the country.

341 Nevertheless the present work must consider the architecture of the Lithuanian city for various reasons: first of all it was the Lithuanian Grand Dukes, the high nobility, and the clergy who ordered the construction of churches and castle Furthermore--we may think for example of classicism the great artistic epochs are more or less international; and third, the baroque, the most important building style for Lithuania, exercised unquestionable influence on the Lithuanian folk art

346 There are probably no foreigners visiting
177 the country to whom the great religious structures, especially in Kaunas, would not be objects of attention and deliberation. The face of these buildings is clearly turned toward the West and not toward the Russian East. From the west came the Roman-Catholic faith, proclaimed by Benedictines, Dominicans, Cistercians, and other orders in the

* [see cat. 116, pp. 162-165 -- Analyst]

7. Jungfer-189 S-4,5(no date)1938 RB5LithuaniansRB5

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We thereby have arrived in the midst of modernity,* which has brought with it a complete revolution of all living conditions through the powerful events of the first World War and the re-establishment of the Lithuanian state. This regrouping has also taken place in the area of social organization: if originally there existed only two large classes--nobility and peasantry--along with which the working class gained a certain importance in the countryside only, a new group, an urban middle class, now began to crystalize. How great a significance the urban middle class can have for the unfolding of the cultural forces of a people, the architecture of the East in general is the most telling example. In contrast to Western countries, which, along with public and religious buildings, exhibit a compact group of artistically valuable bourgeois houses, this architecture is completely lacking in Lithuania. The simple, half rural city dweller built his house through centuries either in a completely unartistic brick style--the undecorated, single-storied brick houses were almost typical of the nucleus, inhabited principally by Jews, of the small Lithuanian provincial cities--or he stuck to the familiar wood structure. The latter was transferred to the city almost unchanged and is characteristic primarily of the outer sectors not only of the small towns, but also of the larger cities. "The persistence of tradition is quite surprising. The people proper has remained untouched by all the changes of the 'great architecture,' let the foreign immigrants, let the church and nobility build as they wanted."(27

[113] 27. Prof. P. Weber, Wilna, Eine vergessene Kunststätte (Vilna, 1917), p. 118.

/166/ The new urban middle class, which after the first World War became the bearer of the concept of the state and of cultural progress, substantially

* [19th century modernity -- Analyst]

342 changed the external appearance of the cities of
369 the country in a few years, especially since state
[565] and communes provided the outer frame for the new bourgeois houses by asphalting on a large scale and by creating green parks. One sees this most clearly in Kaunas. Apart from the actual center, the single dwelling predominates, although, with the relatively small amount of space available in the inner sectors, it was in many cases the row house which was called for. The growth of the city, which took place at an almost American tempo, the unusual housing shortage, and the independence of the builders led in the first years to an unorganic development. In this the artistic architecture found at first no place, since the first and most necessary goal was only to create four walls and a roof over the heads of the rapidly growing population of the city. Even the building with wood was hard hit by these necessities of life, for in most cases it was no longer the comfortable forms of the roomy farmhouse which were transferred to the city, but there arose sober, quadrangular, tin-roofed wooden houses consisting of a first and second story, unattractively set in bare courtyards--houses made for profit, where even the presence of a little garden or a few blossoming shrubs constituted an exception. Along with those styleless, boxlike buildings of wood or stone, however, very recently, after the most pressing necessities of life had been satisfied, various attempts have been made to solve the housing problem according to the artistic model of the West, primarily in smaller private houses and villas in the style of the country house. The development here is still fully in foux, so that a final judgment would be premature, especially since the building activity has not come to a standstill, in spite of the difficult economic situation and the great crisis which began in 1931.

/167/ In the sphere of public building, too,

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

XII. RURAL PLANNING

491 Before the war, only rudimentary means of communication existed. During the hostilities, transport conditions became even worse : the main roads were broken up and the by-roads suffered serious damage. When Lithuania became independent, all the existing roads had to be rebuilt and new means of communication to be provided. Between 1918 and 1937, over 1,000 kilometres of main roads were repaired and over 200 kilometres built. In 1937, there were 1,950 kilometres of main roads. Adding by-roads of the first category (4,365 kilometres) and of the second category (9,300 kilometres), there is a total of 15,000 kilometres of roads — that is, roughly 270 kilometres per 1,000 square kilometres and 60 kilometres per 10,000 inhabitants. The farmer, in addition to the main roads and the by-roads of the first and second categories, can use the by-roads of the third category, connecting villages and isolated farms, so that he usually has adequate means of communication and can always take his produce to the nearest markets. Motor-bus services (a means of communication which is rapidly spreading) make travelling fairly easy. The Government proposes to build 700 kilometres of main roads in the next ten years and to develop and improve the system of by-roads.

621 As regards other questions connected with rural planning, it may be noted that the villages are divided up into separate isolated farms (see II), and that, in four or five years time, built-up villages areas will have ceased to exist. Agriculturists who have left their villages to take up farming on these separate undertakings have to dig wells, but this does not, as a rule, present great difficulties, as drinking-water is found nearly 377 everywhere. Electrification has only just started : at present, regional electric power stations are being set up (the source of energy being peat), and the construction of a large central hydro-electric power station is under consideration. It is possible that the problem of the electrification of the countryside may become a matter of pressing concern in the near future : the drawbacks attaching to the system of scattered and isolated farms will then become apparent.

369 For these isolated farms, the school and church, representing the economic and ideological aspects of organised farming interests, serve as cultural and social centres. Together with the Press and the wireless, they correct such dangers as isolated members of the rural community might otherwise be exposed to from a cultural and social point of view.

1. A land reform program divided former common pasture land into separate farms.

Already on the basis of these figures (an attempt to compute the production index is undertaken in the following chapter) we may assume that the stagnation in the industrial economy of Lithuania elicited by the crisis which, moreover, did not extend to all industrial branches, began about two years later than in the rest of the world and lasted only two years (world crisis 1930 — 1932, in Lithuania 1932 — 1933) and that the recession of employment amounted to only 6.4% of the erstwhile highest level in 1931. 433 464

The regularly progressive upbuilding of Lithuanian economy, despite the crisis, is likewise disclosed in the statistics for the utilization of engine power by industrial concerns. The relevant data for the last seven years are as follows: 371 433

Utilization of Engine Power.

	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Total number of concerns	1 049	1 105	1 108	1 118	1 136	1 135	1 247
Number of concerns with engine power..	747	788	819	822	842	864	946
Water, steam, and Diesel engines in H. P.	51 862	62 878	67 536	66 776	74 207	74 722	79 830
Electric-motors in H.P.	18 176	21 926	28 215	27 809	31 142	34 912	45 327
Total in H. P.	70 038	84 804	95 751	94 585	105 349	109 634	125 157
in %	100.0	121.1	136.7	135.0	150.4	156.5	178.7

On the basis of these figures we can determine: (a) That the share of mechanized concerns in the total number of industrial undertakings from 1931 until 1937 has risen from 71.2% to 75.9%; (b) That the engine power pertaining to a mechanized concern rose in the same interval from 93.8 H. P. to 132.3 H. P.; (c) That the total energy of the engines employed in Lithuanian industry has grown by 18.7% during the last seven years; the energy of the primary power engines was increased thereby 53.9% while that of electric-motors was more than doubled — it has risen by 149.4%.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB1

TABLE 4

LAND USE IN THE BALTIC STATES

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TYPE OF LAND	LITHUANIA		LATVIA		ESTONIA	
	Thousands of Acres	*Per-cent*	*Thousands of Acres*	*Per-cent*	*Thousands of Acres*	*Per-cent.*
Arable land	6,667	48.5	5,243	32.2	2,671	23.9
Meadows and pasture land	2,817	20.5	4,094	25.2	4,305	38.5
Forests	2,599	18.9	4,317	26.6	2,315	20.7
All others	1,673	12.1	2,602	16.0	1,885	16.9
TOTAL	13,756 [a]	100.0	16,256 [b]	100.0	11,176 [c]	100.0

[a] 5,567,000 hectares.
[b] 6,579,000 hectares.
[c] 4,523,000 hectares.

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To enable the reader to gain a better understanding and judgment of statistics about the Baltic states given elsewhere in this work, some comparative figures are given in Table 5 regarding the territory and population of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

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Lithuania is lacking in natural resources that are necessary to a well-rounded economic life. One of the country's most serious deficiencies is the absence of its own fuel supply. There is no coal in Lithuania. In 1923 Lithuania imported 5,367,100 litas worth of coal and liquid fuel. By 1928 this figure had almost tripled, imports that year amounting to 14,905,700 litas. The only form of domestic fuel is peat, of which there are 162,221 acres (65,650 hectares). The possibilities of peat have not yet been fully explored, but if peat were made to supplant coal, it is estimated that Lithuania would possess fuel reserves for 132 years.[20]

[20] A. K. Kubilius, *Lietuvos Ukio Perspektyvos* (The Prospects of the National Economy of Lithuania), Kaunas, 1930, p. 190.

423 tary constructions. A family owning one horse must
656 transport 30 cords of timber to fixed stations. The owner of two horses must double the quota, in winter.

[311] In 1947, about 40% of arable land of Lithuania was unplanted, and the diet of the rural population suffered a catastrophic decline. Few tractors are available. Threshing machines were nationalized. Bribes are required to gain any assistance from the Russian managers of the MTS stations—and people prefer not to deal with the drunken and greedy representatives of the "master race." Forests are systematically destroyed and forest fires are not combatted. The MVD-MGB troops quite frequently set fire to the forests in order to "smoke out" guerrillas.

There was even less incentive to work for Russia in 1948. At least one half of the arable land went untilled. . . .

Industry

433 Peat production dropped to one-third of the level
377 of the German occupation period. Very little coal is brought to the country. For these reasons, there is a severe shortage of electric power. City dwellers must provide their own heating—for apartments, institutions and schools.

The official press occasionally reports that certain officials "abuse their office" by driving to some village, demolishing "deserted homes" and forcing the neighboring farmers to transport the lumber to the city as fuel. . . . Due to the prevalent bureaucracy and chaos, government buildings and student dormitories go unheated for weeks. Therefore, dormitory inhabitants or the office force of this or that institution mobilize and follow the example of the dignitaries: they descend on and transport deserted homes (in parts) in a "socialistic competition" to keep themselves warm. . . .

433 Brick production dropped for lack of skilled man-
[337] power. The brick works of Rokai and Palemonas produce for the army exclusively. No bricks and no tiles are available for sale to private citizens. Therefore, bricks and tiles figure in a lively black market exchange for horses.

Not a single cement plant is in operation—except on paper, in the boastful reports of "achievements" of the Russian dignitaries. The cement plants of Akmenė and Skirsnemunė are still in the stage of paper planning, though included in the five-year plan to be consummated by 1950.

[288] The textile plants of Klaipėda are idle. The Drobė plant of Kaunas is under reconstruction. The Litex and Audiniai plants began operating. The Linas plant produces for export to Russia exclusively.

The hide tanning plants of Šiauliai and the glass factories of Radviliškis and Aleksotas are operating. Dairies were mostly reactivated. The huge Maistas stockyards and canneries were burned down in Kaunas, and feeble efforts at reconstruction are forging ahead. The Maistas plant in Panevėžys is operating but production is small. The plant at Tauragė still lies in ruins.

The beet sugar refineries of Marijampolė and Panevėžys resumed operations. The paper and cardboard plant produces inferior quality products. The railway yards and repair shops of Kaunas are being expanded. The factories, as a rule, produce for war and export to Russia. The present production level amounts to less than 50% of the 1939 level.

782 classes from 1931 to 1935 has partially been reciprocally com-
433 pensated, which is also expressed in the index figures. The doubling of the scope of production in recent years has also led to a considerable decline of leather imports (in 1933, 59 tons, in 1937, 18 tons), in which connexion a prominent rôle has also been played by tariff policy and import licensing.

9. Electricity Works.

● 377 In connexion with the constantly progressing mechanization of industrial concerns, whereby, as was shown in the
433 General Part, the use particularly of electric engines has intensively increased (by 149.4% since 1931), the supply of electric
464 energy, together with the textile industry, is the sole industrial branch of Lithuania whose production ascent since 1929 has suffered no recession even in the crisis years. In 1937, there pertained to these branches (in which also gas supply - Memel - managed by the municipalities, and the exploitation of waterworks are included) 1.6% of the industrial workers; 30.8% of the engine horse-power; 4.0% of the gross production value; and 9.1% of the net value of Lithuanian industrial production. The far higher net value rate is affected by the share of raw material deductions.

The structural development of this branch since 1927 is shown by the following comparative figures:

1927		1931		
No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H.P.
29	648	30	480	22 799

1937		
No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H.P.
32	523	38 511

377 The data of the production statistics on the energy sold
433 in million kilowatt - hours show the following development of our electric current supply since 1931:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
In Millions of kWh	18.7	18.8	22.3	25.7	28.4	35.6
In 1 000 Litas	12 500	11 880	11 310	12 068	12 851	15 172

377 433

The following indices are calculated on the basis of the foregoing data:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Production Index	100.0	100.5	119.3	137.4	151.9	190.4
Price Index	100.0	94.0	76.1	70.1	67.2	64.2

If we compare the course of this price index with the price-index of industrial raw material and produce of the Lietuvos Bankas Bulletin (vide the chapter on „Home Trade"), we must recognize that the prices of current in 1932 were maintained disproportionately high; that in 1937, on the other hand, the average price in comparison with the previous year, contrary to the general price tendency, abated only negligibly. In the interest, indeed, of mechanization of the industry, a further price reduction would be desirable. [435]

10. The Stone and Earth Industry.

A relatively higher percentage share of the employed industrial workers is apportioned to the stone and earth industry, the most important branches of which consist of brick and glass production. This in 1937 amounted to 2 827 or 9.0%, in which context, however, one must bear in mind that these figures relate only to the summer months, because in winter the brick-kilns are not working. The share in respect of the aggregate engine horse-power was far lower, viz., 3.1%, and the share in respect of the gross production value 2.0% and net 3.7%, which signifies a marked improvement. 324 464 433

This industrial branch in the pre-war Lithuania employed approximately 700 workers. It developed vigorously in independent Lithuania and has during the past decade more than doubled both the number of the staff and the scope of production.

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

XII. RURAL PLANNING

491 Before the war, only rudimentary means of communication existed. During the hostilities, transport conditions became even worse : the main roads were broken up and the by-roads suffered serious damage. When Lithuania became independent, all the existing roads had to be rebuilt and new means of communication to be provided. Between 1918 and 1937, over 1,000 kilometres of main roads were repaired and over 200 kilometres built. In 1937, there were 1,950 kilometres of main roads. Adding by-roads of the first category (4,365 kilometres) and of the second category (9,300 kilometres), there is a total of 15,000 kilometres of roads — that is, roughly 270 kilometres per 1,000 square kilometres and 60 kilometres per 10,000 inhabitants. The farmer, in addition to the main roads and the by-roads of the first and second categories, can use the by-roads of the third category, connecting villages and isolated farms, so that he usually has adequate means of communication and can always take his produce to the nearest markets. Motor-bus services (a means of communication which is rapidly spreading) make travelling fairly easy. The Government proposes to build 700 kilometres of main roads in the next ten years and to develop and improve the system of by-roads.

621 As regards other questions connected with rural planning, it may be noted that the villages are divided up into separate isolated farms (see II), and that, in four or five years time, built-up villages areas will have ceased to exist. Agriculturists who have left their villages to take up farming on these separate undertakings have to dig wells, but this does not, as a rule, present great difficulties, as drinking-water is found nearly 377 everywhere. Electrification has only just started : at present, regional electric power stations are being set up (the source of energy being peat), and the construction of a large central hydro-electric power station is under consideration. It is possible that the problem of the electrification of the countryside may become a matter of pressing concern in the near future : the drawbacks attaching to the system of scattered and isolated farms will then become apparent.

369 For these isolated farms, the school and church, representing the economic and ideological aspects of organised farming interests, serve as cultural and social centres. Together with the Press and the wireless, they correct such dangers as isolated members of the rural community might otherwise be exposed to from a cultural and social point of view.

1. A. land reform program divided former common pasture land into separate farms.

7. The Chemical Industry.

381 433 To the chemical industry in 1937 accrued 4.3% of the industrial workers; 2.3% of the engine horse-power; 4.9% of the gross value; and 6.3% of the net value of Lithuania's industrial production. In pre-war Lithuania there were only two match factories and one fertilizer factory; other branches were almost non-existent. In independent Lithuania many new undertakings are springing up. The development of separate branches proceeds, however, unequally, as we can gather from the following data:

[464]

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	49	885	48	724	1 244	48	1 344	2 848
Including:								
Match Production	5	326	2	158	213	1	52	140
Soap Production	15	174	15	189	118	12	158	362
Rubber Goods	—	—	—	—		1	620	
Fertilizer Factories	2	109	1	130		1	141	
Colours, Turpentine and Technical Fats	7	69	10	66	913	14	151	2 346
Pharmaceutical and Cosmetic Production	4	30	6	47		9	98	

464 The sharpest decline in the number of undertakings and workers is shown by the match industry. The curtailment in 1931 to two concerns with 158 workers against five undertakings with 326 workers in 1927 may be ascribed to the [655] creation in 1930 of the State Match Monopoly and the transfer [473] of the same to the „Lietuvos degtukų akcinė bendrovė" (Lithuanian Joint-stock Match Company) founded with Swedish capital. The still lower position in 1937 was occasioned by the decrease in consumption, which in the analysis of production 388 will be more closely discussed. The staffs of the soap factories 389 show a slight reduction. The number of the workers employed 464 in the Memel Fertilizer Factory has since 1931 only slightly increased.

increased. Against this, the number of concerns and of workers 278
in the colours and technical fats industry since 1927 has 303 464
doubled and in the production of pharmaceutical and cosmetic
goods trebled. The establishment of a rubber goods factory 383
in 1933 had, however, decisive importance, and to this nearly 464
half of the workers employed in the chemical industry pertained. The second rubber goods factory, established at the end of 1937, was not yet working in the period under review.

The following quantity figures show the development of 381
production of separate branches of the chemical industry for 433
the period 1931—1937:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Matches (in million boxes)	45.8	43.3	39.4	41.1	8.7	14.3
Washing soap and powder (in tons)	3 441	2 226	2 072	2 303	2 595	2 794
Toilet soap (in tons)	.	154	200	200	234	230
Rubber boots (in 1000 pairs)	—	—	772	313	786	986
Superphosphates (in tons)	43 400	37 000	47 100	31 605	18 713	42 972

As has already been explained above, the cutting down of match production has been caused by the decline in consumption during the crisis years. The statistics of sale of matches prove this in a clearer manner. There have been sold (in million boxes):

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development of the chemical industry, we must utilize the value 433

381 433 amounts. The production index of the chemical industry, calculated in this manner and already cited in the previous chapter, shows, converted to the standard of the basis year 1931, the following course:

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	93.6	146.2	131.0	146.3	171.0

The recession in 1932 was induced chiefly by the decline of soap and fertilizer production. The jump in 1934 was prompted by the foundation of the rubber goods factory in the preceding year. The setback in 1935 was caused by the repeated shrinkage of fertilizer production and the transitory stagnation of rubber goods production.

8. The Leather and Hide Industry.

282 433 464 In the leather and hide industry in 1937, 1 096 workers or 3.5% of the total number of industrial workers were employed. Its percentage share in the volume of engine horse-power amounted to 1.8%; the share in gross production value 4.3%; and in net value of the industrial production of Lithuania, 2.2%. The lower net value rate is due to the high raw material share.

In pre-war Lithuania the leather industry employed nearly 1 500 workers. The present position is therefore, notwithstanding the growth during recent years, still below the pre-war level. On the other hand, more collateral branches are springing up which did not formerly exist, such as fur manufacture, leather ware production, and the bristle industry. Structural variations since 1927 are illustrated in the following comparison:

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	40	657	36	693	2 617	51	1 096	2 313
Including: Leather Output	26	538	22	555	·	22	751	·
Leather Ware Production	1	6	5	29	·	11	78	·
Fur Manufacture	1	5	—	—	—	4	107	·
Bristle Industry	4	43	6	53	·	9	112	·

11. Peat - cutting.

Peat-cutting forms the weakest industrial branch of Lithuania. In 1937 it employed 2.0% of the industrial workers and disposed of over 1.4% of the engine horse-power. Its production value amounted to only 0.3% of the gross value and 0.7% of the net value of the total industrial production. Its development during the last decade is illustrated by the following statistical data: 382 433 [464]

1927		1931		
No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H.P.
7	603	4	490	612

1937		
No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H.P.
11	629	1 681

Production.

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
In tons	22 799	25 285	24 111	32 614	49 059	57 200
Index:	100.0	111.3	105.7	143.0	215.2	250.9

We see from these figures that the growth of production since 1931 by 150.9% was caused chiefly by the mechanization of cutting, because the number of workers in that time has risen by only 28.4%.

In view of the fact that Lithuania must derive coal from abroad, and that the resources of the peat strata are estimated at 230 000 000 tons, peat-cutting is assured a further advance, the more so that the use of this fuel has been adopted already in more industrial concerns (the sugar factories, for example).

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in the colours and technical fats industry since 1927 has 303
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production of separate branches of the chemical industry for 433
the period 1931—1937:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Matches (in million boxes)	45.8	43.3	39.4	41.1	8.7	14.3
Washing soap and powder (in tons)	3 441	2 226	2 072	2 303	2 595	2 794
Toilet soap (in tons)	•	154	200	200	234	230
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As has already been explained above, the cutting down of match production has been caused by the decline in consumption during the crisis years. The statistics of sale of matches prove this in a clearer manner. There have been sold (in million boxes):

1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
45.9	42.4	39.4	33.8	26.9	26.9	27.1

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In order to be able to form a general idea of the production 381
development of the chemical industry, we must utilize the value 433

531 Saturday, but not scratched until Sunday afternoon;
796 making them earlier is considered a sin." The Lithuanian Easter eggs, too, are hardly ever sold in the market. They are gifts of the godparents or the mother for the children and tokens for friends and for the clergy of the town. While the neighboring Letts know only eggs of one color, the Lithuanian margučiai are already attested in the sixteenth century. At the present time the old custom has remained alive primarily in the district of Trakai.

286 Weaving and Related Techniques

That Lithuanian folk art--we may think of the folk song or of the grave crosses, or of any branch at all--forms a unity in its innermost nature and /136/ has created an artistic style of its own, has been pointed out by many critics. The sphere of this art comprises the whole life of a rural culture with a rare compactness; one thing is related to the other, and as the last field, the village art of weaving harmoniously joins this circle.

Flax, harvested in one's own field, spun on one's own spinning wheel, woven on a peasant loom, has been a familiar material in Lithuania since very olden times. Connected with its processing was the song, whose rhythm followed the movement of the loom, and whose words extolled the weavers who knew how to weave fine patterns. Thus in this art there is nothing foreign; it does not rest in the hands of a few--every girl, every woman in the villages still knows it today. And old women still know today that ancient art of spinning where the flax wrapped around a distaff is spun off with the aid of a spindle which the spinner turns with her hand.

286 The colors, too, with which the threads
386 were dyed, were originally quite natural. They were produced from earth, iron ore, plants, birch

286 leaves, oak and alder bark, and the method was
386 guarded as a family secret. Their production was very laborious. The plants were broken up and cooked with the thread; the ashes of the plants were used as a stain. Always only the thread was dyed, never the finished fabric. Thus one obtained serene colors of unlimited durability. Aprons a hundred years old exhibit a quiet brilliance which is still enchanting today. Although the natural colors have gradually been supplanted by modern aniline colors, knowledge of the old coloring technique is still preserved in many peasant families.

286 The use of colors change. Brown, blue, and
301 red were probably the oldest colors. To them was
531 added green. The pattern originated on a white background. We can best recognize the Lithuanian interpretation of color in the juostos, those colorful decorative ribbons which /137/ serve as ribbons for belts and aprons, as fastenings of fur coats, and as decorations for the girls. They are distributed across the whole country, but show provincial differences both in the colors and in the patterns and techniques. Their coloration is analyzed in a fine manner by Karl Brammer: (44)

[113] 44. Karl Brammer, "Litauische Webereien," Litauenbuch, loc. cit., p. 52.

"The nature of complementary colors is grasped here with astonishing sureness; an error never occurs. Red and greenish blue, orange and cyanic blue, greenish yellow and violet are placed next to each other in striking fashion. Furthermore the skillful use of white with opposite colors has a very fine effect. From the use of red and yellow on a black background (*) it can be clearly be seen

* The latter occurs only very rarely. V.J.

that the relationship between dark and brilliant

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Soap Production	15	174	15	189	118	12	158	362
Rubber Goods	—	—	—	—		1	620	
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[651]

The development of the woven goods and footwear industry was successfully promoted by the tariff policy, i. e. especially by the Laws of October 1931 and August 1934. The woven goods production to-day entirely covers the demand of the home market, and on that account also the imports of foreign goods, which in 1928 still represented 173.3 tons, by 1937 had sunk to only 7.3 tons. The imports of leather footwear, thanks to the consolidation of native production, have also declined, although not by a long way to the same extent. in 1928, they amounted to 36.1 tons; in 1937, on the other hand, to 19.4 tons.

4. The Metal and Machinery Industry.

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The number of workers employed in the metal and machinery industry in 1937 amounted to 2 792 or 8.8% of all the industrial workers of Lithuania. Its share in relation to the total of the engine horse-power amounted to 3.7%; its share in relation to the gross production value to 5.2%; and in relation to the net production value to 6.4%. This industrial branch was in the pre-war Lithuania more highly developed than to-day. In 1913, in the present political territory of Lithuania approximately 4 000 workers were employed in the metal industry. The diminution of the scope of production is due to the curtailment of the outlet for export goods. Nevertheless, during the last two years one can again discern a rapid development tempo

The comparative figures on the changes in structure since 1927 are shown as follows:

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	94	1 895	95	1 863	3 134	103	2 792	4 677
Including.								
Metal Industry	11	547	20	665		32	1 190	
Machinery Industry and Means of Transport Production	16	528	19	722	2 781	14	1 059	4 271
Mechanical Workshops and Sheet Metal Supply	62	772	51	422		46	414	
Electro-Technical Concerns	5	48	5	34	353	10	109	406

On the basis of these figures we may conclude that the growth of the staffs relates to the metal and machinery industrial undertakings managed on a factory scale, and to the electro-technical branches, while the more hand-managed locksmith's and tinsmith's workshops slowly but steadily declined. 392 433

The nomenclature of the products of the metal and machinery industry is extremely differentiated, for which reason comparative figures for the production quantities of separate articles are wanting. The most important items consist of nails, wire, zinc-plate, agricultural implements, and various building materials. Nearly a fifth of the ascertained production value of the metal and machinery industry accrues to the output and repair of means of transport (railway-waggons, motor chassis, and shipbuilding), among which, however, the principal rôle devolves upon the workshops of the State Railways. Comparative quantity data for the past years are available only for wire and nails and zinc-sheets; they are as follows (in tons): [397] [396]

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Wire & Nails	4 694	4 421	3 411	3 719	4 324	5 156
Zinc - sheets	.	.	409	495	672	558

The production index of the metal and machinery industry, ascertained on the basis of the **ad valorem** data and related to the basis year 1931, shows the following course:

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	90.8	95.3	100.2	151.9	162.7

The far more favourable development tendency of the index of total production of the metal and machinery industry than that of wire and nail production, alike in the crisis years and also in relation to the figures for 1937, points to the creation of new branches of production; for example, enamel and aluminium ware has been to a greater extent produced since 1934, &c.

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1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	90.8	95.3	100.2	151.9	162.7

The far more favourable development tendency of the index of total production of the metal and machinery industry than that of wire and nail production, alike in the crisis years and also in relation to the figures for 1937, points to the creation of new branches of production; for example, enamel and aluminium ware has been to a greater extent produced since 1934, &c.

On the basis of these figures we may conclude that the growth of the staffs relates to the metal and machinery industrial undertakings managed on a factory scale, and to the electro-technical branches, while the more hand-managed locksmith's and tinsmith's workshops slowly but steadily declined. 392 433

The nomenclature of the products of the metal and machinery industry is extremely differentiated, for which reason comparative figures for the production quantities of separate articles are wanting. The most important items consist of nails, wire, zinc-plate, agricultural implements, and various building materials. Nearly a fifth of the ascertained production value of the metal and machinery industry accrues to the output and repair of means of transport (railway-waggons, motor chassis, and shipbuilding), among which, however, the principal rôle devolves upon the workshops of the State Railways. Comparative quantity data for the past years are available only for wire and nails and zinc-sheets; they are as follows (in tons): [397] [396]

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Wire & Nails	4 694	4 421	3 411	3 719	4 324	5 156
Zinc - sheets	.	.	409	495	672	558

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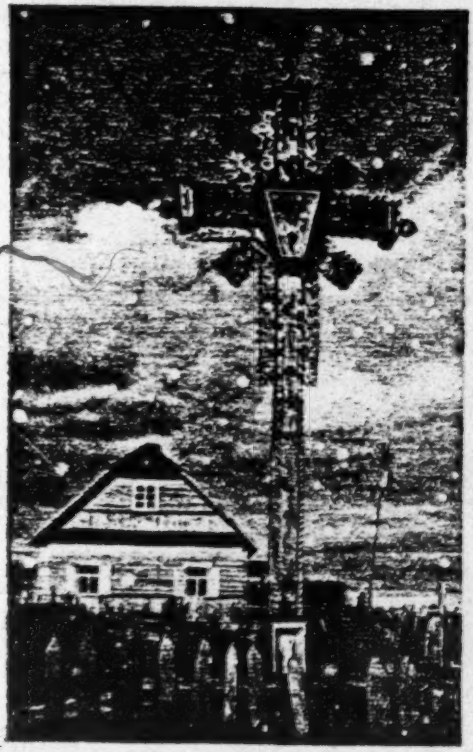
181 They are industrious, peace-loving, and
unassuming people, described by ancient chroniclers as "rough but pious."
Since time immemorial and ever spiritually attuned to nature, they
have built their entire culture upon a natural basis. Like the Letts, who
are related to them, they live to a great extent in a "wood age" which
is very ancient but for that reason no less many-sided, skillful, and
342 sensible. The houses are made of wood; their foundation beams rest on
the bare soil or on field boulders. The roof at one time probably con-
sisted of spruce bark, as the covering sheets for the peat still do today;
but now the roof is made of straw which is held on to the ridge by ridge rid
In front of the door there is usually placed a narrow porch with a gabled
roof and with little benches to the right and to the left. Formerly the
houses had only one room, smoking-room style, but now they usually
have a tripartite division with entrance hall in the middle, and living
room and bedroom to the right and the left of it. The floor consists of
352 a loam coating or of boarding. The furniture consists of wall benches,
loose benches, well-carved solid chairs, a table, wall boards, and pine-
353 wood splinter holders; on the walls are hung pictures of saints, fre-
quently portraits of the old Lithuanian rulers, and, symptomatic for the
343 great amount of emigration, photographs from America. Aside from
the living quarters, granaries (klete), barns, stables, wells, and bath
515 house belong to the Lithuanian farmstead. In the bath house they bathe
in steam which rises from heated stones on which the water is poured.
This, incidentally, is also the way the Indians do it. The bather lies
on a bench and cools and massages himself at the same time by means
412 of a cluster of birch twigs which he dips in fresh water. The hand-
operated mill is a very ancient instrument. It has one stationary and
[231] one turning stone in a wooden box. Likewise ancient is the beehive
made of a hollow tree stem--bee keeping is the most original native
and the most highly developed form of the collecting economy, which is
here, as among the Letts, universally practiced and skillfully cultivated--;
ancient, too, is the zoche, the plow with the forked share, which, as
late as the 16th century, was made entirely of wood, and which even
today is completely wooden except for the iron shoe; just like the har-
rows with branches tied to them, and the snowshoes made of hollowed-
534 out oakboards tied under the foot. Ancient, also, are the musical in-
struments: the nine-stringed kanklys, the truba made of a birch branch
cut lengthwise, hollowed out, and tied together again; the short reed
pipe, the trapezoid shaped cymbal, the stringed zither made of an osier
switch, played with a bow fashioned in the same way; with a resonator

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

IX. PEASANT ART AND FOLKLORE. ORGANISATION OF LEISURE

532 From time immemorial, the villagers have been fond of manual work. By the roadside, religious monuments decorated with original designs may be seen, such as crosses and chapels; in the villages, wooden churches and belfries and attractive wooden buildings, with original carvings, have been erected.

[415] In the houses themselves, the equipment and the domestic utensils are also made by hand. Furniture, spindles, linen-beaters, towel-pegs, nut-crackers are characteristic objects of peasant art. The girls were always fond of spinning, weaving and [288] knitting. When they married, they brought with them from their home a generous supply of cloth, towels, table-cloths, bed-covers, gaily coloured dresses, etc. At weddings, in particular, it was the custom to make presents of belts, towels, cloth, etc.



Crucifix.

After the world war, when Lithuania became independent, the cultural level rose; the old articles of peasant art, with their primitive forms, no longer fulfilled modern requirements. The Chamber of Agriculture, in collaboration with the Union of Young Farmers' Clubs, accordingly endeavoured to encourage cottage handicrafts, adapting them to modern conditions.

A series of courses was organised for peasant craftsmen, to teach them new methods and familiarise them with modern tools, better raw materials and modern shapes (for which artists prepared designs based on the traditional peasant styles.

[534] consisting of a pig's bladder, the long shepherd's horn.--The Lithuanian
533 is very gifted musically as well as poetically. His folk songs, the dainos, present in brief, firm trochaic measures and in soft iambs the sincere and heart-felt, vividly experienced joys and sorrows of a sensitive human soul which tends towards melancholy. These songs have frequently been translated, and they were greatly appreciated by Herder and Goethe. The latter reproduced a daina in his musical play, Die Fischerin. The tenderness and fervor of the folk poetry is repeated in
764 the appearance and the mood of the graveyards. Their silents seclusion along mountain slopes and on hilltops, their--romantically neglected --enclosures of flowers and creepers, their enormous, dark, and forcibly admonitory Golgotha crosses and moss-covered crucifixes with the instruments of torture, the sight of which and the walk through which, make them into veritable experiences. In spite of all the neglect, one is conscious here that the Lithuanian is close to his dead, even if such customs have disappeared, as still existed during the 16th century, according to which the deceased was placed fully dressed on a chair and wailing women were made to sing songs of mourning around him.

/31: Illustrations./

/32/ The Lithuanians.

II.

000 1. Lithuanian farmer. 2. Costume of the 17th century. 3. Costume of the 19th century. 4. Tub. 5. Earthenware pot. 6.-10 Pots. 11. Spoon. 12. Ladle. 13, 14. Salt grinders. 15. Pouch made of birch bark used for collecting berries. 16. Butter tub made of a hollowed-out stem. 17. Chair with a perforated back. 18. Spoons. 19. Flax-scutcher and basket made of straw-ropes used to store grain.[1]

●415 It is of course impossible for the Lithuanian wood culture to
[322] remain exclusively such today. Stampers and grinders and the tankards for the ancient native barley beer are still fashioned in the completely original manner by being worked out of a solid block and hollowed out. But, however much this is true, and, however much birch bark is still used, there exists, nevertheless, home-made earthenware, next to the wood products, especially in the fringe areas. But even the

1 [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat.116, p.28a-- #analyst]

[415] earthenware remains completely simple in technique and form. In
291 the way of clothing the old has not been preserved. Figure 2, from
177 the 17th century, points to similarities with the Letts. In East Prussia,
German influences then had their effect, and beyond the border Polish
771 influences made themselves felt. For a long time, until well into the
19th century, remnants of the ancient religion were preserved. This
religion was a knowledge of divine forces in nature, everywhere, from
the sun and the stars to the plants and stones; as well as a knowledge
of the unity between nature and man, of inner and lasting relations
and interinfluences between them. How clearly the divine in nature
was beheld is indicated by conceptions like the one that believes that
actual pain is inflicted upon the deity if the bark is peeled off the trees!
How clearly the unity was experienced is to be seen from the custom of
of keeping trees in the farmyard, with the thriving of which the pros-
perity and health of the inhabitants remained connected; or from folk
songs like the following:

Alas, I poor man went hence,
Cried bitter tears.
Was not the oak tree
Transformed into my father.

Gnome-like earth spirits lived in the roots of the juniper
bushes--not reminiscences of tiny original inhabitants of the type
familiar among the Reindeer Lapps, as has been stated, but clearsighted
visions of elementary beings. Spring, summer, and autumn festivals
united the people for the communal experience of the light, the sun
as the spiritual center of the world and of existence; in sacred forests
793 they came to the gods and sacrificed to them. Yes, the chief of the
771 Waideloten priesthood, the Kriwe, sacrificed himself after he had
become old; he admonished the people to do penance, climbed upon
the stake, let himself be burned and knew that he would rise up the
gods in the flames. In the same sense, it was considered a particular
sign of divine mercy to be struck and killed by lightning. At one time
the religious knowledge and feeling was guarded by a liberally organized,
but nevertheless hierarchically ordered priesthood with an elected chief
priest, and these were mediated to the people in exoteric forms. Then
they maintained a perpetual fire which, only in the year 1387, was
ceremoniously extinguished for ever in the castle at Vilna by the duke
Jagello(!). Then they made sacrifices to the sun, they prophesied

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

C O N S T I T U T I O N

(Fundamental Law)

of the

LITHUANIAN

SOVIET SOCIALIST

REPUBLIC

of August 25, 1940

As amended through April 7, 1948

Chapter I. The Social Structure

642 Art. 1. The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic is a socialist state of workers and peasants.

Art. 2. The political foundation of the Lithuanian SSR is the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, firmly established as a result of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and the capitalists and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Art. 3. All power in the Lithuanian SSR belongs to the working people of town and country as represented by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

471 Art. 4. The economic foundation of the Lithuanian SSR is the socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production, firmly established as the result of the liquidation of the capitalist system of economy, the abolition of private ownership of the instruments and means of production in large industrial enterprises, and the nationalization of such enterprises, banks, transport and means of communication with a view to the complete abolition of the exploitation of man by man and the construction of a socialist system of society.

421 Art. 5. Socialist property in the Lithuanian SSR exists either in the form of state property (belonging to the whole people) or in the form of co-operative property.

Art. 6. The land, its mineral wealth, waters, forests, mills, factories, mines, rail, water and air transport, banks, communications, large state-organized agricultural enterprises (state farms, machine and tractor stations and the like), as well as municipal enterprises and large dwelling houses in the cities and industrial localities, are state property, that is, belong to the whole people.

474 Art. 7. The common enterprises of co-operative organizations, with their livestock and implements, the products of co-operative organizations, as well as
421 their common buildings, constitute the common, socialist property of the co-operative organizations.

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

472 Art. 8. Alongside the socialist system of economy in the Lithuanian SSR the law permits the small private economy of individual peasants, artisans and handicraftsmen and small private industrial and trading enterprises.

423 Art. 9. The land occupied by peasant holdings as provided by law is secured for their use free of charge and for an unlimited time.

421 Art. 10. The personal property right of citizens in their incomes and savings from work, in their dwelling houses and subsidiary home enterprises, in articles of domestic economy and use and articles of personal use and convenience, as well as the right of citizens to inherit personal property, is protected by law.

471 185 Art. 11. The economic life of the Lithuanian SSR is determined and directed by the state national-economic plan, with the aim of increasing the public wealth, of steadily raising the material and cultural standards of the working people, of consolidating the independence of the USSR and strengthening its defensive capacity.

461 Art. 12. Work in the Lithuanian SSR is a duty and a matter of honour for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat."

The principle applied in the Lithuanian SSR is that of socialism: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

Chapter II. The State Structure

642 Art. 13. For the purpose of mutual assistance among the Union Republics along economic and political lines, as well as along the line of defence, the Lithuanian SSR voluntarily united with the other equal Soviet Socialist Republics, namely:

The Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic,
The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic and
The Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic

in a federal state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Proceeding from the aforesaid, the Lithuanian SSR ensures to the USSR, as represented by its higher organs of state power and organs of state administration, the rights defined in Art. 14 of the Constitution of the USSR.

Outside of the spheres set forth in Art. 14 of the Constitution of the USSR, the Lithuanian SSR exercises state authority independently, retaining its sovereign rights in full.

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

[64] [665] [421] Art. 103. It is the duty of every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR to safeguard and fortify public, socialist property as the sacred and inviolable foundation of the Soviet system, as the source of the wealth and might of the country, as the source of the prosperity and culture of all the working people.

Persons committing offences against public, socialist property are enemies of the people.

Art. 104. Universal military service is law.

Military service in the Armed Forces of the USSR is an honourable duty of the citizens of the Lithuanian SSR.

[667] Art. 105. To defend the country is the sacred duty of every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR. Treason to the motherland - violation of the oath of allegiance, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military power of the state, espionage - is punishable with all the severity of the law as the most heinous of crimes.

Chapter IX. The Electoral System

666 Art. 106. Members of all Soviets of Working People's Deputies - of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR and of the district, city, volost, small town and apilinki Soviets of Working People's Deputies - are chosen by the electors on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

Art. 107. Elections of deputies are universal: all citizens of the Lithuanian SSR who have reached the age of eighteen, irrespective of race or nationality, sex, religion, education, domicile, social origin, property status or past activities, have the right to vote in the election of deputies and to be elected, with the exception of insane persons and persons who have been convicted by a court of law and whose sentences include deprivation of electoral rights.

[664] Every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR who has reached the age of twenty-one is eligible for election to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, irrespective of race, nationality, sex, religion, education, domicile, social origin, property status or past activities.

Art. 108. Elections of deputies are equal: each citizen has one vote; all citizens participate in elections on an equal footing.

[562] Art. 109. Women have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with men.

Art. 110. Citizens serving in the Armed Forces of the USSR have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with all other citizens.

Art. 111. Elections of deputies are direct: all Soviets of Working People's Deputies, from apilinki, volost and city Soviets of Working People's Deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR are elected by the citizens by a direct vote.

Art. 112. Voting at elections of deputies is secret.

Art. 113. Candidates are nominated by election districts.

1:Anonymous U-3 (no date)1949 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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Press Section, Baltic Area of the Lithuanian Liberation Army. An underground newspaper in the process of printing in a forest.

876 626 Lithuanian language, but in Vilnius classes are bilingual. Technological training is favored from the top, and students themselves elect such classes for practical reasons. The Marxist-Leninist "science" is obligatory. Nevertheless, of 2,000 students of the University of Kaunas, only 13 were members of the Komsomol in the school year 1947-48.

883 665 The Komsomol (Communist Youth organization) —just vegetates: there are few Lithuanian recruits. These are found in the cities only. The Komsomol had enjoyed some success during the early days of the second occupation as a "security measure." However, when the authorities began employing the Komsomol personnel for repression, espionage, grain collection supervision, etc., the ranks dwindled. The *Komsorgs* (Komsomol organizers) are pressuring students to join the Komsomol and school directors second the efforts, but there is practically no response: in schools of 500 pupils, only a dozen or so, mostly children of non-Lithuanian race, belong to the Komsomol.

Membership in the "Pioneers"—the parody of boy scouting—is not obligatory but school authorities warn the parents to enroll their children.

In Kindergartens, communist and anti-religious propaganda is forced on little children, and teachers slyly attempt to enlist the little ones as informers on their parents and friends.

Forcible Collectivization and Duplicity

423 Unbelievable official duplicity is practiced by the Kremlin. Thus, *Izvestiya*, the official organ of the Soviet Government, in the issue No. 172 of 22 July 1948 wrote:

"The Agrarian Reform has been consummated in Lithuania. 92,000 former smallholders and the landless have received gratuitously FOR ALL TIME 659,000 hectares of land, tens of thousands horses and cows, over 100,000 houses and other farm structures.

"Prior to the completion of harvesting, over 250 kolkhozes were found in the country."

The final phrase presaged the forcible drive against the "smallholders and the landless" from whom land was seized and redistributed in order to provide statistical data to show a great Soviet "achievement," prior to driving the expropriated "recipients of the land FOR ALL TIME" into the kolkhozes. And yet,

● 423 so many solemn assurances had been made on the highest authority that there would be no collectivization. . . .

The Russians well realize that collectivization means a decrease of production and a lowering of living standards. But the Soviet regime—materialistic in all its aspects—does not concern itself with materialistic calculations in its drive for forcible collectization: collectivization is a part of the "ideological drive." That is, a part of perfecting the POLICE REGIME.

There were no "estate owners" or "peasants" in Lithuania: Lithuanian agriculturists were all dignified and self-respecting medium and small FARMERS, HUSBANDMEN, who produced enough to maintain comfortable living standards, provided gradual accumulation of farming machinery, earned income enabling them to send their children to universities. They entered specialized fields of production—dairying, cattle breeding, sugar beet production, fowl raising, pig breeding, etc. Lithuanian agricultural economy enabled the country to export annually increasing quantities of the highest grade butter, eggs, cheese, hams, bacon, canned meat, frozen meats, flax, bristles, casings, lard, etc. The farmers lived in isolated homesteads, rather than in Russian-type clustered villages. They enjoyed privacy in their homes surrounded by orchards and flower gardens and crosses.

But, from the Soviet point of view, individual farming tends to maintain "rugged individualism," independent thinking, self-reliance, self-respect, dislike of a police interference. Production by independent farmers cannot be controlled by the most precisely calculated estimates—and the Russians are thinking in terms of simple grain production, rather than specialized varieties of agriculture. Russian officials can never be certain whether the last ounce had been squeezed from an independent farmer.

And a farmer living in his isolated homestead escapes the continual surveillance of the MVD network of spies! Walking off to his orchard, garden or grove, he could maintain liaison with the "people's enemies" and "political bandits"—and every independent-thinking Lithuanian is either a "political bandit" or a "people's enemy" in the Soviet mentality. He could supply the "bandits" with food or clothing, or shelter them at night. This is the most "criminal" aspect of individual farming.

474 In the kolkhoz—it is quite different.

626 Hundreds of families are herded into a closely guarded enclosure where each person is assigned so much "living space" and has no choice in selecting either the "breathing space" or room mates. A few dozen armed MVD troops guard the huge estate bared of all tree vegetation. There is no chance for "hoarding" or secreting a part of the production which is checked in the field by Party officials. No one can enter or leave unnoticed and unquestioned. Every fifth person is an agent informer of the MVD. No one can leave at night or maintain any contacts unsurveyed by the MVD. Everyone can be depended upon to report dutifully for casting his or her ballot at periodic "elections." No one owns any property, except the few pieces of furniture, bedding and personal rags. No one can read the clandestine press unobserved by the agents. No one can own a radio set or listen to clandestine broadcasts. There are "red corners" supplied with ample official propaganda literature and a radio

17a

000 How tired he looked! His cheekbones protruding, his face yellow, nothing but rags on his emaciated body. And yet—his head was high and he looked straight ahead! He marched as a soldier past the reviewing stand. I was proud of him: he meant what he used to say in those good old days: "Don't be like reeds swaying in the wind. Be firm, be individual personalities!"

"Detained but a month ago, there he was marching past my window to Siberia. . . . He reeled. . . . His comrades quickly grasped him—and the professor marched again, with heavier steps. . . . The column disappeared in the growing dusk. . . .

"I waited by the window. The cursing and stray shots of soldiers died down. . . . I descended to the street and walked toward the railway depot—maybe I could see him once again—just to impart my farewell through eyes.

"But cruel Mongol faces blocked the approaches. I stopped—looked around. An old woman peered anxiously at the long train seen in the distance. A young woman with unshed tears stood nearby. . . .

"Several MVD soldiers came forth and shouted to run for our lives. As they spoke, bullets ricocheted from the walls overhead. . . We ran. . . .

"I found myself climbing the stairs to the shrine of the Blessed Virgin of Aukros Vartai. I knelt and begged Our Lady to help us in our present misfortune. . . .

"Suddenly, as the train whistled, I heard singing from a distance. Our exiles were singing that great hymn of Lithuania: *"Dievas mūsų gelbėtojas ir stiprybė. . . ."* (God, our shelter and strength!)"

Economic Oppression

Latvia and Estonia had been subdued prior to 1948 and little resistance had been offered to the forcible collectivization. Lithuania suffered heavy blows throughout 1948, mostly due to the desperate resistance against collectivization and terror. A proud and stubborn people steeped in traditional sense of human dignity, self-respect, passion for their native soil, for Christianity, and despising the exhibitionist masters of the country—cannot be broken! THE LITHUANIANS WILL EITHER REGAIN THEIR FREEDOM—OR DIE TO THE LAST MAN! Living in individual homesteads or in kolkhozes, they will—unlike the Russians—sporadically rebel whenever the limit of their patience will be reached and their sense of dignity outraged. Russian sadism and cruelty will not affect the people's determination.

[181]

● 423 656 In 1948, the life of independent farmers was not easy. The land was nationalized. The norm of land parcels left to private "management" by former owners varied in the districts. Arable land was evaluated according to the scale of "third-class land," and a production equivalent of up to 30 hectares was left to private "exploitation." Where the land is of better grade, plots are smaller. Wherever the communists tagged a "people's enemy" classification on the owner, only 5 ha. of land were left.

Norms of compulsory levies "in nature" also vary. The quota is assessed per hectare, and the norm for persons with larger plots is greater per hectare than that levied on managers of smaller plots. A cow-owning urban dweller who does not own a single square foot of soil, must deliver 12 kilograms of butter annually to the state. Payment for "tax in nature" de-

423 656 liveries is niggardly. For instance, 2 pre-reform rubles were paid for a hundredweight of rye, but the state resold the grain to the worker as baked bread at the rate of 3.5 rubles per kilogram. In the black market, the hundredweight of rye sold for 1,200 rubles.

Failure to meet the assessed produce quotas is harshly penalized: cattle are confiscated, families are dispossessed and sentenced to several years of "loss of freedom" at hard labor in concentration camps. And a farmer deals with *two governments*: in daytime with the Russians, at night—with the Lithuanian underground authorities.

A farmer managing 30 ha. farm, must deliver 4,000 kilograms of grains, 4,500 kg. of potatoes, 800 kg. of meat, and specified amounts of hay, wool, eggs, butter and milk to the state. Terms are fixed for such deliveries, usually between fall and Christmas. However, [461] local Executive Committees pay no attention to the fixed terms: they engage in "socialistic competition" to surpass each other in making record deliveries and set the high mark of "voluntary contributions in excess of the quotas." Fixed contingents are not enough: excess quotas are fixed and announced, by armed militiamen, to the exploited farmer as "voluntarily assumed duties of the area inhabitants," plus "voluntary sales to the state" of about 20% in excess of the quota. Detachments of militia ravage the countryside collecting the levies ahead of time. Once the quotas and excess quotas are met,—a distant "sister republic" somewhere in the Altais "challenges" Lithuania to a "socialistic competition." Immediately, tens of thousands of militia and MVD troops descend on the poor farmers to seize "voluntary contributions" in addition to negligently exposed wristwatches, cash, suits, etc. The waylaying of women and girls begins, etc. If "challenges" are repeated, new waves of armed official robbers descend. . . .

This shameless policy of exploitation ruins the farmer. He no longer has bread nor seeds, and is glad to get away from the armed communist terrorists and to settle on a kolkhoz or anywhere out of reach of the collectors of "voluntarily assumed quotas"—but he is fooled, as challenges to "socialistic competition" by distant kolkhozes omit no one. . . . Nothing at all is paid sometimes for the seized stocks, even though the collectors possess signed receipts of payment. And all the time the harrassed farmer must listen to Russian profanity and hear himself called "people's enemy," "kulak," "saboteur," "reactionary," "exploiter," etc.

[511] Workers employed in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes receive but 10% of the minimum standard of living. For this reason, every inhabitant of a state-operated farm and institution MUST steal to protect his family from hunger and nakedness.

The duty of providing "stoykas" is very oppressive. Farmers must provide carriages and horses for postal deliveries, to transport government officials and their Katyushas from place to place, to cut and tote fixed contingents of timber, to transport grain contingents, carry gravel and repair the roads, etc. Of course, a member of the family must accompany the cart. During the German occupation, it was safer for women to accompany the carts. But no woman of any age may risk exposure to Russians. . . . Occasionally the driver and the horse disappear for months—transporting officials to distant places or carting materials for mili-

423 656 tary constructions. A family owning one horse must transport 30 cords of timber to fixed stations. The owner of two horses must double the quota, in winter.

[311] In 1947, about 40% of arable land of Lithuania was unplanted, and the diet of the rural population suffered a catastrophic decline. Few tractors are available. Threshing machines were nationalized. Bribes are required to gain any assistance from the Russian managers of the MTS stations—and people prefer not to deal with the drunken and greedy representatives of the "master race." Forests are systematically destroyed and forest fires are not combatted. The MVD-MGB troops quite frequently set fire to the forests in order to "smoke out" guerrillas.

There was even less incentive to work for Russia in 1948. At least one half of the arable land went untilled. . . .

Industry

433 377 Peat production dropped to one-third of the level of the German occupation period. Very little coal is brought to the country. For these reasons, there is a severe shortage of electric power. City dwellers must provide their own heating—for apartments, institutions and schools.

The official press occasionally reports that certain officials "abuse their office" by driving to some village, demolishing "deserted homes" and forcing the neighboring farmers to transport the lumber to the city as fuel. . . . Due to the prevalent bureaucracy and chaos, government buildings and student dormitories go unheated for weeks. Therefore, dormitory inhabitants or the office force of this or that institution mobilize and follow the example of the dignitaries: they descend on and transport deserted homes (in parts) in a "socialistic competition" to keep themselves warm. . . .

433 [337] Brick production dropped for lack of skilled manpower. The brick works of Rokai and Palembnas produce for the army exclusively. No bricks and no tiles are available for sale to private citizens. Therefore, bricks and tiles figure in a lively black market exchange for horses.

Not a single cement plant is in operation—except on paper, in the boastful reports of "achievements" of the Russian dignitaries. The cement plants of Akmenė and Skirsnemunė are still in the stage of paper planning, though included in the five-year plan to be consummatted by 1950.

[288] The textile plants of Klaipėda are idle. The Drobė plant of Kaunas is under reconstruction. The Litex and Audiniai plants began operating. The Linas plant produces for export to Russia exclusively.

The hide tanning plants of Šiauliai and the glass factories of Radviliškis and Aleksotas are operating. Dairies were mostly reactivated. The huge Maistas stockyards and canneries were burned down in Kaunas, and feeble efforts at reconstruction are forging ahead. The Maistas plant in Panevėžys is operating but production is small. The plant at Tauragė still lies in ruins.

The beet sugar refineries of Marijampolė and Panevėžys resumed operations. The paper and cardboard plant produces inferior quality products. The railway yards and repair shops of Kaunas are being expanded. The factories, as a rule, produce for war and export to Russia. The present production level amounts to less than 50% of the 1939 level.

tactics in combatting religion. Pg 21A

Soviet Methods

771 Dr. Ladas Natkevičius, the late Lithuanian Minister to the Kremlin, was asked by Stalin in 1939, during the so-called "negotiations for a Mutual Assistance Pact," how great was the influence of the clergy in Lithuania. When he was told that the clergy of all Christian denominations enjoy great authority among the faithful, the Generalissimo thoughtfully remarked 006 —"That is *very important to know.*"

At the time the remark passed unnoticed. A Soviet invasion was not anticipated because of the frequently professed Soviet friendship for Lithuania and Lithuania's excellent record in discharging all treaty obligations.

But the significance of this remark was quite apparent when Justas Paleckis, the puppet "president of Soviet Lithuania," bade farewell to Dr. Hildebrandt, a noted German newspaperman. Paleckis told the departing German quite frankly that he had received instructions from the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. to apply no *direct* pressure on the clergy.

The Soviet regime always fought religion and its institutions, but its tactical methods were different during both occupations.

The First Occupation—Oppression at Full Tempo

718 661 Immediately after the first total occupation of the Baltic States in June 1940, uniform steps were applied by the three satraps of the Kremlin dispatched to liquidate the sovereign Republics: Vice-Commissar for Foreign Affairs Dekanozov in Lithuania, Deputy-Commissar for Foreign Affairs Vyshynsky in Latvia and Politbureau member Zhdanov in Estonia. The Concordats with the Vatican were abruptly and unilaterally broken off and the Papal Nunzios were expelled.

Then followed the elimination of religion from public life. The Catholic and Protestant Theology-Philosophy Faculties of the University of Lithuania at Kaunas were closed; all Catholic cultural, educational and social welfare organizations, newspapers and publishing concerns were abolished and their properties confiscated; teaching of religion was eliminated from schools; army, school, hospital and prison chaplains were summarily dismissed; crucifixes and other religious insignia were removed from schools, courts and public places and desecrated.

423 798 661 Then came the application of the nationalization decree: buildings, landholdings, workshops, libraries, private hospitals and schools, orphanages, kindergar-

[423] tens and personal property owned by institutions and organizations of a religious character were sequestered. In nationalizing land, parishes were given only 3 hectares—although other landlords retained 30 hectares. Buildings owned by parishes and bishoprics, including episcopal residences and seminaries, libraries, printing shops, printed stocks of books were confiscated. Denominational grammar schools, high schools, orphanages, kindergartens and hospitals were converted into state institutions. The stocks of mistals, hymnals, prayer-books, rosaries, religious pictures, and other religious articles found stored in book shops and retail stores were desecrated or destroyed.

The Soviets considered the clergy a separate "caste," antagonistic to the proletariat and, therefore, to be eliminated. The clergy as well as independent farmers (called '*kulaks*'), were oppressed economically; priests and "cult servants" were heavily taxed. For instance, a tolerated "proletarian" with a monthly income of 200 rubles paid 30 rubles monthly for living space assigned to him, while "cult servants" of the same income class paid 220 rubles monthly, and those with incomes of 350 rubles paid 388 rubles.

The Communist Party proposed to levy excessive license fees on churches, similar to motion picture house and cabaret assessments. The taxes depended on the size of the church. Such taxes were already imposed in the sections of Poland annexed to Russia—20,000 to 50,000 rubles. A commissar explained the policy to a pastor of a Lithuanian parish in eastern Lithuania which was annexed by Russia in 1939: "If you can't pay—close down your shop." Consequently, the churches were to be closed by degrees for nonpayment of taxes.

The Party also passed a decision to convert the centrally located Garrison Church of Kaunas into a "Revolutionary Museum." The Museum of Church Art was liquidated and its exhibits, the antique vestments, were used by Red Army troopers to polish their boots.

All that was public anti-religious action. The other phase, shrouded in secrecy, was directed against individual members of the clergy.

The Party instructed its agents to disrupt the internal discipline of churchmen, to enlist agent-informers among the clergymen, to antagonize priests against each other or to compromise them. NKGB Major Gladkov issued a secret directive dated 21 October 1940, directed to all county security chiefs, to institute unbroken surveillance of priests, church employees, friars and nuns, and to enlist students of upper classes for espionage on the private lives of the clergymen. "Remember that some of the priests are not provided for materially and are wavering in their ideological outlook." The secret order of 21 January 1941 directed particular attention to individual discontent and antagonism among members of religious organizations: advantage should be taken of such incidents to disrupt the organizations.

After digesting the reports of weakness exhibited by some individual priests, People's Commissar of Justice, Pranas Pakarklis, a native traitor, offered attractive offices to a number of priests, on condition that

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

433 Since 1924–25 the policy has been changed and the coun-
241 tries of central Europe have returned to the pre-war methods
439 of tariff protection of their cereal production as well as to the protection of their animal husbandry. This has contributed to duplication in production and to the narrowing of the world market for exported agricultural products, while other factors stimulated the further expansion of agricultural production in the surplus-exporting countries. Exports from agricultural and raw-material producing countries increased very little during the years of prosperity because there was no appreciable increase in the demand for these products in the industrial countries. At the same time, the imports of agricultural countries, consisting mainly of manufactured goods, rose rapidly. The payment balance of agricultural countries could be kept in equilibrium only by an increase in indebtedness or by drawing on the surplus of previous years. For example, in 1924 Lithuania's exports exceeded imports by 60 million litas, while in 1927 imports exceeded exports by 19.8 million litas and in 1938 by 34.2 million litas.[6]

000 Data on economic activities in Lithuania cover the period up to 1939. With the war of 1939 another period of "disturbed economic development" started; no attempt can be made to analyze this period in this volume, since economic conditions are very unstable and data on economic activities unavailable.

LAND REFORM

423 One of the factors that contributed most to a complete overhauling of the internal economic and social structure of Lithuania was the land reform, a question which was

[6] Exchange rate: 10 litas to $1.00 until 1933; 6 litas to $1.00, 1935–40.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

raised as far back as 1905 by the Lithuanian deputies at the 423
Vilnius diet. That there was a need for reform can be seen from the fact that before the World War, about 450 families possessed 3.5 million acres or 22 percent of all the land. Each of these possessed at least 2,000 acres.[7]

To analyze the political, economic, and social conditions 423
which caused the great part of the land to fall into the hands 425
of a few landlords would require extensive and long study. It may be pointed out, however, that land conveyance was not always effected in an honest way; too often, transfer was forced on peasants by depriving them of owners' rights and making them merely tenants. After the unsuccessful uprisings against the Russian government in 1831 and again in 1863, many participants were sent to Siberia and their lands were confiscated. Some of these lands were later divided into small parcels and distributed among the Russian colonists, while other lands were consolidated into estates (*latifundia*) and, by special decrees of October 4–16, 1835, and December 6, 1842, turned over to families of Russian nobility as *entailed estates*. An estate in this category could [428]
not be sold, but, upon the death of the owner, passed on to his eldest son. It was these frozen estates that were the first to be affected by the land reform begun by the Provisional Government of Lithuania in 1918.[8]

It was ordered that all land converted by the Russian decrees of 1835 and 1842 into entailed estates should temporarily be made the state property of Lithuania, to be dis-

[7] Stasys Elsbergas, *Lietuvos Zemes Reforma* (Land Reform of Lithuania), Kaunas, 1935, p. 7.

[8] Salkauskas, K. *Lietuvos Novelos. Veikiančiuju 1935. III. 16 d. Lietuvos istatymu ir isakymu, paskelbtu Vyriausybes Ziniose 1–476 rinkinys* (The Novels of Lithuania. The Laws and Orders of Lithuania, Published in the Government Gazette No. 1–476, Which Are in Force on March 16, 1935), Spaudos Fondas, Kaunas, 1935, p. 324.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

423 posed of eventually by distribution among the landless and
425 the small landowners (those having not more than 12 acres).[9]
[671] This decree was legalized by the Preliminary Land Reform Law of August 18, 1920, and its scope was broadened to permit the republic of Lithuania to assume also the ownership of private forests that were larger than 25 *desimtines*
[804] (one *desimtine* is equal to about 2.7 acres).[10] This law was a tentative one in that it contained no provision for the distribution of the expropriated property.

671 The Land Reform Law in its final draft, consisting of
423 twelve sections and subdivided into seventy-seven para-
[425] graphs, was ratified in 1922.[11] The first section outlines the composition of the lands reserved for distribution, defining particularly the land to be taken into the distribution reserve. This action also enabled the state to take over the private property of those who had served in the post-war German armed bands of Bermont and Virgolicz and of those who had worked or were still working against the independence of Lithuania. Estates exceeding 200 acres and owned by one person or one family were also to be taken for land reform purposes.[12] Later the limit was raised to 321 acres (150 hectares). The second section of the Land Reform Law provides that the biggest and least active estates shall be among the first to be appropriated for land reform purposes. The third section defines the types of prospective recipients of the reapportioned land parcels. It states mainly that heads of families of landless peasants, farm laborers, and small landowners are entitled to share in the land distribution. Those farmers, or their lawful successors, from whom land was

[9] Elsbergas, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
[10] *Vyriausybes Zinios*, Nr. 45 eil. 454 (Government Gazette No. 45, Part 454). Hereafter referred to as V.Z.
[11] *Ibid.*, Nr. 83 eil. 721.
[12] *Ibid.*, Nr. 324 eil. 2218.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

seized by the government in 1861 and 1863 are to receive 671
priority over all others. Each head of a family may receive not 423
more than 49.4 acres (20 hectares). Land is also to be distributed to public schools, schools of agriculture, and other in- [657]
stitutions of learning and culture as well as to hospitals, sanatoriums, asylums, and other social and public organizations.

The land is divided into four classes, graded according to 423
the fertility of the soil. The new owners have to pay equal annual installments for their land for thirty-six years. The rate to be paid varies from 180 to 252 litas per hectare (2.471 acres) for first-class land, depending on its location; 90 to 126 litas for second-class; 36 to 54 litas for third-class, and 18 to 27 litas for fourth-class. No interest accumulates on the unpaid balance except on due shares which are not paid in the time prescribed.[13]

The only recipients of land exempted from all payments [729]
are volunteer soldiers in the Lithuanian war for independence and their families.

Former owners of the lands taken for land reform pur- 423
poses were entitled to compensation. Payment was to be 425
made with government bonds bearing three percent interest 652
and redeemable at any time not later than thirty-six years from the date of issue. Paragraph 58 of the Land Reform Law prescribes that the compensation for the land shall be a fair price based on valuations existing in the period between 1910 and 1914. As the Land Reform Law was passed on April 3, 1922, when *Obost* marks [14] were in circulation, the compensation was to be paid in this currency. (One Russian ruble was made equal to two *Obost* marks.) Paragraph 59 provides that the highest amount paid may not exceed

[13] Salkauskas, *op. cit.*, pp. 325–32.
[14] See, p. 102 below, section on Finance.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

423 425 [652]

480 marks per hectare. Because the mark fell in value, the reward was comparatively small when translated into litas. It is estimated that the total amount paid by the government for expropriated land up to 1935 was 40 million litas.

In accordance with this law, the land transfer up to the end of 1939 involved 1,774,099 acres (717,968 hectares), of which a substantial part was handed over for cultural and other public uses, being given for schools, cemeteries, municipalities, public playgrounds, and so on.

TABLE 6

THE LAND INVOLVED FOR REDISTRIBUTION BETWEEN 1919 AND 1939

	ACRES
I. Land distributed for permanent ownership	
1. To private schools, organizations, asylums, etc.	2,291
2. To parish churches	3,981
3. For cemeteries	1,003
4. To employees and laborers for homes	8,110
5. To new settlers	893,392
6. Added to small farms	222,951
TOTAL	1,131,728
II. Land distributed for temporary use	
1. To public schools and other governmental institutions	86,070
2. To municipalities and their institutions (hospitals, asylums, public parks, etc.)	6,158
3. To private persons and organizations	26,539
4. For community pastures	72,170
TOTAL	190,937
III. For miscellaneous uses	451,434
GRAND TOTAL OF LAND AFFECTED BY THE LAND REFORM ACT	1,774,099

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

According to the agricultural census of 1930, the number of farms in Lithuania and their areas are as stated in Table 7. 241 425

TABLE 7

CENSUS OF FARMS

FARM SIZE (*Acres*)	NUMBER OF FARMS	COMBINED AREA (*Acres*)
2.5– 12.5	53,463	380,722
12.5– 25.0	78,237	1,440,338
25.0– 37.5	59,572	1,788,349
37.5– 50.0	33,236	1,408,275
50.0– 75.0	34,197	2,042,511
75.0–125.0	20,597	1,885,111
125.0–250.0 and over	8,078	1,725,742
TOTAL	287,380	10,671,048

Through the land reform, over 45,000 new farms have been established and over 200,000 persons (including new settlers and their families) have been provided with regular occupation and permanent homes. This undoubtedly has brought beneficial results to the social and economic life of the country.[15] Moreover, the land reform has undoubtedly been a means of substantially raising the country's productivity, to the benefit of both the state and the individual farmer. 241 178

When Soviet Russia occupied Lithuania on June 15, 1940, a still more radical "land reform" was proclaimed by the Soviet-appointed puppet government. All land was proclaimed state property. Consequently, the farmer-owners suddenly became only managers of government property and, therefore, could not sell, exchange, or give away their 423 656 471

[15] Krikscinnas, *op. cit.*, p. 34; Elbergas, *op. cit.*, pp. 64–68.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

423 land. Seventy-four acres (30 hectares) was the maximum
471 allowed each family to manage.
656

Several thousand formerly landless farmers who obtained a few acres through this Soviet "land reform" and whose popular support the Soviet government was seeking found themselves unable to till the allotted land because they had no tools, seed, or livestock and could not secure any aid from the government. The Soviet policy was to force them all into so-called "collective farms" (kolkhoz).

The majority of the farms of 80 hectares (198 acres) or over were not distributed at all but converted into government farms (sovkhoz) controlled through commissars.

Those who were allowed to keep 30 hectares (74 acres) were called "kulaks," and such high taxes were imposed upon them that they were forced to join the government-fostered collective farms.

241 As indicated by Table 7, before the Soviet Russian oc-
423 cupation there were 287,380 separate farms in Lithuania,
656 ranging in area from 2.5 to 250 acres. These farms, on the basis of productive capacity, were classified into three groups.

The first group was comprised of the self-sufficient farms, ranging in acreage from 2.50 to 30 acres. Farmers in this group raised sufficient grain to maintain their families and kept one or two horses for work, one to four milk cows, and some poultry; thus they themselves produced most of their food. They had little to sell and bought little from the town. At the end of 1939, about 160,000 farms or 56 percent of all farms of Lithuania were in this group.

The second group was comprised of farms of between 30 and 70 acres which produced substantial quantities of agricultural products for the market. Although the farming system of this group was similar to that of the first one to the

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians

extent that these farmers produced various kinds of agricultural products, they usually concentrated more specially on one branch of farming, such as dairying or grain raising. About 100,000 farms belonged to this group.

Farms exceeding 70 acres belonged to the third group and stood highest in independent Lithuania from the point of view of the quality and quantity of their products. There were about 27,000 farms in this group. It was mainly this and the second group which supplied the bulk of agricultural products for export. It was also this third group and to a degree the second which first felt the ruin of Sovietization. Most of the farms in the third group were reduced to not more than 74 acres so that the farming inventory and buildings were not suitable to the smaller parcels of land. A substantial part of them was converted into government farms (*sovkhoz*). At the same time pressure was put on the second group by imposing exorbitant taxes in order to make it disintegrate as rapidly as possible.

Taking into consideration the area of land utilized by each group, it might be deduced that in normal times the first group produced 20 percent of the entire amount sold on the market, while the second and third groups produced the remaining 80 percent, or 40 percent each. From this it would appear that the capacity of agricultural production in Lithuania during the Soviet Russian occupation dropped at least 40 percent.

When the Germans occupied Lithuania in June, 1941, they found the Bolshevik-introduced system convenient to some extent for the expropriation of the country economically. They restored the system of private ownership, but had not returned, up to the end of 1941, farms to the original owners. Even those farmers who were left managers of their small

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

423 farms (not exceeding 74 acres) during the Sovietization were not reëstablished as owners but were continued as managers, so that the German masters might conveniently remove them from the farms at any moment.

Latest unofficial reports indicate that several hundred German managers have been sent to Lithuania to manage the former government farms. Apparently Germans are keeping the bigger farms for colonization in the event they win this second world war. No doubt, it will take several years after this war to regain the degree of agricultural production achieved during the peace period after 1918.

COÖPERATIVES

474 Coöperatives are the backbone of progress and of economic reconstruction in Lithuania. Although the first cooperative societies in Lithuania originated as far back as the end of the eighteenth century, the wider coöperative movement was begun only in 1881, when the first consumer cooperative societies were organized by I. Ivanavicius. Ivanavicius acknowledges that his inspiration for coöperative work was obtained through traveling in Western Europe —Denmark, Germany, and Switzerland. He was the initiator and a member of the first coöperative dairy society, Birute, which was organized in 1889 and of which large and influential landowners of the district of Raseiniai were members. In 1912 there were in Lithuania 52 consumer coöperative societies with 8,193 members. For better coördination in this work, these individual coöperative societies attempted to establish a central organization, but they were refused permission by the Russian government.[16]

[16] Petras Salcius, *Kooperacija; Kooperacijos paskaitu kursas* (Coöperation; Lectures on Coöperation), Kaunas, 1931, p. 195.

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

175 this circumstance and remained inferior to that of the more
181 progressive countries of Western Europe. Most of her peasant farmers, who were not released from serfdom until 1862-1865, were still living under the same conditions as in the Middle Ages. They owned narrow strips of land, practised the old three-year crop rotation, had common grazing land in a very neglected condition, bred only native stock and relied almost exclusively on cereal crops. Farming methods were thus very primitive and the farmer's income very small, while the houses were almost entirely of wood with thatched or wooden roofs.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, intellectuals, who were still few in number, began to take an interest in rural life : they cut up part of the communal land to form separate farms, organised more paying forms of activity, carried on active propaganda for the improvement of rural dwellings and encouraged the introduction of more rational methods of work. Their efforts met invariably with systematic opposition from the Russian Government.

During the world war, Lithuania was for many months the scene of hostilities. From 1915 to the end of 1918, the Germans occupied the country, which was the victim of requisitions of all kinds and lost much of its wealth.

The Proclamation of Lithuanian independence was followed by a strong movement of national renaissance and rural reconstruction. The Government's task was a difficult one. Tremendous efforts were made to build up a country which was just emerging from war; farming methods were improved and land reform was instituted. Communal land was redistributed, undeveloped estates were broken up, new branches of agriculture were developed — dairying, pig-breeding, poultry-farming; numerous schools of agriculture were founded, such roads as existed were rebuilt, and new means of communication were opened. In a word, the farmer's life was to be reorganised on modern lines. True, not all these ideals have proved capable of fulfilment in so short a time; but great strides have been made, and present day agriculture in Lithuania differs profoundly from the pre-war conditions obtaining in that country.

* * *

423 Lithuania now consists in the main of small and medium-
311 sized rural properties. A farm of 5 or 6 hectares provides an adequate livelihood for an average working farmer's family. An estate of 80 or 100 hectares is also regarded as a working peasant's farm, as it is generally run by the owner in person. Farms ranging from 5 to 100 hectares account for over 90% of the agricultural land. Miniature farms up to 2 hectares represent only 0.44% of the area under cultivation, which is all

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

423 311 to the good, as such farms generally contribute nothing towards agricultural production and are far from being a social asset. There are no latifundia in Lithuania. The largest estate comprises about 1,000 hectares, and the larger properties exceeding 100 hectares number only 1602, or 0.56% of the total farms.

162 The proportion of men and women in the rural population is about equal. The country people do not go to the towns in search of work, as urban and country dwellers carry on different trades and their lives are quite separate.

An old barn.

134 The soil is of average fertility. In the east and south-east, there is a small area which is sandy and not very fertile, while, in the north again, a small area consists of very fertile land. The vast plains of Lithuania are covered with clay — more or less light — deposited during the Ice Age and subjected to centuries of erosion and impoverishment.

132] 242 654] The rainfall is fairly heavy, so that much of this low-lying land necessitates drainage works. The State makes itself responsible for the large-scale regularisation of rivers and watercourses and the cutting of drainage channels. The farmers are responsible, with the help of Government subsidies, for ditching and drain-laying on water-logged land. By no means all of the land is satisfactorily drained. The yield cannot

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

I. DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

162 Lithuania is essentially an agricultural country : the 1923 census showed that 76.7% of the inhabitants live in the rural areas and are occupied in agriculture. According to estimates [161] based on the most recent statistics, the total population on January 1st, 1938, was 2,549,668.

At the time of the agricultural census of 1930, the total [423] area (including forest and land not under cultivation) of the agricultural undertakings (287,380) with an area of over 1 hectare was 4,318,514 hectares. As no more recent data are available, it is impossible to calculate the exact density of the rural population or the extent of migration from the country to the [166] towns since 1923. It is, however, clear that, as a result of industrial developments, many landless agricultural labourers have settled in the towns in recent years.

342

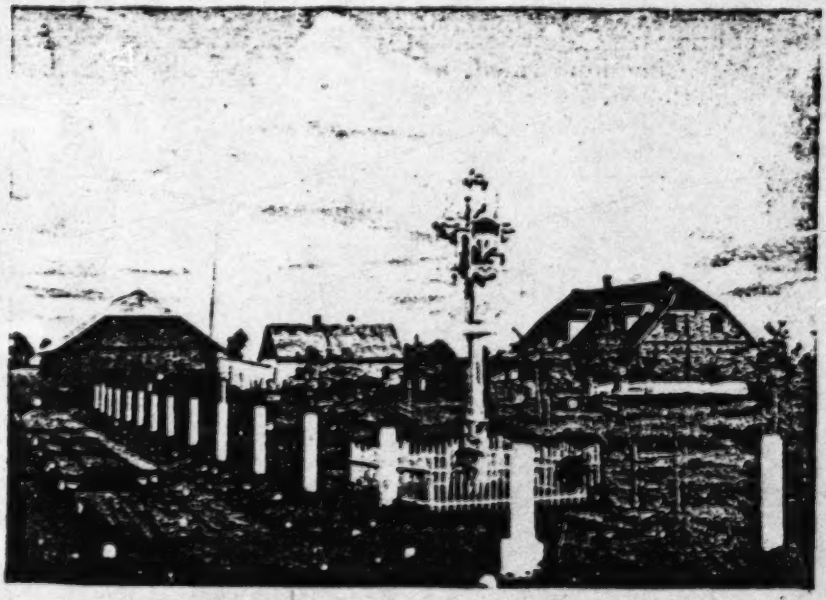
A Lithuanian house.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

II. LAND TENURE AND AGRARIAN REFORM

When the Lithuanian State was revived in 1918, two-thirds of the land under peasant ownership consisted of holdings split up into a large number of separate strips and plots. (Detailed plans of villages before and after the subdivision of village lands into self-contained holdings are to be found in M. V. Balčiūnas' work *Lietuvos kaimų žemės tvarkymas istorijos, ūkio ir statistikos šviesoj*, published by the Central Land Office of the Ministry of Agriculture, Kaunas, 1938, pages 156 to 158.) At that time, moreover, almost every village had common pasture-land and much of the land was subject to servitudes in the form of pasture and forest rights. The peasants were entitled to pasture their stock on land belonging to the great landed estates and to receive a given quantity of wood from their forests. 241 423

In the early years of the country's independence, the Government took steps with a view to the consolidation of holdings, a process which entailed the subdivision of village lands into self-contained undertakings and the abolition of common pasture-lands and servitudes. Subdivision was required 423 425



241

Farm established in pursuance of agrarian reform.

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

423 in some 9,600 villages with a total area of 1,974,000 hectares.
425 By 1938, 6,096 villages, with a total area of 1,491,475 hectares, had actually been subdivided into 139,551 self-contained undertakings. Thus, 3,500 villages, with a total area of 516,500 hectares, have still to be subdivided, and it is expected that the process will be completed in from four to five years. In all the villages subdivided, the common pasture-lands have been abolished. Furthermore, servitudes have been done away with in regard to a total area of approximately 100,000 hectares; the owners of pasture rights received compensation in land and the owners of forest rights were compensated in land, trees or cash.

241 This consolidation of holdings freed the peasants of villages that had been subdivided from the necessity for a common system of crop rotation for the entire village, and more particularly the system of three-shift rotation, with its well-known drawbacks; this has greatly facilitated cultivation and other agricultural work, and has brought about a state of things more conducive to agricultural improvements, etc.

423 The consolidation of holdings was one of the two most important aspects of agrarian reform in Lithuania, the other being the provision, out of the big estates, of land for peasants who previously had none, and for small landowners who required more.

In the early days of independence, the distribution of the land as between the various types of agricultural undertaking was anomalous. While from a third to half of all the land in the country was in the hands of large landowners, many of the peasants, being unprovided, or insufficiently provided, with land, had no outlet for their activities and lacked a regular means of livelihood. According to the data collected in 1919 preparatory to the introduction of agrarian reform, there were, in round figures, 60,000 landless peasants and 40,000 smallholders who had applied for land. At the same time, the large estates could no longer be kept up, particularly in consequence of the serious losses suffered by their owners during the war, and were fated to give way to small and medium-sized undertakings (see the International Institute of Agriculture's publication, *La Réforme Agraire*, I, Rome, 1930, pages 58 and 59).

In pursuance of the agrarian reforms, some 35,000 new undertakings with a total area of 350,000 hectares were created out of the land belonging to the big estates and some 90,000 hectares were distributed among approximately 26,000 smallholders. (Land was also given to schools, various cultural and social organisations, etc.)

As a result, large numbers of agricultural labourers were raised from economic conditions which were truly deplorable to a position of independence in the country's economic life. In

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

addition, the restoration of social peace in the rural areas brought about general conditions more conducive to an improvement in the rural population's standard of living. 423

It should further be mentioned that the Ministry of Agriculture has drafted a law regulating the ownership of land. The draft provides for certain minimum limits beyond which the subdivision of agricultural undertakings may not be carried (6 hectares of first-grade land, 9 hectares of second-grade land, 12 hectares of third-grade land and 18 hectares of fourth-grade land). The purpose of this measure is to prevent the unrestricted partition (on succession) and the alienation piecemeal of the small agricultural holdings of the rational type created on the occasion of the agrarian reform (creation of new undertakings and subdivision of village lands into self-contained holdings), so as to prevent the formation of enclaves, the subsequent elimination of which would be impossible.

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

472 Art. 8. Alongside the socialist system of economy in the Lithuanian SSR the law permits the small private economy of individual peasants, artisans and handicraftsmen and small private industrial and trading enterprises.

423 Art. 9. The land occupied by peasant holdings as provided by law is secured for their use free of charge and for an unlimited time.

421 Art. 10. The personal property right of citizens in their incomes and savings from work, in their dwelling houses and subsidiary home enterprises, in articles of domestic economy and use and articles of personal use and convenience, as well as the right of citizens to inherit personal property, is protected by law.

471 185 Art. 11. The economic life of the Lithuanian SSR is determined and directed by the state national-economic plan, with the aim of increasing the public wealth, of steadily raising the material and cultural standards of the working people, of consolidating the independence of the USSR and strengthening its defensive capacity.

461 Art. 12. Work in the Lithuanian SSR is a duty and a matter of honour for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat."

The principle applied in the Lithuanian SSR is that of socialism: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

Chapter II. The State Structure

642 Art. 13. For the purpose of mutual assistance among the Union Republics along economic and political lines, as well as along the line of defence, the Lithuanian SSR voluntarily united with the other equal Soviet Socialist Republics, namely:

The Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic,
The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic and
The Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic

in a federal state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Proceeding from the aforesaid, the Lithuanian SSR ensures to the USSR, as represented by its higher organs of state power and organs of state administration, the rights defined in Art. 14 of the Constitution of the USSR.

Outside of the spheres set forth in Art. 14 of the Constitution of the USSR, the Lithuanian SSR exercises state authority independently, retaining its sovereign rights in full.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

raised as far back as 1905 by the Lithuanian deputies at the 423
Vilnius diet. That there was a need for reform can be seen from the fact that before the World War, about 450 families possessed 3.5 million acres or 22 percent of all the land. Each of these possessed at least 2,000 acres.[7]

To analyze the political, economic, and social conditions 423
which caused the great part of the land to fall into the hands 425
of a few landlords would require extensive and long study. It may be pointed out, however, that land conveyance was not always effected in an honest way; too often, transfer was forced on peasants by depriving them of owners' rights and making them merely tenants. After the unsuccessful uprisings against the Russian government in 1831 and again in 1863, many participants were sent to Siberia and their lands were confiscated. Some of these lands were later divided into small parcels and distributed among the Russian colonists, while other lands were consolidated into estates (*latifundia*) and, by special decrees of October 4–16, 1835, and December 6, 1842, turned over to families of Russian nobility as *entailed estates*. An estate in this category could [428] not be sold, but, upon the death of the owner, passed on to his eldest son. It was these frozen estates that were the first to be affected by the land reform begun by the Provisional Government of Lithuania in 1918.[8]

It was ordered that all land converted by the Russian decrees of 1835 and 1842 into entailed estates should temporarily be made the state property of Lithuania, to be dis-

[7] Stasys Elsbergas, *Lietuvos Zemes Reforma* (Land Reform of Lithuania), Kaunas, 1935, p. 7.

[8] Salkauskas, K. *Lietuvos Novelos. Veikiančiuju 1935. III. 16 d. Lietuvos istatymu ir isakymu, paskelbtu Vyriausybes Ziniose 1–476 rinkinys* (The Novels of Lithuania. The Laws and Orders of Lithuania, Published in the Government Gazette No. 1–476, Which Are in Force on March 16, 1935), Spaudos Fondas, Kaunas, 1935, p. 324.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

423 posed of eventually by distribution among the landless and
425 the small landowners (those having not more than 12 acres).[9]
[671] This decree was legalized by the Preliminary Land Reform Law of August 18, 1920, and its scope was broadened to permit the republic of Lithuania to assume also the ownership of private forests that were larger than 25 *desimtines* [804] (one *desimtine* is equal to about 2.7 acres).[10] This law was a tentative one in that it contained no provision for the distribution of the expropriated property.

671 The Land Reform Law in its final draft, consisting of
423 twelve sections and subdivided into seventy-seven para-
[425] graphs, was ratified in 1922.[11] The first section outlines the composition of the lands reserved for distribution, defining particularly the land to be taken into the distribution reserve. This action also enabled the state to take over the private property of those who had served in the post-war German armed bands of Bermont and Virgolicz and of those who had worked or were still working against the independence of Lithuania. Estates exceeding 200 acres and owned by one person or one family were also to be taken for land reform purposes.[12] Later the limit was raised to 321 acres (150 hectares). The second section of the Land Reform Law provides that the biggest and least active estates shall be among the first to be appropriated for land reform purposes. The third section defines the types of prospective recipients of the reapportioned land parcels. It states mainly that heads of families of landless peasants, farm laborers, and small landowners are entitled to share in the land distribution. Those farmers, or their lawful successors, from whom land was

[9] Elsbergas, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[10] *Vyriausybes Zinios*, Nr. 45 eil. 454 (Government Gazette No. 45, Part 454). Hereafter referred to as V.Z.

[11] *Ibid.*, Nr. 83 eil. 721.

[12] *Ibid.*, Nr. 324 eil. 2218.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

seized by the government in 1861 and 1863 are to receive 671
priority over all others. Each head of a family may receive not 423
more than 49.4 acres (20 hectares). Land is also to be distributed to public schools, schools of agriculture, and other in- [657]
stitutions of learning and culture as well as to hospitals, sanatoriums, asylums, and other social and public organizations.

The land is divided into four classes, graded according to 423
the fertility of the soil. The new owners have to pay equal annual installments for their land for thirty-six years. The rate to be paid varies from 180 to 252 litas per hectare (2.471 acres) for first-class land, depending on its location; 90 to 126 litas for second-class; 36 to 54 litas for third-class, and 18 to 27 litas for fourth-class. No interest accumulates on the unpaid balance except on due shares which are not paid in the time prescribed.[13]

The only recipients of land exempted from all payments [729]
are volunteer soldiers in the Lithuanian war for independence and their families.

Former owners of the lands taken for land reform pur- 423
poses were entitled to compensation. Payment was to be 425
made with government bonds bearing three percent interest 652
and redeemable at any time not later than thirty-six years from the date of issue. Paragraph 58 of the Land Reform Law prescribes that the compensation for the land shall be a fair price based on valuations existing in the period between 1910 and 1914. As the Land Reform Law was passed on April 3, 1922, when *Obost* marks [14] were in circulation, the compensation was to be paid in this currency. (One Russian ruble was made equal to two *Obost* marks.) Paragraph 59 provides that the highest amount paid may not exceed

[13] Salkauskas, *op. cit.*, pp. 325–32.
[14] See, p. 102 below, section on Finance.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

423 480 marks per hectare. Because the mark fell in value, the
425 reward was comparatively small when translated into litas.
[252] It is estimated that the total amount paid by the government for expropriated land up to 1935 was 40 million litas.

In accordance with this law, the land transfer up to the end of 1939 involved 1,774,099 acres (717,968 hectares), of which a substantial part was handed over for cultural and other public uses, being given for schools, cemeteries, municipalities, public playgrounds, and so on.

Table 6

THE LAND INVOLVED FOR REDISTRIBUTION BETWEEN 1919 AND 1939

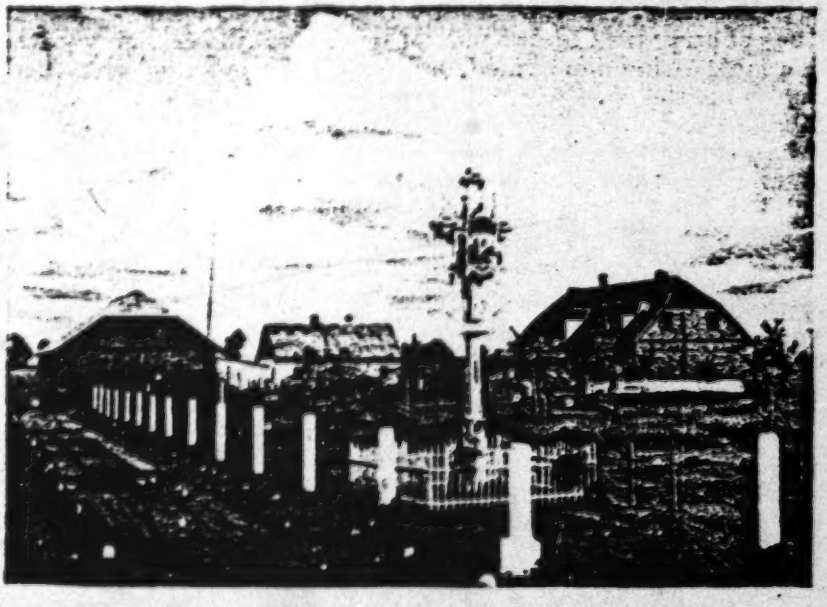
	ACRES
I. Land distributed for permanent ownership	
1. To private schools, organizations, asylums, etc.	2,291
2. To parish churches	3,981
3. For cemeteries	1,003
4. To employees and laborers for homes	8,110
5. To new settlers	893,392
6. Added to small farms	222,951
Total	1,131,728
II. Land distributed for temporary use	
1. To public schools and other governmental institutions	86,070
2. To municipalities and their institutions (hospitals, asylums, public parks, etc.)	6,158
3. To private persons and organizations	26,539
4. For community pastures	72,170
Total	190,937
III. For miscellaneous uses	451,434
Grand total of land affected by the Land Reform Act	1,774,099

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

II. LAND TENURE AND AGRARIAN REFORM

When the Lithuanian State was revived in 1918, two-thirds of the land under peasant ownership consisted of holdings split up into a large number of separate strips and plots. (Detailed plans of villages before and after the subdivision of village lands into self-contained holdings are to be found in M. V. Balčiūnas' work *Lietuvos kaimų žemės tvarkymas istorijos, ūkio ir statistikos šviesoj*, published by the Central Land Office of the Ministry of Agriculture, Kaunas, 1938, pages 156 to 158.) At that time, moreover, almost every village had common pasture-land and much of the land was subject to servitudes in the form of pasture and forest rights. The peasants were entitled to pasture their stock on land belonging to the great landed estates and to receive a given quantity of wood from their forests. 241 423

In the early years of the country's independence, the Government took steps with a view to the consolidation of holdings, a process which entailed the subdivision of village lands into self-contained undertakings and the abolition of common pasture-lands and servitudes. Subdivision was required 423 425



241

Farm established in pursuance of agrarian reform.

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

423 in some 9,600 villages with a total area of 1,974,000 hectares. By 1938, 6,096 villages, with a total area of 1,491,475 hectares, 425 had actually been subdivided into 139,551 self-contained undertakings. Thus, 3,500 villages, with a total area of 516,500 hectares, have still to be subdivided, and it is expected that the process will be completed in from four to five years. In all the villages subdivided, the common pasture-lands have been abolished. Furthermore, servitudes have been done away with in regard to a total area of approximately 100,000 hectares; the owners of pasture rights received compensation in land and the owners of forest rights were compensated in land, trees or cash.

241 This consolidation of holdings freed the peasants of villages that had been subdivided from the necessity for a common system of crop rotation for the entire village, and more particularly the system of three-shift rotation, with its well-known drawbacks; this has greatly facilitated cultivation and other agricultural work, and has brought about a state of things more conducive to agricultural improvements, etc.

423 The consolidation of holdings was one of the two most important aspects of agrarian reform in Lithuania, the other being the provision, out of the big estates, of land for peasants who previously had none, and for small landowners who required more.

In the early days of independence, the distribution of the land as between the various types of agricultural undertaking was anomalous. While from a third to half of all the land in the country was in the hands of large landowners, many of the peasants, being unprovided, or insufficiently provided, with land, had no outlet for their activities and lacked a regular means of livelihood. According to the data collected in 1919 preparatory to the introduction of agrarian reform, there were, in round figures, 60,000 landless peasants and 40,000 smallholders who had applied for land. At the same time, the large estates could no longer be kept up, particularly in consequence of the serious losses suffered by their owners during the war, and were fated to give way to small and medium-sized undertakings (see the International Institute of Agriculture's publication, *La Réforme Agraire*, I, Rome, 1930, pages 58 and 59).

In pursuance of the agrarian reforms, some 35,000 new undertakings with a total area of 350,000 hectares were created out of the land belonging to the big estates and some 90,000 hectares were distributed among approximately 26,000 smallholders. (Land was also given to schools, various cultural and social organisations, etc.)

As a result, large numbers of agricultural labourers were raised from economic conditions which were truly deplorable to a position of independence in the country's economic life. In

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

452 The number of loans granted by credit establishments (groups 2-4) is 121,258. Many agriculturists have obtained loans from the three groups of establishments. The number of agriculturists who have obtained loans is therefore less than the actual number of loans. Only 30% of the Lithuanian agriculturists have contracted loans with credit establishments. The area of land mortgaged to the Agrarian Bank is 607,000 hectares. It is usually the larger landowners who apply for loans to the Agrarian Bank.

426 Doubtless farmers have also contracted debts with private individuals, but there is no statistical record of these. According to custom, the eldest son pays over a portion to each of his brothers and sisters and keeps the farm himself. As a rule, the farmer has no ready money and undertakes to pay these portions by fixed instalments ; the farm thus becomes heavily encumbered.

During the economic depression, the farmers were unable to meet their obligations, owing to the drop in agricultural prices ; the Government therefore came to their assistance.

In 1932, a list was drawn up of non-distrainable live-stock belonging to landowners. Farmers were protected from the forced sale of their farms by auction on account of debts contracted before February 1st, 1934, with private credit establishments or individuals. Where debts did not exceed 90% of the value of the agricultural immovable property, they had the right to apply to the competent court to suspend forced sale by auction. The court could do so for a year and a-half, to enable the debtor to come to an agreement with his creditors. Farmers were given facilities for repaying their debts to private persons in the form of mortgage bonds repayable by the Agrarian Bank at their nominal value. With this object, the Agrarian Bank issued a series of bonds, quoted at a fairly low rate on the Kaunas Exchange (78). Farmers could thus not only apply to the Agrarian Bank for loans in the form of mortgage bonds but also could purchase mortgage bonds on the market at a low rate, with which they were able to repay their debts to private individuals (but not their debts to the State or to credit establishments).

According to the provisions now in force, the courts may also decide as to the extension of the time-limit for the repayment of farmers' promissory notes.

Farms may only be sold by auction provided the highest bid is not less than 50% of their value. The value of the farm is assessed by the " viršaitis " (chairman of the executive of the municipality) or by the bailiff, in cases of forced sale.

Where the farmer has to pay over shares under the terms of a will or donation, he need only pay 60% in cash if the obligation arose before January 1st, 1931, or 70% if it arose prior to the period December 31st, 1930, to December 31st, 1932.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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[8] Salkauskas, K. *Lietuvos Novelos. Veikiančiuju 1935. III. 16 d. Lietuvos istatymu ir isakymu, paskelbtu Vyriausybes Ziniose 1–476 rinkinys* (The Novels of Lithuania. The Laws and Orders of Lithuania, Published in the Government Gazette No. 1–476, Which Are in Force on March 16, 1935), Spaudos Fondas, Kaunas, 1935, p. 324.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

VIII. THE ROLE OF LITHUANIAN WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE

Women play an important part in Lithuanian agriculture both economically and intellectually. A farm without a woman is considered as extraordinary; the first thing a young peasant does when he comes into property is to marry, and a widower soon marries again. 462

From time immemorial, the peasant woman has taken her full share of responsibility in rural work. Though not on such a big scale as at present, she always made butter and cheese, collected eggs and occasionally fattened a pig for the market and sold a few geese. The more skilled even contrived to sell a little honey, dried fruits, poppy-heads and onions, and used to take to the fair in the neighbouring town their homespun linen or cloth. The woman's modest earnings were independent of the revenue from the farm; they covered the housekeeping expenditure and enabled her to put a little aside and even to help her husband on occasion.

In a number of districts, the ancient custom still prevails whereby a girl could reject a suitor who did not promise to confer on her, as mistress of his house, the right to manage the whole financial side of the farm.

Legally, women are treated in Lithuania to-day on a footing of equality with men. They have the right to own and administer land or other immovable property whether married or not. After the parents' death, brothers and sisters inherit the land in equal shares; the widow or widower inherits 25% of the estate. No statistics are available of the number of women landowners, but they are known to be less numerous than the men. The principal reason for this is the desire to avoid breaking up estates. One very widespread custom in many districts is for the peasant to leave his land to his eldest son, requiring him at the same time to pay over to his sisters and younger brothers in cash or in stock the shares devolving on them. When a girl marries, the share accruing to her is often registered in her husband's name. Before the war, under the law of the Russian Empire, girls in the Province of Kaunas inherited only one-fourteenth of the immovable property. These various factors have all tended to reduce the area owned by women. It is among the owners of large estates that women constitute the highest percentage, but these estates are few in number. 562 428

When an agricultural census was taken in 1930, women were found to constitute 50.69% and men 49.31% of the total adult 162

531
286 on the market. Women and girls gave them to those
301 whom they loved. On an old juosta the beginning
[431] of a little yearning love song is woven in. A woven dedication mentioned by Kurschat (1911) reads:

> I wove as I was able to, I gave it to whom I wanted.
> But I always believed that my beloved should receive it.

Thus these ribbons often speak of a rare tenderness of feeling, and their colorful patterns seem illuminated by longing and love, by fate and sorrow. In many ribbons there were also, as Otto Glagau (1869) informs us, mottoes in English and French whose meaning the peasant girls naturally didn't know, but which remained preserved in certain families and were always imitated anew. Here, to be sure, we have forms of a later development, just as the occasional use of metal threads goes back to the influence of the Lyon silk industry in the eighteenth century. Otherwise one used in an earlier period only threads of flax, wool, and hemp; the use of silk, on the other hand, has arisen only in most recent times. Frequently these silk juostos are sold today as binders or crocheted together as table runners, but in the villages these uses are unknown.

The production of the juostos proceeds in three different ways. We know pintinės, austinės, and kaišytinės--/139/ i.e. a braiding, a weaving, and a darning technique. The oldest of them is the braiding technique, which is still practised in the north of the province of Aukschtaiten in the districts of Zarasai, Panevėžys, and Ukmergė, though it has become quite rare. (46) The threads

46. A. Rukštelė, loc. cit., pp. 22-23 and 46.

are laid over a board and then braided, beginning

1[juostos, i.e. colorful ribbons -- Analyst]

286 practised today by the shepherd girls of the country.
531 Crocheted lace is in general rarer; nevertheless among prosperous farmers we often find decorative crocheting and openwork on beautiful and valuable bed linen.

[291] Gloves and stockings are firmly and closely knitted in several colors, the various threads being carried along on the reverse side. They frequently make their way to Germany, where they appear on the handicraft market as "Swedish" gloves. The most varied-colored ornaments are knitted in, dots and stars, together with flower patterns, and occasionally also animal patterns.
[431] These gay and strong gloves with their bright colors often serve as gifts, and the priest is always presented with them on his winter "calender journeys." In contrast /143/ to other handicrafts, in which, as we saw, old patterns are frequently used in a not so successful manner, their borrowing from the weaving technique in the modern knitted handiwork has an organic and altogether charming effect.

[292] In the Lithuanian folk costume, too, particularly as it has been awakened to new life after the first World War, art and taste are shown: the long colored pleated coat, the colorful bodice, the white shirt with the long embroidered sleeves--everything breathes cheerfulness and joy in colors (see the title picture).*

Therewith is closed the circle which embraces the Lithuanian folk art in all its branches. Many things could be only briefly touched, since the various older and more recent techniques of knotting, crocheting, and knitting can be described only with difficulty.

286 The whole realm of weaving with all its related techniques is exclusively the domain of the
462 woman, while the man has chosen for himself those areas which above all demanded bodily strength or because of the size of the objects did not attract

* [Title picture was not included in HRAF reproduction -- Analyst]

18a

423 tary constructions. A family owning one horse must
656 transport 30 cords of timber to fixed stations. The owner of two horses must double the quota, in winter.

[311] In 1947, about 40% of arable land of Lithuania was unplanted, and the diet of the rural population suffered a catastrophic decline. Few tractors are available. Threshing machines were nationalized. Bribes are required to gain any assistance from the Russian managers of the MTS stations—and people prefer not to deal with the drunken and greedy representatives of the "master race." Forests are systematically destroyed and forest fires are not combatted. The MVD-MGB troops quite frequently set fire to the forests in order to "smoke out" guerrillas.

There was even less incentive to work for Russia in 1948. At least one half of the arable land went untilled. . . .

Industry

433 Peat production dropped to one-third of the level
377 of the German occupation period. Very little coal is brought to the country. For these reasons, there is a severe shortage of electric power. City dwellers must provide their own heating—for apartments, institutions and schools.

The official press occasionally reports that certain officials "abuse their office" by driving to some village, demolishing "deserted homes" and forcing the neighboring farmers to transport the lumber to the city as fuel. . . . Due to the prevalent bureaucracy and chaos, government buildings and student dormitories go unheated for weeks. Therefore, dormitory inhabitants or the office force of this or that institution mobilize and follow the example of the dignitaries: they descend on and transport deserted homes (in parts) in a "socialistic competition" to keep themselves warm. . . .

433 Brick production dropped for lack of skilled man-
[339] power. The brick works of Rokai and Palembnas produce for the army exclusively. No bricks and no tiles are available for sale to private citizens. Therefore, bricks and tiles figure in a lively black market exchange for horses.

Not a single cement plant is in operation—except on paper, in the boastful reports of "achievements" of the Russian dignitaries. The cement plants of Akmenė and Skirsnemunė are still in the stage of paper planning, though included in the five-year plan to be consummatted by 1950.

[288] The textile plants of Klaipėda are idle. The Drobė plant of Kaunas is under reconstruction. The Litex and Audiniai plants began operating. The Linas plant produces for export to Russia exclusively.

The hide tanning plants of Šiauliai and the glass factories of Radviliškis and Aleksotas are operating. Dairies were mostly reactivated. The huge Maistas stockyards and canneries were burned down in Kaunas, and feeble efforts at reconstruction are forging ahead. The Maistas plant in Panevėžys is operating but production is small. The plant at Tauragė still lies in ruins.

The beet sugar refineries of Marijampolė and Panevėžys resumed operations. The paper and cardboard plant produces inferior quality products. The railway yards and repair shops of Kaunas are being expanded. The factories, as a rule, produce for war and export to Russia. The present production level amounts to less than 50% of the 1939 level.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

in 1920, when Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931, and in 000 many other instances in subsequent years, most likely there would have been no breaking of the Versailles Treaty for the purpose of conquest, and, above all, there would be no war today.

GENERAL OUTLINE AND BASIS OF RECONSTRUCTION

As stated before, Lithuania is entirely an agricultural 433 country. During the first twenty-two years of her independence, she focused her attention on the introduction of scientific methods in farming and the development of industries connected with agriculture. She concentrated on the development and production of raw materials in an earnest endeavor to improve her economic status.

The development of world raw-material production from 433 the latter part of the nineteenth century until 1939 may be divided into four periods:

1.—Pre-World War period of normal progress;

2.—The war and post-war period of disturbed development, 1914–22;

3.—Post-war period of progress, beginning with 1923, a seven-year period of progress with moderate fluctuations along lines that followed the same trend as before the war;

4.—Period of disturbed development during the world depression, and of recovery from 1930 until the war of 1939.[2]

1. The pre-war period.—Lithuania then being under the government of Russia, complete economic statistics of that period are not available. On the other hand, the statistical ma-

[2] League of Nations, *Report of the Committee for the Study of the Problem of Raw Materials*, Geneva, 1937, p. 37.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

●433 terial collected by the German professor Skalweit [3] refers to a territory somewhat larger than the Lithuania of 1939. His findings, however, give a fairly accurate picture of the state of agriculture in Lithuania before the World War of 1914–18.

241 The main branches of agriculture in pre-war Lithuania were the cultivation of grain crops, the growing of flax, and the breeding of horses. Dairying, pig breeding, and poultry farming were almost nonexistent.[4]

2. The war and post-war period of disturbed development.—The study of these periods is almost entirely omitted in this volume, as these periods cannot serve for comparison, because almost from the very first days of the war Lithuania was converted into a battlefield for the Russian and German armies. The pursuit of agriculture was impossible throughout most of the period. As late as 1920, when a third of Lithuania was seized by Poland, foreign armies were still trampling the few crops that the farmers were trying to raise. Only after 1920 did Lithuania actually enter upon a comparatively normal economic life.

3 and 4. Post-war periods of progress, depression, and recovery.—Agriculture, the most fundamental economic activity of man, varies from the most primitive cultivation with the hoe to skilled machine-implemented scientific farming. In Lithuania, farming is not mechanized to a great extent, for the use of machinery on small parcels of land is not profitable. Experiments in scientific farming have, however, been undertaken and substantial progress has been
ooo made since the World War. Though wheat is mankind's most

[3] B. Skalweit, *Die Landwirtschaft in den litauischen Gouvernements: ihre Grundlagen und Leistungen* (Agriculture in the Lithuanian Gouvernements: Its Foundation and Efficiency), Jena, 1918.

[4] J. Krikscinnas, *Agriculture in Lithuania*, Kaunas, 1938, p. 12.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Though wheat is mankind's most 243
popular cereal food, rye is the first choice in Lithuania. Only 311
about 8 percent of all the arable land is utilized for wheat, while 19 percent of the land is devoted to the growing of rye. Another of the world's largest crops—corn (maize)—is not grown in Lithuania. The same is true of rice. The more popular grain crops, besides rye, are oats, barley, and wheat. Most favored of root crops in Lithuania are the potato and 244
various species of root vegetables. The sugar beet, entirely unknown before the World War, is now quite popular and is grown in sufficient quantities to supply three sugar refineries. Of the fibers, flax is the only one that is widely grown. 248
Hemp is also produced, but in small quantities and only for the consumption of farmers themselves, who use the fiber for ropes and the seeds for several kinds of food.

Another important branch of the agriculture of Lithuania 232
is livestock breeding, which has been vastly improved and extended since the World War.

Economic reconstruction after the World War was not as 433
general among agricultural countries as it might at first ap- 241
pear. Timoshenko points out several unfavorable factors.[5] 651
First of all, the prices of agricultural commodities began to decline early in the period of prosperity. This affected the purchasing power of agricultural and raw-material producing countries. Another adverse factor was the reëstablishment of a system of agricultural protection in the industrial countries of Europe. Cereal production was given less tariff protection during the earlier post-war period than before the war. In some countries of central Europe, including Germany, tariff protection of grain products was completely discontinued during the first post-war years.

[5] Vladimir P. Timoshenko, *World Agriculture and Depression*, Michigan Business Studies, Vol. V, No. 5, University of Michigan, 1933, pp. 541–663.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

•433 241 439 Since 1924–25 the policy has been changed and the countries of central Europe have returned to the pre-war methods of tariff protection of their cereal production as well as to the protection of their animal husbandry. This has contributed to duplication in production and to the narrowing of the world market for exported agricultural products, while other factors stimulated the further expansion of agricultural production in the surplus-exporting countries. Exports from agricultural and raw-material producing countries increased very little during the years of prosperity because there was no appreciable increase in the demand for these products in the industrial countries. At the same time, the imports of agricultural countries, consisting mainly of manufactured goods, rose rapidly. The payment balance of agricultural countries could be kept in equilibrium only by an increase in indebtedness or by drawing on the surplus of previous years. For example, in 1924 Lithuania's exports exceeded imports by 60 million litas, while in 1927 imports exceeded exports by 19.8 million litas and in 1938 by 34.2 million litas.[6]

000 Data on economic activities in Lithuania cover the period up to 1939. With the war of 1939 another period of "disturbed economic development" started; no attempt can be made to analyze this period in this volume, since economic conditions are very unstable and data on economic activities unavailable.

LAND REFORM

423 One of the factors that contributed most to a complete overhauling of the internal economic and social structure of Lithuania was the land reform, a question which was

[6] Exchange rate: 10 litas to $1.00 until 1933; 6 litas to $1.00, 1935–40.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

extent that these farmers produced various kinds of agri- 241
cultural products, they usually concentrated more specially 423
on one branch of farming, such as dairying or grain raising. 656
About 100,000 farms belonged to this group.

Farms exceeding 70 acres belonged to the third group and stood highest in independent Lithuania from the point of view of the quality and quantity of their products. There were about 27,000 farms in this group. It was mainly this and the second group which supplied the bulk of agricultural products for export. It was also this third group and to a degree the second which first felt the ruin of Sovietization. Most of the farms in the third group were reduced to not more than 74 acres so that the farming inventory and buildings were not suitable to the smaller parcels of land. A substantial part of them was converted into government farms (*sovkhoz*). At the same time pressure was put on the second [651]
group by imposing exorbitant taxes in order to make it disintegrate as rapidly as possible.

Taking into consideration the area of land utilized by 241
each group, it might be deduced that in normal times the 433
first group produced 20 percent of the entire amount sold on the market, while the second and third groups produced the remaining 80 percent, or 40 percent each. From this it would appear that the capacity of agricultural production in Lithuania during the Soviet Russian occupation dropped at least 40 percent.

When the Germans occupied Lithuania in June, 1941, they 423
found the Bolshevik-introduced system convenient to some extent for the expropriation of the country economically. They restored the system of private ownership, but had not returned, up to the end of 1941, farms to the original owners. Even those farmers who were left managers of their small

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Chapter III

INDUSTRY

438 The industry of Lithuania before the World War was gov-
433 erned not by the requirements of the local markets. Its development and structure were more suited to the Russian empire, on whose national economy, politics, and markets Lithuania was dependent. There was extensive development of such industries as leather and metal, which had no basic connections with the markets of ethnographic Lithuania. At the same time, industries closely connected with agriculture were almost nonexistent. There were no slaughterhouses where the livestock surplus could be prepared for export, and there was almost no textile industry; the country's flax had to go to western Europe for manufacture into cloth. Even the timber industry, which was in a very favorable situation, was undeveloped. This same industry was flourishing just across the border, in the port of Klaipeda (Memel) in pre-World War Germany, although it was wholly dependent for its raw materials on Lithuania and the rest of pre-war Russia.[1]

After the World War the remnants of the Russian industries in Lithuania were unsuited to the needs of the newly established republic. And even those remnants were almost completely disabled, because during the hostilities the ma-

[1] C.S.B., 1918–28, pp. 67–90.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

chinery had been destroyed or sent to "unknown destinations." Therefore the industry of the reëstablished republic had not only to be reconstructed but had to be almost entirely reshaped in a manner suited to the needs of an agricultural country. According to the vague pre-World War statistics, there were approximately 3,144 separate industrial units in Lithuania, this number including very small establishments of three to five workers. According to statistics compiled from reports of factory inspectors,[2] the province (gouvernement) of Kaunas had 151 enterprises with 6,603 workers, distributed as in Table 31.

TABLE 31

INDUSTRY OF LITHUANIA IN 1913

NUMBER OF ENTERPRISES	NUMBER OF WORKERS IN EACH
1	1,256
2	600
2	200
2	100–200
12	51–100
7	31–50
13	21–30
34	11–30
78	less than 10

After the World War the leather and metal industries experienced a great setback, while the food, textile, paper, and other industries soon started on the upswing. An idea of the rapid increase in the number of industrial establishments may be gained from the number of government operation certificates issued. In 1920, 2,474 certificates were issued;

[2] Kubilius, *op. cit.*, pp. 222–23.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

438 in 1921, 4,011; in 1922, 4,933; in 1923, 5,402; in 1924, 5,-
433 419; in 1925, 5,941; in 1926, 5,164; in 1927, 5,437; in 1928, 5,742; in 1929, 6,010; in 1930, 5,842; in 1931, 5,796; in 1932, 5,735; in 1933, 5,451; in 1934, 5,710; in 1935, 12,-067; in 1936, 14,750; in 1937, 15,214; in 1938, 15,717; and in 1939, 16,131.[3]

[651] The sudden rise of the number of industrial establishments registered in 1935 and the subsequent years is the result of the extension of the License Tax in that year to even the smallest establishments. The new ruling required that a license be taken out even by concerns with only a single employee. Thus the figures of 1935 and later are not wholly comparable with the previous ones; nevertheless they reflect [463] the rise of industry in Lithuania. A more detailed picture of the development of industry may be obtained from Table 32, which shows that the largest number, over 20 percent, of wage earners are employed in the textile industry. The food and luxury goods industries, which in 1937 held third position with 5,195 employees, advanced to second place in 1938, with 6,150 workers. The third place in 1938 was held by the timber industry, with 4,852 workers, having enjoyed during the previous year an all-time peak in its record of employment. Fourth place, according to the number of workers employed, belongs to the clay products and stone industry; after it come the metals and machinery industry and the clothing and footwear industry.

When the value of industrial production is taken into consideration we get a very different picture of the situation, with the food and luxury industry in first place, accounting for over 41 percent of the total value of the industrial production of Lithuania. Next follow the textile

[3] C.S.B., 1938 and 1939, p. 186 and p. 194 respectively.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 32

CLASSIFICATION OF INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS OF LITHUANIA 1927–39[a]

INDUSTRY	1927		1930		1935		1938		1939[b]	
	Establishments	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*
Peat-cutting	7	603	6	541	7	417	16	1,086	19	1,296
Stone, clay products, etc.	94	1,357	108	1,648	82	1,539	130	3,566	130	3,212
Metals and machinery	97	1,895	94	1,975	92	1,711	120	3,327	97	2,981
Chemicals	49	885	53	792	48	940	48	1,583	53	1,695
Leather and fur	40	657	44	648	37	749	58	1,022	50	865
Textiles	55	1,403	57	2,194	61	4,679	81	7,019	84	4,611[e]
Timber	185	3,446	178	3,096	192	4,238	264	4,852	238	2,864[d]
Paper and printing	52	2,115	64	2,323	71	2,195	84	2,615	81	1,613[e]
Foodstuffs	253	3,786	246	3,616	343	4,284	394	6,150	347	5,925
Clothing and footwear	139	1,607	154	1,891	148	1,952	183	3,056	186	2,841
Electricity and gas works	29	648	26	479	31	512	33	590	31	474

[a] C.S.B., *Statistikos Metrastis*, Vol. 1929–39.
[b] All data in this column after seizure of Klaipeda Territory by Germany in March, 1939.
[c] Before Klaipeda Territory cession: 87 establishments with 7,561 employees.
[d] Before Klaipeda Territory cession: 206 establishments with 4,257 employees.
[e] Before Klaipeda Territory cession: 88 establishments with 2,679 employees.

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3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

438 industry with 14.9 percent, the timber industry—9.1 per-
•433 cent, and the paper and printing industry—8.4 percent. These facts may be clearly seen from Table 33, which shows

TABLE 33

AGGREGATE VALUE OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION OF LITHUANIA 1937–39

(In Thousands of Litas)

INDUSTRY	1937	1938	1939
Peat-cutting	1,277	1,873	2,932
Stone, clay products, etc.	7,012	9,097	9,389
Metals and machinery	19,298	24,661	23,378
Chemicals	13,939	16,529	20,734
Leather and fur	17,245	16,684	14,306
Textiles	35,656	40,331	40,331
Timber	15,847	16,865	14,341
Paper and printing	17,807	17,543	17,630
Food and luxury goods	151,569	175,470	223,424
Clothing and footwear	20,762	23,658	26,696
Electrical works	10,672	11,738	12,588
TOTAL	311,084	354,449	405,749

that the value of total production in 1939 was 405,749,000 litas against 354,449,000 litas in 1938 and 311,084,000 litas in 1937.

The growth of the industrial production of Lithuania was not even impaired by the world depression of 1929. While world production in 1931 and 1932 had fallen to the lowest ebb, production in Lithuania showed further expansion. Several reasons may be given in explanation of this phenomenon.

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651 First, Lithuania exercises a specific customs duties system, which is an advantage to home industry during a period of

3' Simutis 5-4(no date) 1942 RBS Lithuanians RBS

TABLE 34

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION INDEX OF LITHUANIA AND THE WORLD 1929–39 438 433

YEAR	PRODUCTION OF LITHUANIA [a]	WORLD PRODUCTION [b]
1929	100	100
1930	108.3	88.3
1931	140.7	74.8
1932	153.7	63.0
1933	([d])	71.3
1934	166.5	77.0
1935	185.9	85.4
1936	244.2	95.5
1937	272.0	102.5
1938	309.4	125.8 [c]
1939	354.2	128.7

[a] *Report*, p. 20.
[b] League of Nations, *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, Geneva, June, 1938.
[c] *Ibid.*, *Statistical Year-Book 1939–40*.
[d] Figure not available.

falling prices in the world market, especially when the duties 438
are high as compared with the prices of commodities. Cus- 651
toms duties do not fall in proportion to the fall of prices in the world market, as would be the case under the ad valorem duties system. Thus, home industry benefited from the fall of raw-material prices and was able to supply the home market with cheaper commodities than could be offered by the foreign producers for whose products the customs duties were not lowered to suit the decreased prices. This is proved even by the great decrease in the value of imports, which in 1935 amounted to only 128,597,000 litas, as against 142,-176,200 litas in 1933 and 312,415,200 in 1930.

Second, it is to be noted that the index of industrial pro- 000

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

duction did not suffer as much in the agricultural countries as it did in advanced industrial countries. For example, the index of the industrial production of Germany in 1929 fell from 100 to 85.9 in 1930, to 67.6 in 1931, and to 53.3 in 1932. The index of the United States was 80.7 in 1930, 68.1 in 1931, and 53.8 in 1932. At the same time, the index number of the industrial production of Denmark was below 100 only in 1932, when it was 91, while in 1933 it was 105 and in 1934, 117. The index number of the industrial production of Greece continued to stay over 100: in 1930 it was 103.4; in 1931, 107.0; and in 1932, 100.9, while in 1938 it reached 165.1.[4]

Finally, the industry of Lithuania, even with expanded facilities, does not satisfy the demands of its home market. For this reason even during the depression the rate of industrial expansion was not greatly slackened.

Aside from coöperative concerns, analysis of which has been made elsewhere, a great role in the economic life of Lithuania was played by corporations.

In some of them, as in the Maistas and Lietuvos Cukrus corporations, the majority of stock is held by the government.

At the end of 1939 there were 137 corporations in Lithuania with total capitalization of 205,442,000 litas. The banking group comprised 8 units with total capitalization of 89,000,000 litas or 43 percent of total capital of the corporations of Lithuania. Next in importance comes food industry with 20 corporations and 28,345,000 litas combined capital followed by 4 electricity supply corporations with 25,100,000 litas of capital stock.

[4] League of Nations, *Statistical Year-Book 1939–40.*

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

With the Sovietization of Lithuania by Russia all those corporations were nationalized in August, 1940, and made government establishments. On August 7, 1940, an order was published requesting even the surrender of the shares of capital stock and bonds of private corporations or government.[5] No due compensation was promised. 473

When Russian occupation was substituted by German in June, 1941, the system of private ownership was returned in Lithuania, except private, corporate, or coöperative wealth, which apparently is kept for distribution to German nationals or at least to German sympathizers. 471

THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

The textile industry showed a spectacular rise between 1927 and 1940. But even before this period it had shown considerable advance. It is estimated that in the years 1909 to 1913 this industry in Lithuania employed about 300 workers.[6] In 1927 the number of workers had grown to 1,403, almost five times as many as before the World War, while in 1939 the industry was employing 7,561 workers. 288 433

It is interesting to note that in spite of increasing textile production at home, imports did not decrease proportionately. This may be accounted for partly by the fact that rising living standards increased the demand to such an extent that even the increased production was not sufficient to satisfy it without the aid of proportionately high imports. Lithuania does not export any textile fabrics. [439]

The expanding textile industry modifies the type of textile

[5] *Darbo Lietuva* No. 50, Aug. 13, 1940. (*Darbo Lietuva* [Worker's Lithuania] was a Bolshevik daily in Kaunas, established after the occupation.)

[6] L.G.S.A., 1937, p. 405.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 35

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY OF LITHUANIA 1927–39

KIND OF ESTABLISHMENT	1927		1930		1935		1939	
	Establishments	*Workers*	*Establishments*	*Workers*	*Establishments*	*Workers*	*Establishments*	*Workers*
Linen and jute weaving	3	112	3	163	5	624	5	827
Flax preparation	16	468	9	534	8	288	11	1,296
Woolen and cotton weaving and spinning	6	589	7	1,229	16	2,922	20	4,051
Wool spinning	17	138	20	142	11	67	23	175
Silk weaving	—	—	—	—	3	651	4	964

imports: there is a tendency toward an increase in semifinished textile goods, especially woolen spun yarns, and a decrease in imports of woolen textile materials (fabrics). In cotton-goods imports this tendency is not so pronounced. This may be due partly to the fact that Lithuania has no raw cotton and the entire supply must be imported. The manufacturing of cotton fabrics is, therefore, almost entirely undeveloped. With woolen fabrics conditions are exactly opposite. A substantial part of the wool is produced at home and, although the quality of Lithuanian wool is not as high as that of Australia or New Zealand, the woolen industries, having been at first wholly dependent on the home supply, were better equipped to expand and improve their production than were the cotton factories. If breeds of sheep are improved as were those of cattle, Lithuanian woolen goods will improve in quality as well as increase in quantity.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 36

IMPORTS OF THE LEADING SEMIFINISHED AND FINISHED TEXTILE GOODS 439

(*In Thousands of Litas*)

YEAR	WOOLEN SPUN YARN	COTTON SPUN YARN	WOOLEN FABRICS	COTTON FABRICS	TOTAL
1928	2,188	6,032	12,952	21,118	42,291
1929	2,413	7,449	14,179	18,600	42,643
1930	2,269	12,019	16,543	21,867	52,699
1931	2,576	8,801	14,980	24,082	50,439
1932	2,034	7,916	7,319	11,370	28,639
1933	3,264	8,917	4,430	8,320	24,931
1934	4,334	7,951	3,717	7,132	23,133
1935	4,173	7,364	3,742	7,271	22,550
1936	7,061	8,662	5,067	10,230	31,020
1937	8,433	8,558	5,795	10,213	32,999
1938	8,433	7,761	5,299	9,536	31,029
1939	5,004	5,499	4,564	8,654	23,721

FOODSTUFFS INDUSTRY

Among Lithuanian industries, foodstuffs occupied first place (41.6%) from the point of view of value of product in 1937 and second place from the point of view of number of people employed. From 1927 to 1938 this branch of industry almost doubled in number of employees. Table 37 shows this expansion. The meat, fish, and canned goods branch showed an exceptional rise. In 1939 the number of workers rose to 1,987 or more than five times the number (362) employed in 1927. The Maistas Corporation, with its five stockyards (Kaunas, Klaipeda, Siauliai, Panevezys, and Taurage), has been responsible for most of this progress. 258 433

The Maistas Corporation was originally organized in 1923 000

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 37

THE FOODSTUFFS INDUSTRIES

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INDUSTRY	1927		1930		1935		1938		1939	
	Establishments	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*
Grain mills	83	778	74	638	83	619	99	761	96	706
Bakeries	21	156	29	212	43	319	53	465	46	469
Sugar refineries	—	—	—	—	1	133	2	262	2	246
Candy and chocolate factories	40	760	42	866	29	583	36	761	28	657
Slaughterhouses and meat, fish, and canned goods establishments	20	362	20	281	21	1,029	25	1,721	15	1,787 [a]
Milk-product plants	4	26	18	114	110	407	114	507	102	458
Breweries	10	350	10	351	10	246	11	602	9	553
Tobacco and cigarette factories	12	734	10	695	9	574	8	569	6	546

[a] Before Klaipeda Territory cession: 26 establishments with 1,987 workers.

The Maistas Corporation was originally organized in 1923

473 for the purpose of concentrating on the export of eggs and dairy products, but later its activities were turned to organizing slaughterhouses and to producing and exporting meat and canned products.[7] The original capital of the Maistas Corporation was 500,000 litas, consisting of 5,000 shares at 100 litas par value. The first years of the corporation were not only nonprosperous, but the balance for July 1, 1924, showed a loss of 463,237.60 litas. This loss was covered by stockholders in proportional payments according to the stock

[7] *Pirmas Maisto Desimtmetis 1923–1933 Metai* (Maistas's First Decade, 1923–1933), Kaunas, 1933, p. 28.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

439 pation. In 1938, Maistas sales to foreign countries rose to 57.85 million litas, while in 1939 it rose to 71.7 million litas, or 24 percent above the 1938 figures.

438 Even in domestic business Maistas showed an impressive rise. Its domestic sales amounted in 1930 to 5.8 million litas and rose every subsequent year until in 1938 they reached 14.9 million litas and in 1939, 18.8 million litas.

257 The sugar industry, which also shows considerable ad-
●433 vance, started with one refinery in 1932, employing 67 persons, and in 1939 had two refineries with 246 workers, not counting the many farmers who were engaged in sugar-beet growing and whose incomes were increased through the introduction and development of this branch of agriculture.
257 Inasmuch as the two refineries were insufficient to meet the
471 demands of Lithuania, a third refinery was constructed. All three are owned by the Lietuvos Cukrus Corporation, in which the government participates as owner of a controlling number of shares of capital stock. The first refinery was opened in 1932 in Marijampole and the second in 1935 in Panevezys. The production rose very rapidly: in 1932, 67,000 quintals; 1933, 162,000 quintals; 1934, 82,000 quintals; 1935, 153,000 quintals; 1936, 221,000 quintals; 1937, 272,000 quintals; in 1938, 287,000 quintals [9] and 1939, 208,000 quintals.

234 Another industry in the food-and-luxury category which
433 showed great expansion both in number of establishments and in workers employed is that of dairying, which is covered in the section on coöperatives, above.

438 Other industries, such as grain mills with 761 workers,
433 candy and chocolate factories with 761 workers, and tobacco

[9] C.S.B., 1938, p. 160.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

and cigarette factories with 569 workers, continued to operate at about the same level throughout these past years. 438 433

LUMBER INDUSTRY

Some understanding of the lumber industry may be obtained from Table 38.[10] It will be observed that sawmilling 313 433

TABLE 38

LUMBER INDUSTRY

BRANCH OF INDUSTRY	1927		1930		1935		1938		1939 [a]	
	Establishments	*Workers*	*Establishments*	*Workers*	*Establishments*	*Workers*	*Establishments*	*Workers*	*Establishments*	*Workers*
Sawmilling	131	2,731	114	1,718	124	2,853	175	2,970	170	1,901
Plywood production	—	—	3	443	3	602	3	767	1	27
Cabinet-making	6	90	10	229	8	251	88	963	61	839

[a] After seizure of Klaipeda by Germany.

is the leading branch of the lumber industry, although it does not show great expansion. The same may be said of the plywood industry. The latter felt the greatest setback with the loss of Klaipeda. The lumber industry, producing mainly 439 for export, was hit by the world depression more severely than any other industry.

Before the agricultural products industry was developed 313 for export, lumber was one of the most important items exported from Lithuania. It is to be noted that with the ex- 439

[10] C.S.B., 1938 and 1939, pp. 170–71 and 160–61 respectively.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

313 pansion of the lumber industry the exported products
439 changed. In 1920 69.1 percent of lumber was exported as raw material as against 30.9 percent semifinished items, while in 1921 this percentage changed to 49.9 percent raw as against 50.1 percent semifinished.

In 1939 this industry experienced a severe blow with the seizure of Klaipeda by Germany, the industry having been concentrated in Klaipeda. With the return of the Vilnius region to Lithuania at the end of 1939, the lumber industry was compensated somewhat, but to what extent it was impossible to establish, since seven months later came the Soviet Russian occupation.

PAPER AND PRINTING INDUSTRY

289 The paper and printing industry of Lithuania in 1938 em-
433 ployed 2,615 wage earners and accounted for 8.4 percent of the gross value of Lithuania's industrial production and 10.8 percent of the net value. Therefore, from the standpoint both of the number of wage earners employed and of the value of production, it was in the fourth place. Like the lumber industry, it suffered in 1939 when Germany seized Klaipeda where several of the larger printing establishments were located. Before the German occupation of Klaipeda, Lithuania had 88 establishments with 2,679 workers, while thereafter she had 81 establishments with 1,613 workers.[11]

From the statistics available it may be seen that in 1913 this branch of industry was only in its infancy. In that year there were only 20 establishments with 284 wage earners in the province (gouvernement) of Kaunas, while in 1927, in the same region, there were 52 establishments with 2,115 wage earners. The industry reached its high point in 1930,

[11] C.S.B., 1938 and 1939, pp. 170–71 and 160–61 respectively.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

when it had 64 establishments and employed 2,323 workers. 289 •433

As the world depression of 1929 affected Lithuania much later than it did the more advanced industrial countries, the setback in this branch of industry was not felt until 1931, when the number of establishments decreased to 61 and the number of wage earners to 2,157. The all-time low was reached in 1932 when only 1,924 persons were employed. The next year a slight revival was felt and from that year the industry was on the upswing until in the beginning of 1939 it reached an all-time peak with 88 establishments and 2,679 wage earners.

The chief branch of the paper and printing industry is that of woodpulp and paper production. Although this branch is represented by only five establishments, it is greatest from the standpoint of number of workers employed: it accounts for from 40 to 45 percent of all workers in the paper and printing industry. The number employed in woodpulp and paper production was almost the same in 1938 as in 1927—1,159 and 1,133 respectively—although in 1932 it had dropped to 688. The production of woodpulp as well as paper and cardboard has increased very substantially since 1931.

The printing branch of the industry also showed considerable expansion. In 1927 there were 33 printing establishments, with 658 wage earners. By 1938 the industry had 51 printing establishments and 1,153 wage earners and in 1939, 50 establishments with 843 wage earners. Even the depression of 1929 did not greatly affect this branch of industry. Except for a slight setback in 1934 and in 1935, in which years the number of employed decreased to 801 and 777 respectively, the printing business continued to grow.

121 The following Report of the Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Crafts pursues the purpose of a concise and clear review of the history of the development of Lithuanian economy during the last ten years. With the exception of agriculture, it deals with all spheres of economics, i. e. industry, foreign and home trade, goods transport, the State finances, and credit conditions.

433 The synthesis of the dynamic of separate economic branches establishes the conclusion that Lithuanian political economy during the past ten years has achieved great progress. Although under the influence of the world economic crisis in the years 1932—1935 it suffered reverses or was at any rate hindered in its growth, the total balance of the ten years on an average shows a doubling of the real volume. Especially the years 1930—1931 and 1936—1937 were signalized by vigorous promotion and expansion periods. Whereas world economy in the autumn of 1937 once more revealed symptoms of a recession, in Lithuania the rising tendency continued.

The greatest successes were achieved in the domain of industry; its production grew uninterruptedly also during the crisis and has on an average increased two and a half times. The liquidation of Free Trade and the confinement of separate politico-economic spheres within their national boundaries under the operation of the world economic crisis, as in other agrarian countries so also in Lithuania have contributed to intensification of the development of home industry.

439 The Lithuanian foreign trade turnover has suffered loss during the crisis as a result of the fall of prices. Its volume nevertheless remained even during the crisis years above the level of 1929. The introduction of the licence system facilitated the maintenance of the active general trade balance in the crisis years and regulation of the trade balance with individual countries.

438 In the domain of home trade, the growth of cooperative trade must above all be premised. Private trade is developing unequally; for while intermediary wholesale trade is receding,

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

A. GENERAL SECTION.

1. Total Number of Industrial Undertakings and their Structure.

● 433

The total number of industrial undertakings in Lithuania is estimated at 3 000.

The number of industrial licences issued in 1937 amounted to 15 214, of which, however, 12 981 together were apportioned to the VIII. and IX. categories, which can be assigned to handicrafts. The undertakings of the Memel Territory are not included in these figures.

The statistics of industrial licences for the last ten years are as follows:

1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
5 742	6 010	5 842	5 796	5 735	5 451	5 710	11 904	14 750	15 214

The sudden rise in the number of industrial licences in 1935 is due to the fact that in that year the Patent Tax was extended to small hand-worked concerns without auxiliary power and those with only a single worker, whereas until then only concerns with two employees upwards had been required to take out a licence. The figures for the last three years are therefore not comparable with those for the previous years, but they nevertheless reflect the vigorous rise of Lithuanian economy in 1936 and 1937.

Through the direct computation, which is carried out periodically twice yearly, only such industrial undertakings are included as employ at least five persons. The relevant data on the total number of concerns for the last ten years are as follows:

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1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
1 039	1 044	1 051	1 049	1 105	1 108	1 118	1 136	1 135	1 247

With the exception of 1937, which indicates a big increase of 112, and therefore emphasizes the present-day advance, the remaining modifications in the number of undertakings during previous years are not inconsiderable from a contingent standpoint. They demonstrate that Lithuanian industrial economy did not suffer any serious retrogression in its development through the last crisis. In the very year of the low level of the world crisis (1932), the total number of industrial undertakings in Lithuania actually increased.

433 The contingent development of Lithuanian industry is, 464 however, better shown by the total number of industrial workers employed, and still more accurately by that of the effective working days than by the number of concerns. In the concerns already specified above, with a minimum staff of five persons, the following number of workers was engaged in June or July, i. e. at the time when almost all seasonal workers are fully employed:

		i. e. with the following number of working-days:	
1928	18 930		
1929	19 637		
1930 (June)	19 334		
1931 (June)	21 053	1931 (June)	504 979
1932 (June)	19 743	1932 (June)	473 621
1933 (June)	20 660	1933 (June)	472 716
1934 (June)	22 282	1934 (June)	527 244
1935 (July)	23 344	1935 (July)	584 958
1936 (July)	25 844	1936 (July)	647 468
1937 (July)	31 689	1937 (July)	775 984

We see from the foregoing figures that the influence of the economic crisis first made itself perceptible in 1932, since until 1931 the number of employed industrial workers was still on the up-grade. We may therefore select 1931 as a basis year, and on the ground of the figures of working-days calculate the following indices of the employment of the industrial economy of Lithuania:

1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	93.8	93.6	104.4	115.8	128.2	153.7

Already on the basis of these figures (an attempt to compute the production index is undertaken in the following chapter) we may assume that the stagnation in the industrial economy of Lithuania elicited by the crisis which, moreover, did not extend to all industrial branches, began about two years later than in the rest of the world and lasted only two years (world crisis 1930 — 1932, in Lithuania 1932 — 1933) and that the recession of employment amounted to only 6.4% of the erstwhile highest level in 1931. 433 464

The regularly progressive upbuilding of Lithuanian economy, despite the crisis, is likewise disclosed in the statistics for the utilization of engine power by industrial concerns. The relevant data for the last seven years are as follows: 371 433

Utilization of Engine Power.

	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Total number of concerns	1 049	1 105	1 108	1 118	1 136	1 135	1 247
Number of concerns with engine power..	747	788	819	822	842	864	946
Water, steam, and Diesel engines in H. P.	51 862	62 878	67 536	66 776	74 207	74 722	79 830
Electric-motors in H.P.	18 176	21 926	28 215	27 809	31 142	34 912	45 327
Total in H. P.	70 038	84 804	95 751	94 585	105 349	109 634	125 157
in %	100.0	121.1	136.7	135.0	150.4	156.5	178.7

On the basis of these figures we can determine: (a) That the share of mechanized concerns in the total number of industrial undertakings from 1931 until 1937 has risen from 71.2% to 75.9%; (b) That the engine power pertaining to a mechanized concern rose in the same interval from 93.8 H. P. to 132.3 H. P.; (c) That the total energy of the engines employed in Lithuanian industry has grown by 18.7% during the last seven years; the energy of the primary power engines was increased thereby 53.9% while that of electric-motors was more than doubled — it has risen by 149.4%.

*
* *

432 A particularly marked advance is shown by larger undertakings with 50 or more employees*), which represent wholesale industry proper. The following figures illustrate this:

I. Undertakings with 5—49 Employees.

	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Total number of undertakings	969	955	1 015	1 010	1 020	1 038	1 034	1 124
Total number of employees	11 473	11 927	11 402	10 906	11 033	11 072	11 598	13 206

II. Undertakings with 50 and more Employees.

Total number of undertakings	82	94	90	98	98	98	101	125
Total number of employees	11.023	12.433	11.844	13.479	15.123	16.298	18.650	23.387

On the basis of the foregoing figures we can reckon that the medium-sized undertakings during the period from 1930 to 1937, in respect of their total number grew by 15.9%, and in respect of the number of employed personnel, by 15.1%, while the large-scale undertakings in the same time showed an increase of 52.4% in their number and 112.2% in the number of employees.

465 The development of industrial activity is also illustrated by the growth of the total amount of wages paid out. The following figures relate to the months of June and July (in thousands of litas):

1931.VI.	1932.VI.	1933.VI.	1934.VI.	1935.VII.	1936.VII.	1937.VII.
3 636	2 991	2 918	2 927	3 011	3 285	4 237

Compared with the index of the cost of living minimum, these tables show, notwithstanding the decrease of nominal

*) In the „number of employees", the promoters, the workers, and the officials are included.

465 wages, a rise in real wages of approximately 12% since 1931. In various individual branches, moreover, the wages standards of qualified workers were raised not only in 1937 but also in 1935 and 1936, which the above quoted average figures do not indicate, owing to the preponderance of unqualified workers, as a result of the frequent engagement of new employees.

*
* *

464 The internal structure of Lithuanian industry in respect of
●433 the number of undertakings and the total number of employed workers in separate industrial branches are shown by the following Table No. 1.

288 On the basis of these statistics we may conclude that the
433 largest number of workers, viz., 20.6% of all industrial workers
464 in Lithuania to-day are employed in the textile industry. On an average, a staff of 88 workers pertains to one textile factory.

The first place in respect of the number of employed workers has, however, been reached by the textile industry in recent years, i. e. since 1935. Among all industrial branches in Lithuania it also shows the most intensive development. In spite of the crisis, the number of employed in the textile concerns since 1928 has steadily grown and in comparison with 1928 its position in 1937 had more than quadrupled (+317.5%).

This high level of the employed reflects, however, only the maximum utilization of labour capacity. Thus in 1937 the textile industry was the only branch that employed three shifts, since according to the number of undertakings, viz., 74, it stands far behind other branches.

313 In the second place stands the timber industry with 16.9%
433 of the total number of workers and 17.6% of the number of
464 undertakings. The size of the staffs rose by 51.1% during the period from 1928 to 1937, the most noteworthy increase having taken place in 1937.

262 In the third place follows the foodstuffs and luxury goods
433 industry with 16.4% of the total number of workers. According
464 to the number of undertakings (353 concerns or 28.3%), it is, however, entitled to the first place. The total number of the staffs in 1937 in comparison with 1928 shows an increase of 35.4%, which took place during the last three years. During

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5 ● 433 464

Table No. 1.

Classification of Industrial Undertakings of Lithuania according to Branches from 1928 — 1937.

Branches	1928		1929		1930		1931		1932		1933		1934		1935		1936		1937	
	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers
I. Peat-cutting	7	578	4	536	6	541	4	490	5	512	4	482	5	515	7	417	10	578	11	639
II. Earth & Stone Industry	91	1 391	106	1 606	108	1.648	104	2 160	101	1 928	84	1 544	97	1 749	82	1 539	89	1 627	99	2 827
III. Metal & Machinery Ind.	93	1 930	85	1 877	94	1 975	95	1 863	93	1 675	86	1 507	91	1 614	92	1 711	86	2 178	103	2 792
IV. Chemical Industry	51	888	52	981	53	792	48	724	46	642	55	901	48	1 355	48	940	47	1 109	48	1 344
V. Leather Industry	36	639	37	635	44	649	36	693	36	614	45	733	41	760	44	824	48	810	51	1 096
VI. Textile Industry	59	1 582	62	1 952	57	2 194	60	2 287	60	2 517	62	2 974	56	3 442	61	4 679	64	5 576	74	6 522
VII. Timber & Woodwork Ind.	193	3 539	178	3 636	178	3 096	193	4 308	210	3 783	211	4 276	198	4 394	192	4 238	181	4 064	219	5 346
VIII. Paper & Polygraphic Ind.	58	2.160	63	2 209	64	2 323	61	2 157	68	1 924	69	2 032	65	2 141	71	2 195	71	2 316	76	2 559
IX. Foodstuffs & Luxury Goods Industry	255	3 837	262	3 773	246	3 616	238	3 752	286	3 735	286	3 772	311	3 811	343	4 284	341	4 770	353	5 195
X. Clothing & Footwear Ind.	147	1 653	149	1 816	154	1 891	157	1 994	142	1 723	140	1 807	148	1 879	148	1 952	146	2 176	157	2 707
XI. Electricity & Gasworks	31	661	28	504	26	479	30	480	30	465	33	448	34	486	31	512	31	508	32	523

[252] the interval 1928—1934 hardly any changes were experienced
[433] in the dimensions of the staffs.
464

To the three above-mentioned industrial branches (textile, timber, and foodstuffs industries) pertain in all 646 undertakings with 17 063 workers, or more than half the total number of concerns and their staffs.

464 The remaining more important industrial branches range,
433 according to the number of employed workers, as follows: The stone and earth industry, which during the last ten years has doubled its staff; the metal and machinery industry, the growth of whose employed workers in the same period amounts to 44.7%; the clothing and footwear industry, with a growth of 63.6%; the paper and polygraphic industry, the staff of which has grown by 18.5%; the chemical industry, which to-day employs 51.3% more workmen than in 1928, and the leather industry, which also in the last decade has enlarged the extent of its staff, i. e. by 71.4%.

The smallest number of workers is employed in peat-cutting and in electricity works. The staff of the former during the last ten years has grown only a little; that of the latter has suffered even a slight retrogression which, however, was in no wise evoked by a falling-off in production but rather by its rationalization, as we see from the production statistics.

2. Aggregate Value of Industrial Production and the Production Index.

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The aggregate value of the gross production of the concerns comprised in the statistics (from five employees upwards) amounted in 1937 to 428 200 000 litas against 354 500 000 litas in 1936, which in the course of the last year implies an ad valorem growth of 20.8%. Segregation into separate industrial branches gives the following result:

	1936		1937	
	In 1000 litas	Percentage share	In 1000 litas	Percentage share
1. Peat-cutting	960	0.3	1 126	0.3
2. Stone & Earth Industry	5 461	1.5	8 481	2.0
3. Metal & Machinery Ind.	17 125	4.8	22 406	5.2

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4. Chemical Industry	16 713	4.7	21 170	4.9
5. Leather Industry	13 931	3.9	18 189	4.3
6. Textile Industry	52 273	14.8	63 873	14.9
7. Timber Industry	26 576	7.5	38 745	9.1
8. Paper & Polygraphic Industry	27 584	7.8	36 029	8.4
9. Foodstuffs & Luxury Goods Industry*)	161 007	45.4	178 266	41.6
10. Clothing & Footwear Industry	18 037	5.1	22 691	5.3
11. Electricity Works	14 832	4.2	17 293	4.0
Total:	354 508	100.0	428 219	100.0

From the standpoint of production value, the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry holds the first place, while the textile industry and the timber industry stand in the second and third place respectively. In 1937 nearly two-thirds, i. e. 65.5% of the total production value of Lituanian industry pertained to these three branches.

Of the remaining branches there follow in the order named: The paper and polygraphic industry, the share of which in the total production value amounts to over 8%; the clothing and footwear industry; the metal and machinery industry, and the chemical industry, each with a percentage of approximately 5%; the leather industry and the electricty works with a percentage each of 4%; the stone and earth industry whose production value constitutes 2% of the total production; and in the last place, peat-cutting with a share of only 0.3%.

In comparison with the previous year, several changes took place in 1937 in the structural composition of industry, inasmuch as the percentage share of the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry decreased by 4 points; the shares of peat-cutting and electricity works remained almost unaltered, while all other branches raised their shares, inter alia, the timber and paper industries to the greatest extent. The lessening of the share of the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry is to be ascribed

*) N. B. These figures also include the butter and cheese production of the dairy-farming cooperatives. Its value in 1936 amounted to 44 805 000 litas and in 1937 to 51 506 000 litas.

to the quantitative and ad valorem recession of the output of the meat industry. The special increase of the share of the timber and paper industries is due, besides the quantitative advance in production, also to the fact that timber and cellulose prices have risen more sharply than those of other articles, while the slight decline in the share of electricity works has resulted from the reduction of about 5% in the price of current. 433

One cannot, however, draw any general conclusions from the above quoted value figures, as regards their quantitative development, because prices have varied during the period under review, and this variation has proceeded individually in each commodity group. We shall therefore return below to this question in the calculation of the production index and in the analysis of the production of separate industrial branches in the following section.

As already mentioned, the figures contained in the foregoing statement represent gross production value. Under the heading of net production value, the specific gravity of separate industrial branches naturally appears in an altered light, because the scope of the politico-economic growth of value is influenced by the divergent levels of the raw materials share. The following table shows us the structure of Lithuanian industry according to net production value (in thousands of litas):

	Gross Production Value	Raw Material and Fuel used		Net Production Value	Percentage share of Total Value
		Domestic	Foreign		
1. Peat-cutting	1 126	65	2	1 059	0.7%
2. Stone & Earth Industry	8 431	1 006	1 405	6 020	3.7%
3. Metal & Machinery Industry	22 406	2 095	9 822	10 489	6.4%
4. Chemical Industry	21 170	3 805	7 084	10 281	6.3%
5. Leather Industry	18 189	6 139	8 407	3 643	2.2%
6. Textile Industry	63 873	12 783	27 504	23 586	14.3%
7. Timber Industry	38 745	18 977	4 916	14 852	9.0%
8. Paper & Polygraphic Industry	36 029	12 090	6 119	17 820	10.8%
9. Foodstuffs & Luxury Goods Industry*)	178 266	113 892	13 970	50 404	30.6%

*) Since no value figures of the raw materials used for the meat industry are published, they are estimated at 70% of the gross production value.

● 423

10. Clothing & Footwear Industry	22 891	4 339	6 974	11 378	6.9%
11. Electricity Works	17 293	277	1 966	15 050	9.1%
Total:	428 219	175 468	88 169	164 582	100.00

The net production value of Lithuanian industrial output thus amounted in 1937 to 164 582 000 litas, which constitutes 38.4% of the gross production value. The politico-economic value growth, which is derived from the industrial treatment of the raw material, amounts to 62.4%. The relatively restricted magnitude of value growth — in highly industrialized lands such as Great Britain and the U.S.A. it reaches 120% on an average — is due chiefly to the great importance of the foodstuffs industry, wherein, as is well known, the share of raw material is always particularly large.

Comparison of the share of separate industrial branches, reckoned according to gross and net values, shows that, as regards gross value more especially, great weight attaches to the leather industry and the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry on account of the high proportion of raw material; and, on the other hand, as regards net value, to electricity works and the paper and polygraphic industry.

*

* *

The ascertained production value for 1936 and 1937 depends upon an uninterrupted grasp of all industrial branches of Lithuania. In view of the fact that the total value amounts obtained for earlier years do not comprise complete data to the same degree, in order to represent the contingent development for the period 1929—1937, only the production amounts of the most important industrial branches, which methodologically supply comparable quantities, can be included. Thus the data placed at our disposal comprising 80% in round figures of the aggregate industrial output are sufficiently representative correctly to depict the general development tendency.

(The year 1933 has been omitted from the appended table because no statistical data on industrial production are available for that year).

433

Gross Production Value of the most important Industrial Branches (in 1 000 litas).

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
1. Peat-cutting	1 080	922	878	617	509	560	969	1 126
2. Stone & Earth Industry	5 264	5 717	7 452	5 667	4 535	4 053	4 851	7 424
3. Metal & Machinery Industry*)	10 729	12 465	12 106	9 177	8 764	8 292	12 343	16 449
4. Chemical Industry	21 604	20 897	17 782	14 660	17 963	15 555	16 115	20 637
5. Leather Industry	14 591	15 525	14 601	10 027	8 967	8 781	11 572	15 116
6. Textile Industry	23 223	27 595	27 356	25 205	35 554	40 710	50 440	61 512
7. Timber Industry	35 015	27 038	32 669	25 586	24 575	24 212	26 576	38 745
8. Paper & Polygraphic Industry	42 214	41 174	29 631	21 144	25 017	23 739	27 436	35 807
9. Foodstuffs & Luxury Goods Industry**)	93 480	85 674	132 995	135 537	95 226	92 406	108 336	118 110
10. Clothing & Footwear Industry	10 030	12 173	13 104	10 673	11 720	12 349	15 382	19 619
11. Electricity Works	10 842	11 500	12 500	11 880	11 310	12 068	12 851	15 172
Total:	268 052	260 680	301 174	270 166	244 140	239 764	286 874	349 717

In order to be able to assess the development of the industrial production according to its quantitative extent on the basis of the foregoing figures, we must first of all bear in mind that prices since 1929 on an average have fallen almost by half, in view of which the volume of production discloses actually a much greater increase than that indicated in the foregoing values. Calculated on the basis of an appropriate price index, above mentioned, value amounts of industrial production, expressed in the prices of 1929, show the following figures (in 1 000 litas):

*) Without production of means of communication.

**) Without butter production.

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	1929	1930	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
1. Peat-cutting	1 060	922	905	1 011	979	1 274	1 977	2 298
2. Stone & Earth Industry	5 264	5 971	7 850	7 247	8 262	7 966	9 769	12 080
3. Metal & Machinery Industry	10 729	13 261	15 324	13 905	14 607	15 356	23 288	24 922
4. Chemical Industry	21 604	21 231	21 169	19 810	30 970	28 731	30 990	36 205
5. Leather Industry	14 591	17 055	17 806	14 324	16 304	18 683	25 156	31 492
6. Textile Industry	25 223	31 278	38 622	41 680	65 087	68 947	102 025	120 359
7. Timber Industry	35 015	26 533	29 538	31 717	43 883	48 424	54 236	61 500
8. Paper & Polygraphic Industry	42 214	43 802	35 275	28 572	43 132	42 961	52 761	62 819
9. Foodstuffs & Luxury Goods Industry	93 480	96 263	166 244	193 624	161 400	174 351	216 672	222 849
10. Clothing & Footwear Industry	10 030	12 826	16 163	15 561	22 196	28 296	35 319	41 439
11. Electricity Works	10 842	13 487	15 049	15 103	17 911	20 645	22 812	28 500
Total:	268 052	282 629	363 945	381 954	424 729	454 582	573 005	644 549

The conversion of the value data follows on the authority of the following sources in each instance, viz.,

1. **For peat-cutting**: Price-index, calculated on the basis of the average value of the production statistics of the Central Statistical Bureau;

2. **For the Stone and Earth Industry**:

(a) For the brick production price-index, calculated on the basis of the average value of the production statistics of the Central Statistical Bureau;

(b) For glass production, price-index of Industrial Products of the Lietuvos Bankas (Bank of Lithuania) Bulletin.

3. **For the Metal and Machinery Industry**: Price-index for iron and steel calculated according to the average prices of the Lithuanian import statistics, price-index of Industrial Products of the Lietuvos Bankas Bulletin and the price-index of fuel of the Lietuvos Bankas Bulletin (adjusted arithmetical average according to the ratio 5:5:1);

4. **For the Chemical Industry:** Price-index of Industrial Products of the Lietuvos Bankas Bulletin; 433

5. **For the Leather Industry:** Price-index for sole leather, calculated according to the Price Statistics of the Central Statistical Bureau;

6. **For the Textile Industry:**

(a) For flax treatment, index of flax prices of the Central Statistical Bureau;

(b) For the remaining branches of the textile industry, price-index of manufactured goods of the Lietuvos Bankas Bulletin;

7. **For the Timber Industry:** Price-index for pine-boards calculated according to the price statistics of the Central Statistical Bureau;

8. **For the Paper and Polygraphic Industry:** Price-index for industrial products of the Lietuvos Bankas Bulletin;

9. **For the Foodstuffs and Luxury Goods Industry:** Price-index of provisions of the Lietuvos Bankas Bulletin;

10. **For the Clothing and Footwear Industry:**

(a) For the Clothing Industry, price-index of manufactured goods of the Lietuvos Bankas Bulletin;

(b) For the Footwear Industry, price-index for shoes of the Central Statistical Bureau;

11. **For Electricity Works:** Index of the price of electric current, calculated on the basis of the average value of the production statistics of the Central Statistical Bureau.

The value series, converted in this manner to the prices of 1929, afford an adequately reliable foundation for the calculation of the production index. This course had therefore to be selected because the data at our disposal on the volume of production methodologically differ from one another and are insufficient to enable us to form comparable proportion series for the entire period under review (1929—1937).

Expressed in percentages, the above value figures furnish the following index series of the separate branches of Lithuanian industry (basis year 1929):

●433

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
1. Peat-cutting	100.0	87.0	85.4	95.4	92.4	120.2	186.5	216.8
2. Stone & Earth Industry	100.0	113.4	149.1	137.6	156.9	151.3	185.5	229.4
3. Metal & Machinery Industry	100.0	123.6	142.8	129.6	136.1	143.1	217.0	232.3
4. Chemical Industry	100.0	98.3	98.0	91.7	143.3	128.4	143.4	167.6
5. Leather Industry	100.0	114.1	122.0	98.2	111.7	128.0	172.4	215.8
6. Textile Industry	100.0	134.8	166.4	179.9	280.3	296.9	439.3	517.8
7. Timber Industry	100.0	75.8	84.4	88.9	125.3	138.3	154.9	175.6
8. Paper & Polygraphic Industry	100.0	103.8	83.6	67.7	102.1	104.1	124.9	148.8
9. Foodstuffs & Luxury Goods Industry	100.0	102.9	177.8	207.1	172.7	185.4	231.8	238.4
10. Clothing & Footwear Industry	100.0	127.9	161.1	155.1	221.3	261.7	332.2	413.1
11. Electricity Works	100.0	124.4	138.8	139.3	165.2	190.4	210.4	263.7

An analogous conversion of the total amounts would provide a general production index appraised according to the gross value shares. The foregoing inquiry has, however, shown that in consequence of the predominant rôle of foodstuffs production in Lithuanian industry, an appraisement according to gross values would distort the general contingent aspect. An appraisement according to net values, notwithstanding some immaterial nuances, undoubtedly most faithfully portrays the variations of the real economic yield of industry. According to the net value coefficients which, on the basis of the relationships of the gross and net production value for 1937, were correspondingly calculated for each relevant year, adjusted averages supply the following index series of the aggregate industrial production of Lithuania:

Production Index of Lithuanian Industry

1929	1930	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	108.3	140.7	153.7	166.5	185.9	244.2	272.0

These figures generally agree, notwithstanding the deviation in 1932, as regards the development tendency, with the employment index already mentioned and calculated on the basis of the workdays statistics, as also with the index of the

mechanization of Lithuanian industry. For the sake of comparison, we once more quote all three index series, converted to the year 1931: 483

	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Employment Index	100.0	93.8	93.6	104.4	115.8	128.2	153.7
Mechanization Index	100.0	121.1	136.7	135.0	150.4	156.5	178.7
Production Index	100.0	109.2	·	118.3	132.1	173.6	193.3

[464]

The divergent course of the employment index and the production index in 1932, as also the significantly high figure of the latter are the natural result of the enhancement of labour productivity in consequence of the greatly increased mechanization, which the middle index series expresses.

A comparison of the Lithuanian production index with the Index of World Production (without the U. S. S. R.) of the Statistical Section of the League of Nations, published in the „Bulletin mensuel de statistique" in June, 1938, gives the following result:

World Production

1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	88.3	74.8	63.0	71.3	77.0	85.4	95.5	102.5

Production of Lithuania

100.0	108.3	140.7	153.7	·	166.5	185.9	244.2	272.0

This comparison shows that, in spite of the world economic crisis, Lithuanian industry has not been checked in its growth. Thus in 1932, i. e. at a time when world production had suffered a loss of 37% of its position of 1929, Lithuanian production, in comparison with 1929, had risen 53.7%. In the years 1932—1934 the tempo of its development had only slackened, while since 1935 once more a vigorous upward trend has set in, and in 1937 the position of 1929 was more than two and a half times exceeded. This favourable course of Lithuania's industrial production characterizes the foundation period in which the youthful industry of our agricultural land is situated. The re-

● 433 tardation of the export of agricultural produce in consequence of the last world economic crisis as also the liquidation of international free trade have, as in many other agricultural countries, also in Lithuania given a stimulus to the accelerated expansion of domestic industry, in order in this way to make good the losses caused by the agrarian crisis.

The enormous discrepancy in the course of both the above compared index series is of course partly attributable to the choice of the basis year, the significance of which is not identical for both the contrasted spheres of production. Whereas for world production 1929 constituted the peak year before the crisis and consequently the starting-point of the new cycle, 1931 was doubtless according to the sense taken as the basis year for Lithuanian industry, as is apparent from the later cited analysis of the production index of separate industrial branches. For the sake of comparison, however, 1932 is the most favourable, because in that year the conjuncture situation of both spheres was relatively most alike. The conversion of both series to the year 1932 furnishes the following result:

1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
World Production								
158.7	140.2	118.7	100.0	113.2	122.2	135.6	151.6	162.7
Lithuanian Production								
65.1	70.5	91.5	100.0	·	108.3	120.9	158.9	176.9

We see from this that in the years 1929—1931 and 1936—1937 Lithuanian production showed a more favourable development than production on a world scale; that in the years 1933—1935 the development of Lithuanian industry lagged behind the tempo of world production; that the production of Lithuanian industry is certainly constantly growing, although its development tempo proceeds more irregularly than that of world production.

The last-named circumstance is still more precisely illustrated by the following comparative figures, which express the occasional percentage variations of production in relation to the past year:

Diagram No. 1.

Index Curve of Lithuanian Industry (1931=100)

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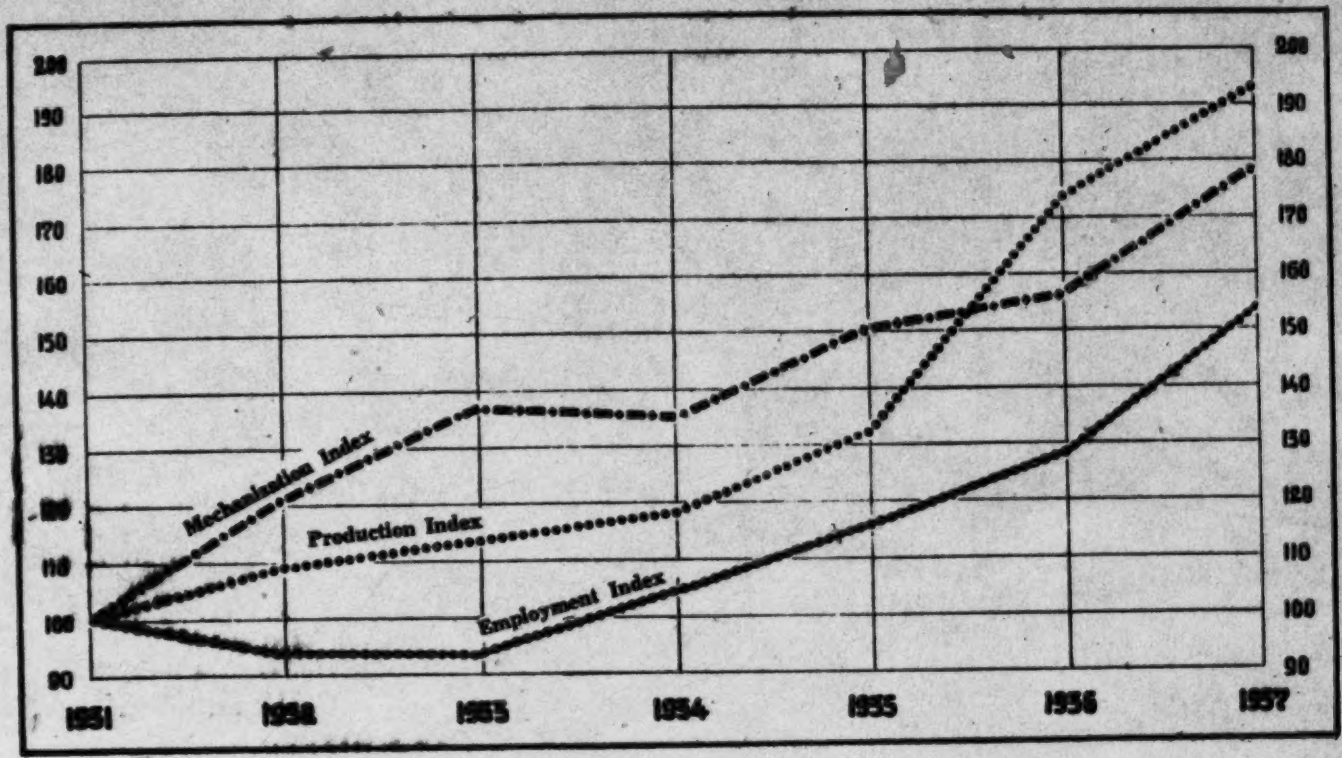

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433

Production Growth or Fluctuation in Percentages

	1930	1931	1932	1933/34	1935	1936	1937
World	—11.7	—15.3	—15.8	+22.2	+10.9	+11.8	+7.3
Lithuanian	+8.3	+29.9	+9.2	+8.3	+11.6	+31.4	+11.4

To sum up, we may describe as follows the distinctive course of world production and the industrial production of Lithuania disclosed in all three preceding tables:

1. The circumstance that the influence of the world crisis on Lithuanian industry was first discernible in the third year, but that, on the other hand, its restricted operation lasted three years longer, is explained by the agrarian character of the country, while in 1935 also politico-commercial difficulties had a hindering effect.

2. The high final figures of the Lithuanian production index as also its buoyant progress (i. e. in 1931 and 1936) are explained by the low initial stage and new promotions, and the extension of many industrial branches which ten years before were either wholly lacking, viz., the sugar industry, bacon manufacture, rubber goods production, or existed only to a minimum extent, i. e. the textile industry, more particularly, &c.

3. While the slackening of the upward trend of world production in 1937 accentuated the economic crisis which had already in autumn broken out in the United States, the lower percentage of growth of the general index of Lithuanian industrial production in 1937 in comparison with 1936 is to be ascribed chiefly only to the preceding retrogression of corn-milling in consequence of a less favourable harvest and that of meat production in 1937; the restricted upward trend due thereto of the index of the foodstuffs industry was bound to exercise a prejudicial effect upon the development of the general production index, in view of its predominant rôle in Lithuanian industry.

* * *

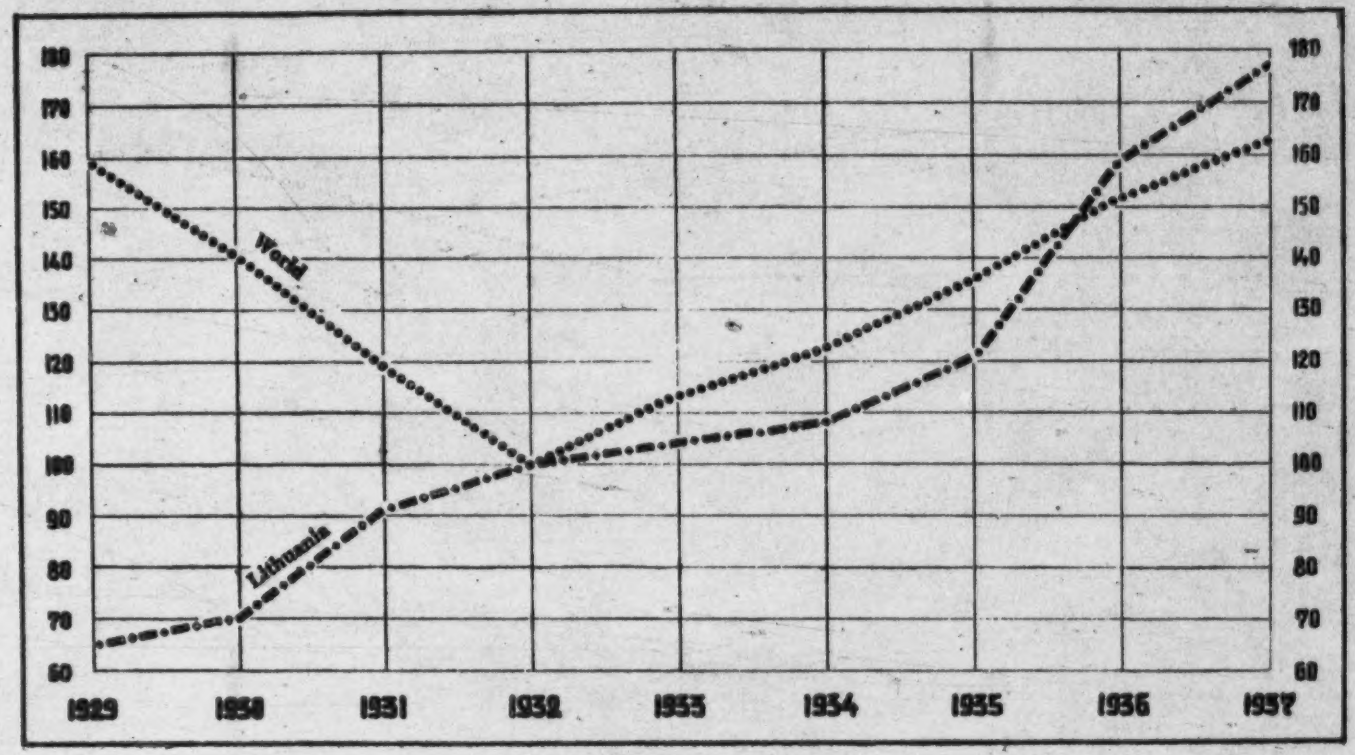
The general index of the total industrial production of Lithuania naturally expresses only the average of the occasionally diverse development tendencies of separate industrial branches. Their special production indices show, for example,

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Diagram No. 2

● 433

Comparative Indices of Industrial Production (1932=100)



433 that several branches had already in 1930 and 1931 suffered a more or less severe recession. The majority, however, grew unhindered until 1931 and for the first time in 1932 the crisis extended to six branches: The stone industry, chemical industry, metal industry, leather industry, paper industry, and clothing and footwear industry. The fact that notwithstanding this stagnation in separate branches of industry, the general production index in 1932 shows no recession, but only a slackening of growth, is in the first place to be ascribed to the establishment of the sugar industry in 1931 and the then upward trend of the meat industry, which since then has not again reached the peak level attained precisely in the crisis years. (In 1937, as already mentioned above, the general contingent aspect of Lithuanian industrial production was influenced in the opposite sense by the foodstuffs industry).

The textile industry and the output of electric current are the separate branches which, since 1929, have uninterruptedly grown. With the exception of the chemical industry and the stone and earth industry, which still in 1935 suffered a setback, the upward trend since 1935 has spread to all remaining branches. The separate branches, however, also now show a more or less divergent development among themselves; they can be correspondingly divided into the following three groups:

1. The first group is composed of the textile industry and the clothing and footwear industry; the production of the former has quintupled since 1929, while that of the latter has quadrupled.

2. The second group belongs to: Electricity works, the foodstuffs industry, the metal and machinery industry, the earth and stone industry, the peat industry, and the leather industry; all these branches have more than doubled their production since 1929.

3. To the third group pertain: The timber industry, the paper and polygraphic industry, and the chemical industry; the production growth for these branches since 1929 amounts to approximately 50—75%.

More detailed data on the development of separate industrial branches are contained in Section B of this chapter (vide „Special Part").

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

3. The Geographical Distribution of Lithuanian Industry

The principal centres of Lithuanian industry are Kaunas, Memel, and Šiauliai. To Kaunas (the city and district) in January, 1938, pertained 37.7%, to the Memel Territory 27.5%, and to the Šiauliai district 10.3%, so that to all three in the aggregate in round figures related three-quarters of all the industrial workers employed in Lithuania. 433 438

The development of the geographical distribution of Lithuanian industry during the last ten years is shown by the following comparison of the relevant statistical data:

	Kaunas		Memel		Šiauliai	
	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers
1929	300	6 762	169	5 695	131	2 525
1930 (June)	315	7 334	182	5 457	129	2 517
1931 (June)	343	7 405	137	5 604	129	2 501
1932 (June)	333	6 868	148	5 094	141	2 340
1933 (June)	339	7 568	139	5 618	129	2 105
1934 (July)	334	8 321	150	6 477	131	2 104
1935 (July)	347	8 435	141	7 215	130	2 214
1936 (July)	354	9 721	141	7 214	132	2 684
1937 (Jan.)	340	10 439	137	7 120	125	2 861
1938 (Jan.)	423	11 972	141	8 354	138	3 126

We see from the foregoing table that the most active development of the Kaunas district shows: The number of the undertakings since 1929 has increased there by 41% and the number of employed industrial workers by 77%. In the Memel Territory during the same interval the number of undertakings has fallen by 16.6%, but the number of workers has risen by 46.7%. Šiauliai displays the smallest increase; the number of undertakings there has risen by 5.3% and the number of workers by 23.8%.

Thanks to this development, the rôle of Kaunas as the most important centre of Lithuanian industry, in comparison with that of Memel and Šiauliai, has not only absolutely but also relatively grown considerably during the last ten years.

From the standpoint of separate industrial branches, there have been concentrated in Kaunas in the first place the metal and machinery industry, the chemical industry (production of rubber goods), the stone industry (glass factories and the treatment of paving-stones), the paper industry, and woven goods manufacture. Besides these preponderating branches, a

433 438 considerable part of the wool and cotton spinning and weaving, the timber sawing, furniture manufacture, the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry, &c. is situated in Kaunas.

In Memel is located the largest part of the timber industry (sawing, plywood supply, and cellulose production), the predominant portion of the wool and cotton industry (two-thirds), the artificial fertilizer industry, a considerable share of the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry (meat treatment, tobacco manufacture), &c.

In Šiauliai are concentrated 85% of the Lithuanian leather industry (tanning), nearly 60% of the footwear industry, and two-thirds of the flax treatment industry. In the district of Šiauliai (at Pavenčiai) is situated a sugar factory (the second in Lithuania) which was established in 1935. In Šiauliai itself also four chocolate and sugar ware factories are in operation.

Besides the foregoing three principal centres of industry should also be mentioned: **Panevėžys**, where are situated the biggest Lithuanian milling concerns, also a meat-canning factory of the „Maistas" Company and a large enterprise of the flax treatment industry; **Marijampolė**, with the first sugar factory founded in 1931 and several sawmills; **Plungė** and **Telšiai**, with two of the largest Lithuanian linen factories; **Tauragė**, with a meat wares factory of „Maistas"; **Rokiškis**, with a textile factory (wool weaving) and several dairy-farms; lastly, **Vilkaviškis**, which harbours a third of the Lithuanian underclothing manufacture, an enterprise for fur dressing and the largest bristle treatment concern.

4. The Rôle of the Joint-stock Companies

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The development of the joint-stock capital invested in industry has proceeded as follows:

Year	Total No. of jointstock Cos.	Share-capital in 1000 litas	Proportion of Foreign Capital
1928	56	69 059	7 600*)
1929	57	70 434	7 400*)
1930	62	85 851	19 400*)

*) Without Memel.

B. SPECIAL PART

1. The Foodstuffs and Luxury Goods Industry

a. The Structure of the most important Branches

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The foodstuffs and luxury goods industry forms the strongest industrial branch of Lithuania. To it in 1937 pertained 28.3% of the total number of concerns (employing 5 or more); 16.5% of the employed workers; 18.3% of the engine horsepower; 41.6% of the gross production value; and 30.6% of the net value of the total Lithuanian industrial output.

The following table illustrates the development of the most important branches during the last ten years:

Special Branches	1927 m.		1931 m.			1937 m.		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Mills	83	778	70	583	4 965	89	713	8 013
Sugar factories	—	—	1	361	3 537	2	1 294	6 820
Sugar wares production	40	760	42	796	686	32	623	800
Meat and canned goods production	20	362	21	620	1 212	22	1 806	3 035
Dairy-farms	4	26	27	129	·	110	438	·
Spirit distilleries	26	284	31	298	1 113	38	283	·
Beer breweries	10	350	9	333	984	11	394	·
Tobacco and cigarettes	12	734	10	733	275	9	594	350

On the basis of the foregoing data, we may arrive at the following conclusions with regard to the development tendency of separate special branches: 433

1. The milling industry showed in 1931, in comparison with 1927, a decline in the number of concerns and their staffs, but in recent years a recovery and an advance ensued. This phenomenon related, however, only to the medium and wholesale concerns appearing in our table, which employ at least five persons. Precisely in the milling industry the small concerns are in an overwhelming majority, and these show quite another development tendency. On the basis of the statistics of the trade licences, we may conclude that the total number of all milling concerns, which in 1928 amounted to 1 334, by 1932 had risen to 1 472, but since then until 1937 a reduction of 1 402 has ensued. It is obvious from the foregoing that the reduction in the number of larger milling undertakings until 1931 was due to the process of decentralization, while, on the other hand, in recent years the concentration tendency, combined with more intensive mechanization, has been in the ascendant. 256 433

2. The creation of the sugar industry followed in 1931, when with the participation of the Government the joint-stock company „Lietuvos Cukrus" was established. The first sugar factory was then put in operation at Marijampolė, and in 1935 the opening of a second factory at Pavenčiai ensued. 257 433 [473]

3. The sugar wares and chocolate industry since 1931 has shown a decline in the number of concerns and of employed workers; but the undermentioned production figures, which reveal constant growth, prove that this phenomenon is solely attributable to centralization and mechanization.

4. The number of concerns of the meat industry is stationary. Its growth is, however, illustrated by the quintupling of the number of employed workers which has taken place since 1927. The joint-stock company „Maistas", to whose capital the Government contributes 7 000 000 litas, assumes a monopoly position. It was founded in 1923, but its activity on a wider scale began in 1930. „Maistas" owns to-day five factories, i. e. at Kaunas, Memel, Šiauliai, Panevėžys, and Tauragė. In each factory the manufacture of bacon takes first place, but sausage wares and ham are also prepared. The concerns at Kaunas and Panevėžys produce also canned goods, that at Kaunas also insu- 258 473 433

253 lin. Preserving cans are repaired in its own workshops. More-
433 over, at Kaunas a modern abattoir of „Maistas" has been built
47? for municipal requirements. (The rôle of „Maistas" in our trade is described in the section „Share-capital in Lithuanian Trade").

234 5. The dairy-farms show an exemplary growth tempo. The
433 development of Lithuanian butter production is due to the Central Union of Dairy-farming Cooperatives „Pienocentras", concerning whose activity a more detailed report is given in the subsequent section „The Rôle of the Cooperative Societies". The figures contained in the foregoing tables relate moreover only to the larger concerns; the total number of all dairy-farms of the dairy cooperatives included in the production statistics amounted in 1937 to 188.

274 6. The number of workers employed in the spirit distiller-
433 ies remained stationary during the period 1927—1937, whereas the number of concerns rose from 26 to 38.

[464] 7. The development of beer breweries showed no material changes from 1927 to 1931. The number of employed workers since the curtailment between 1932 and 1936 for the first time in 1937 exceeded the figures for 1927.

277 8. The number of tobacco and cigarette factories and their
433 staffs has decreased since 1931, which was occasioned chiefly by the decline of consumption during the time of crisis.

From the standpoint of the number of undertakings, the mills and dairy-farms constitute the two strongest groups of the foodstuffs industry. According to the number of employed workers, the meat and canned goods industry and the sugar industry head the list, although it must be borne in mind that as regards the last-named, the production campaign lasts only a few months.

b. The Development of Production

433 The total value of the gross production of the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry in 1937 amounted to 178 300 000 litas and the net production to 50 400 000.

These figures are distributed among separate branches as follows (in 1 000 litas):

433

Special Branches	1936 Gross Production Value	1936 Share in %	1937 Gross Production Value	1937 Share in %	1937 Value of Raw Material Fuel Consumed Domestic	1937 Value of Raw Material Fuel Consumed Foreign	1937 Net Production Value	1937 Share in %
Mills	18 949	11.4	22 593	12.7	18 431	965	4 196	8.3
Sugar Factories	14 007	8.7	14 301	8.0	8 891	625	4 785	9.5
Sugar Wares	5 860	3.6	6 388	3.6	2 108	1 371	2 909	5.8
Meat and Canned Goods	49 672	30.6	48 580	27.3	34 080*)	519	13 981	27.7
Dairy Farms	44 805	27.8	51 506	28.9	40 865	1 219	9 392	18.6
Spirit Distilleries	3 664	2.3	5 279	2.9	1 886	322	3 071	6.1
Beer Breweries	4 035	2.5	6 602	3.6	952	898	4 752	9.4
Tobacco and Cigarettes	9 239	5.7	9 717	5.5	740	4 663	4 314	8.5

On the strength of the foregoing data, we may conclude that the production values of all special branches of the foodstuffs industry, with the exception of the meat industry, rose in 1937 in comparison with the previous year. The percentage shares of separate branches have also correspondingly shifted. Whereas in 1936 the highest percentage share accrued to the gross production value of the meat industry, in 1937 it fell to dairy-farming. According to net production value, however, the meat industry in 1937 also remained in the first place because the raw material share for butter output constituted almost 80%.

The production index of the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry, calculated on the basis of production value in the previous chapter (excluding price fluctuations), when converted to the basis year 1931, affords the following figure series:

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	116.5	97.1	104.3	130.4	134.1

The foodstuffs and luxury goods industry evinces, in comparison with 1931, the smallest production growth.

The grounds of this development, differing from the other industrial branches, have already been mentioned in the previous

*) Value of the consumed raw material has been estimated at 70% of the gross value.

433 chapter. In the following table are given the data on the production quantities of the most important branches; they fully confirm the accuracy of the development tendency expressed by the index figures.

Production Figures in Tons

	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Wheat and Rye Flour	57 465	54 963	•	48 294	50 576	53 858	48 867
Sugar	6 613	16 191	8 166	15 263	22 136	27 164	28 673
Sugar Wares	•	•	•	1 387	1 484	1 626	1 934
Bacon	19 894	26 869	21 376*)	12 675*)	8 809	10 539	10 153
Other Meat Products	9 770*)	7 660	7 642*)	9 000**)	16 485	16 933	12 858
Butter***)	8 141	10 289	9 854	10 728	13 190	15 835	16 994
Spirits (1000 litres)	3 315	3 016	3 070	2 717	2 723	2 942	5 502
Beer (1000 litres)	11 264	7 194	7 292	6 274	5 284	7 290	14 165
Tobacco (consumed raw tobacco)	983	867	763	697	665	768	769

256 433 The fluctuations in flour production are naturally connected with the condition of the harvest. The falling-off in production in 1937 was caused by the serious deterioration of the harvest in 1936 in comparison with both preceding years.

257 433 The youthful sugar industry which, as mentioned above, was first established in the autumn of 1931, had developed its activity to the full only by 1932, and thereby, concurrently with bacon production, brought about the rise of the index, notwithstanding the general crisis, by 16.5 points. After the fluctuations in 1933 and 1934, and in connexion with the opening of a second factory in 1935, our sugar production rose greatly in 1935 and 1936 and to-day, as is clear from the definite curtailment of imports shown in the chapter on foreign trade, fully covers the demand of the domestic market. This also explains the slackening of the further growth in 1937.

439 253 234 The fluctuations and the recession of meat production which together with butter production belongs generally to the strongest export branches of Lithuanian economy, while the remaining branches mentioned above serve only the home market, are due to the import quotas and the preference policy of Great Britain, the most important export market for our meat 000 products, vis-à-vis her Dominions. More detailed information

*) Export quantity. In the case of bacon on an average 95% of the production is for export.

**) Estimated.

***) Production of the dairy cooperative societies.

on this subject is contained in the section on the trade turnover of the „Maistas" joint-stock company. 000

The butter production figures specified in the foregoing tables relate only to the quantities supplied by the dairy cooperatives, which are used almost exclusively for export. Nearly the entire domestic demand is covered by the home production of the farmers (the so-called country butter) which it is difficult to judge by statistics. The supply of export butter shows constant growth. In 1937 it doubled in round figures in comparison with 1931, which must be ascribed to the fact that it has held its ground on the world market better than bacon. 234 439 433

Spirit, beer, and tobacco production greatly receded during the crisis. The last two years brought about, in connexion with the general economic revival, a new upward trend; while of course the doubling of beer production in 1937 is to be attributed to the reduction of the price in consequence of the lowering of the excise, and that of spirit supply in part to its compulsory admixture with petrol („Motorin"). 274 277 433

2. The Textile Industry

The textile industry is the second most important industrial branch of Lithuania. It employs the largest number of workers (in 1937, 20.7% of all industrial workers of Lithuania accrued to it); its share in the aggregate engine horse-power amounts to 9.3% and its share in the production value of all Lithuanian industry to over 14% (gross value, 14.9%; net value, 14.3%). 288 433

In the pre-war Lithuania, only approximately 300 workers were employed in this industrial branch. The development of textile undertakings since 1927 is shown by the following comparison: [464]

	1927		1931			1938 (Jan)		1937 (July)
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	55	1 403	60	2 287	2 475	79	7 162	11 673
Including								
Flax Treatment	16	468	10	374	607	10	1 201	1 845
Linen Weaving	3	112	3	200		5	728	
Others								
Textile Industry	36	823	47	1 710	1 868	64	5 233	9 828

288 This table discloses that all branches of the textile industry
433 have appreciably grown since 1927; that the textile industry proper (weaving and spinning) has, however, made much greater progress than flax manufacture. This is explained by the dependence of the latter upon export, whereas the other branches serve only the home market.

Already in the previous chapter it was pointed out that the output of the textile industry since 1929 has shown an unbroken advance, and of all industrial branches of Lithuania has increased the most vigorously. For the sake of comparison with the quantities data, the production index, calculated on the basis of **ad valorem** amounts, is once more quoted as converted to the basis year 1931:

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	108.1	168.4	178.4	264.0	311.2

248 The statistical data on the production quantities of separate
288 special branches are as follows:
433

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Flax and Tow (in tons)	4 550	5 509	1 335	4 331	5 207	5 857
Linen Yarns (in tons)	8.5	44.6	41.6	62.8	91.9	173.8
Cotton Yarns (in tons)	344.1	249.1	391.7	337.9	433.5	973.9
Woollen and Half-Woollen Fabrics (in 1000 metres)	838.8	722	1 335.3	1 384.4	2 466.1	2 411.1
Cotton Fabrics (in 1000 metres)	5 282.4	7 200	11 537.9	12 079.2	14 531.3	15 578.8
Silk Fabrics (in 1000 metres)	61.2	100.1	538.4	771.7	1 139.8	1 240.8

248 In regard to the flax manufacturing industry, it is inte-
439 resting to compare the foregoing production quantities of machine-manufactured flax and tow with the total quantities of our flax exports in the relevant years. These are as follows (in tons):

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
7 710	8 989	10 187	10 427	19 677	16 087

From this comparison it can be seen that the machine- 248
manufactured flax to-day constitutes only a small part of the 433
total exported quantity, i. e. that flax manufactured by the farmers forms the greatest portion. Nevertheless the industrial production shows a relatively more stable course (with the exception of 1934) than the rural supply.

The production of the textile industry proper has since 1931 288
on an average quadrupled. A much more powerful development 433
therein is shown by silk-weaving, which in 1937 produced in round figures twenty times as many silk fabrics as in 1931, owing to the fact that it forms the youngest branch of our textile industry and was founded exactly in 1931.

The growth of the textile industry was undoubtedly pro- 439
moted by the tariff policy (increase of the Customs duty on 651
cotton fabrics in October, 1931, and again in April, 1932, on woollen and cotton fabrics) as also by the licence system (the import of woollen fabrics has been subject to licence since the introduction of the licence system, i. e. since December, 1932; that of cotton and silk yarns since August, 1934). This found expression in the sharp decline in 1932 of the imports of ready-made fabrics by half in round figures of the earlier imported quantity. The textile industry undoubtedly represents, concurrently with the production of knitted goods, the Lithuanian industrial branch best protected by tariff policy, which also explains its rapid growth and the concentration of large-scale undertakings in this branch. Notwithstanding this indisputable fact, it must none the less be recognized that, on the one hand, tariff protection is not equally apportioned (thus, for example, the duties on silk fabrics actually on an average amount to approximately 200% **ad valorem**; on cotton fabrics over 60%; and on linen fabrics only 25%), and that, on the other hand, the high duties on yarns (especially on artificial silk yarn) partially equalize the advantage of the high duties on ready-made fabrics.

3. The Timber Industry

To the timber industry, which may be designated the third 313
most important industrial branch of Lithuania, accrued in 1937 433
16.9% of all the workers employed in the medium and wholesale manufacturing industry; 10.5% of the engine horse-power;

313 9.1% of the gross value, and 9.0% of the net value of the aggre-
● 433 gate industrial production.

The development of the timber industry since 1927 is shown by the following table:

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	185	3 446	193	4 308	10 676	219	5 346	13 186
Including:								
Plywood production	•	•	3	473	9 812	3	846	11 861
Sawmills	131	2 731	118	2 741		139	3 548	
Cabinet-makers	43	488	60	786	864	64	658	1 325
Other Branches	11	227	12	308		13	294	

It will be seen from the foregoing that the strongest group of the timber industry is formed by the sawmills. Its lower position until 1936 compared with the pre-war period is due to the loss of round timber formerly drawn from the Vilna region.
[464] The vigorous growth of its staff ensued for the first time in 1937. In 1936 the number of workers employed in the sawmills still amounted to only 2 712, a position therefore below the level of 1931. The impetus to the expansion of this branch was given by the greatly increased prices for sawn timber in 1937. The plywood industry, which like the sawmills works for export, had in 1929 already reached the peak of employed workers (851). For the first time in 1937 could the staff be brought again to the same position. The remaining branches, among them the most important, cabinet-making, judged by the dimensions of their staffs, grew only until 1931, and remain, notwithstanding the partial retrieval of the crisis losses, still below the position of that year.

Owing to the exceedingly large share of the special branches of the timber industry working for export, the contingent course of their production has been influenced to a greater degree and more rapidly by the world economic crisis than was the case with other industrial branches. The production index already cited in the previous chapter shows that the timber industry even in 1930 had suffered a setback, and for the first

time in 1934 surpassed the position of 1929. The following index figures, converted to 1931, show indeed constant growth: 313 433

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	105.3	148.5	163.9	183.5	208.0

The data on production quantities are as follows (in 1000 cubic metres):

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Sawn timber	256.5	280.6	304.2	294.7	282.8	335.7
Plywood	5.9	4.7	9.9	9.8	10.0	12.4
Match straws (in tons)	.	.	2 246	2 269	2 322	2 614

It will be seen from these figures that the development of separate production branches does not proceed uniformly. The recovery of sawn timber (this refers chiefly to the working-up of Russian round timber which since 1930 has been imported through the Memel Timber Syndicate) showed from 1932 to 1936 no great changes. For the first time the growth of production quantity in 1937 was able to exceed the position of 1931 by 30%. The plywood supply in 1937 doubled in comparison with 1931. It must, however, be noted in this context that the high position of 1929 (12 425 cubic metres), although caught up, could not be exceeded. The biggest advance is shown by the production of match straws. Its estimated amount in 1931 and 1932 was approximately 1 000 tons, and since then has increased more than two and a half times, i. e. thanks to the expanded export to the United Kingdom and the Dominions (Australia) since 1934. There are no quantity data available in respect of the remaining production branches of the timber industry. The above cited index figures reckoned on the basis of the production value and taking price changes into consideration show that on an average the scope of production of our timber industry has doubled since 1931, but that nevertheless its growth in comparison with 1929 amounts to only 75%.

4. The Paper and Polygraphic Industry.

289 ● 433 464 From the standpoint of importance of its rôle in Lithuanian industrial economy, the paper and polygraphic industry stands in the fourth place. In 1937 there accrued to it 8.1% of all industrial workers; 18.1% of the engine horse-power; 8.4% of the gross value; and 10.8% of the net value of Lithuania's industrial production. According to net production value it ranked correspondingly before the timber industry in the third place. Its development since 1927 is illustrated by the following comparison:

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	52	2 115	61	2 157	8 777	76	2 559	22 602
Including:								
Cellulose and Paper	5	1 133	4	829	8 143	4	1 180	21 675
Paper and Cardboard Wares	9	284	15	365	145	18	371*)	128
Printing Offices and Book-binderies	38	698	42	903	489	54	1 100	799

Already in an earlier chapter it was pointed out that the paper industry belongs to those branches that have grown least since 1929. The index cited therein shows that the paper industry suffered the greatest setback in the crisis years (in 1932 by 32.3%) and in 1937 exceeded its position of 1929 by only 48.8%.

The explanation given in the previous section for the retrogression of timber production holds good also for the [439] paper industry. The cause of the severe recession of the production index of the paper industry in the crisis years lies in the then curtailment of cellulose export (from 60 781 tons in 1929 to 39 384 tons in 1932) and in the high percentage share of cellulose supplies in the aggregate production of the paper

*) Figures for January, 1938, because the July figures do not reflect the complete employment position.

and polygraphic industry which, measured by gross value, in 1937 amounted to 42%, and in 1932, when the paper production proper still hardly existed, to still more. 289 433

In a calculation converted to the basis year 1931, the production index figures for the paper and polygraphic industry are as follows:

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	80.9	122.1	124.5	149.4	177.9

The following statement shows the production quantity figures in tons ascertained for the same years:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Cellulose	39 300	36 800	56 093	53 957	59 208	66 101
Paper	2 800	2 400	6 214	6 921	7 407	8 922
Cardboard	-	830	681	848	1 047	943

On the strength of these data we may conclude that the cellulose production since 1931 has risen approximately 70%, but has exceeded the position of 1929 by approximately only 10%. The rise in the total production of the paper industry by 77.9% since 1931 is due to the growth of paper production which, as a result of the erection of a paper factory at Petrašiūnai in 1933, has since then more than trebled. Thanks thereto our paper imports since 1933 have receded by two-thirds in round figures.

The index figures calculated on the basis of the value amounts naturally reflect also the development of the remaining branches, for which no quantity data are available. This relates in the first place to the printing business, which has vigorously developed in independent Lithuania (the establishment of over 30 new printing offices in the first years of independence), the output of which, however, during the crisis years suffered a setback, which, especially in 1934 and 1935, exerted a restraining influence on the course of the index curve. 2/4

5. The Clothing and Footwear Industry.

295 ● 433 The clothing and footwear industry shows in recent years, among all Lithuanian industrial branches, after the textile industry, the most vigorous growth. Its production in 1937 more than quadrupled in comparison with 1929. To this industrial branch in the past year pertained 8.6% of the industrial workers; 5.3% of the gross value; and 6.9% of the net value of Lithuania's industrial output, whereas its share in the aggregate engine horse-power amounted only to 0.7%. The clothing and footwear industry has therefore the weakest degree of mechanization of all industrial branches of Lithuania.

Its structural development since 1927 is shown in the following table:

[464]

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	139	1 607	157	1 994	482	157	2 707	832
Including:								
Output of Woven Goods	20	328	31	669	143	42	1 158	348
Footwear Industry	53	737	43	629	185	48	782	277
Underwear and other Branches	66	542	83	696	114	67	767	207

On the basis of these data one may conclude that while the footwear industry ten years ago represented the leading branch, to-day the woven goods supply (hosiery and knitted wares) heads the list. The number of undertakings of this special branch has doubled since 1927, and the number of its staff almost quadrupled. The total number of workers employed in the production of underwear and in the tailoring and hat industry has since 1927 risen by 43%; and that of the staffs of the footwear industry during the same period only 6%. It would, however, be a mistake to draw therefrom conclusions concerning the development of the scope of production of the two groups. Footwear output, thanks to the construction of its own factories, has grown more vigorously than that of underwear.

Quantity data for the period under review are available only for leather footwear output; they give the following series (in 1000 pairs): 295 433

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
260.4	220.6	270.4	337.2	361.5	532.2

These figures show that footwear production has doubled in round figures since 1931. If, however, we take into consideration the improvement of quality and the introduction of new classes, we may estimate the growth of production at approximately two and a half times, which also the development of the value amounts cited below attests.

Since there are no quantity data available for woven goods production and underwear supply (with the exception of 1937), we must content ourselves with value amounts for the sake of comparison of the development of separate branches of the clothing and footwear industry. Expressed in the prices of 1929, on the basis of the price indices of the Lietuvos Bankas Bulletin for woven goods and of the Central Statistical Bureau for boots and shoes, the following figures (in 1000 litas) afford the relevant production data:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Woven goods	7 217	7 952	11 633	13 374	17 388	20 956
Footwear	6 204	5 080	7 054	9 108	11 660	15 079
Underwear, etc.	2 742	2 529	3 507	3 764	4 271	5 404

These data show:

(a) That the woven goods output also was not checked in its advance during the crisis years and reveals the most vigorous growth, i. e. in 1937 by 190.4% in comparison with 1931;

(b) That the footwear production and the underwear output in 1932 suffered a setback, and that the production growth of the former during the period under review amounted to 143.0% and of the latter to 97.1%.

The average production index of the clothing and footwear industry (appraised according to gross values) adapted to the basis year 1931, gives the following figures:

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	96.3	137.3	162.4	206.2	256.4

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[651]

The development of the woven goods and footwear industry was successfully promoted by the tariff policy, i. e. especially by the Laws of October 1931 and August 1934. The woven goods production to-day entirely covers the demand of the home market, and on that account also the imports of foreign goods, which in 1928 still represented 173.3 tons, by 1937 had sunk to only 7.3 tons. The imports of leather footwear, thanks to the consolidation of native production, have also declined, although not by a long way to the same extent. in 1928, they amounted to 36.1 tons; in 1937, on the other hand, to 19.4 tons.

4. The Metal and Machinery Industry.

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The number of workers employed in the metal and machinery industry in 1937 amounted to 2 792 or 8.8% of all the industrial workers of Lithuania. Its share in relation to the total of the engine horse-power amounted to 3.7%; its share in relation to the gross production value to 5.2%; and in relation to the net production value to 6.4%. This industrial branch was in the pre-war Lithuania more highly developed than to-day. In 1913, in the present political territory of Lithuania approximately 4 000 workers were employed in the metal industry. The diminution of the scope of production is due to the curtailment of the outlet for export goods. Nevertheless, during the last two years one can again discern a rapid development tempo

The comparative figures on the changes in structure since 1927 are shown as follows:

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	94	1 895	95	1 863	3 134	103	2 792	4 677
Including.								
Metal Industry	11	547	20	665	2 781	32	1 190	4 271
Machinery Industry and Means of Transport Production	16	528	19	722		14	1 059	
Mechanical Workshops and Sheet Metal Supply	62	772	51	422	353	46	414	406
Electro-Technical Concerns	5	48	5	34		10	109	

On the basis of these figures we may conclude that the growth of the staffs relates to the metal and machinery industrial undertakings managed on a factory scale, and to the electro-technical branches, while the more hand-managed locksmith's and tinsmith's workshops slowly but steadily declined. 392 433

The nomenclature of the products of the metal and machinery industry is extremely differentiated, for which reason comparative figures for the production quantities of separate articles are wanting. The most important items consist of nails, wire, zinc-plate, agricultural implements, and various building materials. Nearly a fifth of the ascertained production value of the metal and machinery industry accrues to the output and repair of means of transport (railway-waggons, motor chassis, and shipbuilding), among which, however, the principal rôle devolves upon the workshops of the State Railways. Comparative quantity data for the past years are available only for wire and nails and zinc-sheets; they are as follows (in tons): [397] [396]

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Wire & Nails	4 694	4 421	3 411	3 719	4 324	5 156
Zinc - sheets	.	.	409	495	672	558

The production index of the metal and machinery industry, ascertained on the basis of the ad valorem data and related to the basis year 1931, shows the following course:

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	90.8	95.3	100.2	151.9	162.7

The far more favourable development tendency of the index of total production of the metal and machinery industry than that of wire and nail production, alike in the crisis years and also in relation to the figures for 1937, points to the creation of new branches of production; for example, enamel and aluminium ware has been to a greater extent produced since 1934, &c.

7. The Chemical Industry.

381 To the chemical industry in 1937 accrued 4.3% of the
●433 industrial workers; 2.3% of the engine horse-power; 4.9% of the gross value; and 6.3% of the net value of Lithuania's industrial production. In pre-war Lithuania there were only two match factories and one fertilizer factory; other branches were almost non-existent. In independent Lithuania many new undertakings are springing up. The development of separate branches proceeds, however, unequally, as we can gather from the following data:

[464]

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	49	885	48	724	1 244	48	1 344	2 848
Including:								
Match Production	5	326	2	158	213	1	52	140
Soap Production	15	174	15	189	118	12	158	362
Rubber Goods	—	—	—	—		1	620	
Fertilizer Factories	2	109	1	130		1	141	
Colours, Turpentine and Technical Fats	7	69	10	66	913	14	151	2 346
Pharmaceutical and Cosmetic Production	4	30	6	47		9	98	

464 The sharpest decline in the number of undertakings and workers is shown by the match industry. The curtailment in 1931 to two concerns with 158 workers against five undertakings with 326 workers in 1927 may be ascribed to the
[655] creation in 1930 of the State Match Monopoly and the transfer
[473] of the same to the „Lietuvos degtukų akcinė bendrovė" (Lithuanian Joint-stock Match Company) founded with Swedish capital. The still lower position in 1937 was occasioned by the decrease in consumption, which in the analysis of production
388 will be more closely discussed. The staffs of the soap factories
389 show a slight reduction. The number of the workers employed
464 in the Memel Fertilizer Factory has since 1931 only slightly increased.

increased. Against this, the number of concerns and of workers 278
in the colours and technical fats industry since 1927 has 303
doubled and in the production of pharmaceutical and cosmetic 464
goods trebled. The establishment of a rubber goods factory 383
in 1933 had, however, decisive importance, and to this nearly 464
half of the workers employed in the chemical industry pertained. The second rubber goods factory, established at the end of 1937, was not yet working in the period under review.

The following quantity figures show the development of 381
production of separate branches of the chemical industry for 433
the period 1931—1937:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Matches (in million boxes)	45.8	43.3	39.4	41.1	8.7	14.3
Washing soap and powder (in tons)	3 441	2 226	2 072	2 303	2 595	2 794
Toilet soap (in tons)	.	154	200	200	234	230
Rubber boots (in 1000 pairs)	—	—	772	313	786	986
Superphosphates (in tons)	43 400	37 000	47 100	31 605	18 713	42 972

As has already been explained above, the cutting down of match production has been caused by the decline in consumption during the crisis years. The statistics of sale of matches prove this in a clearer manner. There have been sold (in million boxes):

1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
45.9	42.4	39.4	33.8	26.9	26.9	27.1

The output of washing-soap, which shrank appreciably 483
during the crisis years, has not yet regained the pre-crisis [388]
position in spite of recovery during the last three years. The
production of toilet-soap shows a better course. The produc- [387]
tion of artificial fertilizers proceeds irregularly, and its pro-
gress does not coincide with the contingent economic deve-
lopment. A sharply upward tendency is seen in the production [383]
of the youthful rubber industry. The recession in 1935 was
evoked by technical difficulties of the inception period.

In order to be able to form a general idea of the production 381
development of the chemical industry, we must utilize the value 433

381 amounts. The production index of the chemical industry, calculated in this manner and already cited in the previous 433 chapter, shows, converted to the standard of the basis year 1931, the following course:

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	93.6	146.2	131.0	146.3	171.0

The recession in 1932 was induced chiefly by the decline of soap and fertilizer production. The jump in 1934 was prompted by the foundation of the rubber goods factory in the preceding year. The setback in 1935 was caused by the repeated shrinkage of fertilizer production and the transitory stagnation of rubber goods production.

8. The Leather and Hide Industry.

282 In the leather and hide industry in 1937, 1 096 workers or 433 3.5% of the total number of industrial workers were employed. 464 Its percentage share in the volume of engine horse-power amounted to 1.8%; the share in gross production value 4.3%; and in net value of the industrial production of Lithuania, 2.2%. The lower net value rate is due to the high raw material share.

In pre-war Lithuania the leather industry employed nearly 1 500 workers. The present position is therefore, notwithstanding the growth during recent years, still below the pre-war level. On the other hand, more collateral branches are springing up which did not formerly exist, such as fur manufacture, leather ware production, and the bristle industry. Structural variations since 1927 are illustrated in the following comparison:

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	40	657	36	693	2 617	51	1 096	2 313
Including: Leather Output	26	538	22	555	·	22	751	·
Leather Ware Production	1	6	5	29	·	11	78	·
Fur Manufacture	1	5	—	—	—	4	107	·
Bristle Industry	4	43	6	53	·	9	112	·

The leather industry is the sole industrial branch of Lithuania in which mechanization not only has made no progress but the capacity of whose engine horse-power has even declined. The foregoing table likewise shows that the number of undertakings in leather production since 1927 has decreased and since 1931 has remained stationary. Its staffs have, however, increased by 40%. The remaining branches reveal a rapid development tempo, especially fur manufacture. 282 433

Comparative production figures, i. e. both quantity and value data, are available only in a more restricted sense for the leather industry. Since, however, more than 80% of the total production value of this industrial branch accrues to it, the somewhat more animated development of newly-created collateral branches cannot substantially influence the general contingent outlook.

The quantity data on the recovery of the most important kinds of leather since 1931 are collated in the following table:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Sole Leather (in tons)	998	703	1 154	957	1 125	1 366
Chrome leather (in 1000 square feet)	2 149	3 093	2 476	3 443	3 907	4 454
Russia Leather (in tons)	290	264	159	166	319	339
Inner sole Leather (in tons)	225	186	128	217	226	224

The average production index of the leather industry, calculated with regard to the remaining less important kinds of leather, and appraised in accordance with the gross value coefficient, gives the following figures (basis year 1931):

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	80.5	91.6	104.9	141.3	193.3

Sole leather and chrome leather play the most representative rôle, their coefficients on an average constituting 80% of the total value amount of leather production. The somewhat divergent course of the production curve of both these leading

282 classes from 1931 to 1935 has partially been reciprocally com-
433 pensated, which is also expressed in the index figures. The doubling of the scope of production in recent years has also led to a considerable decline of leather imports (in 1933, 59 tons, in 1937, 18 tons), in which connexion a prominent rôle has also been played by tariff policy and import licensing.

9. Electricity Works.

377 In connexion with the constantly progressing mechanization of industrial concerns, whereby, as was shown in the
433 General Part, the use particularly of electric engines has intensively increased (by 149.4% since 1931), the supply of electric
434 energy, together with the textile industry, is the sole industrial branch of Lithuania whose production ascent since 1929 has suffered no recession even in the crisis years. In 1937, there pertained to these branches (in which also gas supply - Memel - managed by the municipalities, and the exploitation of waterworks are included) 1.6% of the industrial workers; 30.8% of the engine horse-power; 4.0% of the gross production value; and 9.1% of the net value of Lithuanian industrial production. The far higher net value rate is affected by the share of raw material deductions.

The structural development of this branch since 1927 is shown by the following comparative figures:

1927		1931		
No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H.P.
29	648	30	480	22 799

1937		
No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H.P.
32	523	38 511

377 The data of the production statistics on the energy sold
433 in million kilowatt - hours show the following development of our electric current supply since 1931:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
In Millions of kWh	18.7	18.8	22.3	25.7	28.4	35.6
In 1 000 Litas	12 500	11 880	11 310	12 068	12 851	15 172

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The following indices are calculated on the basis of the foregoing data:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Production Index	100.0	100.5	119.3	137.4	151.9	190.4
Price Index	100.0	94.0	76.1	70.1	67.2	64.2

If we compare the course of this price index with the price - index of industrial raw material and produce of the Lietuvos Bankas Bulletin (vide the chapter on „Home Trade"), we must recognize that the prices of current in 1932 were maintained disproportionately high; that in 1937, on the other hand, the average price in comparison with the previous year, contrary to the general price tendency, abated only negligibly. In the interest, indeed, of mechanization of the industry, a further price reduction would be desirable. [435]

10. The Stone and Earth Industry.

A relatively higher percentage share of the employed industrial workers is apportioned to the stone and earth industry, the most important branches of which consist of brick and glass production. This in 1937 amounted to 2 827 or 9.0%, in which context, however, one must bear in mind that these figures relate only to the summer months, because in winter the brick-kilns are not working. The share in respect of the aggregate engine horse-power was far lower, viz., 3.1%, and the share in respect of the gross production value 2.0% and net 3.7%, which signifies a marked improvement. 324 464 453

This industrial branch in the pre-war Lithuania employed approximately 700 workers. It developed vigorously in independent Lithuania and has during the past decade more than doubled both the number of the staff and the scope of production.

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[464]

The structural development since 1927 will be clear from the following table:

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P
Total	94	1 357	104	2 160	2 206	99	2 827	3 826
Brick Production	69	970	74	1 703	2 139	73	2 082	2 924
Glass Production	6	2 077	5	248	67	5	349	902
Other Branches	19	180	25	209		11	396	

It must moreover be observed that during the years 1932—1936 the number of workers suffered a severe recession, and that the position of 1931 was for the first time in 1937 overtaken and surpassed.

The production statistics show the following quantity data:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Brick production (in Millions)	54.4	45.3	42.6	42.2	47.7	60.7
Bottles (in 1 000)	·	2 760	3 780	3 883	4 776	6 762

It is clear from the foregoing that brick output was severely restricted by the crisis and that the upward trend of 1937 exceeds the position of 1931 by only 12%. A far more favourable development is shown by bottle production, which in 1937 was two and a half times as large as in 1932.

The production index of the stone and earth industry, which expresses the average development tendency of separate branches, proceeded as follows (converted to the basis year 1931):

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	92.3	105.2	101.5	124.4	153.8

On the strength of these figures, we may conclude that, on the striking of a balance of production of the total industrial branches, the losses of brick production through the advance of the glass industry were already in 1934 more than compensated. Also the final figures, which signify a growth of 53.8% since 1931, are for the most part to be credited to the account of the glass industry.

11. Peat - cutting.

Peat-cutting forms the weakest industrial branch of Lithuania. In 1937 it employed 2.0% of the industrial workers and disposed of over 1.4% of the engine horse-power. Its production value amounted to only 0.3% of the gross value and 0.7% of the net value of the total industrial production. Its development during the last decade is illustrated by the following statistical data: 382 433 [464]

1927		1931		
No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H.P.
7	603	4	490	612

1937		
No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H.P.
11	629	1 681

Production.

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
In tons	22 799	25 285	24 111	32 614	49 059	57 200
Index:	100.0	111.3	105.7	143.0	215.2	250.9

We see from these figures that the growth of production since 1931 by 150.9% was caused chiefly by the mechanization of cutting, because the number of workers in that time has risen by only 28.4%.

In view of the fact that Lithuania must derive coal from abroad, and that the resources of the peat strata are estimated at 230 000 000 tons, peat-cutting is assured a further advance, the more so that the use of this fuel has been adopted already in more industrial concerns (the sugar factories, for example).

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

APPENDIX

ECONOMIC FIGURES

● 433

	1929	1930
INDUSTRY:		
1. Total number of medium and wholesale undertakings (of 5 employed persons upwards)	1 044	1 051
2. Total number of employed workers	19 637	19 334
3. Total figure of engine power in H. P.	.	.
4. Production Index	100.0	108.3
TRADE:		
474 1. Total number of larger undertakings (Trade in the narrower sense I — III Corp)	14 255	14 224
473 439 2. Railway goods traffic 1 000 tons	2 079	1 993
3. Price Index	100	87
4. Foreign Trade Turnover:		
(a) Million Litas	636.3	646.2
(b) Volume	100.0	116.7
5. Cooperative Trade Turnover, million litas	108.6	111.9
FINANCE AND CREDIT CONDITIONS:		
652 1. Monetary circulation, in million litas	102.3	117.2
452 2. State Revenue, in million litas	338.5	347.7
453 3. State Expenditure, in million litas	269.9	320.6
4. Deposits of the Credit Institutions, in million litas	282.8	345.7
5. Loans of the Credit Institutions, in million litas	333.0	437.8
6. Total Sums of Bills of Exchange Protests, in million litas	49.1	40.1
7. Discount Rate of the Lietuvos Bankas	7	7

OF LITHUANIA.

1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	
							433
1 049	1 105	1 108	1 118	1 136	1 135	1 247	
21 053	19 743	20 660	22 282	23 344	25 844	31 689	
70 038	84 804	95 751	94 585	105 349	109 634	125 157	
140.7	153.7		166.5	185.9	244.2	272.0	
							494
14 141	13 590	12 981	12 572	12 034	12 054	12 445	493
2 164	1 599	1 722	1 853	2 003	2 193	2 352	489
74	61	54	52	46	46	53	
551.1	356.1	302.4	285.9	280.8	346.5	420.9	
128.3	106.6	102.2	103.2	103.9	125.2	139.3	
127.8	111.3	105.8	111.3	149.4	185.2	203.6	
							652
127.1	112.7	105.8	101.1	111.4	124.1	131.9	452
340.1	292.0	256.9	264.4	279.9	302.8	329.9	453
335.3	278.2	249.7	251.8	276.9	287.7	318.2	
302.0	291.2	278.4	269.5	229.6	290.2	347.6	
479.6	449.5	446.5	461.9	451.5	467.3	501.4	
67.5	71.7	39.3	32.5	23.5	13.9	12.9	
8½	7	7	6	6	5½	5½	

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 ! ithuanians RB5

III. SOIL IMPROVEMENT AND AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS

641 The Ministry of Agriculture controls the organisation for the encouragement of technical progress in agriculture, the aim
242 of which is to improve the conditions of existence of the
433 agricultural classes. The Ministry is responsible for carrying out agrarian reform and agricultural improvements, schools of agriculture, the organisation and improvement of veterinary work and supervision of the export of agricultural produce, etc.

In addition to the Ministry, the Chamber of Agriculture (founded in 1927) is also active in agricultural development. It is in charge of all the forms of agricultural training not under the authority of the Ministry, including the agricultural intelligence service; it supervises and co-ordinates the activities of the stock-breeders' associations, the flax-growers' association, the sugar-beet-growers' association and other similar organisations; it also subsidises various agricultural organisations and individual agriculturists with a view to the promotion or improvement of some particular branch of agriculture, and organises agricultural shows, etc.

474 Working in conjunction with the Ministry of Agriculture are various central organisations concerned with the processing
242 of agricultural produce, and its marketing abroad and at home,
433 and with supplying to agriculturists all such goods as they may require. These organisations are : "Lietuvos Žemės Ūkio Kooperatyvų Sąjunga" ("Lithuanian Union of Agricultural Co-operative Societies"), abbreviated to "Lietūkis", "Centralinė Lietuvos Pieno Perdirbimo Bendrovių Sąjunga" ("Lithuanian Central Union of Dairymen's Co-operative Societies"), abbreviated to "Pienocentras", and the "Maistas" and "Lietuvos Cukrus" joint-stock companies.

The chief measures taken with a view to the improvement of agricultural production are the consolidation of holdings (see above), land drainage, the development of agricultural training (see under V) and agricultural research.

312 Systematic work on the drainage of agricultural land could not be begun until 1921. The Ministry of Agriculture is proceeding with the regularisation of the beds of streams and the cutting of dykes which enable agriculturists to drain waterlogged land completely by means of open ditches or drainage pipes. The total area of the land drained by means of dykes from 1921 to 1937 (inclusive) is approximately 416,000 hectares, or more than 10% of all the land used for agricultural purposes.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

As regards *agricultural research*, the Institute of Agricultural Research (founded in 1927) is in charge of experimental work in the field of agriculture throughout the country, with the exception of the work conducted by the Agricultural Academy at Dotnuva. It has at present under its control seven experimental stations dealing with various matters relating to the cultivation of crops, an experimental fruit-growing station (in process of organisation), a crop improvement station (at Dotnuva), a crop protection station (at Dotnuva) and a station for research on the breeding of pigs for bacon. Proposals are under consideration for the foundation of an agricultural machinery testing station and of stations for research into cattle- and sheep-breeding respectively. 242

In consequence of these measures, and particularly the activities of the agricultural intelligence service, agriculturists have begun to introduce a more rational system of crop rotation, to prepare the soil more carefully and fertilise it more rationally (the progress of stock-breeding increases the quantities of manure available), to use better quality seed, to improve meadow- and pasture-land, to make more extensive use of agricultural machinery (through the foundation of co-operative societies for the joint use of machinery), etc. The results have been a decrease in the area of land left fallow and a corresponding increase in the area sown from an average of 2,079,000 hectares for the years 1928 to 1930 to 2,312,000 hectares for the period 1935 to 1937, the increase chiefly affecting the land under the more intensively cultivated crops (wheat, sugar-beet, mangel-wurzels). There has also been an increase in the yield per hectare of all the principal crops (wheat, rye, barley, oats, peas and potatoes), the yield from 1933 to 1937 being almost half as great again as during the years 1901 to 1910. It is worthy of note that, whilst the cultivation of sugar-beet was entirely unknown in the country before the war, the refineries now pay out almost 6½ million litai to the growers each year. The productivity of meadow- and pasture-land has increased to an even greater extent than that of arable land. 311 241 433

This latter circumstance has permitted the development of stock-breeding and the number of farm animals has risen considerably (in the case of cattle, for example, from 766,000 in 1913 to 1,172,000 in 1937). As a result of the organisation of milk control societies, breeding centres, the keeping of stud books, etc., the productivity of stock has also increased very considerably. 233 433

Progress has been particularly noteworthy in the case of cattle (which, in Lithuania, are mainly bred for the production of milk). In 1923, with a view to the transformation of surplus milk into exportable produce, chiefly butter, dairymen's co-operative societies were founded with the financial support 234 474 433

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

234 of the Government. Since then, the dairy industry and the manufacture of butter have made rapid progress. In 1937, the
474 193 dairymen's co-operative societies, all of which are equipped
433 with the most up-to-date machinery, supplied 420 million kilogrammes of milk — including that delivered to the 2,052 cream-separating centres — and produced 16.9 million kilogrammes of butter. Though, since the war, the population has increased by some 300,000 inhabitants, the consumption of dairy products per head is at present greater than before the war, and butter exports, which were formerly negligible, amounted in 1924 to 524 metric tons and in 1936/37 to 15,000 tons approximately.

231 Hand in hand with the development of the dairy industries
433 has gone the development of pig-breeding (skim-milk is used for the fattening of young pigs). Not only has the number of pigs considerably increased (from 450,000 in 1913 to 1,192,000 in 1937), but the quality of the pigs (for the manufacture of bacon)
439 has greatly improved. With the Government's financial
231 support, a bacon export industry has been rapidly built up. In
433 1928, bacon exports amounted to 150 metric tons; in 1932, to more than 25,000 metric tons, and, in 1936/37 (being affected by the introduction of bacon import quotas in England), to more than 10,000 metric tons. These figures, together with those for the export of live pigs (in 1932, 34,000, and, in 1936/37, 125,000 approximately) and the number of pigs kept are proof of the progress made.

235 Poultry-keeping also has made considerable headway; more
433 pure-bred poultry are being raised, and feeding and poultry-keeping technique have become more efficient. Horse-breeding likewise has improved, thus facilitating the sale of Lithuanian horses in foreign markets.

433 Such are the methods whereby the Ministry of Agriculture, the Chamber of Agriculture and the organisations working in conjunction with the latter are striving to improve the production both of crops and live-stock and to foster agricultural industries (dairy industries and the manufacture of bacon). Since 1931, the Chamber of Agriculture has also been endeavouring, with the co-operation of the Union of Young Farmers' Clubs, to rationalise and modernise home industries (weaving, knitting, fur-dressing, felt-making, pottery, furniture, etc.) and to improve the artistic qualities of the articles produced. Products of the home industries are thus enabled to compete with factory-produced goods.

497 Railroad traffic is lively: military trains pass Kaunas every few minutes. A single passenger train circulates daily between Vilnius and Kaunas, and one train operates every other day between Kaunas and Seltokai.

499 505 Graveled highways go unrepaired, showing ever greater deterioration. Few ships and barges are seen on the Nemunas, as most of the fleet managed to escape to Denmark in 1944.

465 511 All artisans were driven into "artels": excessive taxes did the trick.

[435] Wages are low and working hours are long. Prices are twice as high as in Moscow: one week's wages is spent on a kilogram of butter. In 1945 butter was transported from Lithuania to Moscow in an "airlift operation," by planes. The Muscovites liked Lithuanian butter—and butter is still exported, depriving the Lithuanians of their diet. Numerous deductions are withheld from wages—up to one half, including "voluntary" subscriptions to state loans, etc.

In consequence of the meager pay, every worker attempts to steal whatever he can, and to sell the stolen products in the black market. Lately the bureaucracy —itself most guilty of embezzlement—began penalizing the workers with harsh penalties. Nevertheless, the practice of stealing is universal, and the Russian officials set the pace. Whenever the so-called "exemplary state farms" call for volunteers to assist in planting or harvesting—there are enough volunteers who anticipate a chance to "hook something."

The morale of factory workers is as low as that of the farmers. The living conditions steadily deteriorate. Discontent over "stakhanovite efficiency," long working hours, low pay, lack of clothing, etc. is widespread. In the early part of 1948 the regime abandoned its choicest proffer to workers—the bait of appointment [554] to managing posts. Today, there is a tendency to build up cadres of skilled specialists, a privileged caste of people in uniform—even telegraph post climbers wear uniforms. . . .

Moral Situation

000 Symbols of Russian "culture" and ways of life universally exhibited by the "masters and victors" are—violence, profanity, drunkenness, thievery, deceit and raggedness.

685 Any criminal tendencies among the natives were drastically curbed by the underground authorities. Felonies were penalized by death sentences—and the sentences were carried out. But thieving is uncontrollable in the factories and in the supply services.

273 186 The Russians and their bootlickers revel in continual drunkenness. Vodka is the universal form of bribe. Unfortunately, the brutal conditions of life affected the Lithuanians to a certain degree, too. People are tempted to forget bitter reality for a half hour at least. The resistance movement continually wages a press propaganda against alcoholism ("Don't be like a Russian!"). For strictly practical considerations of maintaining a supply service for its armed units, the resistance movement repeatedly issued orders banning home distilling and any waste of the much needed grains. The Russians, however, pursue a definite policy aimed at demoralizing the natives and weakening their moral standards. Vodka is dumped on the market in unlimited unrationed qualities. But—the Church is still permitted to preach against the evils of drunkenness.

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
In Millions of kWh	18.7	18.8	22.3	25.7	28.4	35.6
In 1 000 Litas	12 500	11 880	11 310	12 068	12 851	15 172

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The following indices are calculated on the basis of the foregoing data:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Production Index	100.0	100.5	119.3	137.4	151.9	190.4
Price Index	100.0	94.0	76.1	70.1	67.2	64.2

If we compare the course of this price index with the price-index of industrial raw material and produce of the Lietuvos Bankas Bulletin (vide the chapter on „Home Trade"), we must recognize that the prices of current in 1932 were maintained disproportionately high; that in 1937, on the other hand, the average price in comparison with the previous year, contrary to the general price tendency, abated only negligibly. In the interest, indeed, of mechanization of the industry, a further price reduction would be desirable. [435]

10. The Stone and Earth Industry.

A relatively higher percentage share of the employed industrial workers is apportioned to the stone and earth industry, the most important branches of which consist of brick and glass production. This in 1937 amounted to 2 827 or 9.0%, in which context, however, one must bear in mind that these figures relate only to the summer months, because in winter the brick-kilns are not working. The share in respect of the aggregate engine horse-power was far lower, viz., 3.1%, and the share in respect of the gross production value 2.0% and net 3.7%, which signifies a marked improvement. 324 464 453

This industrial branch in the pre-war Lithuania employed approximately 700 workers. It developed vigorously in independent Lithuania and has during the past decade more than doubled both the number of the staff and the scope of production.

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanian: RB5

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At the end of this section we furnish one more comparative table, which shows us the development of the share of our three largest commercial organizations, viz., „Lietūkis", „Pienocentras", and „Maistas", in Lithuania's total export trade.

Year	Export of „Pienocentras", in 1 000 Litas	Export of „Maistas", in 1 000 Litas	Export of „Lietūkis", in 1 000 Litas	Total in 1 000 Litas	Share in Lithuania's Total Export Trade, in %
1928	10 437	1 266	1 000	12 703	4.9
1929	20 888	5 948	1 000	27 836	8.3
1930	35 201	24 849	10 986	71 036	21.3
1931	37 790	42 904	8 127	88 821	32.5
1932	37 079	42 814	952	80 845	42.7
1933	29 909	42 323	1 431	73 663	45.9
1934	30 231	34 880	2 520	67 631	45.9
1935	35 948	32 734	18 949	87 631	57.5
1936	48 228	42 723	18 209	109 160	57.3
1937	54 470	46 855	8 603	100 928	52.8

The figures of the foregoing tables confirm the accuracy of the assertion expressed in the chapter on foreign trade, that the relatively favourable development of our export trade during the crisis years should be entered to the credit account of „Maistas" and „Pienocentras". („Lietūkis" exports chiefly grain and its export is therefore, in dependence on the nature of the harvest, subject to severe fluctuations). Indeed, precisely in the years 1931—1935, when the value amount of our export trade was constantly sinking, did the share of our public commercial institutions grow most vigorously, whereas during both last years of the upward trend, when also private initiative began more strongly to manifest itself, it receded in a percentage sense.

5. The Dynamic of Price Development.

In the valuation of industrial production and the calculation of its index as well as in the estimate of the volume of the foreign and home-trade turnover, we have already been able to

435 determine the important rôle of price variations during the last ten years. In the specific structure of Lithuanian economy, i. e. the economy of an agrarian land, which must procure the most essential industrial supplies from abroad in exchange for its agrarian products, price equalization, or the so-called „scissors" between the prices of agricultural and industrial staples, is the most important factor of contingent development. Since our industry heretofore has as yet provided hardly any means of production, the production of articles of consumption could cover only a part of the domestic demand, and since the portion of the population engaged in industry is as regards percentage negligible, the industrial crisis in Lithuania, which for the rest had only a slight and short-lived course, must be considered merely as a secondary phenomenon of the agrarian crisis. The causes of the economic stagnation, as Lithuania experienced it from 1932 to 1935*), repose in the sphere of foreign trade. In the chapter on foreign trade we saw, however, that our foreign trade turnover quantitative ly even in the crisis years remained above the level of 1929. This proves that the crisis was occasioned chiefly by the disturbance of the equilibrium of prices. [457] Our trade-balance indeed remained active in the crisis years, thanks to the licence system. We must, however, bear in mind that just as in foreign trade, on the home-market also equilibrium is disturbed by the price scissors, when every farmer must deliver correspondingly more of his produce in order to obtain an equivalent quantity of industrial supplies, whereby inevitably both his consumption is stifled and his zest for production discouraged.

The development of prices in Lithuania is shown by the following index groups, which are taken from the „Lietuvos Bankas Biuletenis" (1926—29=100):

Year	Total Price-Index	Agrarian Products	Industrial Raw Materials and Supplies	The Scissors
1927	100	100	101	— 1
1928	102	105	99	+ 6
1929	97	99	95	+ 4

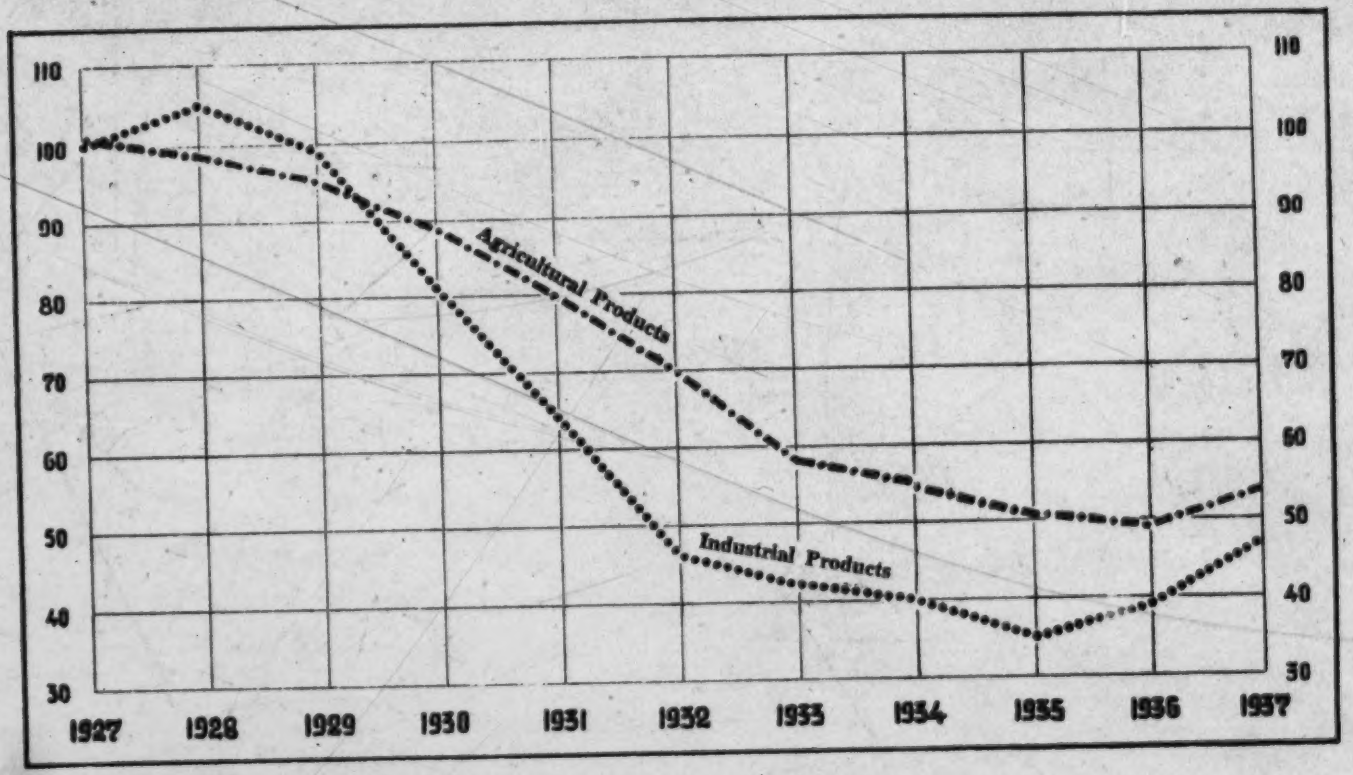
*) The autumn of 1931 is to be taken as the beginning of the crisis, which has already influenced many year-end figures of that year.

6: Anonymous U-4,5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

● 435

Diagram No. 5.

The Price Scissors of Agricultural and Industrial Products (1926—1929=100).



435

1930	84	81	89	— 8
1931	72	64	80	—16
1932	59	46	70	—24
1933	52	42	58	—16
1934	50	40	55	—15
1935	45	35	51	—16
1936	45	39	49	—10
1937	51	47	54	— 7

The development course of the scissors confirms the accuracy of what was said at the outset: at the time of the most favourable trend the scissors were inconsiderable or even to the advantage of agrarian prices; during the crisis they amounted to 15 to 24 points, and after their subjugation at the time of the new advance, they sank to seven points.

For the sake of comparison, we adduce below the index figures of the world market prices calculated by the Statistical Office of Germany and converted by us to the basis year 1927. They show:

Year	Agrarian Products	Industrial Supplies	The Scissors
1927	100	100	—
1928	98	97	+ 1
1929	91	103	—12
1930	68	87	—19
1931	49	65	—16
1932	38	53	—15
1933	35	50	—15
1934	34	47	—13
1935	34	48	—14
1936	38	49	—11

The comparison shows us that the final figures of both index groups of the world market prices agree with our price-index, but that the course of development was a more diverse one. This distinction explains to us also one of the principal reasons why the last crisis began in Lithuania two years later than on a world scale. On a world scale the scissors' extension of 12 points had already been reached in 1929, but in Lithuania one of 16 point for the first time in 1931. The fact that the maximum extension with us counted 24 points, but on a world

scale only 19 points is due to the agrarian character of our country and its dependence upon export. 435

In order to ameliorate the disadvantageous operation of the scissors, the Government since 1931 has introduced fixed prices for several of the most important staples, such as grain, butter, eggs, and live pigs, whereby the difference between the world market price and the prices established for the home-market is made good by the State Treasury. The cost of this support for the period until the end of 1937 amounted to 133 800 000 litas and for the last three years alone to over 50 000 000 litas, in which context it should, however, be mentioned that in consequence of the attraction of world market prices for pigs, their subvention was suspended two years ago. 656 435

For a series of important commodities prices are regulated by a Price Controller. The fixing of maximum prices, especially for imported industrial goods, is undertaken on the basis of the world market prices and pursues the object only of putting a stop to a speculative bull movement and of checking dishonest competition.

The above-mentioned politico-economic measures of the Government have indubitably contributed to the relatively easy bridging over of the crisis.

The development of our retail prices for several of the more important characteristic commodities from 1929 to 1937 is shown by the following table collated on the basis of data of the Central Statistical Bureau: 435

A. Prices of Agrarian Products, in Litas.

Year	Rye, 50 klgrs.	Linseed, 1 klg.	Flax, 1 klgr.	Live Fattened Pigs, 50 klgrs.	Bacon, 1 klgr.	Unsalted Butter, 1 klgr.
1929	22.80	0.79	2.10	115.00	3.20	6.85
1930	11.30	0.68	1.50	96.00	3.05	6.00
1931	12.60	0.40	0.95	66.00	2.15	5.05
1932	12.30	0.26	0.84	50.00	1.45	4.10
1933	9.10	0.30	1.00	47.00	1.30	3.30
1934	9.00	0.32	0.95	44.00	1.25	3.10
1935	6.20	0.27	1.28	29.00	0.85	2.75
1936	7.20	0.24	1.12	35.00	1.05	2.80
1937	9.80	0.28	1.27	46.00	1.40	3.05

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B. Prices of Industrial Supplies, in Litas.

Year	Soft Sugar, 1 klgr.	Sole Leather, 1 klgr.	Printed Calico, 1 metre	Spruce Boards, 1 m³	Coal, 100 klgrs.	Iron, 1 klgr.
1929	1.15	15.90	2.65	119.40	12.80	0.50
1930	1.10	14.50	2.55	124.00	12.00	0.49
1931	1.10	13.10	2.25	115.00	11.20	0.42
1932	1.25	11.20	1.95	97.00	10.40	0.32
1933	1.30	9.50	1.50	71.00	9.00	0.28
1934	1.30	8.80	1.50	67.00	8.40	0.27
1935	1.26	7.45	1.35	59.50	7.80	0.28
1936	1.00	7.40	1.32	58.00	7.60	0.28
1937	1.00	7.70	1.37	75.00	8.10	0.39

11 League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RBS Lithuanians RBS

473 known as "Lietuvos Cukrus" was founded (the shareholders being the State and sugar-beet-growers), and this centralises all sugar manufacture.

439 To improve the quality of agricultural produce for export, the Government controls the export of meat (since 1925), butter (since 1927), eggs (since 1927), linseed (since 1925) and flax (since 1926, the control having been further tightened up in 1934). The centralisation of exports of agricultural produce greatly facilitates export control and increases its efficacy.

435 At the time of the fall in the prices of agricultural produce on foreign markets, the Government, to stimulate supplies for export, fixed minimum prices for the pigs bought by the "Maistas" company, the milk supplied to the dairymen's co-operative societies and cream-separating centres (all the dairymen's co-operative societies in the country are affiliated to the "Pienocentras"), the eggs bought by the "Pienocentras" and the cereals bought by the "Lietūkis". In this way, agricultural prices have been maintained with the co-operation of the three central organisations.

651 Various measures have been adopted with a view to the reduction of costs of production. As long ago as 1933, the rate of interest on mortgage loans was lowered; the total of the land taxes payable by agriculturists during the years 1935 and 1936 was reduced by 10%. Agriculturists leaving their villages and settling on self-contained undertakings are exempt from Government land taxes for a period of one year (this privilege is enjoyed by all agriculturists who have taken over separate undertakings since 1932). Agriculturists who, having taken over separate undertakings since 1932, are obliged to change their place of residence (and such is the case with more than half of those concerned) receive from the Ministry of Agriculture a stated
435 quantity of wood at 20% of the normal sale price. Under the price-control system introduced in 1935, maximum prices have been fixed for chemical fertilisers, bran, feeding-cakes, petroleum and certain other articles which are of particular importance to agriculture. For the 1938 autumn sowings, the Government (in conjunction with the "Lietūkis") has reduced the price of chemical fertilisers by itself paying the cost of railway transport.

000 In conclusion, it may be said that, in spite of the agricultural depression which made its appearance some five or six years ago and which has not yet entirely ceased, the Lithuanian agriculturist is at present in a better position than he was before the war; he is better fed and better clothed and has more money to spare for his cultural needs.[1]

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[1] A detailed description of the progress made in this sphere and of the activities of the institutions and organisations for the promotion of agriculture is to be found in the work entitled *Agriculture in Lithuania*, by Professor J. KRIKŠČIŪNAS, published by the Chamber of Agriculture, Kaunas, 1938.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Chapter V

THE FINANCE OF LITHUANIA

000 The financial aspect of Lithuania's reconstruction after 1918 involves a discussion of her currency, her state finance, and her public debt.

CURRENCY

436 Up to the time of the World War of 1914–18, Russian ruble notes circulated in Lithuania. As early as 1915, when the first German troops entered Lithuania, a decree was proclaimed which made German marks equally acceptable with the Russian rubles. (Exchange rate: 2.16 marks for 1 gold ruble.) [1]

453 436 On April 17, 1915, by special decree, an institution under the name Darlehnkasse Ost (Loan Bank of the East) was created and made a special department of Ostbank für Handel und Gewerbe. The main function of this bank was to issue *Obost* rubles [2] and to serve as a state bank in the occupied region. The official exchange rate of the *Obost* rubles issued by the Darlehnkasse Ost was as follows: one *Obost* ruble equaled one Russian ruble or two German (or *Obost*) marks. By a decree of August 6, 1916, the German administration promised to redeem *Obost* rubles with genuine

[1] *Lietuvos Bankas, First Decade, 1922–1932*, Kaunas, 1932, p. 2.

[2] One *Obost* ruble equaled two *Obost* marks, one bank note having both inscriptions.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Russian rubles put into circulation by Darlehnkasse Ost. But on March 30, 1917, this promise was retracted and redemption by German marks was promised at the rate of two marks for one ruble.[3] 453 436

After the declaration of independence, February 16, 1918, because of unsettled conditions Lithuania was unable quickly to introduce her own bank notes. The Provisional Government signed with the Darlehnkasse Ost an agreement by which the notes were to remain in circulation until a Lithuanian bank of issue could be organized. The sums in circulation at that time, as estimated by Professor Rimka, are shown in Table 47. 436 [652]

TABLE 47

GERMAN OBOST NOTES IN CIRCULATION
1917–22

YEAR	NOTES IN CIRCULATION (*Millions of Obost marks*)	VALUE IN LITAS [a] (*Millions*)
1917	125.75	186.77
1918 (March 31)	165.65	327.30
1918 (Dec. 31)	290.90	363.62
1920 (July)	546.80	138.50
1921 (July)	779.80	101.70
1922 (July)	2,000.00	63.00
1922 (Sept.)	3,500.00	17.00

[a] One litas equals 0.150462 grams fine gold.

It may be observed that the number of notes in circulation increased very rapidly while their value in litas decreased. In September, 1922, the total of notes in circulation was more than ten times greater than on December 31, 1918, while at the same time their value in litas was only one

[3] *Ibid.*

436 twenty-first as great. In January, 1919, the rate of exchange was 8.27 marks to the dollar, while one year later, in February, 1920, it was 98.994 marks, and in the beginning of 1922, 200 marks. On October 1, 1922, the day redemption of the *Obost* marks commenced, one dollar equaled 1,650 marks; on October 2, 1,815 marks. Russian rubles were redeemed on October 1, 1922, at 0.004 litas.[4]

453 A special law for the establishment of Lietuvos Bankas (the Bank of Lithuania) was passed on August 11, 1922.[5] The financial basis of the bank is 12,000,000 litas capital stock consisting of 120,000 shares of 100 litas par value [656] each. Although Lietuvos Bankas, before Soviet occupation, was a private enterprise in its organization, it was under government control and the general director was appointed by the president of the republic upon recommendation of the Council of Ministers. The Law of Establishment of the Lietuvos Bankas grants a special concession to permit the issuance of notes for twenty years, which period may be prolonged by law.

436 652 648 With the first issue of litas notes on October 1, 1922, the redemption of the *Obost* marks at the market exchange rate was begun. The Russian rubles at that time were almost worthless, and the value of *Obost* marks was just a fraction of the original value. This caused a great loss to the population of Lithuania, wiping out everybody's savings and creating generally chaotic credit conditions. There is no question but that Germany was responsible for the inflation and loss in the value of *Obost* marks and that Lithuania had the right to demand reparations. Negotiations for that purpose were

[4] Kazys Sruoga, *Die Wirtschaft der Republik Litauen und ihre Notenemission*, Kaunas, 1930, pp. 15–18.

[5] *Lietuvos Bankas, First Decade, 1922–1932*, Kaunas, 1932, pp. 10–14; *V.Z. Nr. 199, par. 1347.*

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

started in March, 1922, in Kaunas. Reparation was sought for the compulsory introduction of *Obost* marks and the use of issuance rights from August, 1916, until November, 1919, when the German army finally withdrew. The loss to Lithuania was estimated at 5,383 million marks, which sum was demanded by the Lithuanian delegation. Due to the fact that the Germans refused to recognize these demands, negotiations were discontinued. They were resumed in Berlin in May, 1923.[6] These negotiations resulted in a treaty concluded on May 31, 1923, of which the first paragraph says: "Both contracting parties agree not to raise any claims against each other, originating from events of the World War."[7]

After three months of operation of Lietuvos Bankas—that is, on December 31, 1922—there were 30.38 million litas in circulation. The coverage in gold of the notes in circulation accounted for 50 percent and that in gold and foreign exchange for 109.1 percent. The amount of litas in circulation grew, while the coverage in gold decreased somewhat, but it was never less than the one-third prescribed by law. Thus on December 31, 1923, there were 60.07 million litas in circulation; in 1924, 92.98; in 1925, 81.92; in 1926, 86.79; and in 1927, 96.61.[8]

The issue activities of Lietuvos Bankas in later years are indicated by Table 48. At the end of 1938 the notes in circulation amounted to 141.70 million litas, exceeding the previous all-time high of 1930, while in April, 1939, it reached 181.65 millions, a new all-time peak. The coverage in gold

[6] A. Moravskis, *Lietuvos Finansai, Pinigai, kreditas ir bankai* Lietuvoje pries kara ir dabar, II dalis. (The Finance of Lithuania: Money, Credit and Banking in Lithuania before the War and at Present. Part II), Kaunas, 1925, pp. 33–35.

[7] Dailide, *op. cit.*, p. 199; *V.Z. Nr. 173, par. 1197.*

[8] *Lietuvos Bankas Bulletin*, Feb. 19, 1932, p. 18.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 48

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THE ISSUE ACTIVITIES OF LIETUVOS BANKAS
1928–39

YEAR ENDING DEC. 31	BANK NOTES IN CIRCULATION (*Million litas*)	GOLD RESERVE (*Million litas*)	FOREIGN BILLS (*Million litas*)	PERCENTAGE OF COVERAGE IN GOLD AND FOREIGN BILLS
1928	84.77	34.27	43.62	91.9
1929	94.83	35.08	78.48	119.8
1930	117.16	39.39	86.32	107.3
1931	108.95	50.14	33.17	76.5
1932	96.21	49.07	15.96	67.6
1933	89.92	52.00	15.34	76.8
1934	88.24	52.14	8.38	68.6
1935	103.50	36.14	9.91	44.5
1936	110.35	73.10	4.08	69.9
1937	116.56	79.04	1.87	69.4
1938	141.70	64.75	4.83	49.1
1939	165.93	57.71	2.50	37.1

and foreign bills was comparatively high, being 49.1 percent.

436 The highest number of notes in circulation and the lowest coverage were reached in November, 1939. This situation was largely due to the disturbed economic conditions in Lithuania in that year. It will be recalled that in March, 1939, Lithuania was forced to give up her only port, Klaipeda. This transaction was executed in great haste, under the pressure of the German war machine, as a result of which it became necessary to support and furnish with food, shelter, and work about 15,000 refugees.

[167] A few months later over 100,000 refugees from Poland poured into Lithuania, as a result of the war between Germany and Poland. Undoubtedly this circumstance caused a great drain on gold and foreign exchange reserves.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

The litas was never devalued, and it held its original gold parity until Soviet occupation on June 15, 1940. Shortly after occupation the financial structure of Lithuania was destroyed entirely. The litas was substit ed by the ruble. All savings accounts over 1,000 litas (appro mately $165.00) were confiscated. Though the purchasing value of the Soviet ruble was much less than that of the litas, nevertheless the litas officially was rated at 90 kopeks (a kopek equals one-hundredth of a ruble). The Germans who replaced the Russians set the official exchange rate at 50 pfennigs, or half a German mark, to a ruble. 436

STATE FINANCE

The state finance and the economic policy of the republic of Lithuania were guided by the minister of finance. In 1923, the first year for which statistics are available, the revenue amounted to 166.30 million litas against expenditures of 166 million litas.[9] The following year's revenue increased to 235.79 million litas and expenditures to 232.32, leaving a favorable balance of 3.47 million litas. The highest balance was gained in 1929 when the revenues of 293.79 million litas exceeded expenditures by 26.10 million litas. But in 1931 and 1932 expenditures exceeded revenue. In 1931 the total income amounted to 315.09 million litas, expenditures were 335.30 million litas, and the deficit was thus 20.21 million litas. In 1932 the deficit was somewhat smaller: 12.40 million litas. The budget of 1938 was practically balanced, the revenue amounting to 366.48 million litas, while the expenditures totaled 366.49 million litas. In 1939 revenues amounted to 361.78 and expenditures to 356.54 million litas. The growth of the budget during the years of independence was 652

[9] C.S.B., volume for 1927.

Appendix F

436

Foreign Exchange Quotations in Kaunas

DATE	NEW YORK	LONDON	BERLIN	PARIS	RIGA
	Litas to $1.00	*Litas to £1*	*Litas to 100 Rm.*	*Litas to 100 Frs.*	*Litas to 100 Lats*
Jan., 1928	10.06	49.00	240.00	39.41	194.45
Jan., 1929	10.07	48.80	239.69	39.53	194.00
Jan., 1930	10.00	48.74	238.90	39.34	193.07
Jan., 1931	10.01	48.60	238.11	39.27	192.80
Jan., 1932	10.02	35.16	238.91	39.51	189.00
Jan., 1933	10.04	33.74	238.54	39.25	.....
Jan., 1934	6.42	32.20	240.22	39.65	.....
Jan., 1935	5.99	29.24	240.00	39.37	.....
Jan., 1936	5.93	29.39	239.34	39.29	193.48
Jan., 1937	5.95	29.14	238.20	27.72	114.91
Jan., 1938	5.93	29.66	238.20	19.87	117.20
Jan., 1939	5.95	27.82	238.20	15.72	110.11
Oct., 1939	6.01	24.11	238.20	13.68	112.54

Note: The litas, the monetary unit of Lithuania, equals 100 centas and contains 0.150463 grams of fine gold. Its circulation in Lithuania was abolished by the Soviet government after the occupation in 1940.

which is attributable to the intervention of the Government on behalf of agricultural credits. 452 453 652

In connexion with the consolidation of the credit situation and thanks to the initiative of the Lietuvos Bankas, private discount has also materially decreased. In 1929 it still fluctuated between 14—18%. At the end of 1930 the banks decided that the rate of interest should not rise above 12%; while today it amounts to 8%. Moreover, in accordance with a legal enactment (Government Gazette No. 432) private discount may not exceed the official bank rate by more than three points.

On the basis of the above cited balance items of the separate categories of the credit institutions, we may affirm that the overwhelming portion of the credits pertains to agriculture; the credits for trade and industry amount to approximately one-third of the total sum, and are without exception short-term. In view of this and in connexion with the rapid growth of industry, the necessity is ever more and more being felt for a banking institution which, through the provision of long-term credits, would promote the investment activity of industry.

*
* *

The consolidation of the credit situation is also characterized by the statistics of bills of exchange protests and the legal compulsory auction sales. The following comparative table embodies the data for the last eight years: 436 ●

	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Total bills of exchange in circulation, in million litas	708.24	760.52	546.52	463.21	490.81	423.40	410.43	472.08
Amount of protested bills, in million litas	40.06	67.51	71.74	39.34	32.48	23.54	13.97	12.98
Percentage share of protests in sum of bill circulation	5.7	8.9	13.1	8.5	6.6	5.6	3.4	2.7
Number of compulsory auction sales of movable property	636	794	1 961	3 104	2 768	2 471	1 621	1 084
Amount of debts in million litas	1.48	1.83	3.33	3.81	2.86	3.83	2.33	1.06
Percentage of debt cover	27	35	27	27	22	14	19	27

The number of bill protests, both according to separate items and the total value and according to the percentage ratio

436 to the total circulation, reached the lowest level in 1937 since the introduction of the litas currency in 1922. The reduction of bill circulation (the quoted figures relate to the number of lists sold) in comparison with 1930—32, is due, on the one hand, to the expansion of mortgage credits (we have seen above that the total sum of loans in 1937 already exceeded the pre-crisis level), and, on the other hand, to the consolidation of the economic situation and the enhanced liquidity of the money market, under the influence of which payments in cash are more frequently effected in trade transactions than formerly. The number of the legal compulsory auction sales of movable property, which reached their peak level in 1933, has since then receded by two-thirds. Although it still stands above the level of the years 1930—31, the position is nevertheless to be designated as more favourable because the peak of the debts for the recovery of which legal proceedings have been instituted stands at approximately one-third below the level of the pre-crisis period.

6. The Insurance Companies.

456 At the present time there are in Lithuania 6 insurance institutions, i. e. the State Insurance Office, 3 insurance joint-stock companies, and 2 mutual insurance companies. The State Insurance Office was founded in 1921; it is subordinate to the Ministry of Finance. In 1930 its capital-stock was fixed by law at 800 000 litas. The three joint-stock companies are:

(a) The „Lietuvos Lloydas", founded in 1922, with a present capital-stock of 800 000 litas.

(b) The „Lietuva", also founded in 1922, with a capital-stock of 600 000 litas.

(c) The Memel Insurance Joint-stock Company, founded in 1923 (capital-stock 10 000 litas).

The „First Mutual Insurance Company of Lithuanian Economy" was founded in 1921; the second mutual insurance company „Kooperacija" in 1925.

The most important data compiled from the balance-sheets of the above enumerated insurance establishments illustrate their activity as follows since 1928 (in million litas):

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Chapter III

INDUSTRY

•438 The industry of Lithuania before the World War was gov-
433 erned not by the requirements of the local markets. Its development and structure were more suited to the Russian empire, on whose national economy, politics, and markets Lithuania was dependent. There was extensive development of such industries as leather and metal, which had no basic connections with the markets of ethnographic Lithuania. At the same time, industries closely connected with agriculture were almost nonexistent. There were no slaughterhouses where the livestock surplus could be prepared for export, and there was almost no textile industry; the country's flax had to go to western Europe for manufacture into cloth. Even the timber industry, which was in a very favorable situation, was undeveloped. This same industry was flourishing just across the border, in the port of Klaipeda (Memel) in pre-World War Germany, although it was wholly dependent for its raw materials on Lithuania and the rest of pre-war Russia.[1]

After the World War the remnants of the Russian industries in Lithuania were unsuited to the needs of the newly established republic. And even those remnants were almost completely disabled, because during the hostilities the ma-

[1] C.S.B., 1918–28, pp. 67–90.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

chinery had been destroyed or sent to "unknown destinations." Therefore the industry of the reëstablished republic had not only to be reconstructed but had to be almost entirely reshaped in a manner suited to the needs of an agricultural country. According to the vague pre-World War statistics, there were approximately 3,144 separate industrial units in Lithuania, this number including very small establishments of three to five workers. According to statistics compiled from reports of factory inspectors,[2] the province (gouvernement) of Kaunas had 151 enterprises with 6,603 workers, distributed as in Table 31.

TABLE 31

INDUSTRY OF LITHUANIA IN 1913

NUMBER OF ENTERPRISES	NUMBER OF WORKERS IN EACH
1	1,256
2	600
2	200
2	100–200
12	51–100
7	31–50
13	21–30
34	11–30
78	less than 10

After the World War the leather and metal industries experienced a great setback, while the food, textile, paper, and other industries soon started on the upswing. An idea of the rapid increase in the number of industrial establishments may be gained from the number of government operation certificates issued. In 1920, 2,474 certificates were issued;

[2] Kubilius, *op. cit.*, pp. 222–23.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

438 in 1921, 4,011; in 1922, 4,933; in 1923, 5,402; in 1924, 5,-
433 419; in 1925, 5,941; in 1926, 5,164; in 1927, 5,437; in 1928, 5,742; in 1929, 6,010; in 1930, 5,842; in 1931, 5,796; in 1932, 5,735; in 1933, 5,451; in 1934, 5,710; in 1935, 12,-067; in 1936, 14,750; in 1937, 15,214; in 1938, 15,717; and in 1939, 16,131.[3]

[651] The sudden rise of the number of industrial establishments registered in 1935 and the subsequent years is the result of the extension of the License Tax in that year to even the smallest establishments. The new ruling required that a license be taken out even by concerns with only a single employee. Thus the figures of 1935 and later are not wholly comparable with the previous ones; nevertheless they reflect [463] the rise of industry in Lithuania. A more detailed picture of the development of industry may be obtained from Table 32, which shows that the largest number, over 20 percent, of wage earners are employed in the textile industry. The food and luxury goods industries, which in 1937 held third position with 5,195 employees, advanced to second place in 1938, with 6,150 workers. The third place in 1938 was held by the timber industry, with 4,852 workers, having enjoyed during the previous year an all-time peak in its record of employment. Fourth place, according to the number of workers employed, belongs to the clay products and stone industry; after it come the metals and machinery industry and the clothing and footwear industry.

When the value of industrial production is taken into consideration we get a very different picture of the situation, with the food and luxury industry in first place, accounting for over 41 percent of the total value of the industrial production of Lithuania. Next follow the textile

[3] C.S.B., 1938 and 1939, p. 186 and p. 194 respectively.

TABLE 32

CLASSIFICATION OF INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS OF LITHUANIA 1927–39[a]

INDUSTRY	1927		1930		1935		1938		1939[b]	
	Establishments	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*
Peat-cutting	7	603	6	541	7	417	16	1,086	19	1,296
Stone, clay products, etc.	94	1,357	108	1,648	82	1,539	130	3,566	130	3,212
Metals and machinery	97	1,895	94	1,975	92	1,711	120	3,327	97	2,981
Chemicals	49	885	53	792	48	940	48	1,583	53	1,695
Leather and fur	40	657	44	648	37	749	58	1,022	50	865
Textiles	55	1,403	57	2,194	61	4,679	81	7,019	84	4,611[c]
Timber	185	3,446	178	3,096	192	4,238	264	4,852	238	2,864[d]
Paper and printing	52	2,115	64	2,323	71	2,195	84	2,615	81	1,613[e]
Foodstuffs	253	3,786	246	3,616	343	4,284	394	6,150	347	5,925
Clothing and footwear	139	1,607	154	1,891	148	1,952	183	3,056	186	2,841
Electricity and gas works	29	648	26	479	31	512	33	590	31	474

[a] C.S.B., *Statistikos Metrastis*, Vol. 1929–39.
[b] All data in this column after seizure of Klaipeda Territory by Germany in March, 1939.
[c] Before Klaipeda Territory cession: 87 establishments with 7,561 employees.
[d] Before Klaipeda Territory cession: 206 establishments with 4,257 employees.
[e] Before Klaipeda Territory cession: 88 establishments with 2,679 employees.

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438 industry with 14.9 percent, the timber industry—9.1 per-
433 cent, and the paper and printing industry—8.4 percent. These facts may be clearly seen from Table 33, which shows

TABLE 33

AGGREGATE VALUE OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION OF LITHUANIA 1937–39

(In Thousands of Litas)

INDUSTRY	1937	1938	1939
Peat-cutting	1,277	1,873	2,932
Stone, clay products, etc.	7,012	9,097	9,389
Metals and machinery	19,298	24,661	23,378
Chemicals	13,939	16,529	20,734
Leather and fur	17,245	16,684	14,306
Textiles	35,656	40,331	40,331
Timber	15,847	16,865	14,341
Paper and printing	17,807	17,543	17,630
Food and luxury goods	151,569	175,470	223,424
Clothing and footwear	20,762	23,658	26,696
Electrical works	10,672	11,738	12,588
TOTAL	311,084	354,449	405,749

that the value of total production in 1939 was 405,749,000 litas against 354,449,000 litas in 1938 and 311,084,000 litas in 1937.

The growth of the industrial production of Lithuania was not even impaired by the world depression of 1929. While world production in 1931 and 1932 had fallen to the lowest ebb, production in Lithuania showed further expansion. Several reasons may be given in explanation of this phenomenon.

438
651 First, Lithuania exercises a specific customs duties system, which is an advantage to home industry during a period of

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TABLE 34

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION INDEX OF LITHUANIA AND THE WORLD 1929–39 438 433

YEAR	PRODUCTION OF LITHUANIA [a]	WORLD PRODUCTION [b]
1929	100	100
1930	108.3	88.3
1931	140.7	74.8
1932	153.7	63.0
1933	([d])	71.3
1934	166.5	77.0
1935	185.9	85.4
1936	244.2	95.5
1937	272.0	102.5
1938	309.4	125.8 [c]
1939	354.2	128.7

[a] *Report*, p. 20.
[b] League of Nations, *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, Geneva, June, 1938.
[c] *Ibid.*, *Statistical Year-Book 1939–40.*
[d] Figure not available.

falling prices in the world market, especially when the duties 438
are high as compared with the prices of commodities. Cus- 651
toms duties do not fall in proportion to the fall of prices in the world market, as would be the case under the ad valorem duties system. Thus, home industry benefited from the fall of raw-material prices and was able to supply the home market with cheaper commodities than could be offered by the foreign producers for whose products the customs duties were not lowered to suit the decreased prices. This is proved even by the great decrease in the value of imports, which in 1935 amounted to only 128,597,000 litas, as against 142,-176,200 litas in 1933 and 312,415,200 in 1930.

Second, it is to be noted that the index of industrial pro- 000

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

439 pation. In 1938, Maistas sales to foreign countries rose to 57.85 million litas, while in 1939 it rose to 71.7 million litas, or 24 percent above the 1938 figures.

●438 Even in domestic business Maistas showed an impressive rise. Its domestic sales amounted in 1930 to 5.8 million litas and rose every subsequent year until in 1938 they reached 14.9 million litas and in 1939, 18.8 million litas.

257 The sugar industry, which also shows considerable ad-
433 vance, started with one refinery in 1932, employing 67 persons, and in 1939 had two refineries with 246 workers, not counting the many farmers who were engaged in sugar-beet growing and whose incomes were increased through the introduction and development of this branch of agriculture.
257 Inasmuch as the two refineries were insufficient to meet the
471 demands of Lithuania, a third refinery was constructed. All three are owned by the Lietuvos Cukrus Corporation, in which the government participates as owner of a controlling number of shares of capital stock. The first refinery was opened in 1932 in Marijampole and the second in 1935 in Panevezys. The production rose very rapidly: in 1932, 67,000 quintals; 1933, 162,000 quintals; 1934, 82,000 quintals; 1935, 153,000 quintals; 1936, 221,000 quintals; 1937, 272,000 quintals; in 1938, 287,000 quintals [9] and 1939, 208,000 quintals.

234 Another industry in the food-and-luxury category which
433 showed great expansion both in number of establishments and in workers employed is that of dairying, which is covered in the section on coöperatives, above.

438 Other industries, such as grain mills with 761 workers,
433 candy and chocolate factories with 761 workers, and tobacco

[9] C.S.B., 1938, p. 160.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

and cigarette factories with 569 workers, continued to operate at about the same level throughout these past years. 438 433

LUMBER INDUSTRY

Some understanding of the lumber industry may be obtained from Table 38.[10] It will be observed that sawmilling 313 433

TABLE 38

LUMBER INDUSTRY

BRANCH OF INDUSTRY	1927		1930		1935		1938		1939 [a]	
	Establishments	*Workers*	*Establishments*	*Workers*	*Establishments*	*Workers*	*Establishments*	*Workers*	*Establishments*	*Workers*
Sawmilling	131	2,731	114	1,718	124	2,853	175	2,970	170	1,901
Plywood production	—	—	3	443	3	602	3	767	1	27
Cabinet-making	6	90	10	229	8	251	88	963	61	839

[a] After seizure of Klaipeda by Germany.

is the leading branch of the lumber industry, although it does not show great expansion. The same may be said of the plywood industry. The latter felt the greatest setback with the loss of Klaipeda. The lumber industry, producing mainly [439] for export, was hit by the world depression more severely than any other industry.

Before the agricultural products industry was developed 313 for export, lumber was one of the most important items exported from Lithuania. It is to be noted that with the ex- 439

[10] C.S.B., 1938 and 1939, pp. 170–71 and 160–61 respectively.

121 The following Report of the Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Crafts pursues the purpose of a concise and clear review of the history of the development of Lithuanian economy during the last ten years. With the exception of agriculture, it deals with all spheres of economics, i. e. industry, foreign and home trade, goods transport, the State finances, and credit conditions.

433 The synthesis of the dynamic of separate economic branches establishes the conclusion that Lithuanian political economy during the past ten years has achieved great progress. Although under the influence of the world economic crisis in the years 1932—1935 it suffered reverses or was at any rate hindered in its growth, the total balance of the ten years on an average shows a doubling of the real volume. Especially the years 1930—1931 and 1936—1937 were signalized by vigorous promotion and expansion periods. Whereas world economy in the autumn of 1937 once more revealed symptoms of a recession, in Lithuania the rising tendency continued.

The greatest successes were achieved in the domain of industry; its production grew uninterruptedly also during the crisis and has on an average increased two and a half times. The liquidation of Free Trade and the confinement of separate politico-economic spheres within their national boundaries under the operation of the world economic crisis, as in other agrarian countries so also in Lithuania have contributed to intensification of the development of home industry.

439 The Lithuanian foreign trade turnover has suffered loss during the crisis as a result of the fall of prices. Its volume nevertheless remained even during the crisis years above the level of 1929. The introduction of the licence system facilitated the maintenance of the active general trade balance in the crisis years and regulation of the trade balance with individual countries.

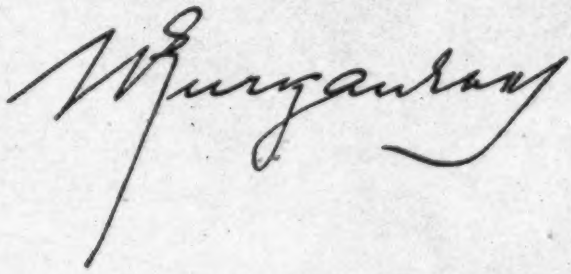
● 438 In the domain of home trade, the growth of cooperative trade must above all be premised. Private trade is developing unequally; for while intermediary wholesale trade is receding,

p. 4

small distributing trade enterprises are holding their own and increasing. 43

More favourable development is shown by finance and credit conditions; the equilibrium of the State finances and a sound currency and credit policy form the basis on which the superstructure of economy can be reared. 652

The fact that the economic crisis, notwithstanding its protracted duration, was relatively easily overcome, after which a vigorous advance again set in, is to a great extent to be entered to the credit of the economic policy of the Government, which by means of the regulation of export, the support of production of agricultural supplies, the financing of new industrial promotions, and the regulation of prices has ameliorated the effects of the world crisis and furthered a healthy private initiative in the interests of the total political economy. 000



President of the Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Crafts.

3. The Geographical Distribution of Lithuanian Industry

The principal centres of Lithuanian industry are Kaunas, Memel, and Šiauliai. To Kaunas (the city and district) in January, 1938, pertained 37.7%, to the Memel Territory 27.5%, and to the Šiauliai district 10.3%, so that to all three in the aggregate in round figures related three-quarters of all the industrial workers employed in Lithuania. 433 438

The development of the geographical distribution of Lithuanian industry during the last ten years is shown by the following comparison of the relevant statistical data:

	Kaunas		Memel		Šiauliai	
	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers
1929	300	6 762	169	5 695	131	2 525
1930 (June)	315	7 334	182	5 457	129	2 517
1931 (June)	343	7 405	137	5 604	129	2 501
1932 (June)	333	6 868	148	5 094	141	2 340
1933 (June)	339	7 568	139	5 618	129	2 105
1934 (July)	334	8 321	150	6 477	131	2 104
1935 (July)	347	8 435	141	7 215	130	2 214
1936 (July)	354	9 721	141	7 214	132	2 684
1937 (Jan.)	340	10 439	137	7 120	125	2 861
1938 (Jan.)	423	11 972	141	8 354	138	3 126

We see from the foregoing table that the most active development of the Kaunas district shows: The number of the undertakings since 1929 has increased there by 41% and the number of employed industrial workers by 77%. In the Memel Territory during the same interval the number of undertakings has fallen by 16.6%, but the number of workers has risen by 46.7%. Šiauliai displays the smallest increase; the number of undertakings there has risen by 5.3% and the number of workers by 23.8%.

Thanks to this development, the rôle of Kaunas as the most important centre of Lithuanian industry, in comparison with that of Memel and Šiauliai, has not only absolutely but also relatively grown considerably during the last ten years.

From the standpoint of separate industrial branches, there have been concentrated in Kaunas in the first place the metal and machinery industry, the chemical industry (production of rubber goods), the stone industry (glass factories and the treatment of paving-stones), the paper industry, and woven goods manufacture. Besides these preponderating branches, a

433 438 considerable part of the wool and cotton spinning and weaving, the timber sawing, furniture manufacture, the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry, &c. is situated in Kaunas.

In Memel is located the largest part of the timber industry (sawing, plywood supply, and cellulose production), the predominant portion of the wool and cotton industry (two-thirds), the artificial fertilizer industry, a considerable share of the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry (meat treatment, tobacco manufacture), &c.

In Šiauliai are concentrated 85% of the Lithuanian leather industry (tanning), nearly 60% of the footwear industry, and two-thirds of the flax treatment industry. In the district of Šiauliai (at Pavenčiai) is situated a sugar factory (the second in Lithuania) which was established in 1935. In Šiauliai itself also four chocolate and sugar ware factories are in operation.

Besides the foregoing three principal centres of industry should also be mentioned: **Panevėžys**, where are situated the biggest Lithuanian milling concerns, also a meat-canning factory of the „Maistas" Company and a large enterprise of the flax treatment industry; **Marijampolė**, with the first sugar factory founded in 1931 and several sawmills; **Plungė** and **Telšiai**, with two of the largest Lithuanian linen factories; **Tauragė**, with a meat wares factory of „Maistas"; **Rokiškis**, with a textile factory (wool weaving) and several dairy-farms; lastly, **Vilkaviškis**, which harbours a third of the Lithuanian underclothing manufacture, an enterprise for fur dressing and the largest bristle treatment concern.

4. The Rôle of the Joint-stock Companies

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The development of the joint-stock capital invested in industry has proceeded as follows:

Year	Total No. of jointstock Cos.	Share-capital in 1000 litas	Proportion of Foreign Capital
1928	56	69 059	7 600*)
1929	57	70 434	7 400*)
1930	62	85 851	19 400*)

*) Without Memel.

while the remaining branches reveal an average firm development tendency. The branches with shrinkage symptoms are: Trade in agricultural products (grain, flax, dairy supplies, eggs, cattle, poultry); trade in combustibles (timber, coal, and naphtha); and trade in machinery and vehicles. There are therefore involved only those branches of trade which, during recent years, have been passing more and more out of the hands of private promoters into the sphere of activity of the commercial cooperatives and the „Maistas" Joint-stock Company, which must inevitably automatically cause a decrease in the number of enterprises of the corresponding branches, the more so since most of the commercial cooperatives are exempt from the Patent Tax and are not included in the total figures of commercial undertakings which are calculated on the basis of the trade-licences issued. The enormous rise of the goods turnover of the „Maistas" Joint-stock Company and the cooperatives is described in the following section. 473

*

* *

As regards the geographical distribution of commercial undertakings, besides Kaunas and Memel, Šiauliai and Panevėžys are the most important commercial centres of Lithuania. The following table depicts the development of the geographical distribution of wholesale and large-scale retail commercial concerns in a wider sense (I.-III. Corporations) in Lithuania Major from 1929—1937. 438 473

Geographical Distribution of Commercial Concerns.

Year	Total	Kaunas (City)	Šiauliai (District)	Panevėžys (District)
1929	17 116	2 418	1 846	1 128
1930	17 317	2 453	1 808	1 168
1931	17 387	2 654	1 782	1 172
1932	16 493	2 723	1 773	1 074
1933	15 503	2 674	1 717	1 047
1934	14 830	2 671	1 704	991
1935	14 145	2 532	1 634	949
1936	14 412	2 593	1 666	1 010
1937	15 117	2 690	1 662	1 018

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We see from the foregoing data that notwithstanding the decrease in the total figures, the number of Kaunas concerns in the period under review has grown; in consequence of this the percentage share of Kaunas has also risen from 14.1% in 1929 to 17.8% in 1937. The biggest rise in the number of Kaunas concerns falls to 1931—1932, when in connexion with tariff-technical facilities a number of import firms removed their headquarters from the small frontier town of Virbalis to Kaunas, and to 1936—1937, in the wake of the general economic upward trend. The wholesale commercial concerns, i. e. undertakings of the I. corporation, are, moreover, for the most part concentrated in Kaunas; of the 120 corresponding enterprises of Lithuania, 76 have their headquarters in that city.

While, as shown above, the total number of wholesale and large-scale retail commercial concerns in the rest of Lithuania has suffered an absolute reduction during the past decade, in spite of the revival of the last two years, the growth of commercial concerns in the Memel Territory is estimated at approximately 15%. This phenomenon is to be explained in the first place by the growth of the port trade (see the following chapter for details), which induced various firms to remove their headquarters to Memel or at least to open permanent branches at the port.

2. Total Figures of Goods Turnover

The statistical comprehension of the goods turnover of home-trade in the nature of things encounters greater difficulties than the calculation of the foreign trade turnover. The large number of small undertakings, among them the hawker's trade which with us is still relatively widespread and difficult mathematically to grasp, and most of all the absence still of any sharp cleavage between wholesale and retail business generally aggravate the task of determining the total amounts of the turnover and render their clarification from parallelism quite impossible. The State Central Statistical Bureau on these grounds has hitherto published no relevant data.

One must therefore be content only with substitute figures and estimates. As such may be mentioned: The data on tax receipts; the foreign trade turnover; the reports of the coope-

rative societies (which, however, in the first place reflect only the constantly growing rôle of the cooperatives in our economic life and therefore do not permit any conclusions on the turnover of the total home-trade) and, finally, the results of an inquiry organized by our Chamber of Commerce.

In the tax statistics contingent postponements during separate years are expressed only in a distorted form, because the tax receipts of each single year, besides the taxes assessed on the basis of the turnover in the previous year, contain also arrears from earlier years. Naturally, therefore, the contingent position of the payment year, and not the assessment year, is conclusive for the payment receipts. Bearing in mind the foregoing objections, the tax statistics none the less provide a certain guide and afford us, in the absence of other sources, a summary over a larger series of years.

According to the reports of the State Control, the tax receipts (without the Memel Territory) from trade from 1930—1936, were as follows (in 1 000 litas):

Year	Total	Patent Tax	Profit Tax
1930	8 182.7	2 458.3	5 724.4
1931	8 231.1	2 250.9	5 980.2
1932	7 901.5	2 306.4	5 595.1
1933	7 027.7	1 894.6	5 133.1
1934	6 357.9	2 014.7	4 343.2
1935	6 662.1	2 026.2	4 635.9
1936	6 852.3	1 997.9	4 854.4

The second column respecting the Patent Tax once more confirms the accuracy of the deductions of the former section in regard to the reduction in the number of undertakings of wholesale and large-scale retail trade, and shows that even the extension of tax liability to hitherto tax-free small enterprises in 1935 could not compensate for the decline in the Patent Tax returns.

The third column respecting the Profit Tax, for the reasons above discussed, may only with reserve be regarded as a substitute reflecting the trade turnover. Nevertheless, for the purpose of comparison of the development tendencies of trade and industry, it can, in the first place, be contrasted with the analogous data on the industry tax receipts; the accuracy of the

lation of the trade turnover on the basis of the tax statistics, 651
and an appropriate clarification effected. 439

To reinforce this assertion we compare first of all the per- 473
centage development of the Profit Tax receipts from 1930—1936 (the tax is valid at times for the preceding year) with the index already calculated in the previous chapter of the **ad valorem** development of our foreign trade turnover from 1929—1935. We obtain in this manner the two following sets of figures:

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935
Foreign Trade Turnover..	100.0	101.5	86.6	55.9	47.5	44.9	44.1
Trade Turnover on the basis of tax receipts	100.0	105.5	97.7	89.7	75.9	80.9	84.8

One must bear in mind that the home-trade turnover, [438] especially in respect of commodities of fixed demand (chiefly foodstuffs) which constitute the relatively most important item of the turnover, is far less subject to trend fluctuations than foreign trade. The growth of domestic industrial production must likewise extend the scope of the home-trade turnover. On the other hand, however, one may not forget that the retrogression of our foreign trade turnover is in the first instance due to the fall of prices, and that its quantitative scope, as has been demonstrated in a previous chapter, even in the crisis years remained above the level of 1929. The fall of prices has approximately in the same manner affected the foreign and home-trade turnovers. If therefore the tax receipts correctly reflected the trade turnover, then this would mean, in consideration of the high percentage share of foreign trade, that the home-trade in inland goods already in 1935 had attained a turnover which, in comparison with 1929, was **ad valorem** one and a half times, and quantitatively three times larger, which, it goes without saying, cannot correspond to reality.

On the basis of reliable estimates, the turnover assessments 651
of the Tax Inspectorate in the crisis years, in relation to the 438
firms with non-public accounting, were fixed too high. Since on the firms with public accounting, for which the tax is assessed according to the actual turnover, approximately one-fifth of the Profit Tax total devolves, the figures for the total receipts since 1932 have had to be cut down a quarter in round figures in order to depict the real total turnover.

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The tax statistics at our disposal relate to the turnover from 1929—1935. According to our estimates the trade turnover in 1936 in comparison with the preceding year rose by 25% and in 1937 by 15%. After the above discussed correction has been made we get the following index figures of the **ad valorem** development of our total trade turnover:

1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
100	106	98	67	57	61	64	80	92

The above index being based upon estimates cannot lay claim to a hundred per cent accuracy, but its final figures are nevertheless assessed rather too high than too low. To its plausibility **inter alia** testifies the circumstance that it corresponds approximately to the average of the indices of the foreign trade turnover and of the industrial production, taking into consideration the price changes that have ensued since 1929.

The **ad valorem** recession of the goods turnover sums is not, it goes without saying, synonymous with the quantitative recession. The quantitative scope of our goods turnover has, on the contrary, appreciably increased, as the following volume index, calculated on the strength of the price-index of Lietuvos Bankas, shows:

1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
100	122	132	109	105	117	139	174	174

The last index group demonstrates the considerable increase of domestic consumption. Since the volume index of the foreign trade turnover for 1937, calculated in the previous chapter, amounts to only 139.3, this means, if we estimate the share of foreign trade at 40%, that the home trade in domestic commodities has almost doubled from 1929 to 1937, wherein both the rise of home industrial production and the improvement of the standard of living are revealed.

Expressed in absolute figures, according to our estimate, the total trade turnover in the past year (1937) may have reached 900 000 000 litas. The turnover of the Memel Territory is not included in this sum because data are lacking for an estimate in this connexion.

438 The home-trade turnover of „Maistas", which maintains
473 47 places of sale for meat and canned provisions throughout Lithuania, has constantly grown. In 1927 it amounted to 4 400 000 litas; in 1936 it had already reached 10 100 000 litas; and in 1937 it had risen to 13 100 000 litas.

4. The Rôle of the Cooperative Societies

474 The significance of the cooperatives in our trade can best
438 be illustrated by the fact that their sales in 1937 amounted to more than 200 000 000 litas. During the last ten years they have quadrupled in value, and quantitatively even increased eightfold.

The course of this expansion can be studied in the following table:

Sales of the Cooperative Societies (in 1 000 litas)

Year	„Lietūkis"	Trade Cooperatives	„Pienocentras"	Total
1928	12 129	23 520	13 662	49 311
1929	29 393	52 255	25 999	108 647
1930	23 117	44 992	43 854	111 963
1931	36 743	44 950	46 102	127 795
1932	28 853	37 314	45 182	111 349
1933	32 063	37 534	36 163	105 760
1934	37 617	37 342	36 329	111 288
1935	60 530	46 427	42 438	149 395
1936	73 715	55 560	55 897	185 172
1937	72 823	65 046	65 730	203 599

The Union of Agricultural Cooperative Societies of Lithuania „Lietūkis", which was founded in 1923 and in the first year of its existence counted only 26 cooperative societies as members, and whose annual sales from 1923 to 1929 on an average amounted to 10 000 000 litas, since the revision and amendment of the statutes in 1930, has become the most important commercial undertaking of Lithuania. The aims which it pursues consist, in the sense of the by-laws, in promoting agriculture

and rural industry; organizing trade in agrarian products, and reconciling the interests of consumers and producers. 474 438

To-day „Lietūkis" counts 111 cooperative societies as its members. Besides the central establishment in Kaunas it maintains 16 branch establishments in the provinces; three elevators, viz., at Memel, of 30 000 tons capacity; at Šiauliai, of 3 250 tons capacity; and at Kaunas, of 2 250 tons capacity. Furthermore at Šiauliai it possesses a central flax warehouse, and 18 grain warehouses at various other places. Since the end of 1937 it has managed its own flour-mill at Kalvarija, Suvalkai.

The goods turnover of „Lietūkis", after the overcoming of the crisis years 1932—1933, has constantly grown. The negligible recession in 1937 by 890 000 litas or 1.2% of the turnover was due solely to the reduction of grain export in consequence of the unfavourable harvest.

If, however, we take into consideration that the grain turnover of „Lietūkis" in connexion therewith decreased from 21 300 000 litas in 1936 to 10 600 000 litas in 1937, it should also be pointed out that its turnover with other commodities not only has not receded but, on the contrary, has risen by 10 300 000 litas. Inter alia in 1937, in comparison with the previous year, there increased: The turnover with flax from 4 800 000 litas to 6 700 000 litas; with sugar from 15 500 000 litas to 17 500 000 litas; with naphtha products from 5 900 000 litas to 6 700 000 litas; with agricultural and other machinery from 2 200 000 litas to 3 600 000 litas; with cement from 1 900 000 litas to 2 800 000 litas, &c.

The percentage share of „Lietūkis" in the Lithuanian total turnover of many important commodities amounts to: In the import of fertilizers 100%; in salt import 92.5%; in the import of agricultural machinery 80%; in cement import 42%; in the import of naphtha products 40%; in the import of herrings 10%; in iron import 5%; in the export of grain 85%; in the export of flax 27%; and in the sale of sugar (of inland production) 69%;

The second column of the above quoted table shows the development of goods sales of the trade cooperatives, the number of which to-day amounts to 180. It includes both agricultural cooperative societies, which for the most part are organiz-

474 438 ed in „Lietūkis", but which effect their sales on their own account, and other quite independent consumer unions. Among the latter mention should be made of the following:

1. „Parama", which carries on the grocery trade and in Kaunas and neighbourhood owns 30 sale establishments. Its turnover amounted in 1937 to 5 200 000 litas against 4 800 000 litas in 1936 and 4 500 000 litas in 1935. „Parama" owns also its own bread bakery, the biggest in Lithuania, the production of which in 1937 reached 5 900 000 litas.

2. „Spaudos Fondas" engages in the book and stationery material trade, also in book publishing. It maintains three sales establishments in Kaunas and ten in the provinces. The turnover reached 6 100 000 litas in 1937 against 5 400 000 litas in 1936 and 4 600 000 litas in 1935.

3. „Karių Ekonominė Bendrovė", a military consumers' union, maintains in Kaunas its own organized warehouse-like emporium. In 1937 its turnover reached 2 600 000 litas against 2 900 000 litas in 1936, and 3 100 000 litas in 1935. It is the only cooperative society whose turnover, if only negligibly, has declined.

4. „Marginiai" engages in the sale of articles of folk art and household industry. It maintains a branch establishment at Šiauliai. In 1937 the turnover amounted to 211 334 litas against 158 783 litas in 1936, and 142 320 litas in 1935.

The total turnover of all trade cooperatives, which already in 1929 had reached the amount of 52 200 000 litas, stayed until 1935 below this level. In 1936, however, it rose to 55 800 000 litas and in 1937 to 65 000 000 litas.

The Central Union of Lithuanian Dairy-farming Cooperative Societies „Pienocentras" belongs formally it is true, not to the trade cooperatives but to the production cooperative societies, but in view of its important share in the goods turnover, especially in the export trade, we will describe its rôle in this section.

474 438 439 The union „Pienocentras", which was founded in 1926, counts to-day 192 dairy-farming cooperative societies as members. It disposes in all of over 2 052 milk-skimming stations, and is served by 91 491 milk-purveyors. It owns the monopoly of butter and egg export. Its share in the total export of Lithuania amounted in 1937 to 26.1%. Concurrently it maintains

also inland 17 sale emporia and eight breakfast rooms and in 1937 attained on the home market a turnover of 7 200 000 litas. 414 438 439

The growth of the goods turnover of „Pienocentras" and its structure are shown in the following three tables:

1. The Structure of the Total Turnover of „Pienocentras" (in 1 000 litas)

Year	Total Turnover	Whereof A. Export	Including: 1. Butter	2. Eggs	Percentage Share in Total Lithuanian Export	B. Domestic Sales
1927	5 981	3 971	3 950	—	1.6	2 010
1928	13 662	10 437	10 437	—	4.1	3 225
1929	25 999	20 888	20 786	102	6.3	5 111
1930	43 854	35 200	34 866	334	10.5	8 653
1931	46 102	37 790	37 055	735	13.8	8 312
1932	45 182	37 079	36 045	1 034	19.6	8 103
1933	36 163	29 909	29 150	789	18.7	6 245
1934	36 329	30 231	28 816	1 397	20.5	6 098
1935	42 438	35 948	33 866	2 046	23.6	6 490
1936	55 897	48 228	42 042	6 151	25.3	7 668
1937	65 730	54 470	47 065	7 375	26.1	7 187

2. Butter Export of „Pienocentras"

Year	Total Butter Export of Lithuania, in Tons	Butter Export of „Pienocentras", in Tons	Percentage Share of „Pienocentras"
1927	2 051	551.2	26.9
1928	2 643	1 374.6	52.0
1929	4 084	2 810.4	68.8
1930	7 357	6 024.4	81.9
1931	8 705	7 480.9	85.9
1932	9 926	9 280.9	93.5
1933	9 580	8 674.2	90.4
1934	9 671	9 589.9	98.9
1935	12 154	12 101.2	99.6
1936	14 629	14 302.4	97.8
1937	15 058	14 964.4	99.4

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3. Egg Export of „Pienocentras"

Year	Total Export of Eggs from Lithuania, in 1 000	Egg Export of „Pienocentras", in 1 000	Percentage Share of „Pienocentras"
1929	55 509	361	0.6
1930	55 188	1 567	2.8
1931	60 998	4 815	7.9
1932	45 790	8 757	19.1
1933	28 796	7 523	26.1
1934	19 247	16 074	83.5
1935	27 798	26 758	96.3
1936	67 184	66 542	99.0
1937	77 063	74 136	96.5

On the basis of the data contained in the foregoing tables, we may form the following conclusions:

1. The total turnover of „Pienocentras" since the foundation year until 1931 grew uninterruptedly. Owing to the crisis years, this growth was interrupted; yet the falling-off in the turnover was not quantitative but evoked by the fall of prices. During the last two years, however, the position of 1931 has also been appreciably exceeded, in 1937 by 42.5%.

2. Nearly 90% of the total turnover of „Pienocentras" devolves upon export. Of this percentage approximately 85% consists of butter export and 15% of egg export. Butter export already since 1934 and egg export since 1935 have been conducted by „Pienocentras" on a monopoly basis. Foreign trade statistics show that simultaneously with the growth of the share of „Pienocentras", Lithuania's total export of corresponding commodities has considerably grown, which proves that the extension of our butter export trade more particularly must be entered solely to the credit account of „Pienocentras". Since 1927, that is, since the time when „Pienocentras" began to engage in butter export, the Lithuanian butter exports have grown quantitatively more than sevenfold, and during the last four years alone, since „Pienocentras" enjoyed a monopoly, amount to an increment of 57%.

[438] 3. The domestic sales do not reveal so favourable a development as export. Ad valorem they were in 1937 still below the level of 1931, although, having regard to price variations, their quantitative scope has risen approximately by 30%.

531 Lithuanian village--be they peasant beds, tables
532 or benches. Here rules rather a peculiar sobriety, which is to be explained only by the fact that there has never been a bourgeois culture in the Western sense of the term in this country, formerly a part of Russia. But this seems under any circumstances to be a prerequisite to a rural residential culture.

[438] A home industry bringing artistically worked wooden objects onto the market did not formerly exist in Lithuania. Quite in contrast to Germany, for example, folk art, although reaching such height of expression, did not produce a national [369] handicraft. Neither was this art developed into a handicraft in the countryside--this was opposed by the peasant's home economy--nor was the city handicraft--we may think, for example, of the interior furnishings of the city church--stimulated by it. The reasons for this will be discussed in the chapter on the intellectual culture of the city.1 We speak, therefore, quite intentionally in this regard of a home culture. Only in recent times has a handicraft arisen in Lithuania on a national basis, such as Daugirdas aspired even before the World War.

000 There is no question that the rich store of forms of the Lithuanian home art offers a favorable soil for the development of an independent handicraft. To be sure, modern Lithuanian handicraft, as it is promoted, for example, by the trade schools, the orphanages, and similar institutions, is still today trying to develop its own avenues. This development is not without danger, for not every path leads to the goal. We see here at times efforts simply to take over Western forms and give up the indigenous ones; this would be an unfortunate break with the Lithuanians' own independently developed, /132/ tradition. On the other hand, attempts at transferring directly to wooden furniture and wooden objects the primitive weaving patterns

1 [cat. 116, pp. 145-195--Analyst]

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB1

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TABLE 4

LAND USE IN THE BALTIC STATES

TYPE OF LAND	LITHUANIA		LATVIA		ESTONIA	
	Thousands of Acres	*Per-cent*	*Thousands of Acres*	*Per-cent*	*Thousands of Acres*	*Per-cent*
Arable land	6,667	48.5	5,243	32.2	2,671	23.9
Meadows and pasture land	2,817	20.5	4,094	25.2	4,305	38.5
Forests	2,599	18.9	4,317	26.6	2,315	20.7
All others	1,673	12.1	2,602	16.0	1,885	16.9
TOTAL	13,756 [a]	100.0	16,256 [b]	100.0	11,176 [c]	100.0

[a] 5,567,000 hectares.
[b] 6,579,000 hectares.
[c] 4,523,000 hectares.

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To enable the reader to gain a better understanding and judgment of statistics about the Baltic states given elsewhere in this work, some comparative figures are given in Table 5 regarding the territory and population of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

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Lithuania is lacking in natural resources that are necessary to a well-rounded economic life. One of the country's most serious deficiencies is the absence of its own fuel supply. There is no coal in Lithuania. In 1923 Lithuania imported 5,367,100 litas worth of coal and liquid fuel. By 1928 this figure had almost tripled, imports that year amounting to 14,905,700 litas. The only form of domestic fuel is peat, of which there are 162,221 acres (65,650 hectares). The possibilities of peat have not yet been fully explored, but if peat were made to supplant coal, it is estimated that Lithuania would possess fuel reserves for 132 years.[20]

[20] A. K. Kubilius, *Lietuvos Ukio Perspektyvos* (The Prospects of the National Economy of Lithuania), Kaunas, 1930, p. 190.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

453 241 439 Since 1924–25 the policy has been changed and the countries of central Europe have returned to the pre-war methods of tariff protection of their cereal production as well as to the protection of their animal husbandry. This has contributed to duplication in production and to the narrowing of the world market for exported agricultural products, while other factors stimulated the further expansion of agricultural production in the surplus-exporting countries. Exports from agricultural and raw-material producing countries increased very little during the years of prosperity because there was no appreciable increase in the demand for these products in the industrial countries. At the same time, the imports of agricultural countries, consisting mainly of manufactured goods, rose rapidly. The payment balance of agricultural countries could be kept in equilibrium only by an increase in indebtedness or by drawing on the surplus of previous years. For example, in 1924 Lithuania's exports exceeded imports by 60 million litas, while in 1927 imports exceeded exports by 19.8 million litas and in 1938 by 34.2 million litas.[6]

000 Data on economic activities in Lithuania cover the period up to 1939. With the war of 1939 another period of "disturbed economic development" started; no attempt can be made to analyze this period in this volume, since economic conditions are very unstable and data on economic activities unavailable.

LAND REFORM

423 One of the factors that contributed most to a complete overhauling of the internal economic and social structure of Lithuania was the land reform, a question which was

[6] Exchange rate: 10 litas to $1.00 until 1933; 6 litas to $1.00, 1935–40.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

474 operative branches, is a small sum. In the unclassified group
[456] in the year 1939 there were 430 societies with a membership of 4,581. The total membership of all coöperative societies in 1939 was 161,256.

All the coöperative unions and bigger coöperative societies have representatives in the Council of Coöperatives of Lithuania (Lietuvos Kooperatyvu Taryba), which was formally chartered on January 30, 1925. The task of the Council is to encourage coöperative movement, to maintain close ties among coöperatives in Lithuania and in foreign countries, and to represent them in the government institutions and
[204] public organizations. The Council publishes the magazines *Talka* (Coöperation) and *Bendras Darbas* (Coöperative Work).[26]

In short, it may be said that coöperation has played an important role in the economic reconstruction and development of Lithuania since 1918. Coöperative institutions have increased the purchasing power of the farmers, both as producers and as consumers. At the same time they have furthered economic progress both by increasing productivity and by improving the quality of many products.

GRAIN CULTURE

243 Grain culture, which has been known in Lithuania since ancient times, was the backbone of the country's agriculture before the World War of 1914–18. Though there has been a tendency since 1926 to concentrate more on livestock breeding and dairying, grain culture still is the dominating feature of Lithuania's agriculture.

245 In recent years there has been a yearly production of
●439 about 1.6 to 1.7 million metric tons of grain, with only a

[26] Salcius, *op. cit.*, pp. 230–31.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

small part of this available for export. Almost half of all the arable land of Lithuania is used for grain culture, a fact that is evident from Table 12. Although the amount of arable land used for grain culture increases slowly, the exports of grain have varied widely. The heavy grain exports in 1935

[311] 439 243

TABLE 11

EXPORTS OF GRAIN 1924–39[a]

YEAR	GRAIN EXPORTED[b] (*Metric tons*)	VALUE (*1,000 litas*)
1924	24,966	10,022
1926	16,541	9,894
1928	12,310	6,377
1930	40,664	11,526
1932	7,035	2,268
1934	25,504	4,682
1935	162,023	20,465
1936	130,562	14,578
1937	5,795	1,628[c]
1938	132,379	21,696
1939	85,365	11,700

[a] In the statistics of grain exports are included not only rye, wheat, oats, and barley but also the seeds of vetch, peas, buckwheat, chick-peas, and lentils.

[b] The metric ton or 10 quintals = 36.743 U.S. bushels of wheat or potatoes, 39.369 U.S. bushels of rye or linseed, 45.931 U.S. bushels of barley, 68.894 U.S. bushels of oats, according to the League of Nations' *Statistical Year Book of 1940*.

[c] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 104, for the period 1924–37.

and 1936, which according to Professor Kriksciunas[27] may be regarded as accidental, were made possible by an exceptionally large yield in 1934 and 1935. The bulk of production is intended for home consumption.

The most popular grain crops in Lithuania are winter

[27] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB1

YEAR	LITHUANIA	LATVIA	ESTONIA
SUGAR BEETS			
1928–29	—	20	—
1929–30	—	35	—
1930–31	—	69	—
1931–32	67	94	—
1932–33	164	245	—
1933–34	73	291	—
1934–35	137	539	—
1935–36	198	451	—
1936–37	245	382	—
1937–38	257	442	—
1938–39 [b]	208	296	—

[a] Conversion coefficients: see footnote b of Table 11.
[b] *Revue internationale d'agriculture*, 1940, No. 2.

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FLAX

Lithuania is one of the chief flax-producing countries in Europe, for the climate and the soil are very favorable for the cultivation of this crop. It is to be noted that in spite of its small area Lithuania ranks as the third flax exporter of the world, being surpassed only by Soviet Russia and Poland. About 200,000 acres, or a little more than three percent of all the arable land in Lithuania, is used for flax growing. Although this is a comparatively small percentage, the income derived therefrom is high. The income from flax and linseed exports in 1920–36 was greater than that from butter, pigs and pork, eggs, or grain.[31]

L 248 439 L [311]

Because there are no uniform standards for the preparation of the flax, the export products vary in quality. For example, in southern Lithuania flax is plucked out only after full maturity. Later it is submitted to a process of dew retting

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[31] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 103. See Table 19 for figures.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB1
Poland EA1

L 248

instead of being water retted as in other parts of Lithuania. Prepared by such methods, flax fiber is of low quality, although this is offset by a rich yield of valuable linseed. In other parts of Lithuania flax is plucked before reaching full maturity. Flax plucked at this state produces linseed of low quality, but the flax fiber is undoubtedly very strong and fine.[32]

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The concentration of flax exports since 1932 in the coöperative concern Lietukis has raised the quality and reputation of Lithuanian flax. Continued progress in this respect will no doubt be reflected in better prices and greater profits.

TABLE 18

L 248 BC 248 P 248

PRODUCTION OF FLAX IN THE BALTIC STATES AND POLAND

(In Thousands of Quintals)

YEAR	LITHUANIA	LATVIA	ESTONIA	POLAND
1925–29 (av.)	364	221	100	561
1930–34 (av.)	208	141	66	323
1934	222	162	71	308
1935	319	248	105	398
1936	288	185	87	372
1937	313	231	103	381
1938	258	214	74	399
1939	289	192	62	(*a*)

[a] Figure not available.

L 248 439

The importance of flax, tow, and linseed in the exports of Lithuania may be observed from the fact that in 1924 they constituted 26 percent of Lithuania's total exports; in 1926, 7 percent; in 1928, 20 percent; in 1930, 10 percent; in 1937, 15 percent; in 1938, 11 percent; and in 1939, 17 percent.

[32] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 19

EXPORTS OF LITHUANIA'S FLAX PRODUCTS 248

YEAR	FLAX AND TOW: QUANTITY EXPORTED (1,000 metric tons)	FLAX AND TOW: VALUE (Millions of litas)	LINSEED: QUANTITY EXPORTED (1,000 metric tons)	LINSEED: VALUE (Millions of litas)
1924	14.0	52.75	18.6	16.29
1926	19.7	56.93	25.8	18.04
1928	13.2	46.59	77.0	6.18
1930	10.2	19.59	20.1	14.21
1932	9.0	9.12	7.7	2.46
1934	10.2	11.19	6.4	2.01
1936	19.7	25.12	23.8	6.80
1937	16.1	24.00	20.7	7.10
1938	18.8	24.82	5.6	1.98
1939	20.0	30.31	10.3	4.16

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DAIRY PRODUCTS

Butter and cheese were produced in pre-war Lithuania, 234
but these items became available in increasing quantities for export only after the World War. In 1909–14, only some of the bigger landlords (farmers owning 200 acres or more) had their own creameries, but most of the middle-class and small farmers prepared milk products mainly for their own consumption, sending only a small portion to near-by township markets. In 1901, forty-eight landlords organized the [439]
creamery Birute whose yearly exports of butter reached 620,000 pounds. But the World War which disorganized the national economy of Lithuania also ruined the dairy co-operatives. Not only were the dairies destroyed but the country was deprived of its sources of supply, for almost

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

234 half of the cattle were slaughtered for meat by various armies.[33]

Shortly after the World War there was great demand for milk products in Germany and prices were high. It was possible to sell milk and milk products even of low quality, especially in the border districts of Germany. In 1924–25 the conditions began to change. Germany returned to the pre-war methods of tariff protection and adopted the policy of economic self-sufficiency. There were also greater supplies of milk products from other markets, such as Denmark and overseas, which caused a decrease in prices.

Private merchants, interested only in immediate profits and possessing no capital for long-term investments, were unable to improve the quality of milk products. That this quality was low can be deduced from the fact that the butter bought up from the farmers had been prepared in a variety
● 439 of ways, mostly by primitive methods. The butter was then mixed and packed for export. Naturally, prices for such "mixtures," were low, but eventually it became impossible to sell the product even at low prices.

234 The government was anxious to help the farmers by im-
474 proving milk products and increasing exports. The best way
654 to do that seemed to be by coöperation, a method which in later years fully justified the expectations. Through the initiative of the coöperatives and with government subsidies, the quality of butter was improved so much that in 1936, of all the butter-exporting countries, only Denmark was able to get higher prices than Lithuania. Lithuania's position in this market shows even more creditable progress when we

[33] *Centraline Lietuvos Pieno Perdirbimo Bendrovių Sąjunga Pienocentras 1927–1936* (The Central Union of Dairy Coöperative Societies of Lithuania, Pienocentras, 1927–1936), p. 15.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

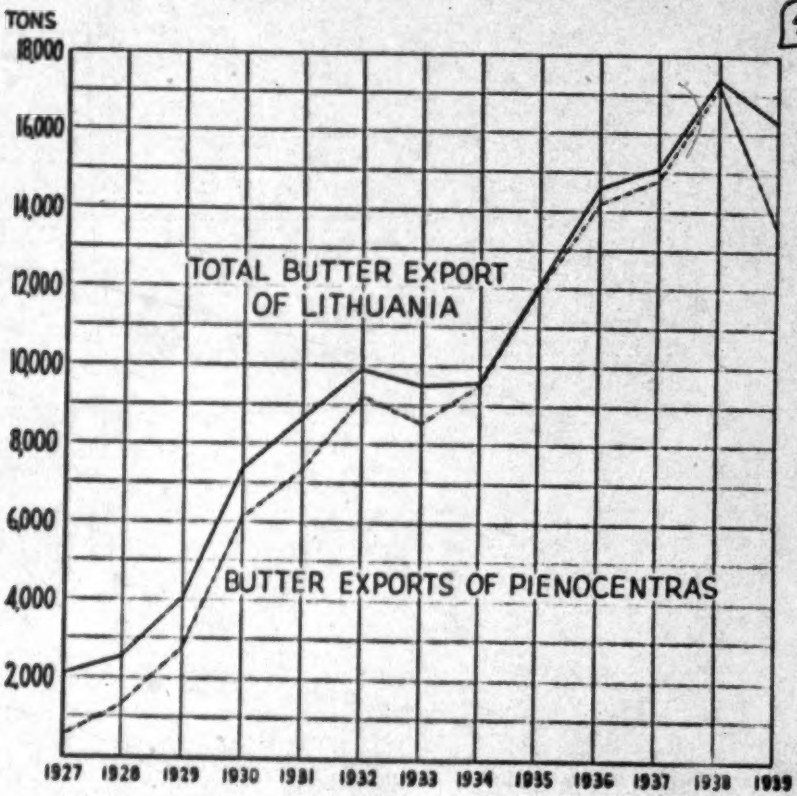
take into consideration the fact that Danish butter had been selling in London for decades and the English consumers had acquired a taste for it.[34] 234 474 654

The first to organize the dairies were the Central Union of the Agricultural Coöperatives of Lithuania (Lietukis) and the Coöperative Society (Gamintojas). In 1923 a separate dairying section was established at Lietukis. The Ministry of Agriculture subsidized the newly organized steam

CHART I

BUTTER EXPORTS OF LITHUANIA

[439]



[34] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB1

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BUTTER

(1,000 Metric Tons)

YEAR	LITHUANIA [a]	LATVIA	ESTONIA
1928	1.6	14.3	12.2
1929	3.1	17.0	13.7
1930	6.4	20.8	15.5
1931	8.1	22.2	16.1
1932	10.3	22.1	14.5
1933	9.9	18.6	11.5
1934	10.7	18.8	12.6
1935	13.2	20.5	13.3
1936	15.8	22.2	13.8
1937 [d]	17.1	21.7	15.9
1938 [e]	19.6	([f])	([f])
1939	19.9	([f])	([f])

[a] Only milk controlled by dairies is included in this table.
[b] L.N. 1937–38, p. 72.
[c] C.S.B., volumes for 1938 and 1939.
[d] L.N., 1937–38, p. 74.
[e] C.S.B., volumes for 1938 and 1939.
[f] Figures not available.

uania production increased more than tenfold during the ten-year period. The chief cause for this is that dairying in Latvia and Estonia was considerably advanced before the World War, which was not the case in Lithuania. During the recent years, before the Soviet occupation, however, Lithuania not only succeeded in reaching Estonia's level of butter production but even surpassed it. This situation shows how retarded dairying was in Lithuania as compared with Latvia and Estonia, and indicates the great achievement of coöperation in this particular field.

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The expansion of dairying in Lithuania may be observed also from export figures, given in Table 22.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB1

TABLE 22

BUTTER EXPORTS IN THE BALTIC STATES[a]

(*In Metric Tons*)

YEAR	LITHUANIA	LATVIA	ESTONIA
1927	2,051	10,761	9,906
1928	2,643	13,006	11,222
1929	4,084	14,830	12,359
1930	7,357	13,430	14,066
1931	8,705	18,739	14,444
1932	9,926	18,598	12,531
1933	9,580	15,720	9,224
1934	9,671	15,701	10,118
1935	12,154	16,816	10,838
1936	14,629	17,291	10,955
1937	15,058	19,211	13,179
1938	17,413	23,464	14,732
1939	16,386	([b])	([b])

[a] C.S.B., volumes for 1927 to 1939.
[b] Figures not available.

L 234 437 BC 234 439

LIVESTOCK

Livestock breeding is one of the branches of agriculture that suffered greatly in the World War. As soon as the war started in 1914 Russia requisitioned the best horses for the army. Then came the German army, which took what had been left by the Russians. Only horses unfit for army use were left.

L 231 727

To alleviate a great shortage of food caused by the Allied blockade the Germans requisitioned even the milk cows for slaughter. The reduction in livestock in Lithuania in 1919 as compared with 1913 was as follows: horses, 38 percent; cattle, 47.7 percent; pigs, 44 percent; sheep, 30 percent. The reduction of stock may be clearly seen from Table 23,

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 23

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LIVESTOCK IN LITHUANIA 1913–39

YEAR	HORSES (1,000 head)	CATTLE (1,000 head)	PIGS (1,000 head)	SHEEP (1,000 head)
1913	451	918	1,138	1,152
1919	280	480	750	806
1920	335	604	1,119	894
1921	376	780	1,262	1,036
1925	497	1,339	1,488	1,455
1928 [a]	611	1,128	1,010	1,409
1930	562	1,034	1,207	1,212
1935 [b]	545	1,132	1,223	1,220
1938 [c]	558	1,193	1,249	1,241
1939	521	1,004	1,117	1,224

[a] For the period 1913–28: Kubilius, *op. cit.*, p. 86; C.S.B., 1918–28, p. 58.
[b] For the years 1930 and 1935: *Lietuvos Surasymas*, 1935, pp. 40–51.
[c] C.S.B., volumes for 1938 and 1939.

which shows also that livestock breeding recovered very quickly after the World War, so that as early as 1925 the number of livestock was even greater than it had been in 1913. Exports of livestock and their products constituted 26.13 percent of the total value of exports as early as 1924 and reached 31.02 percent in 1928 and 61.4 percent in 1939. It may be interesting to analyze the livestock situation according to its various important branches.

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Horses were bred in Lithuania as far back as historians can trace the Lithuanian people. That horses are beloved by Lithuanians is proved by the many folk songs about them. In the Middle Ages Lithuania needed horses for its wars and bred them in great numbers for that purpose. Some of them were even sold in foreign markets.[36]

[36] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

TABLE 24

EXPORT VALUE OF LIVESTOCK AN PRODUCTS*

(In Thousands of Litas)

YEAR	HORSES	CATTLE	PIGS	MEAT, MEAT PRODUCTS	MILK, BUTTER, CHEESE	SKINS
1924	16,219	5,404	11,773	10,966	6,969	16,022
1925	14,475	7,386	14,119	6,672	12,123	11,731
1926	5,322	9,320	20,895	8,641	16,295	7,123
1927	10,993	6,756	12,864	6,826	17,537	11,315
1928	9,820	7,445	11,533	5,874	25,560	17,160
1930	10,306	12,975	38,753	46,112	52,543	7,790
1935	3,435	106	7,084	25,808	24,878	3,286
1937	4,964	2,189	16,336	31,127	48,193	7,343
1938	5,060	2,837	21,257	36,196	58,110	5,569
1939	3,300	2,436	23,509	39,884	50,056	4,055

* C.S.B., volumes for 1924 to 1939.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

THEIR

BRISTLES, HAIR, BONES	TOTAL	PERCENT OF NATION'S TOTAL EXPORTS
4,233	71,586	26.1
3,397	69,903	28.9
3,067	70,663	28.4
2,133	68,424	27.8
2,186	79,578	31.0
2,652	171,131	51.3
1,149	65,746	43.2
1,782	111,934	53.7
1,454	130,483	55.9
1,614	124,854	61.4

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3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

231 In recent years horses have been used a great deal for farm work. Lithuania being a country of small farms, it is usually quite impossible for the farmer to invest in expensive machinery. Furthermore, labor is too cheap for mechanized farming to be able to compete with it. Thus, the total number of horses in Lithuania is considerably larger than in the neighboring countries, Latvia and Estonia.

Shortly before the World War, and immediately after it, the small "Samogitian horses" (Zemaitukai) or "Lithuanian horses" were especially famous in western Europe. They are unusually hardy and are of the same breed as those with which Lithuanians in the Middle Ages made their inroads into Smolensk, Novgorod, and Moscow in their wars with the Russians.[37] These horses are especially suited for use in a country of large forests, bad roads, and primitive farming. But at the end of the nineteenth century, and especially at the beginning of the twentieth, conditions changed. More advanced farming with heavier tools required bigger and stronger horses, and horses of this type were crossed with the small "Samogitians." At the present time there are found many breeds of horses, but very few are of a pure breed. After the World War horse raising was vastly improved by establishing free central stations for horse husbandry. The sturdy "Samogitians" were valuable particularly for work in mines.

231 Shortly after the World War, demand for horses being
● 439 great and prices high, a substantial number of horses were exported, but in recent years the export of horses has been

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 153.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 25

EXPORT OF HORSES 1924–39 231 439

YEAR	NUMBER OF HORSES	VALUE (*In million litas*)
1924	23,204	16.2
1926	10,347	5.3
1928	27,224	9.8
1930	20,647	10.3
1932	8,215	2.2
1934	17,318	4.6
1936	14,900	5.6
1937	13,262	4.9
1938	12,230	5.1
1939	7,130	3.3

on the decline. The greatest importers of Lithuanian horses are Latvia, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Finland. In 1938 the export of Lithuanian horses was as follows:

Latvia	3,254	Belgium	1,041	Germany	378
Netherlands	2,284	Switzerland	837	Czechoslovakia	37
Denmark	1,908	Sweden	698	Estonia	6
Finland	1,277	Great Britain	341		

Cattle breeding is one of the branches of livestock husbandry which not only recovered rapidly from the ravages of the World War but showed both a slight increase in number of head as compared with 1913 and a substantial improvement in quality. Evidence of improved quality is shown by the tenfold increase in butter production. The 1930 and 1935 censuses reveal the various categories of Lithuanian cattle as in Table 26. 231

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 26

231 CATEGORIES OF LITHUANIAN CATTLE IN 1930 AND 1935*

	1930	1935
Calves less than one year old	216,890	160,670
Heifers one year old and older	135,670	176,300
Oxen one year old and older	27,200	38,730
Milk cows	654,030	755,830
TOTAL	1,033,790	1,131,530

* *Lietuvos Statistikos Metraštis*, 1935, pp. 43–44.

From this table we see that about 65 percent of all the cattle of Lithuania are milk cows. The total number of cattle increased in 1935 as compared with 1930 by 9.5 percent, while the number of calves less than a year old was substantially smaller.

Pig breeding, another important branch of Lithuanian agriculture, is connected to some extent with dairying. This is because the dairies yield large quantities of skimmed milk, [439] which is always an excellent feed for pigs. Until 1924 the exports of pigs and pork from Lithuania were insignificant, but in later years, especially since 1930, after the Maistas Corporation developed its activities on a wider scale, the exports have increased considerably. In its stockyard at Kaunas about 800 workers were employed before the Russian occupation, while in the establishments at Siauliai, Panevezys and Taurage, smaller numbers were employed.

236 Sheep breeding in Lithuania is mainly for wool production, but wool has not played any great role in the exports of Lithuania, as the bulk was consumed by domestic agriculturists for making cloth at home. After the World War, conditions gradually changed; the farmers began to sell sur-

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 27

EXPORT OF PIGS AND PORK PRODUCTS 1924–39 231 439

YEAR	LIVE PIGS (1,000 head)	BACON (1,000 metric tons) *	FRESH PORK (1,000 metric tons) *
1924	43.5	0.0	1.1
1926	72.0	0.0	2.0
1928	41.8	0.6	1.2
1930	154.1	17.4	3.2
1932	33.7	40.9	5.5
1934	46.1	30.7	4.4
1936	117.0	10.2	5.1
1937	137.7	10.5	3.5
1938	153.1	11.8	1.6
1939	179.7	15.6	1.1

* One metric ton = 2,204.6 U.S. pounds.

plus wool and to buy clothing ready-made in town instead 236
of making it themselves. Since the climate is unfavorable for sheep breeding and the wool from Lithuanian sheep is therefore poor, domestic wool is mixed by the textile industry of Lithuania with imported wool of better quality. The value of wool imports in recent years was as follows: in 1936, 1,859,700 litas; in 1937, 2,558,900 litas; in 1938, 1,681,900 litas and in 1939 1,436,100 litas. The bulk of this wool came from Great Britain. There is perhaps no great future for sheep breeding; on the contrary, it is likely that this branch of livestock production will decrease even more.

POULTRY FARMING

Poultry farming is also a very old branch of Lithuania's 235
agriculture, and the role it has played in the exports picture has not been unimportant. Poultry farming is especially

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

235 suited to countries with small farms, but in Lithuania, compared with Belgium, Holland, and Denmark, it is still undeveloped.[38]

TABLE 28

POULTRY PRODUCTION IN 1935[a]

FOWL	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE OF ENTIRE POULTRY PRODUCTION
Hens	4,614,420	72.4
Ducks	601,450	9.4
Geese	946,510	14.9
Turkeys	210,730	3.3

[a] *Lietuvos Suvaizymas*, 1935, p. 51.

In the first years of independent Lithuania, egg production, in comparison with the production in other branches of agriculture, was high, but in later years it diminished in importance and relinquished its position to milk products and
●439 meat. The highest prices for eggs exported were received in
235 1921–22. In the latter year, egg exports constituted almost a third of the whole export value, as may be seen from Table 29. The main cause of the decrease in exports of eggs after 1922 was, of course, the fall in prices. In 1922 the

TABLE 29

MAIN EXPORT ITEMS OF LITHUANIA 1920–22

	1920	1921	1922
Total value of exports (in millions of marks)	490	631	3,047
Flax (percent of total)	46.4	29.3	7.8
Forest products (percent)	35.5	30.3	39.0
Eggs (percent)	3.6	23.4	32.1

[38] Krikscinas, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

wholesale price for ten eggs in London was 4.90 litas; in 1923, 4.19 litas; in 1922, 3.73 litas; and in 1927, 2.45 litas.[39] From Table 29 it may be seen that in the first years of Lithuanian's independent national existence the most important exports were forest products, flax, and eggs; in later years, when conditions became more settled, these products became of secondary importance. How poultry production and poultry exports changed in value after 1924 may be seen from Table 30. The exports of eggs did not diminish in volume as much as in value, because the most drastic

TABLE 30

EXPORTS OF POULTRY AND POULTRY PRODUCTS

(*In Thousands of Litas*)

YEAR	EGGS	POULTRY [a]	POULTRY MEATS	TOTAL
1924	19,938	4,956	391	24,285
1925	14,872	3,824	308	19,003
1926	13,575	5,206	817	19,597
1927	10,944	4,511	560	16,015
1928	14,435	6,810	157	21,393
1930	11,892	7,759	1,806	21,457
1935	2,117	1	1,369	3,487
1938	7,833	2,283	2,746	12,862
1939	8,196	3,170	3,615	14,981

[a] Geese, hens, ducks, turkeys.

drop in price levels occurred in 1931–32. For a few years before the Soviet Russian occupation experiments were conducted in the improvement of poultry and in the organizing of efficient egg-collection stations. This was done by the coöperatives. At the same time there was considerable improvement in the prices received for these products.

[39] Kubilius, *op. cit.*, pp. 180–90.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

With the Sovietization of Lithuania by Russia all those corporations were nationalized in August, 1940, and made government establishments. On August 7, 1940, an order was published requesting even the surrender of the shares of capital stock and bonds of private corporations or government.[5] No due compensation was promised. 473

When Russian occupation was substituted by German in June, 1941, the system of private ownership was returned in Lithuania, except private, corporate, or coöperative wealth, which apparently is kept for distribution to German nationals or at least to German sympathizers. 471

THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

The textile industry showed a spectacular rise between 1927 and 1940. But even before this period it had shown considerable advance. It is estimated that in the years 1909 to 1913 this industry in Lithuania employed about 300 workers.[6] In 1927 the number of workers had grown to 1,403, almost five times as many as before the World War, while in 1939 the industry was employing 7,561 workers. 288 433

It is interesting to note that in spite of increasing textile production at home, imports did not decrease proportionately. This may be accounted for partly by the fact that rising living standards increased the demand to such an extent that even the increased production was not sufficient to satisfy it without the aid of proportionately high imports. Lithuania does not export any textile fabrics. [439]

The expanding textile industry modifies the type of textile

[5] *Darbo Lietuva* No. 50, Aug. 13, 1940. (*Darbo Lietuva* [Worker's Lithuania] was a Bolshevik daily in Kaunas, established after the occupation.)

[6] L.G.S.A., 1937, p. 405.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 36

IMPORTS OF THE LEADING SEMIFINISHED AND FINISHED TEXTILE GOODS 439

(*In Thousands of Litas*)

YEAR	WOOLEN SPUN YARN	COTTON SPUN YARN	WOOLEN FABRICS	COTTON FABRICS	TOTAL
1928	2,188	6,032	12,952	21,118	42,291
1929	2,413	7,449	14,179	18,600	42,643
1930	2,269	12,019	16,543	21,867	52,699
1931	2,576	8,801	14,980	24,082	50,439
1932	2,034	7,916	7,319	11,370	28,639
1933	3,264	8,917	4,430	8,320	24,931
1934	4,334	7,951	3,717	7,132	23,133
1935	4,173	7,364	3,742	7,271	22,550
1936	7,061	8,662	5,067	10,230	31,020
1937	8,433	8,558	5,795	10,213	32,999
1938	8,433	7,761	5,299	9,536	31,029
1939	5,004	5,499	4,564	8,654	23,721

FOODSTUFFS INDUSTRY

Among Lithuanian industries, foodstuffs occupied first 258 place (41.6%) from the point of view of value of product 433 in 1937 and second place from the point of view of number of people employed. From 1927 to 1938 this branch of industry almost doubled in number of employees. Table 37 shows this expansion. The meat, fish, and canned goods branch showed an exceptional rise. In 1939 the number of workers rose to 1,987 or more than five times the number (362) employed in 1927. The Maistas Corporation, with its five stockyards (Kaunas, Klaipeda, Siauliai, Panevezys, and Taurage), has been responsible for most of this progress.

The Maistas Corporation was originally organized in 1923 000

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

held. The first loss did not discourage the promoters, however. In 1925 the capital stock of the corporation was raised to 10,000,000 litas. This increase was motivated by the fact that in constructing the first stockyard the corporation had indebted itself to this amount. But even then the prospects of the corporation were not very encouraging. Private owners soon sought to rid themselves of the stock held, which at the end of 1925 was absorbed by such important organizations as the Union of Farmers of Lithuania, 2,250 shares; the Union of Agricultural Coöperative Societies of Lithuania (Lietukis), 2,000 shares; the coöperative society Lietuvos Eksimportas, 670 shares; and by many smaller units subscribing to their proportionate number of shares. Thus the Maistas Corporation, having been founded as a strictly private enterprise, became an important public enterprise. In March of 1930 the by-laws of the corporation were changed to comply with the new laws of the state and on March 22, 1930, the company was newly incorporated. In the same year the government of Lithuania purchased part of the stock of the corporation for 3,000,000 litas and later an additional portion for 4,000,000 litas. The Maistas Corporation therefore became an institution known in English-speaking countries as a mixed enterprise, from the point of view of control. In 1938, as has already been stated, it owned five stockyards in the most important cities of Lithuania. Its meat and livestock export rose from 226,106 litas in 1923 to 35,420,949 litas in 1932 and 42,720,000 litas in 1936, the last amount representing 22.4 percent of the total value of the country's exports.[8]

The organization showed an exceptionally spectacular rise in exports in the last two years before Soviet Russian occu-

[8] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

●439 pation. In 1938, Maistas sales to foreign countries rose to 57.85 million litas, while in 1939 it rose to 71.7 million litas, or 24 percent above the 1938 figures.

438 Even in domestic business Maistas showed an impressive rise. Its domestic sales amounted in 1930 to 5.8 million litas and rose every subsequent year until in 1938 they reached 14.9 million litas and in 1939, 18.8 million litas.

257 The sugar industry, which also shows considerable ad-
433 vance, started with one refinery in 1932, employing 67 persons, and in 1939 had two refineries with 246 workers, not counting the many farmers who were engaged in sugar-beet growing and whose incomes were increased through the introduction and development of this branch of agriculture.
257 Inasmuch as the two refineries were insufficient to meet the
471 demands of Lithuania, a third refinery was constructed. All three are owned by the Lietuvos Cukrus Corporation, in which the government participates as owner of a controlling number of shares of capital stock. The first refinery was opened in 1932 in Marijampole and the second in 1935 in Panevezys. The production rose very rapidly: in 1932, 67,000 quintals; 1933, 162,000 quintals; 1934, 82,000 quintals; 1935, 153,000 quintals; 1936, 221,000 quintals; 1937, 272,000 quintals; in 1938, 287,000 quintals [9] and 1939, 208,000 quintals.

234 Another industry in the food-and-luxury category which
433 showed great expansion both in number of establishments and in workers employed is that of dairying, which is covered in the section on coöperatives, above.

438 Other industries, such as grain mills with 761 workers,
433 candy and chocolate factories with 761 workers, and tobacco

[9] C.S.B., 1938, p. 160.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

and cigarette factories with 569 workers, continued to operate at about the same level throughout these past years. 438 433

LUMBER INDUSTRY

Some understanding of the lumber industry may be obtained from Table 38.[10] It will be observed that sawmilling 313 433

TABLE 38

LUMBER INDUSTRY

BRANCH OF INDUSTRY	1927		1930		1935		1938		1939 *	
	Establishments	*Workers*	*Establishments*	*Workers*	*Establishments*	*Workers*	*Establishments*	*Workers*	*Establishments*	*Workers*
Sawmilling	131	2,731	114	1,718	124	2,853	175	2,970	170	1,901
Plywood production	—	—	3	443	3	602	3	767	1	27
Cabinet-making	6	90	10	229	8	251	88	963	61	839

* After seizure of Klaipeda by Germany.

is the leading branch of the lumber industry, although it does not show great expansion. The same may be said of the plywood industry. The latter felt the greatest setback with the loss of Klaipeda. The lumber industry, producing mainly [439] for export, was hit by the world depression more severely than any other industry.

Before the agricultural products industry was developed 313 for export, lumber was one of the most important items exported from Lithuania. It is to be noted that with the ex- 439

[10] C.S.B., 1938 and 1939, pp. 170–71 and 160–61 respectively.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

313 pansion of the lumber industry the exported products
439 changed. In 1920 69.1 percent of lumber was exported as raw material as against 30.9 percent semifinished items, while in 1921 this percentage changed to 49.9 percent raw as against 50.1 percent semifinished.

In 1939 this industry experienced a severe blow with the seizure of Klaipeda by Germany, the industry having been concentrated in Klaipeda. With the return of the Vilnius region to Lithuania at the end of 1939, the lumber industry was compensated somewhat, but to what extent it was impossible to establish, since seven months later came the Soviet Russian occupation.

PAPER AND PRINTING INDUSTRY

289 The paper and printing industry of Lithuania in 1938 em-
433 ployed 2,615 wage earners and accounted for 8.4 percent of the gross value of Lithuania's industrial production and 10.8 percent of the net value. Therefore, from the standpoint both of the number of wage earners employed and of the value of production, it was in the fourth place. Like the lumber industry, it suffered in 1939 when Germany seized Klaipeda where several of the larger printing establishments were located. Before the German occupation of Klaipeda, Lithuania had 88 establishments with 2,679 workers, while thereafter she had 81 establishments with 1,613 workers.[11]

From the statistics available it may be seen that in 1913 this branch of industry was only in its infancy. In that year there were only 20 establishments with 284 wage earners in the province (gouvernement) of Kaunas, while in 1927, in the same region, there were 52 establishments with 2,115 wage earners. The industry reached its high point in 1930,

[11] C.S.B., 1938 and 1939, pp. 170–71 and 160–61 respectively.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Chapter IV

FOREIGN TRADE

The customs boundaries and customs tariffs of Lithuania were established in May, 1919, from which time the statistics on foreign trade were compiled. But up to 1923 these statistics were such that the figures are not exactly comparable with those of the later years. The unstable German *Obost* and *Reichsmark* currency, which circulated in Lithuania up to the end of 1922 when the Lithuanian litas currency was introduced, may be regarded among the chief causes for this situation. 439 652

It will be noted from Table 39 that the value of foreign trade increased until 1930 when it reached an all-time high of 333,739,000 litas in exports and 312,415,000 in imports. If the year 1923 is taken as a base, with the index number 100 for imports and exports, the index number for exports of 1930 is 227 and for imports 199. 439

From 1930 foreign trade decreased, the lowest point for exports being reached in 1934 with the index number 100, and for imports in 1935, with the index number at 82. Full revival of foreign trade began in 1936 when the index number for exports was 130 and for imports 100. In 1938 it rose as high as 159 for exports and 143 for imports.

In analyzing these figures it must be recalled that the litas currency of Lithuania held its original gold parity and there was no devaluation up to the Soviet invasion in 1940. [652]

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

VALUE OF FOREIGN TRADE

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457

TABLE 39

VALUE OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS

(In Thousands of Litas)

YEAR	EXPORTS	IMPORTS	DIFFERENCE
1923	146,795	156,627	— 9,832
1924	266,584	206,534	+60,040
1925	242,715	252,703	— 9,988
1926	253,300	240,761	+12,539
1927	245,929	265,694	—19,765
1928	256,881	291,091	—34,210
1929	329,842	306,422	+23,420
1930	333,739	312,415	+21,324
1931	273,119	277,959	— 4,840
1932	189,126	166,954	+22,172
1933	160,227	142,176	+18,051
1934	147,245	138,690	+ 8,555
1935	152,269	128,579	+23,689
1936	190,485	156,061	+34,424
1937	208,325	212,667	— 4,342
1938	233,198	223,686	+ 9,512
1939	203,194	169,362	+39,832

If the value of imports and exports, commencing with 1932, is translated into dollar currency, a very different index number is obtained. For example, the exchange rate of the litas in January, 1932, was 10.02 litas for $1.00; in January, 1934, 6.42 litas for $1.00; and in 1935, 5.99 litas for $1.00.[1]

It is interesting to note that in 1924 Lithuania had a very favorable trade balance, with exports exceeding imports by over 60 million litas. Three years later the position was ex-

[1] See Apendix F, Foreign Exchange Quotations in Kaunas.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

actly opposite. Starting with 1927 the trade balance for two successive years was unfavorable. In 1927 imports exceeded exports by 19,764,700 litas and in 1928 by 34,210,100 litas. One of the chief causes for this condition may be found in the fact that in 1924 the prices for agricultural products were high, while in 1927 and 1928 they were substantially lower. As Table 39 shows, the trade balance of Lithuania is generally favorable.

SHIFTING OF THE COMMODITIES INVOLVED IN FOREIGN TRADE

One of the most interesting things in the foreign trade of Lithuania and one that also shows clearly which way the economic life of Lithuania is going is the shifting of commodities involved. In 1920 the chief exports of Lithuania were lumber and other forest products, which accounted for 40 percent; flax, which accounted for 34.3 percent; linseed, 12.2 percent; eggs, 3.7 percent; and livestock, 1.5 percent. No butter was exported in that year, and food exports generally played a very small role. In the next three years, 1921, 1922, and 1923, the export picture was somewhat changed. Although forest products still retained the most important position, eggs became one of the leading export commodities and in 1921 accounted for 23.5 percent of total exports; in 1922, 20.2 percent; and in 1923, 10.3 percent. But the rise in this commodity proved to be only temporary. In 1927 eggs were down to 4.4 percent of the total value of exports. At the same time there was a constant increase in livestock exports, which rose to 16.2 percent in 1926 [2] and to 21 percent in 1930. After 1925 the statistics of exports of Lithuania were divided into five groups: (1) the livestock group,

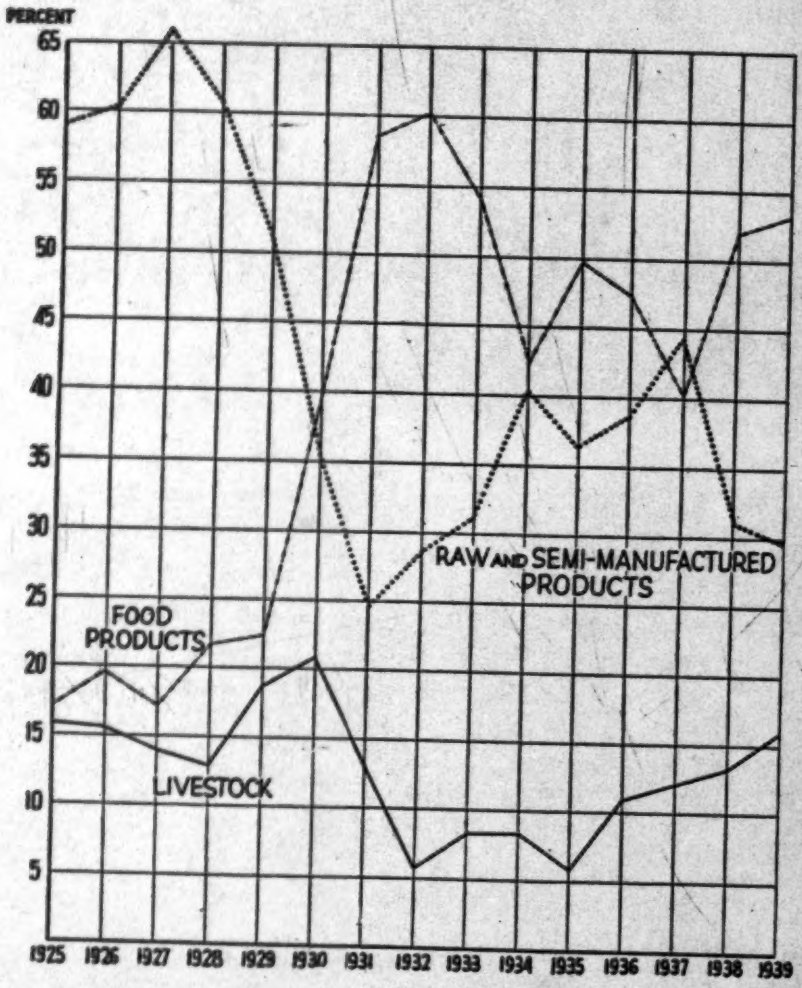
[2] C.S.B., *Lietuva Skaitmenimis 1918–1928*, pp. 91–126.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

439 comprising horses, cattle, domestic and wild animals, and live poultry; (2) the food products group, comprising various kinds of meat, including poultry, dairy products, eggs, fish, grain, vegetables, sugar, liquors, and so forth; (3) the raw and semifinished goods, which consists of raw furs and skins, wool, various livestock products, plants, fodder, tim-

CHART II

CHANGE IN EXPORTS FROM LITHUANIA

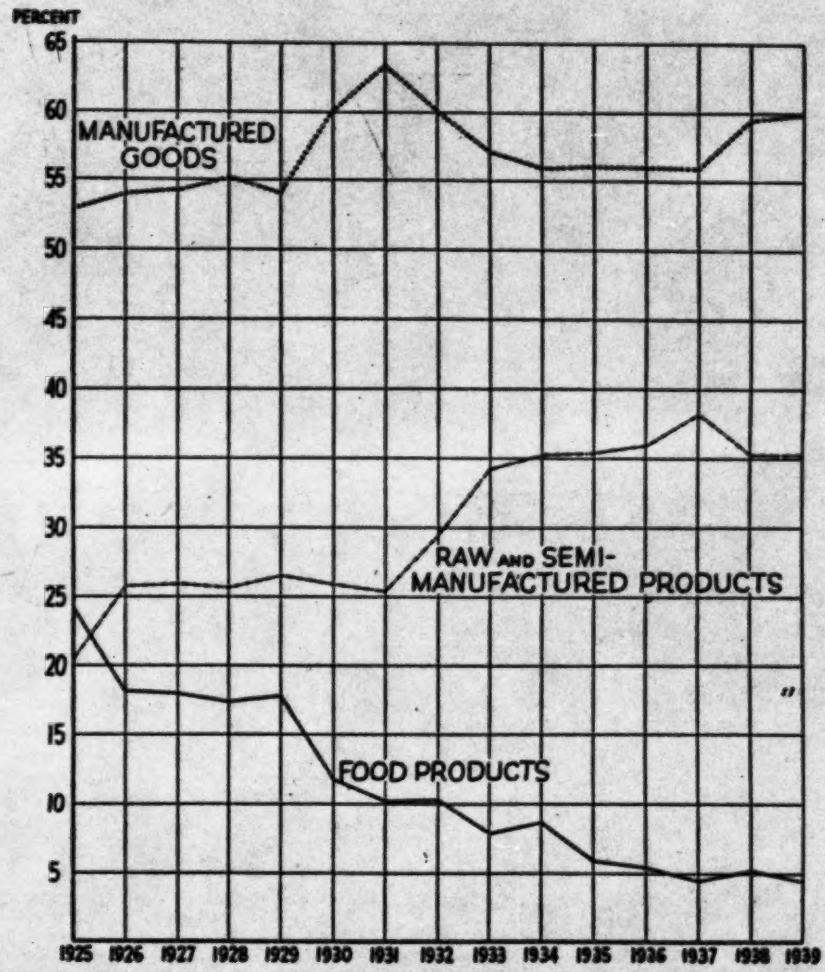


3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

ber, forest products, woodpulp, rags, and so on; (4) the manufactured goods group, comprising cosmetics, paints, medicines, dressed furs and skins, spun yarn, tobacco, cigars and cigarettes, underwear, woodcraft products, paper and paper products, ceramics, machinery, and so on; (5) gold and silver. 439

CHART III

CHANGE IN IMPORTS INTO LITHUANIA



3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

•439 How the relative importance of these merchandise groups changed in Lithuania's export picture may be seen from Table 40, in which the figures show the percentage that each group bears to the total value of exports.[3] From this

TABLE 40

SHIFTING OF COMMODITY GROUPS IN EXPORTS 1925–39

(*Percent*)

YEAR	LIVESTOCK	FOOD PRODUCTS	RAW AND SEMIFINISHED PRODUCTS	FINISHED GOODS	GOLD AND SILVER
1925	16.56	17.12	59.27	6.96	0.09
1926	16.17	19.77	60.36	3.70	0.00
1927	14.33	17.38	66.10	2.13	0.06
1928	13.61	21.88	61.78	2.67	0.06
1929	18.83	22.72	51.55	6.85	0.05
1930	20.99	39.40	35.82	3.77	0.00
1931	13.13	57.38	24.56	4.92	0.01
1932	6.66	60.16	28.28	4.89	0.01
1933	8.36	54.19	31.49	5.94	0.00
1934	8.46	42.80	40.70	8.03	0.01
1935	6.98	49.53	36.98	6.48	0.03
1936	11.02	47.36	38.09	3.52	0.01
1937	12.02	40.17	44.14	3.67	—
1938	13.48	52.33	31.49	2.69	0.01
1939	16.13	53.04	29.80	1.02	0.01

table we see that from 1925 to 1939 the value of the exports in the food products group increased from 17.12 to 53.04 percent, while the group of raw and semifinished products decreased from 59.26 to 29.80 percent. The livestock and manufactured goods groups showed great variation, but

[3] *Ibid.*, *Lietuvos Uzsienio Prekyba* (Foreign Trade of Lithuania), Kaunas, volumes for 1929, 1932, 1925, and 1938.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

failed to reveal any decided tendency toward increase or decrease. 439

Credit for the increase of exports of food products belongs

TABLE 41

SHIFTING OF COMMODITY GROUPS IN IMPORTS
1925–39

(*Percent*)

YEAR	LIVESTOCK	FOOD PRODUCTS	RAW AND SEMIFINISHED PRODUCTS	FINISHED GOODS	GOLD AND SILVER
1925	0.47	24.44	20.85	53.29	0.95
1926	0.04	18.61	26.88	54.25	1.19
1927	0.05	18.43	26.97	54.52	0.03
1928	0.03	17.43	26.86	55.59	0.09
1929	0.03	18.17	27.71	54.01	0.08
1930	0.09	12.44	26.97	60.48	0.02
1931	0.07	10.03	25.92	63.88	0.10
1932	0.02	10.27	29.41	60.03	0.27
1933	0.04	7.59	34.62	57.30	0.45
1934	0.03	8.02	35.25	56.27	0.43
1935	0.02	6.29	35.64	56.62	1.43
1936	0.05	5.98	36.15	56.63	1.19
1937	0.10	4.89	38.32	56.53	0.16
1938	0.02	5.04	35.21	59.49	0.24
1939	0.01	4.75	35.91	59.82	0.21

to the Central Union of Dairy Coöperative Societies, Pienocentras, in the field of milk products, and to the Maistas Corporation in the field of meat products.

In the exports of Lithuania the commodity items involved are not as varied as they are in the imports. The foreign trade statistics of Lithuania for 1938 show that 1,125 separate items of goods were involved in imports while the export list contained only 500 separate items.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

•439 Livestock is not of much importance in the list of imports; the volume is small, livestock being imported only for the purpose of improving Lithuania's breeding stock.

The food products group comprises, among other commodities, salted herring, rice, fruits, coffee, sugar, and salt. Within the period 1924–31 the most significant item of import in the food products group was sugar, which in 1924 amounted to 14.4 million litas. In the same year salted herring accounted for 5.7 million litas; fruits, 2.2 million litas; salt, 2.2 million litas; rice, 1.5 million litas; and coffee, 0.6 million litas. The imports in this group increased further, and in 1927 sugar accounted for 20.5 million litas; salted herring, 9.1 million litas; salt, 2.8 million litas; fruits, 2.1 million litas; rice, 1.8 million litas; and coffee, 1.0 million litas. In later years the value of these staples decreased, so that in 1936 herring amounted to only 3.3 million litas and in 1938, 3.9 million litas. The greatest decrease was in sugar imports, which in 1930 accounted for 31.7 million litas; in 1937, 0.14 million litas; and in 1938, 0.2 million litas. For the decrease in sugar imports credit is given to the local sugar refineries and to the development of domestic sugar-beet growing. The decrease in sugar imports affected the food products group imports so that its percentage value in the total imports decreased from 24.44 in 1926 to 4.75 in 1939. Salt imports do not show any major change; in 1936 such imports accounted for 1.7 million litas and in 1938 for 1.6 million litas.[4] The same may be said of the other merchandise in this group.

In the group of raw and semimanufactured products the most significant import items are fertilizers, metals, liquid

[4] C.S.B., *Lietuvos Uzsienio Prekyba 1929* (The Foreign Trade of Lithuania in 1929) and volumes for 1933–1938.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

fuels, petroleum products, coal, cement, and tobacco. In 1924 the imports of fertilizers accounted for 6.0 million litas; metals, 5.1; coal, 9.5; liquid fuel, 4.4; cement, 1.9; and tobacco, 1.5. Some of these items doubled in imports a few years later. In 1928 fertilizer imports accounted for 13.2 million litas; metals, 10.7; coal, 11.3; liquid fuel, 9.6; cement, 4.7; and tobacco, 3.2. In 1938 the imports were: fertilizer, 10.89 million litas; metals, 17.73; coal, 11.01; liquid fuel, 7.35; cement, 6.26; and tobacco, 1.65. Most of these items are very important necessities and cannot be replaced by substitutes or otherwise supplied. That is why the imports in this group increased from 20.85 percent of total import value in 1925 to 35.21 percent in 1939. 439

Of manufactured goods imported by Lithuania, the most important are chemical products, textile goods, machinery, metal goods, automobiles, motorcycles, rubber products, and various types of apparatus. This group accounted for 53.29 percent of the total value of imports in 1925 and increased to 59.82 percent in 1939. This type of merchandise undoubtedly will retain its important position in the nation's foreign trade.

LITHUANIA'S FOREIGN TRADE ACCORDING TO COUNTRY

Germany and Great Britain in 1938 accounted for 66.18 percent of the exports and 53.30 percent of the imports of Lithuania. Important also in the foreign trade of Lithuania were Soviet Russia, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Holland, France, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, Latvia, and the United States of America. These countries, together with the United Kingdom and Germany, in 1938 accounted for 95.19 percent of the total value of Lithuania's exports and 89.09 percent of her imports.

[92]

TABLE 42

THE DISTRIBUTION OF LITHUANIA'S FOREIG TRADE WITH RESPECT TO COUNTRIES 1925–38

(In Millions of Litas)

YEAR	UNITED KINGDOM		GERMANY		SOVIET RUSSIA		BELGIUM		CZECHOSLOVAKI	
	Exp.	*Imp.*	*Exp.*	*Imp.*	*Exp.*	*Imp.*	*Exp.*	*Imp.*	*Exp.*	*Imp.*
1925	58.6	20.9	123.2	143.0	6.4	4.1	2.5	2.5	2.4	13.8
1926	63.1	19.1	118.6	129.5	2.1	3.2	7.2	2.6	10.1	15.1
1927	61.1	17.9	126.8	141.2	1.1	6.4	4.9	3.2	3.8	13.9
1928	52.3	19.3	148.3	146.8	3.7	9.1	4.3	3.7	0.8	13.1
1929	57.4	26.0	195.9	150.2	1.3	13.1	4.3	5.3	0.9	19.3
1930	65.0	24.1	199.9	151.4	5.2	13.8	6.8	7.4	0.4	18.0
1931	90.4	19.7	125.4	130.7	8.3	17.2	10.7	7.9	0.2	19.6
1932	78.3	18.0	74.0	67.2	6.7	10.2	3.4	7.6	0.2	12.6
1933	71.6	24.3	52.5	51.0	2.7	7.8	4.5	7.5	1.3	8.6
1934	62.7	35.1	31.8	38.8	7.5	6.0	6.4	7.9	4.4	9.1
1935	69.5	47.9	5.4	14.7	13.1	13.6	11.9	4.9	5.6	9.2
1936	92.2	57.0	20.6	14.4	10.1	14.7	10.5	13.7	7.1	7.5
1937	96.6	59.3	34.5	46.4	11.1	17.9	7.8	16.7	7.0	6.9
1938	91.8	69.2	62.5	54.7	13.3	15.0	10.7	8.6	9.6	8.5

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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HOLLAND		U.S.A.	
Exp.	*Imp.*	*Exp.*	*Imp.*
5.6	4.8	3.6	18.3
2.4	8.3	2.1	10.7
4.3	9.1	4.4	14.5
5.4	9.2	2.4	20.5
10.7	10.0	4.4	16.7
6.8	10.0	2.6	14.7
4.9	7.3	2.0	11.0
3.9	4.5	1.0	6.3
3.8	4.7	5.3	4.2
4.6	5.0	4.8	4.0
8.0	6.0	3.0	3.8
5.5	7.1	6.7	4.4
9.5	8.9	6.8	7.4
8.1	10.7	5.6	8.2

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TRADE WITH THE UNITED KINGDOM

439

Although the turnover in goods between Lithuania and the United Kingdom is not inconsiderable, comparatively speaking, there is no commercial treaty, as such, existing between the two countries. In lieu of a treaty there is an understanding arrived at through an exchange of notes in 1922 between the legation of the United Kingdom in Riga and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania. According to this arrangement each country enjoys the privileges provided by the most-favored-nation clause.[5] Of the exports of Lithuania, the United Kingdom was the second importer in 1925, having absorbed 24.15 percent of the total exports. This percentage decreased to 17.41 in 1929 and then rose to 48.38 in 1936. In 1938, 39.38 percent of Lithuania's exports went to the United Kingdom. In so far as imports are concerned, the United Kingdom does not enjoy as high a percentage as in the exports of Lithuania. For example, in 1925 the imports from Great Britain accounted for only 8.28 percent; they fell to 6.75 percent in 1928 and then rose to 37.28 percent in 1935. In 1938 the imports from the United Kingdom accounted for 30.93 percent. As stated above and as may be seen from Table 42, Lithuania's trade with the United Kingdom, having been in second place in 1925, advanced to first place in 1932 and held this position up to the outbreak of the war of 1939. The chief goods involved in the trade with the United Kingdom in recent years are listed in Table 43.

Forest products, raw wool, and cotton fabrics were the only items in the exchange of goods between Lithuania and the United Kingdom that did not show an increase in the period 1935–38.

[5] *V.Z. Nr. 231, ell. 1497.*

3: Simutis 8-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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TABLE 43

COMMODITIES INVOLVED IN THE TRADE WITH GREAT BRITAIN 1935–38

(*In Thousands of Litas*)

A. EXPORTS	1935	1936	1937	1938
Total exports	69,514	92,153	96,581	91,824
Bacon	17,405	22,584	22,828	24,051
Butter	18,302	25,541	27,944	31,831
Eggs	1,387	3,660	3,914	4,647
Boards and planks	6,581	5,622	9,145	5,260
Woodpulp	4,570	4,908	4,867	4,329
Veneer	3,638	3,479	3,608	1,610
Flax and tow	5,177	12,434	12,921	12,524
B. IMPORTS				
Herring	2,148	3,224	2,345	3,541
Superphosphates	1,238	1,078	1,130	1,745
Sheet iron	900	1,398	1,506	2,042
Coal	5,252	6,178	7,686	8,452
Cement	1,430	1,512	2,141	4,748
Raw wool	1,633	1,675	2,177	1,524
Woolen yarn	3,648	6,406	6,753	7,534
Cotton yarn	5,210	6,208	5,943	5,306
Woolen fabrics	3,312	4,283	4,400	4,139
Cotton fabrics (raw and bleached)	1,125	1,300	1,325	1,006
Dyed cotton fabrics	3,971	6,406	4,890	3,906

TRADE WITH GERMANY

The trade treaty between Lithuania and Germany was concluded June 1, 1923, ratified July 31, 1924, and put in force May 5, 1926. This treaty expired February 22, 1929.[6]

[6] *V.Z. Nr. 173, eil. 1196.*

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

From the first years of Lithuania's independence, the dominating country in her foreign trade was Germany, but proper statistics up to 1925 are lacking. In 1925, 50.74 percent of Lithuania's exports went to Germany, while imports from Germany constituted 56.61 percent of Lithuania's total imports. In 1929 the exports to Germany rose to 59.40 percent, while at the same time exports to the United Kingdom fell to 17.41 percent. 439●

The sharp decrease in Germany's share in the foreign trade of Lithuania, caused partly by the introduction in Germany of agrarian protectionist restrictions and partly by misunderstandings of a noneconomic character (the Klaipeda controversy) started in 1932,[7] when Germany tried to obtain political concessions through exerting economic pressure.

The lowest ebb was reached in 1935, with the exports accounting for 3.57 percent and imports for 11.40 percent. In 1936 a new trade treaty was concluded between Lithuania and Germany,[8] after which time the trade between the two countries received a new impetus.

The principal commodities involved in the foreign trade with Germany in recent years are given in Table 44. The total imports from Germany in 1938 amounted to 54,704,000 litas as compared with 46,381,000 litas in 1937 and 14,400,000 litas in 1936. Among the principal commodities imported from Germany in 1938, besides those listed in Table 44, were various fertilizers (3,194,100 litas), cement (968,400 litas), brass products (1,016,600 litas), dynamo machinery (1,228,900 litas), and bicycles (1,619,800 litas).[9]

[7] *Report*, p. 88.
[8] *V.Z., Nr. 552, eil. 3839.*
[9] *L.U. Prekyba 1938*, pp. 567–613.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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TABLE 44

COMMODITIES INVOLVED IN THE TRADE WITH GERMANY 1935–38

(*In Thousands of Litas*)

A. EXPORTS	1935	1936	1937	1938
Total exports	5,435	20,599	34,479	62,493
Live pigs	2	4,046	7,504	10,079
Live poultry	0.6	1,492	1,535	2,282
Beef	3	247	1,169	2,266
Slaughtered poultry and game	670	1,003	1,130	1,319
Butter	63	2,928	7,589	11,146
Eggs	4	542	1,532	2,304
Boards and planks	356	2,291	1,886	2,053
Flax and tow	35	1,384	923	5,893
B. IMPORTS				
Iron rails	—	4	1,661	62
Woolen fabrics	36	112	1,007	617
Cotton fabrics (dyed)	81	128	937	878
Factory machinery	331	316	1,714	1,740
Machine parts	516	502	1,232	1,857
Motor cars	16	122	1,137	1,233
Chassis	50	187	1,196	1,566
Scientific apparatus and instruments	239.5	359	981	1,145

TRADE WITH SOVIET RUSSIA

Although Soviet Russia is close to Lithuania, the exchange of goods between these two countries, up to the war of 1939, was comparatively small. The exports to Soviet Russia, which in 1925 accounted for 2.66 percent of Lithuania's total, in 1929 fell to 0.39 percent. From 1930 the volume of exports to Soviet Russia increased, reaching 8.59 percent

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

in 1935, which ranked her third among countries importing from Lithuania. This place she retained until 1938, in which year exports to Soviet Russia amounted to 13,337,800 litas or 5.72 percent. The number of items exported to Soviet Russia was small, and of these the principal commodities were pigs and hides. 437

TABLE 45

COMMODITIES INVOLVED IN THE TRADE WITH SOVIET RUSSIA 1936–38

(In Thousands of Litas)

	1936	1937	1938
A. EXPORTS			
Total exports	10,087	11,056	13,338
Live pigs over 99 pounds (45 kgm)	7,092	8,645	10,908
Hides for soles	—	1,111	1,390
Calfskins	129	952	650
B. IMPORTS			
Total imports	14,737	17,896	14,954
Salt	1,134	1,048	1,039
Fertilizers	946	1,094	1,487
Lumber	3,017	3,359	2,032
Liquid fuel	3,149	2,936	3,236
Coal	1,231	1,619	1,407
Dyed cotton fabrics	887	958	973

In imports Soviet Russia held a somewhat better position. Thus, imports from Soviet Russia in 1925 accounted for 1.63 percent; in 1929 they rose to 4.28 percent and in 1935 to 10.55 percent. In 1938 the imports from Soviet Russia amounted to 14,954,400 litas, or 6.69 percent of the total imports of Lithuania.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

439 According to the arrangement of September 24, 1928, concluded through an exchange of notes, each of these countries enjoyed the most-favored-nation treatment.[10] On August 29, 1931, a protocol was signed and notes were exchanged regarding the legal status of the commercial representatives of Soviet Russia in Lithuania and on the reciprocal transit communication. Before the occupation in 1940, Soviet Russia looked upon Lithuania, as well as upon the other Baltic states, as an area of competition between German and English capital.[11] After the outbreak of war in 1939, Soviet Russia apparently became interested in the competition between German and English capital, and stepped in as a third rival in preparation to occupy Lithuania. This was evident particularly from the fact that the Mutual Assistance Treaty of October 10, 1939, was followed by a commercial treaty, signed on October 16, 1939, according to which the turnover of goods between Lithuania and Soviet Russia was to be increased to 40 million litas. Conditions for the increase of trade with Soviet Russia seemed favorable, because of the Allied blockade of Germany and the latter's counterblockade, which, of course, jeopardized the trade between Lithuania and the Allies.

TRADE WITH BELGIUM

Trade with Belgium was regulated according to the Provisional Commercial Agreement of August 16, 1928. Belgium's share of Lithuania's exports, 1.01 percent in 1925, rose to 2.82 percent in 1928. Later the trade with Belgium

[10] *V.Z. Nr. 285, eil. 1848.*

[11] Nauchno-Issledovatelskii Institut Monopolii Vneshnei Torgovli, *Torgovie Otnoshenia SSSR s Kapitalisticheskimi Stranami* (Trade Relations of U.S.S.R. with Capitalistic Countries), Moskva, 1938, p. 241.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

increased to such an extent that in 1935 she took 7.82 percent of Lithuania's total exports and was the source of 3.84 percent of Lithuania's imports. In 1938 Belgium accounted for 4.58 percent of exports and 3.86 percent of imports. In 1938 the total exports to Belgium amounted to 10,675,700 litas, with rye, barley, oats, and vetch accounting for 6,179,-500 litas. Imports from Belgium in 1938 amounted to 8,630,-400 litas as against 16,749,600 litas in 1937. In the long list of goods imported, the largest item is pig iron, which in 1938 accounted for 4,056,600 litas as against 6,626,900 litas in 1937.

439

TRADE WITH LATVIA

Trade with Latvia is regulated by the Commercial Treaty of April 10, 1935, and the Clearing Agreement of the same date.[12] The latter was amended by the arrangement of November 30, 1936, and ratified on December 14, 1936.[13]

In 1925 Latvia held third place in the exports of Lithuania, in that year accounting for 8.53 percent, and in the following year 10.46 percent. In later years Latvia's share in the trade of Lithuania had decreased until in 1938 it was only 1.17 percent of exports and 1.10 percent of imports. The leading item in exports to Latvia for several years was horses, in 1936 valued at 1,591,000 litas; in 1937, 706,900 litas; and in 1938, 1,208,100 litas.

The more important import items from Latvia were radios, accounting for 125,800 litas in 1938 as against 188,000 litas in 1937; bicycles, 169,400 litas in 1938; glass, 283,100 litas in 1938; and several kinds of machinery.

[12] *V.Ž. Nr. 481.*
[13] *V.Ž. Nr. 562.*

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

• 439

TRADE WITH THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Trade with the United States was regulated by a special arrangement through "Exchange of notes between the United States of America and the Republic of Lithuania, embody-

TABLE 46

COMMODITIES INVOLVED IN THE TRADE WITH THE UNITED STATES 1936–38

(*In Thousands of Litas*)

	1936	1937	1938
A. EXPORTS			
Total exports	6,696	6,848	5,624
Meat	1,755	1,993	2,498
Woodpulp	2,800	4,019	2,792
B. IMPORTS			
Total imports	4,386	7,383	8,236
Tobacco	491	392	297
Oil	357	567	767
Raw cotton	494	615	572
Automobile tires and tubes	98	158	254
Cotton fabrics (dyed)	57	553	288
Automobiles	108	707	1,058

ing a commercial agreement between these States"[14] of December 23, 1925, ratified on March 24, 1926.[15] According to this arrangement, each party enjoys "unconditional most-

[14] Pranas Dailide, *Lietuvos sutartys su svetimomis valstybemis. Tomas I. 1919–1929.* (Collection of Treaties Concluded between Lithuania and Foreign States, Vol. I, 1919–1929), Kaunas, 1930, pp. 414–18.

[15] *V.Ž. Nr. 231, eil. 1496.*

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

439

favored-nation treatment." Trade relations with the United States were begun in the early years of independent Lithuania. As far back as 1925 the imports of Lithuania from the United States amounted to 18,310,800 litas, or 7.25 percent, while the exports to the United States were only a fraction of this sum, namely 3,593,800 litas, or 1.48 percent. The percentage of exports to the United States in recent years increased somewhat, while that of imports decreased. Thus in 1936 the United States took 3.24 percent of the exports of Lithuania and sent 2.85 percent of the imports. In 1938 the exports of the United States to Lithuania amounted to 5,624,100 litas, or 2.41 percent, while the imports totaled 8,236,400 litas, or 3.68 percent.

Among the other countries trading with Lithuania the most noteworthy were: Czechoslovakia, which in 1938 received 4.13 percent of exports and 3.79 percent of imports; Holland, which in the same years sent 3.47 percent of imports and took 4.76 percent in exports; France, with 2.49 percent of imports and 3.17 percent of exports; and Switzerland, 2.20 percent of imports and 2.84 percent of exports.

121 The following Report of the Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Crafts pursues the purpose of a concise and clear review of the history of the development of Lithuanian economy during the last ten years. With the exception of agriculture, it deals with all spheres of economics, i. e. industry, foreign and home trade, goods transport, the State finances, and credit conditions.

433 The synthesis of the dynamic of separate economic branches establishes the conclusion that Lithuanian political economy during the past ten years has achieved great progress. Although under the influence of the world economic crisis in the years 1932—1935 it suffered reverses or was at any rate hindered in its growth, the total balance of the ten years on an average shows a doubling of the real volume. Especially the years 1930—1931 and 1936—1937 were signalized by vigorous promotion and expansion periods. Whereas world economy in the autumn of 1937 once more revealed symptoms of a recession, in Lithuania the rising tendency continued.

The greatest successes were achieved in the domain of industry; its production grew uninterruptedly also during the crisis and has on an average increased two and a half times. The liquidation of Free Trade and the confinement of separate politico-economic spheres within their national boundaries under the operation of the world economic crisis, as in other agrarian countries so also in Lithuania have contributed to intensification of the development of home industry.

● 439 The Lithuanian foreign trade turnover has suffered loss during the crisis as a result of the fall of prices. Its volume nevertheless remained even during the crisis years above the level of 1929. The introduction of the licence system facilitated the maintenance of the active general trade balance in the crisis years and regulation of the trade balance with individual countries.

438 In the domain of home trade, the growth of cooperative trade must above all be premised. Private trade is developing unequally; for while intermediary wholesale trade is receding,

p. 4

433 chapter. In the following table are given the data on the production quantities of the most important branches; they fully confirm the accuracy of the development tendency expressed by the index figures.

Production Figures in Tons

	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Wheat and Rye Flour	57 465	54 963	•	48 294	50 576	53 858	48 867
Sugar	6 613	16 191	8 166	15 263	22 136	27 164	28 673
Sugar Wares	•	•	•	1 387	1 484	1 626	1 934
Bacon	19 894	26 869	21 376*)	12 675*)	8 809	10 539	10 153
Other Meat Products	9 770*)	7 660	7 642*)	9 000**)	16 485	16 933	12 858
Butter***)	8 141	10 289	9 854	10 728	13 190	15 835	16 994
Spirits (1000 litres)	3 315	3 016	3 070	2 717	2 723	2 942	5 502
Beer (1000 litres)	11 264	7 194	7 292	6 274	5 284	7 290	14 165
Tobacco (consumed raw tobacco)	983	867	763	697	665	768	769

256 433 The fluctuations in flour production are naturally connected with the condition of the harvest. The falling-off in production in 1937 was caused by the serious deterioration of the harvest in 1936 in comparison with both preceding years.

257 433 The youthful sugar industry which, as mentioned above, was first established in the autumn of 1931, had developed its activity to the full only by 1932, and thereby, concurrently with bacon production, brought about the rise of the index, notwithstanding the general crisis, by 16.5 points. After the fluctuations in 1933 and 1934, and in connexion with the opening of a second factory in 1935, our sugar production rose greatly in 1935 and 1936 and to-day, as is clear from the definite curtailment of imports shown in the chapter on foreign trade, fully covers the demand of the domestic market. This also explains the slackening of the further growth in 1937.

● 439 253 234 The fluctuations and the recession of meat production which together with butter production belongs generally to the strongest export branches of Lithuanian economy, while the remaining branches mentioned above serve only the home market, are due to the import quotas and the preference policy of Great Britain, the most important export market for our meat 000 products, vis-à-vis her Dominions. More detailed information

*) Export quantity. In the case of bacon on an average 95% of the production is for export.

**) Estimated.

***) Production of the dairy cooperative societies.

on this subject is contained in the section on the trade turnover of the „Maistas" joint-stock company. 000

The butter production figures specified in the foregoing tables relate only to the quantities supplied by the dairy cooperatives, which are used almost exclusively for export. Nearly the entire domestic demand is covered by the home production of the farmers (the so-called country butter) which it is difficult to judge by statistics. The supply of export butter shows constant growth. In 1937 it doubled in round figures in comparison with 1931, which must be ascribed to the fact that it has held its ground on the world market better than bacon. 234 439 433

Spirit, beer, and tobacco production greatly receded during the crisis. The last two years brought about, in connexion with the general economic revival, a new upward trend; while of course the doubling of beer production in 1937 is to be attributed to the reduction of the price in consequence of the lowering of the excise, and that of spirit supply in part to its compulsory admixture with petrol („Motorin"). 274 277 433

2. The Textile Industry

The textile industry is the second most important industrial branch of Lithuania. It employs the largest number of workers (in 1937, 20.7% of all industrial workers of Lithuania accrued to it); its share in the aggregate engine horse-power amounts to 9.3% and its share in the production value of all Lithuanian industry to over 14% (gross value, 14.9%; net value, 14.3%). 288 433

In the pre-war Lithuania, only approximately 300 workers were employed in this industrial branch. The development of textile undertakings since 1927 is shown by the following comparison: [464]

	1927		1931			1938 (Jan)		1937 (July)
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	55	1 403	60	2 287	2 475	79	7 162	11 673
Including								
Flax Treatment	16	468	10	374	607	10	1 201	1 845
Linen Weaving	3	112	3	200		5	728	
Others								
Textile Industry	36	823	47	1 710	1 868	64	5 233	9 828

288 This table discloses that all branches of the textile industry
433 have appreciably grown since 1927; that the textile industry proper (weaving and spinning) has, however, made much greater progress than flax manufacture. This is explained by the dependence of the latter upon export, whereas the other branches serve only the home market.

Already in the previous chapter it was pointed out that the output of the textile industry since 1929 has shown an unbroken advance, and of all industrial branches of Lithuania has increased the most vigorously. For the sake of comparison with the quantities data, the production index, calculated on the basis of **ad valorem** amounts, is once more quoted as converted to the basis year 1931:

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	108.1	168.4	178.4	264.0	311.2

248 The statistical data on the production quantities of separate
288 special branches are as follows:
433

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Flax and Tow (in tons)	4 550	5 509	1 335	4 331	5 207	5 857
Linen Yarns (in tons)	8.5	44.6	41.6	62.8	91.9	173.8
Cotton Yarns (in tons)	344.1	249.1	391.7	337.9	433.5	973.9
Woollen and Half-Woollen Fabrics (in 1000 metres)	838.8	722	1 335.3	1 384.4	2 466.1	2 411.1
Cotton Fabrics (in 1000 metres)	5 282.4	7 200	11 537.9	12 079.2	14 531.3	15 578.8
Silk Fabrics (in 1000 metres)	61.2	100.1	538.4	771.7	1 139.8	1 240.8

248 In regard to the flax manufacturing industry, it is inte-
439 resting to compare the foregoing production quantities of machine-manufactured flax and tow with the total quantities of our flax exports in the relevant years. These are as follows (in tons):

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
7 710	8 989	10 187	10 427	19 677	16 087

From this comparison it can be seen that the machine- 248
manufactured flax to-day constitutes only a small part of the 433
total exported quantity, i. e. that flax manufactured by the farmers forms the greatest portion. Nevertheless the industrial production shows a relatively more stable course (with the exception of 1934) than the rural supply.

The production of the textile industry proper has since 1931 288
on an average quadrupled. A much more powerful development 433
therein is shown by silk-weaving, which in 1937 produced in round figures twenty times as many silk fabrics as in 1931, owing to the fact that it forms the youngest branch of our textile industry and was founded exactly in 1931.

The growth of the textile industry was undoubtedly pro- 439
moted by the tariff policy (increase of the Customs duty on 651
cotton fabrics in October, 1931, and again in April, 1932, on woollen and cotton fabrics) as also by the licence system (the import of woollen fabrics has been subject to licence since the introduction of the licence system, i. e. since December, 1932; that of cotton and silk yarns since August, 1934). This found expression in the sharp decline in 1932 of the imports of ready-made fabrics by half in round figures of the earlier imported quantity. The textile industry undoubtedly represents, concurrently with the production of knitted goods, the Lithuanian industrial branch best protected by tariff policy, which also explains its rapid growth and the concentration of large-scale undertakings in this branch. Notwithstanding this indisputable fact, it must none the less be recognized that, on the one hand, tariff protection is not equally apportioned (thus, for example, the duties on silk fabrics actually on an average amount to approximately 200% **ad valorem**; on cotton fabrics over 60%; and on linen fabrics only 25%), and that, on the other hand, the high duties on yarns (especially on artificial silk yarn) partially equalize the advantage of the high duties on ready-made fabrics.

3. The Timber Industry

To the timber industry, which may be designated the third 313
most important industrial branch of Lithuania, accrued in 1937 433
16.9% of all the workers employed in the medium and wholesale manufacturing industry; 10.5% of the engine horse-power;

4. The Paper and Polygraphic Industry.

289 From the standpoint of importance of its rôle in Lithu-
433 anian industrial economy, the paper and polygraphic industry
464 stands in the fourth place. In 1937 there accrued to it 8.1% of all industrial workers; 18.1% of the engine horse-power; 8.4% of the gross value; and 10.8% of the net value of Lithuania's industrial production. According to net production value it ranked correspondingly before the timber industry in the third place. Its development since 1927 is illustrated by the following comparison:

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	52	2 115	61	2 157	8 777	76	2 559	22 602
Including:								
Cellulose and Paper	5	1 133	4	829	8 143	4	1 180	21 675
Paper and Cardboard Wares	9	284	15	365	145	18	371*)	128
Printing Offices and Book-binderies	38	698	42	903	489	54	1 100	799

Already in an earlier chapter it was pointed out that the paper industry belongs to those branches that have grown least since 1929. The index cited therein shows that the paper industry suffered the greatest setback in the crisis years (in 1932 by 32.3%) and in 1937 exceeded its position of 1929 by only 48.8%.

The explanation given in the previous section for the retrogression of timber production holds good also for the
[439] paper industry. The cause of the severe recession of the production index of the paper industry in the crisis years lies in the then curtailment of cellulose export (from 60 781 tons in 1929 to 39 384 tons in 1932) and in the high percentage share of cellulose supplies in the aggregate production of the paper

*) Figures for January, 1938, because the July figures do not reflect the complete employment position.

295 439 [651]

The development of the woven goods and footwear industry was successfully promoted by the tariff policy, i. e. especially by the Laws of October 1931 and August 1934. The woven goods production to-day entirely covers the demand of the home market, and on that account also the imports of foreign goods, which in 1928 still represented 173.3 tons, by 1937 had sunk to only 7.3 tons. The imports of leather footwear, thanks to the consolidation of native production, have also declined, although not by a long way to the same extent. in 1928, they amounted to 36.1 tons; in 1937, on the other hand, to 19.4 tons.

4. The Metal and Machinery Industry.

392 433 [464]

The number of workers employed in the metal and machinery industry in 1937 amounted to 2 792 or 8.8% of all the industrial workers of Lithuania. Its share in relation to the total of the engine horse-power amounted to 3.7%; its share in relation to the gross production value to 5.2%; and in relation to the net production value to 6.4%. This industrial branch was in the pre-war Lithuania more highly developed than to-day. In 1913, in the present political territory of Lithuania approximately 4 000 workers were employed in the metal industry. The diminution of the scope of production is due to the curtailment of the outlet for export goods. Nevertheless, during the last two years one can again discern a rapid development tempo.

The comparative figures on the changes in structure since 1927 are shown as follows:

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	94	1 895	95	1 863	3 134	103	2 792	4 677
Including.								
Metal Industry	11	547	20	665	2 781	32	1 190	4 271
Machinery Industry and Means of Transport Production	16	528	19	722		14	1 059	
Mechanical Workshops and Sheet Metal Supply	62	772	51	422	353	46	414	406
Electro-Technical Concerns	5	48	5	34		10	109	

(b) Introduction of reduced seasonal duties on tropical fruits for the period from January 1 to June 1, on November 30, 1937 (Government Gazette, 592/4130). 651

Concurrently with the import duties, on many goods that are subject to export control, in case they are exported not in the prescribed packing or do not conform to the contemplated standard of quality, the export duties are raised and their export is not permitted respectively. The sole object of these measures is to support the fulfilment of standardization and to improve the quality of our export goods. Subject to export control are: Butter, eggs, meat, seeds, potatoes, apples, flax, linseed, casings, bristles, and crayfish. 439 651

At the end of 1932, Lithuania was also obliged, in the wake of the import restrictions imposed by other countries, to place her imports under State control. This was effected through the Law of December 22, 1932 (Government Gazette, 401/2751) on the introduction of a licence system, first of all only for the import of 11 articles, i. e. sugar, salt, phosphates, iron, steel, tin, coal, cement, cotton threads and yarn, paper, cardboard, and woollen fabrics. This list of goods subject to licence was appreciably extended by later laws, chiefly by the Law of August 4, 1934 (Government Gazette, 453/3161), whereby the number of articles was increased to 46 and among them knitted goods and cotton fabrics were included; by the Law of February 6, 1935 (Government Gazette, 468/3282), and by the Law of February 15, 1936 (Government Gazette, 523/3631), so that to-day of the 216 articles of the Customs Tariff 134, but actually approximately 85% of the effective imports are subject to licence. 656 439

The introduction of the licence system in Lithuania had in view not by any means the stifling of import; it resulted rather only from regard to the structure of the trade-balance. Before the last economic crisis, i. e. at the time when world trade was still not subject to any import and currency restrictions, the question of trade-balances with individual countries played no great rôle because it was easily possible by means of an export surplus achieved with certain countries to equalize an import surplus recorded in trade with others. Ever since, however, foreign trade began to develop chiefly along compensation and accounting lines, the transference of balances has encountered difficulties. Thus in 1932, viz., the last year 457

457 before the introduction of the licence system in Lithuania, we had only two active and fourteen passive trade-balances with sixteen countries to which accrued approximately 85% of our foreign trade turnover. Thanks to the licence system, already in 1937 eight balances became active. This therefore shows us that the licence system successfully fulfils its purpose. The statistical data in regard thereto are later cited.

Later than elsewhere, for the first time at the end of 1935, likewise with a view to adaptation to the restrictions in force in most neighbouring countries, exchange control was introduced in Lithuania. The Regulations concerning this matter are contained in the Law on Transactions in Foreign Currency of October 1, 1935 (Government Gazette, 501/3480) and in the Decree regarding operations with foreign currency of November 14, 1935 (Government Gazette, 509/3537).

In connexion with exchange control, Lithuania has concluded special clearing agreements with several countries where currency business is also State controlled. Through the Lietuvos Bankas (Bank of Lithuania) accounting accounts are conducted to-day with Germany, Finland, Greece, Italy, Latvia, and Hungary.

648 With all the more important trade clients Lithuania has concluded politico-commercial agreements. The following list
● 439 comprises a comparison of all the ratified and at present valid commercial agreements of Lithuania with 21 States:

List of the existing Valid Commercial Agreements of Lithuania with other Countries.

1. **Belgium - Luxemburg:**

(a) Provisional Commercial Agreement of August 16, 1928 (Government Gazette, 289/1897).

(b) Arrangement on the application of the foreign Commercial Agreement also to the Belgian Congo and the Belgian mandated territory of Ruanda-Urundi, of February 10, 1936, ratified on February 29, 1936 (Government Gazette, 524/3636).

2. **Brazil:**

Provisional Commercial Agreement of September 28, 1937 (Government Gazette, 599/4198).

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

3. Denmark and Iceland:

(a) Commercial and Navigation Treaty with Denmark of March 21, 1930, ratified on March 14, 1931 (Gevornment Gazette, 352/2405). 648 439

(b) Commercial and Navigation Treaty with Iceland, of March 21, 1930, ratified on March 14, 1931 (Government Gazette, 352/2406).

4. Germany:

(a) Commercial and Navigation Treaty of October 30, 1928, ratified on February 12, 1929 (Government Gazette, 295/1951).

(b) Goods Agreement of August 5, 1936.

(c) Accounting Agreement of August 5, 1936 (both published in Government Gazette, 552/3839).

(d) Agreement on small frontier communication of August 5, 1936 (Government Gazette, 552/3840); all three Agreements ratified on August 21, 1936.

(e) Arrangement on the extension of the duration of validity of the Economic Agreement of August 5, 1936, signed on June 19, 1937, ratified on August 2, 1937 (Government Gazette, 584/4061).

(f) Arrangement on the extension of the duration of validity of the Economic Agreement of August 5, 1936, signed on June 25, 1938, ratified on July 30, 1938 (Government Gazette, 617/4366).

5. Estonia:

Commercial Agreement of January 13, 1934, ratified on April 22, 1934 (Government Gazette, 443/3101).

6. Finland:

(a) Provisional Commercial Agreement of October 6, 1928, in force since October 15, 1928 (Government Gazette, 289/1898).

(b) Agreement on the extension of the most-favoured-nation treatment of June 21, 1932, in force since October 1, 1932 (Government Gazette, 398/2731).

(c) Clearing Agreement of April 12, 1938, ratified on May 31, 1938 (Government Gazette, 611/4308).

7. **France:**

648
● 439

(a) Modus Vivendi of July 18, 1928, in force since August 15, 1928 (Government Gazette, 283/1810).

(b) Appended Agreement to Modus Vivendi of April 9, 1932, ratified on June 28, 1932 (Government Gazette, 387/2661).

(c) Extension of Modus Vivendi to the French colonies and protectorates, of September 21, 1935 (Government Gazette, 511/3543).

8. **Great Britain:**

(a) Commercial Agreement of May 6, 1922, in force since May 6, 1922, together with Exchange of Notes on its application to the British colonies and protectorates, of April 24 and September 29, 1923, in force since September 29, 1923, ratified on March 24, 1926 (Government Gazette, 231/1497).

(b) Exchange of Notes on the application of the above Commercial Agreement to Canada, of July 17 and August 31, 1928, in force since September 15, 1928 (Government Gazette, 283/1811).

(c) Exchange of Notes on the application of the foregoing Commercial Agreement to India, Ireland, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and Tasmania, of December 11 and 12, 1928, („Lietuvos sutartys su svetimomis valstybėmis" — Treaties of Lithuania with foreign States) — International Treaties, No. 95).

(d) Commercial Treaty of June 6, 1934, ratified on July 17, 1934 (Government Gazette, 454/3162).

(e) Exchange of Notes of February 6, 1935, on the rectification of the Customs duties on oranges in the Commercial Treaty of June 6, 1934 (Government Gazette, 482/3372).

9. **Holland:**

Commercial Agreement of June 10, 1924, ratified on March 24, 1926 (Government Gazette, 231/1503).

10. **Italy:**

Commercial Agreement of September 17, 1927, ratified on January 17, 1928 (Government Gazette, 270/1746).

8t Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

11. **Japan:**

Commercial and Navigation Treaty of May 2, 1930, ratified on June 9, 1931 (Government Gazette, 371/2537). 648 439

12. **Latvia:**

(a) Commercial Treaty of April 10, 1935, ratified on April 13, 1935 (Government Gazette, 481/3367).

(b) Clearing Agreement of April 10, 1935, ratified on April 13, 1935 (Government Gazette, 481/3368).

(c) Appended Arrangement to the Clearing Agreement of November 30, 1936, ratified on December 14, 1936 (Government Gazette, 562/3898).

13. **Norway:**

Commercial and Navigation Treaty of December 21, 1923, ratified on July 31, 1924 (Government Gazette, 172/1195).

14. **Portugal:**

Commercial Agreement of April 12, 1932, ratified on May 11, 1932 (Government Gazette, 384/2648).

15. **Rumania:**

Commercial Agreement of March 28, 1931, ratified on June 9, 1931 (Government Gazette, 362/2473).

16. **Sweden:**

(a) Commercial Agreement of February 17, 1924, ratified on March 24, 1926 (Government Gazette, 231/1505).

(b) Arrangement on Certificates of Origin, of July 1, 1937, in force since August 1, 1937 (Government Gazette, 587/4093).

17. **Switzerland and Lichtenstein:**

(a) Provisional Commercial Agreement of October 28, 1922 and

(b) Exchange of Notes on its application to Lichtenstein, of March 15, 1925, ratified on March 24, 1926 (Government Gazette, 231/1506).

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18. **Czecho-Slovakia:**

Commercial Agreement of April 27, 1923, ratified on October 26, 1923 (Government Gazette, 144/1030).

19. **Hungary:**

(a) Commercial and Navigation Treaty of May 16, 1929, ratified on November 12, 1929 (Government Gazette, 314/2118).

(b) Accounting Agreement of November 12, 1937, ratified on December 30, 1937 (Government Gazette, 597/4170).

20. **U. S. S. R.:**

(a) Arrangement on the reciprocal granting of most-favoured-nation treatment, of September 24, 1928 (Government Gazette, 285/1848).

(b) Protocol and Exchange of Notes on the legal status of commercial representatives of the U. S. S. R. in Lithuania and on the reciprocal transit communication of August 29, 1931, ratified on September 20, 1931 (Government Gazette, 306/2499).

21. **United States of America:**

Commercial Agreement of December 23, 1925, ratified on March 24, 1926, in force since July 10, 1926 (Government Gazette, 231/1496).

Trade negotiations are at present proceeding with several other nations, including Turkey, the Argentine, and latterly with Poland.

As regards the contents of the above enumerated agreements, it should be noted that they all without exception contain the most-favoured-nation clause. Nevertheless the most-favoured-nation treatment which, on the part of Lithuania, is assured to the other countries, does not extend to the concessions which Lithuania grants to both the other Baltic States, i. e. Latvia and Estonia.

[651] Reduced treaty Customs duties have been arranged only with Latvia, Estonia, France, and Great Britain.

The overwhelming majority of the commercial agreements quoted in the above list were concluded during the last ten years. An impetus to accelerated conclusion of commercial

agreements with Lithuania was imparted by the introduction of the Extraordinary Tariff through the Law of September 24, 1928 (Government Gazette, 284/1828), whereby goods from non-treaty countries are subject to a double duty on import into Lithuania. Through the later Law of December 22, 1931, (Government Gazette, 372/2544) this Tariff was raised to 300% of the ordinary Customs levies. In connexion therewith an important rôle in the imposition of import duties is played by certificates-of-origin, which must prove that the goods proceed from a country to which the increased duties are not applied. Certificates-of-origin are recognized as legally correct if they are drawn up by the Lithuanian diplomatic and consular representatives abroad or by the chambers of commerce, chambers of agriculture and custom-houses of the country of origin. With Estonia, Italy, Latvia, Sweden and the U. S. S. R. special arrangements on this subject have been effected as the result of which certificates-of-origin drafted by other public bodies are recognized as valid. In lieu of certificates-of-origin, other documents (invoices, bills-of-lading, &c.) may also be submitted, which, however, must be legalized by the Lithuanian representation abroad. Legalization is also required for all certificates-origin which are drawn up in respect of goods intended for re-export, originating from third countries, with the exception of Germany, where certification may be effected through chambers of commerce and agriculture or through a custom-house.

For mail parcels no certificates-of-origin are demanded, if the article is sent direct from the country of origin.

Besides the above enumerated commercial agreements, Lithuania has concluded special compensation arrangements with various countries, including Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Switzerland, and the U. S. S. R. These are renewed annually, and the scope of reciprocal goods traffic and the import quotas respectively determined.

In the goods agreement with Germany the creation of an arrangement unknown in erstwhile politico-commercial practice, i. e. a mixed economic commission, has been provided for, which is to superintend the development of goods traffic at periodical conferences. This new arrangement appears to have justified itself.

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

2. General Trade Balance.

● 439 A summarized statement of the development of Lithuania's foreign trade during the last ten years is afforded by the following table:

Lithuania's Foreign Trade from 1928—1937, in Million Litas.

Year	Turnover	Exports	Imports	Balance
1928	548.0	256.9	291.1	—34.2
1929	636.3	329.8	306.4	+23.4
1930	646.2	333.7	312.4	+21.3
1931	551.0	273.1	277.9	— 4.8
1932	356.0	189.1	166.9	+22.2
1933	302.4	160.2	142.2	+18.0
1934	285.9	147.2	138.7	+ 8.5
1935	280.9	152.3	128.6	+23.7
1936	346.5	190.5	156.0	+34.5
1937	420.9	208.3	212.6	— 4.3

We see from these figures that the value peak level of Lithuania's foreign trade turnover, i. e. for both export and import, was reached in 1930. The following years brought a recession, which lasted, as to exports, until 1934, and as to imports, until 1935. During the last two years fresh activity has set in, whereby imports have risen somewhat more rapidly than exports.

With the exception of 1928, 1931, and 1937, the trade balance was active. The total balance for all ten years together is likewise active and amounts to 108 300 000 litas. The passive balance of 1937 is due to the fact that in consequence of the intensive swing of Lithuanian economy and the stimulation arising therefrom of the demand of the home market, our imports of both raw materials for industry and of ready-made goods for consumption, have grown more rapidly than exports.

The above-mentioned **ad valorem** recession of the Lithuanian foreign trade turnover from 1931—1935 probably derives from the general crisis of world trade, but it displays a far more favourable development than the latter. The recession of Lithuania's foreign trade first set in in 1931, and was nothing like so severe as that of world trade. This is clearly shown

439

by the following comparison of the relevant figures (world trade figures according to the data of the League of Nations „Bulletin mensuel de statistique"):

The Ad Valorem Development of World Trade and of Lithuania's Foreign Trade in Indices (1929=100).

	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
World (gold value)	81.0	57.9	39.1	35.2	33.9	34.7	37.4	46.2
Lithuanian (in Litas)	101.5	86.6	55.9	47.5	44.9	44.1	54.4	66.1

We see from the above that in 1937 world trade ad valorem was less than half the level of 1929, whereas the recession of Lithuania's foreign trade amounted to only one-third. The difference in the incidence of the nethermost level (World, 1934; Lithuania, 1935) was not due to contingent but politico-commercial causes, viz., the conflict with Germany.

A still more favourable picture of the development of Lithuania's foreign trade is given by an examination of the volume of trade. The severe ad valorem recession of world trade has notoriously been occasioned not so much by the shrinkage of the quantities as, in the first place, by the decline of prices. The index of trade prices in gold, also calculated by the Statistical Section of the League of Nations, shows the following figures:

1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
87.0	67.5	52.5	46.5	43.5	42.5	43.5	47.5

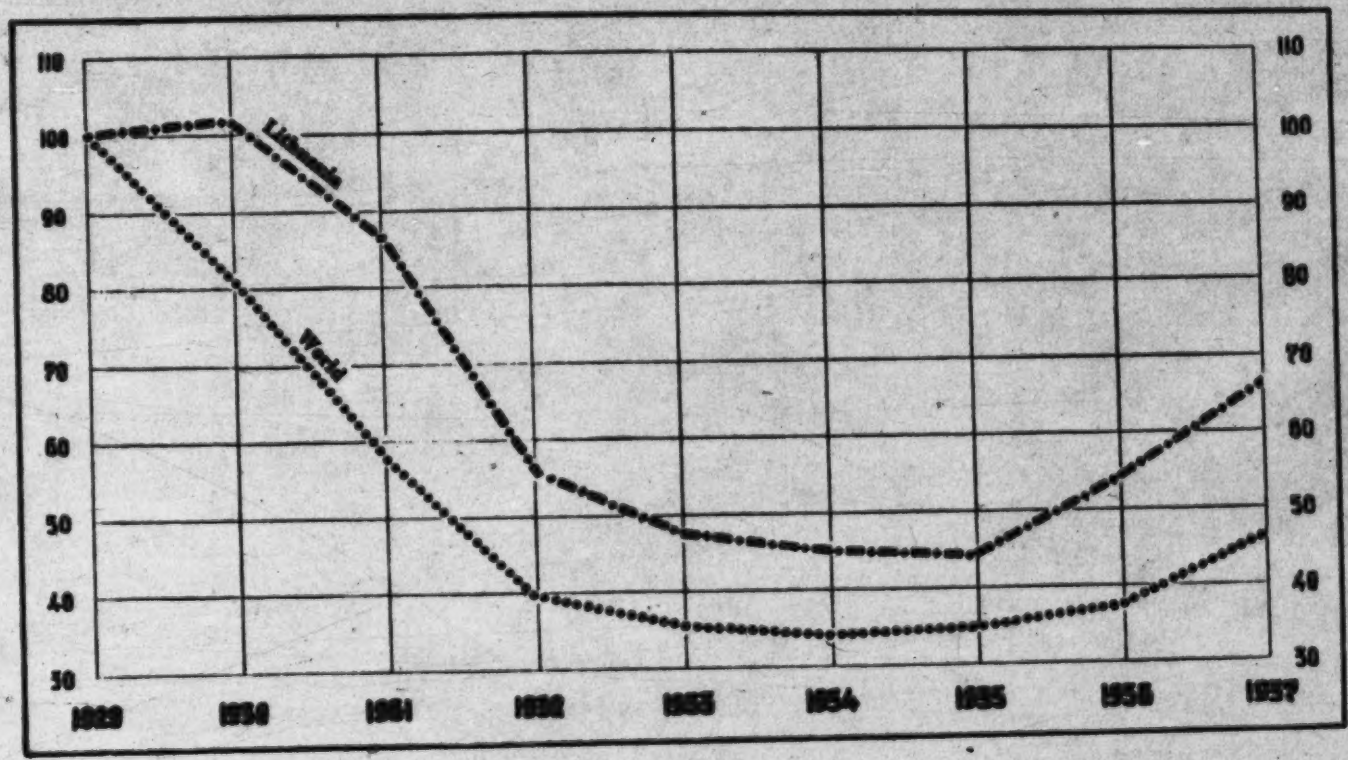
Taking the foregoing price indices as a basis, we can easily calculate that, expressed in the prices of 1929, Lithuania's foreign trade turnover would demonstrate the following sums (in million litas):

1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
742.8	816.3	678.1	650.3	657.2	660.9	796.5	886.1

We have purposely used for this conversion the gold price-index of the League of Nations and not the Lithuanian price-

439

Diagram No. 3. **The ad valorem Development of World Trade and of Lithuania's Foreign Trade in Indices (1929=100).**



6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

index, because the latter is calculated on the basis of the retail prices of the home market, and for foreign trade the world market prices are authoritative. 439

On the basis of the foregoing figures we can now deduce a comparison between the quantitative movement of world trade and that of Lithuania's foreign trade (the figures for the volume of world trade are taken from the League of Nations statistics):

The Development of the Volume of World Trade and of Lithuania's Foreign Trade in Indices (1929=100).

	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
World	93.0	85.5	74.5	75.5	78.0	82.0	85.9	97.5
Lithuania	116.7	128.3	106.6	102.2	103.3	103.9	125.2	139.3

These index figures show us that the development of the quantitative scope of Lithuania's foreign trade from 1932—1935 was, of course, checked in its growth by the influence of the world trade crisis, but that, nevertheless, the scope of Lithuania's foreign trade, even at its nadir in 1933, remained above the position of 1929, and during the entire crisis did not once fall below it. Whereas the volume of world trade even in 1937 could not yet again attain the position of the earlier high trend, Lithuanian foreign trade had already exceeded it by nearly 40%.

In the operation of the development, indicated above, of Lithuania's foreign trade, Lithuania's share in world trade during the last decade has also grown appreciably, i. e. by 75%. This is shown by the following table:

Lithuania's Share in World Trade from 1928—1937 (in Percentages).

1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
In World Trade Turnover									
0.08	0.09	0.12	0.14	0.14	0.13	0.12	0.12	0.14	0.14
In World Export									
0.08	0.10	0.13	0.15	0.15	0.14	0.13	0.14	0.16	0.14

439

In World Import

0.08 0.09 0.11 0.13 0.12 0.11 0.12 0.10 0.12 0.14

Lithuania's share in world export of several separate goods shows, moreover, a considerably higher percentage than the above-quoted figures, and a still greater increase during recent years.

Lithuania's Share in World Export of Several Goods (In Percentages)

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Flax	2.84	3.23	2.91	3.30	2.61	3.64	3.42	5.69	4.66
Live Pigs	3.35	5.23	4.07	1.82	1.41	3.28	6.24	5.53	6.60
Bacon	0.07	0.86	3.18	4.35	4.48	3.22	2.40	2.93	2.63
Butter	0.79	1.38	1.52	1.82	1.67	1.62	1.98	2.35	2.50

All these figures attest in a convincing manner the success of our foreign trade.

3. The Structure of Export and Import.

The inner structure of Lithuanian export and import during the last ten years, i. e. its division according to commodity groups, is evident from the following two tables.

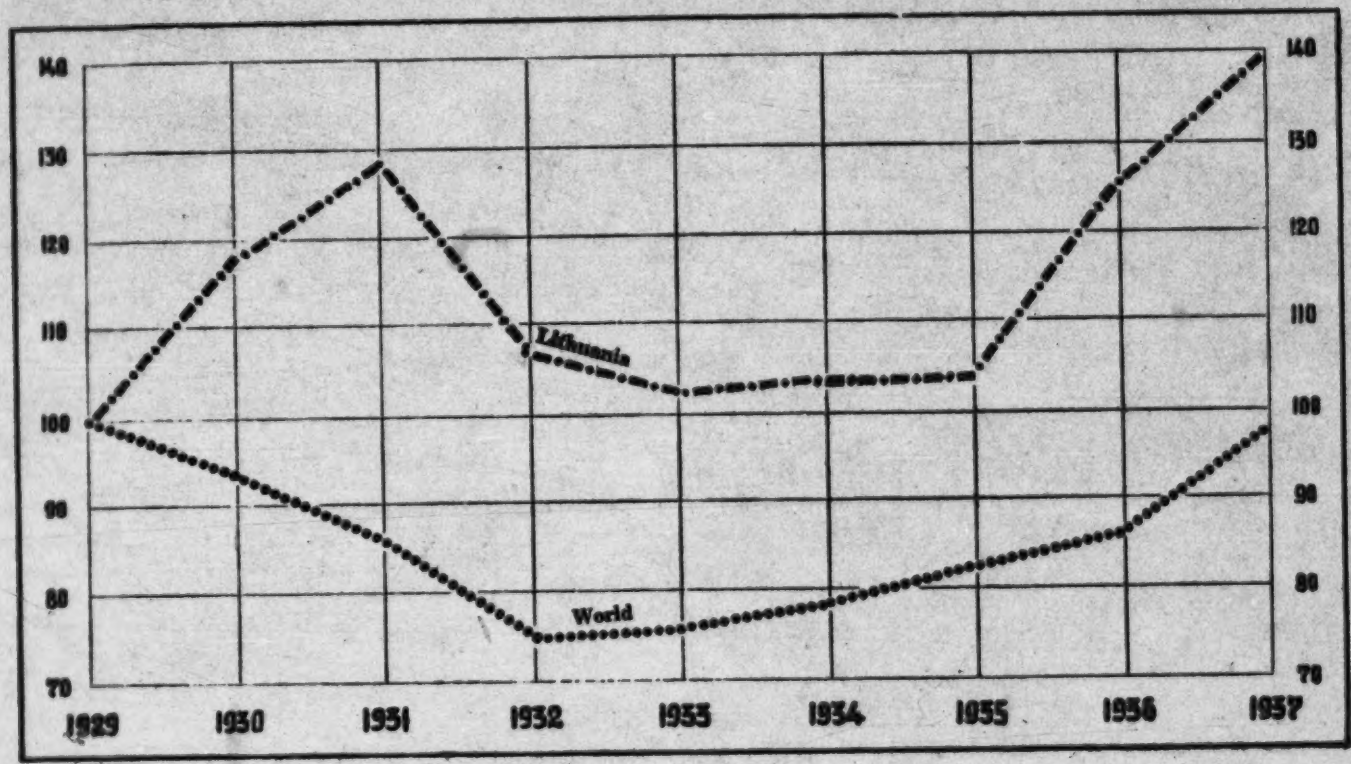
I. Lithuanian Export from 1928—1937 according to Commodity Groups.

Year	Live Animals		Comestibles		Raw Materials & Semi-Manufactures		Ready-made Goods	
	Mil. Lt.	%	Mil. Lt.	%	Mil. Lt.	%	Mil. Lt.	%
1928	35.0	13.6	56.2	21.9	146.0	56.8	19.5	7.6
1929	62.1	18.8	74.9	22.7	170.0	51.5	22.6	6.9
1930	70.1	21.0	131.5	39.4	119.5	35.8	12.6	3.8
1931	35.8	13.1	156.7	57.4	67.0	24.6	13.4	4.9
1932	12.6	6.7	113.8	60.2	53.5	28.3	9.2	4.9
1933	13.4	8.4	86.8	54.2	50.4	31.5	9.5	5.9
1934	12.4	8.5	63.0	42.8	59.9	40.7	11.8	8.0
1935	10.6	7.0	75.4	49.5	56.3	37.0	9.8	6.5
1936	20.9	11.0	90.2	47.4	72.6	38.0	6.7	3.5
1937	25.0	12.0	83.7	40.2	91.9	44.1	7.6	3.7

439

The Development of Volume of World Trade and of Lithuania's Foreign Trade in Indices (1929=100).

Diagram No. 4.



6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanian RB5

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

439

II. Lithuanian Import from 1928—1937 according to Commodity Groups.

Year	Live Animals		Comestibles		Raw Materials & Semi-Manufactures		Ready-made Goods	
	Mil. Lt.	%	Mil. Lt.	%	Mil. Lt.	%	Mil. Lt.	%
1928	0.1	0.03	50.9	17.4	74.7	25.7	165.1	56.7
1929	0.1	0.03	55.6	18.1	85.0	27.8	165.4	54.0
1930	0.3	0.09	38.9	12.4	84.2	26.9	188.9	60.5
1931	0.2	0.07	27.9	10.0	72.0	25.9	177.6	63.9
1932	0.03	0.02	17.1	10.3	49.1	29.4	100.2	60.0
1933	0.05	0.04	10.8	7.6	49.2	34.6	81.5	57.3
1934	0.03	0.03	11.1	8.0	48.9	35.2	78.0	56.3
1935	0.02	0.02	8.1	6.3	45.8	35.6	72.8	56.6
1936	0.08	0.05	9.3	6.0	56.4	36.1	88.4	56.6
1937	0.2	0.1	10.4	4.9	81.5	38.3	120.2	56.5

The first table shows that to-day approximately half the Lithuanian export accrues to cattle and foodstuffs; more than two-fifths consists of industrial raw materials. During the crisis years the exports of raw materials receded far more rapidly than those of comestibles, which caused the collapse of the percentage share of raw materials from 56.8% in 1928 to 24.6% in 1931, whereas simultaneously the percentage share of comestibles rose nearly three times. In connexion with the revival of world economy, the share of raw materials has again grown, without, however, attaining the pre-crisis position, which has been occasioned alike by the development of the Lithuanian foodstuffs industry and the heightened demand of the home market for raw materials in connexion with the expansion of domestic industry. The fluctuations in the share of live animals are attributable chiefly to the former stagnation of exports to Germany.

The structural changes of import, which the second table illustrates, show an appreciably more regular development than that of export. The explanation of this phenomenon may lie in the fact that export is to a far greater degree dependent upon contingent fluctuations of the world market and is with much greater difficulty amenable to State interventionist measures than import, which is closely associated with the economic development of the home country. The above-quoted figures

reflect the influence of her imports: whereas the percentage share of foodstuffs and luxury goods constantly falls, owing to the rise of home production (sugar, &c.), the share of individual raw materials has risen almost without intermission, even during the period of crisis, since 1931. The imports of ready-made goods have ad valorem and especially quantitatively, in consequence of the increased consumption in recent years, absolutely grown considerably, but their percentage share in the total imports has remained unchanged. 459

4. Analysis of Export according to Goods.

In conformity with the agrarian character of the country, Lithuania exports almost exclusively agricultural products. Lithuanian exports are therefore confined chiefly to a few commodities which, thanks to this circumstance, attain a relatively large percentage share on the world market, as has already been shown above. To the six principal export articles, i. e. live pigs, bacon, butter, flax, timber material, and cellulose, pertain approximately three-quarters of the total export. Divided according to separate economic branches, in the exports of 1937 the commodity ratios were as follows:

Cattle and Poultry Breeding	115.5	mil.	Lt	or	55.4%
Including:					
Pig-breeding	45.1	„	„	„	21.6%
Dairy-farming	42.1	„	„	„	20.2%
Poultry-farming	9.8	„	„	„	4.7%
Forestry	50.3	„	„	„	24.1%
Including:					
Sawn Timber	16.5	„	„	„	7.9%
Cellulose	14.9	„	„	„	7.1%
Vegetable Growing	37.7	„	„	„	18.1%
Including:					
Flax and Linseed.....	31.1	„	„	„	14.9%
Total:	203.5	„	„	„	97.6%

The development of the export of separate commodities during the last ten years is shown in the attached Table No. 3.

439 On the strength of these figures we may conclude that this development in relation to separate commodities proceeds unevenly. Thus, for example, the export of horned cattle in recent years has very greatly receded and in 1937 reached lees than a tenth of the position in 1928. On the other hand, the export of butter during the same period has simultaneously risen about sixfold. The export of live pigs from 1932—1934 considerably receded, but during the last three years has again risen far above the position of 1928. The export of meat, wherein that of bacon has the biggest share, increased approximately sevenfold from 1928—1932, but has since suffered a loss of more than half the position attained in 1932. The export of live poultry maintained a high position until 1933, and since then has receded about two-thirds. Egg export, after the stagnation from 1933—1935, again shows a rising tendency and has gone beyond the position of 1928. Grain export forms a particularly uncertain item of Lithuanian export. In years of good harvest it amounts to over a hundred thousand tons, but when the harvest is bad, it is wholly discontinued or even prohibited. Timber export suffered recessions in 1931, 1932, and 1935; otherwise it remains fairly favourable. In 1937 it stood above the position of 1928, but below that of 1929. More favourable was the development of the export of cellulose and of ready-made wood wares, which since 1934 has stood above the position of 1928 and constantly rises. Flax export, under the influence of the world economic crisis, has suffered very severely. From 1928—1933 it receded by half in round figures. Since 1934, however, it has again increased nearly twofold, and has gone beyond the position of 1928 by approximately 50%, but in connexion with the fall of prices on the world market towards the end of 1937, a new stagnation made itself felt.

Briefly summarizing we may say that the relatively favourable course of the development of Lithuanian export during the world economic crisis has to thank the advance of dairy-farming and the meat working-up industry. It has already been mentioned in the preceding chapter that these are concentrated in both the leading dairy-farming organizations of Lithuania, viz., „Pienocentras" and „Maistas". Their great rôle in export trade will be discussed in the following section.

• 439

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

P 81

Table No. 3.

The Most Important Commodities of Lithuanian Export from 1928—1937.

Commodities	1928		1929		1930		1931		1932		1933		1934		1935		1936		1937	
	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt
I. Live Animals:																				
Horses in 1000	21.2	9.8	20.7	11.4	20.8	10.3	10.4	5.5	8.7	2.3	17.0	4.3	17.4	4.7	15.3	3.4	14.9	5.6	13.4	4.9
Horned Cattle in 1000	28.1	7.5	39.9	14.5	36.2	12.9	19.5	6.0	16.4	2.5	11.8	2.5	9.3	2.0	0.3	0.1	4.1	1.6	2.5	1.4
Pigs in 1000	44.5	11.5	100.2	28.9	156.0	38.7	109.5	19.3	33.7	2.9	21.7	2.7	46.1	5.2	104.8	7.1	116.9	11.7	137.7	16.3
Poultry in 1000	571.7	6.0	626.6	6.9	720.0	7.8	714.0	4.9	854.7	4.8	766.7	3.9	161.0	0.5	0.3	0.0	246.1	1.5	250.5	1.5
II. Comestibles:																				
Meat (fresh, bacon, &c.)	1 959	6.8	5 394	18.8	13 340	47.9	29 664	81.6	34 905	56.8	29 018	53.4	17 908	37.2	14 495	23.7	15 540	29.8	15 574	31.1
Butter	2 643	20.3	4 084	31.4	7 357	46.9	8 705	47.2	9 926	41.8	9 580	22.9	9 671	14.7	12 154	24.4	14 629	35.2	15 058	41.4
Eggs	3 502	14.4	2 985	12.8	2 958	11.9	3 279	10.0	2 462	6.3	1 560	3.3	1 046	1.7	1 511	2.1	3 793	4 9	4 228	5.9
Grain	5 233	2.8	1 750	0.6	34 315	9.3	22 691	6.2	2 273	0.6	2 321	0.6	17 150	2.7	150 193	17.4	120 810	12.2	—	—
Leguminous plants	6 987	3.3	4 313	1.9	5 657	1.7	8 172	2.2	3 687	0.9	4 313	0.9	8 069	1.7	11 830	3.0	9 752	2.3	5 795	1.6
III. Raw Materials & Semi-manufactures:																				
Raw Hides & Furs	4 465	17.8	2 779	16.0	1 992	8.3	1 364	4.8	1 868	3.0	3 235	3.4	2 657	3.6	2 316	3.5	1 432	4.5	1 728	6.2
Animal Hair & Feathers	213	2.1	228	3.7	167	2.4	138	1.4	154	1.1	167	0.9	151	0.8	179	1.2	243	1.4	251	1.8
Seeds	8 269	9.3	25 764	26.7	21 598	17.9	12 555	9.6	9 202	5.9	7 062	3.4	8 859	6.2	15 833	8.6	26 008	10.9	22 979	11.2
Timber	271 710	33.6	354 960	44.8	268 760	29.1	144 269	15.3	150 659	11.9	290 774	16.1	331 980	19.7	182 205	16.5	232 583	17.6	282 292	29.5
Cellulose	47 880	26.9	60 781	38.3	53 898	32.6	36 173	21.1	39 384	19.4	47 751	15.8	57 334	14.6	52 189	10.3	57 206	10.6	68 621	14.8
Flax	13 176	46.6	11 530	32.1	10 198	19.6	7 710	9.1	8 989	9.1	6 459	7.2	10 187	11.2	10 427	14.1	19 677	25.1	16 087	24.0
IV. Ready-made Goods:																				
Leather	6	0.2	14	0.4	38	0.5	233	3.1	171	2.2	266	1.9	380	2.7	203	1.6	15	0.2	317	1.2
Timber Products	8 466	12.8	9 126	16.7	4 816	8.1	5 124	7.1	3 946	4.5	5 903	5.8	9 819	6.3	11 532	6.5	9 240	5.2	13 085	5.9

439

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

p 82

Table No. 4.

The Export of Several more Important Commodities according to Countries.

	1928		1929		1930		1931		1932		1933		1934		1935		1936		1937	
	to	%	to	%	to	%	to	%	to	%	to	%	to	%	to	%	to	%	to	%
Live Pigs, Number	44 524	100	100 249	100	156 030	100	109 491	100	33 669	100	21.768	100	46.130	100	104 832	100	116 952	100	137 675	100
Of which to:																				
U.S.S.R.	—	—	—	—	5 261	3	11 788	10	—	—	—	—	23 360	51	99 172	95	89 927	77	91 946	67
Germany	41 643	93	94 629	94	148 211	95	97 367	89	28 200	84	8 769	40	9 421	20	31	0	23 897	20	44 206	32
Bacon	150	100	316	100	4 104	100	18 157	100	25 132	100	21 378	100	12 675	100	8 605	100	10 267	100	9 878	100
Of which to:																				
Great Britain ..	150	100	316	100	4 048	99	18 157	100	25 132	100	21 041	98	12 675	100	8 567	99	10 158	99	9 857	99
Butter	2 643	100	4 084	100	7 357	100	8 705	100	9 926	100	9 580	100	9 671	100	12 154	100	14 629	100	15 058	100
Of which to:																				
Great Britain ..	168	6.4	672	16.4	1 304	17.7	2 052	23.4	3 777	38.1	5 503	57.4	7 432	76.8	9 234	75.9	10 806	73.9	10 299	68
Germany	2 395	90.6	3 308	80.9	5 863	79.7	5 855	67.3	5 485	55.3	3 016	1.2	414	4.3	837	6.9	1 215	8.3	1 233	8
Palestine	—	—	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	120	31.5	172	1.8	28	0	990	6.7	2 554	17
Flax	13 176	100	11 530	100	10 198	100	7 710	100	8 989	100	6 459	100	10 187	100	10 426	100	19 673	100	16 088	100
Of which to:																				
Great Britain ..	6 403	48.6	4 166	36.1	4 421	43	2 388	31	2 706	31	2 059	32	4 264	42	3 962	38	9 672	49	8 594	53
Czecho-Slovakia	173	1.3	187	1.6	61	0	10	0	44	0	122	2	2 856	28	2 051	20	2 514	13	2 539	16
Sweden	718	5.4	544	4.7	774	7	1 007	13	956	11	598	9	686	7	827	8	1 643	8	1 667	10
France	336	2.6	138	1.2	106	1	164	2	512	6	146	2	178	2	1 420	14	2 347	12	1 427	9

439

Linseed	6 993	100	24 660	100	20 124	100	11 157	100	7 709	100	8 016	100	6 401	100	12 749	100	23 807	100	20 679	100
Of which to:																				
Belgium	23	0	114	0	390	2	749	7	340	4	148	2	585	9	973	8	4 637	19	4 337	21
Czecho-Slovakia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 109	9	6 179	26	3 940	19
Holland	118	2	3 921	16	2 751	13	880	8	662	8	373	6	139	2	923	7	2 275	9	3 258	16
France	983	13	492	2	104	0.5	—	—	84	1	170	3	665	10	3 146	25	2 389	10	2 919	14
Cellulose	47 880	100	60 781	100	53 898	100	36 173	100	39 384	100	47 751	100	57 334	100	52 189	100	57 206	100	68 621	100
Of which to:																				
Great Britain ..	14 234	30	26 987	44	27 336	51	19 515	54	15 717	40	15 894	33	16 939	29	24 336	47	26 847	47	25 031	36
U.S.A.	2 397	5	5 883	9	3 825	7	2 918	8	1 912	5	15 384	32	18 323	32	8 502	16	14 797	26	18 357	27
France	463	1	8 649	14	15	0	1 069	3	1 712	4	1 728	4	6 052	11	3 313	6	10 182	18	15 005	22
Planks & Boards	52.452	100	60 539	100	45 195	100	39 679	100	54 054	100	88 666	100	62 759	100	121 796	100	118 019	100	115 002	100
Of which to:																				
Great Britain ..	1 489	3	2 398	4	4 676	10	11 105	28	25 037	46	43 893	49	29 894	36	65 197	53	66 071	57	68 815	60
Holland	—	—	2 115	4	319	0	8 891	25	14 819	27	16 060	18	14 034	17	20 628	17	15 967	14	15 941	14
France	—	—	2 940	5	4 930	11	2 462	6	850	1.5	2 316	3	7 163	8	10 884	9	12 413	10	9 530	9
Germany	49 089	93	44 082	73	27 980	62	12 867	32	12 134	22	17 604	19	15 545	19	2 821	2	9 837	8	7 006	6
Veneer	6 570	100	7 535	100	3 862	100	3 673	100	2 718	100	3 710	100	5 393	100	5 924	100	5 743	100	6 250	100
Of which to:																				
Great Britain ..	2 978	46	3 868	51	2 607	67	2 468	67	1 698	62	2 264	61	3 684	68	4 673	79	5 049	88	5 080	81

P 83

439 The distribution of the export of several more important commodities according to country and the changes occurring therein during the last ten years are shown in the attached Table No. 4. According thereto two-thirds of the live pigs a.e exported to the U. S. S. R. and one-third to Germany. Export to the U. S. S. R. has risen only during the last three years. From 1928—1932 Germany still took approximately nine-tenths of the export quantity. After the stoppage in 1935, Germany's share is again upon the up-grade.

Great Britain alone takes over the entire bacon export.

More than two-thirds of Lithuania's butter export also go to Great Britain. Meanwhile Germany's share between 1928 and 1935 shrank from 90% to nil, and has since during the last two years risen 17%.

Half the flax export in round figures pertains to Great Britain. Among the other more important customers, Czecho-Slovakia, Sweden, and France should be mentioned.

The export of linseed is not so strictly concentrated in separate countries as the above-mentioned goods. It is distributed among Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, Holland, and France.

The same remark applies to cellulose; this is in approximately equal portions exported to Great Britain, the U. S. A., and France. In 1937 Great Britain's share declined and that of both the other countries has increased.

Sawn timber up to 60% goes to England. Holland occupies the second place. Here also is the same re-grouping as with butter worthy of note. Germany's share, which in 1928 exceeded 90%, shrank to 6% during subsequent years.

Veneer is exported chiefly to Great Britan.

5. Analysis of Import according to Commodities

Lithuanian import is more differentiated than export. The most important share pertains to the imports of textiles (raw materials, yarns, and fabrics). In 1937 they amounted to 22%. Then followed iron, various metals, and wares thereof with 18%. In the third place stand machinery and apparatus with 12%, and in the fourth petroleum and coal with approximately 9%.

A detailed review of the development of the import of the most important commodities during the last ten years is afford-

●439 ed by the attached Table No. 5. It reflects pretty clearly the course of Lithuania's economic life.

The agrarian crisis in the years 1931—1934, its subjugation, and the fresh economic revival during the last three years are illustrated by the figures on the import fertilizers. During 1930 the imports of phosphates reached 115 000 tons. In 1934 they sank to 55 000 tons, but in 1937 again reached 95 000 tons.

Very characteristic is the development of the imports of industrial raw material and semi-manufactures, which, in connexion with the industrialization of our country even during the general world economic crisis either receded only negligibly or not at all, and during the last two years rose tremendously. This concerns in the first place the imports of coal, petroleum, and combustibles generally; iron and steel, and especially wool, cotton, and yarns, the import of which from 1928 to 1937 has nearly quadrupled.

The import of cement from 1932—1935 showed recession; it did not nevertheless fall below the level of 1929. During the last two years not only were the losses made good, but the position of 1928 has been doubled, owing to the upward trend of construction.

The imports of machinery and motor-cars rose strongly during 1937, i. e. those of the former have doubled, which reflects the rise of industrial production, and of the latter even quadrupled, which was occasioned by the reduction of the duties.

Simultaneously with the rise in the imports of an entire series of articles which are required for the establishment of home industry, the import of many ready-made products has receded, because the demand now either wholly or in part can be covered by domestic production. The relevant statistical data can be seen in Table No. 6.

Thus soon after the establishment of the first sugar factory at Marijampolė in 1931, the imports of foreign sugar fell off approximately by half. After the second factory had been erected at Pavenčiai in 1935, sugar imports almost entirely ceased.

The erection of the rubber factory „Inkaras" at Kaunas and of the paper factory at Petrašiūnai in 1933 has brought about a sharp drop in rubber and paper ware imports.

The development of the domestic textile industry caused the decrease of the import of ready-made fabrics. This, it is

439

Table No. 5.

The Most Important Commodities of Lithuanian Import from 1926—1937.

Commodities	1928		1929		1930		1931		1932		1933		1934		1935		1936		1937	
	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt	to	Mil. lt
I. Comestibles																				
Fish (Herrings, &c)	14 895	9.2	18 616	11,5	15 704	9.9	11 844	6.5	10 718	4.4	7 936	3.1	9 670	2.9	7 258	2.2	9 770	3.4	11 690	4.0
Fruit & Berries	1 646	2.6	1 658	2.8	2 464	3.5	2 600	3.1	1 770	1.8	1 619	1.4	1 539	1.3	1 158	1.1	1 236	1.3	1 385	1.3
Coffee, Cocoa & Tea	596	2.9	662	2.9	671	2.5	675	2.1	618	1.6	563	1.3	533	1.0	689	1.1	689	1.0	622	1.2
Salt	26 345	2.4	30 727	2.3	30 812	2.0	34 031	2.3	34 077	2.2	34 111	2.1	32 910	1.7	39 825	1.9	32 674	1.7	32 515	1.6
II. Raw Materials & Semi-Manufactures																				
Raw Hides & Furs	1 306	5.5	1 636	5.0	1 998	4.6	2 650	4.2	1 652	2.4	1 698	2.7	2 284	3.4	1 499	2.4	2 062	3.9	2 435	6.3
Fertilizers	106 512	15.1	103 964	15.5	115 219	15.8	89 407	10.5	64 331	8.8	65 539	6.7	55 776	5.7	65 546	4.7	71 524	5.6	95 790	7.3
Tobacco	1 088	3.2	1 236	3.8	937	3.2	1 085	3.4	777	2.3	881	2.5	937	3.2	331	1.0	727	1.8	936	2.7
Iron & Steel ..	21 265	7.6	17 882	6.6	24 557	8.3	25 381	6.7	20 516	4.1	24 908	5.3	24 406	5.3	22 958	4.6	32 055	6.4	40 030	11.2
Petroleum	31 414	9.7	31 585	9.9	39 250	11.4	39 896	10.3	38 497	7.9	37 207	6.9	38 743	6.4	38 136	6.2	40 305	6.1	46 188	6.7
Coal	196 684	11.3	268 206	14.6	225 703	12.1	263 588	13.3	244 784	9.9	252 573	8.6	250 965	7.8	242 318	6.8	270 114	8.1	306 203	10.7
Cement	46 902	4.7	50 047	4.6	63 526	5.8	87 994	6.8	67 256	3.7	60 870	2.6	58 483	2.3	57 958	2.3	74 022	2.9	95 744	4.3
Wool	285	1.4	365	2.7	335	1.9	299	1.4	256	1.2	383	1.7	394	2.1	410	1.9	473	2.5	541	3.4
Cotton	226	0.6	196	0.7	259	0.8	369	0.7	327	0.6	272	0.5	480	0.7	1 379	2.3	1 688	2.8	2 453	4.3

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

● 439

III. Ready-made Goods																				
Paints & Varnish	386	1.5	415	1.6	495	2.1	462	1.9	467	1.8	466	2.2	592	2.3	596	2.2	748	2.5	782	2.5
Chemical Products	4 747	5.4	5 220	5.9	4 620	4.8	4 608	4.5	4 504	3.7	5 335	3.8	6 358	4.7	5 861	4.1	6 704	4.2	7 955	4.9
Woollen Yarns..	134	2.2	126	2.4	130	2.3	170	2.6	145	2.0	254	3.3	311	4.3	353	4.2	568	7.0	625	8.4
Woollen Fabrics	392	13.6	384	14.9	448	17.4	467	15.5	292	7.7	198	4.9	176	4.1	213	4.2	264	5.5	259	6.0
Cotton Yarns ..	786	6.0	900	7.4	1 549	12.0	1 525	8.8	1 827	7.9	2 228	8.9	2 138	7.9	1 833	7.4	2 119	8.7	1 944	8.6
Cotton Fabrics .	2 050	28.8	1 569	25.3	1 887	29.4	1 829	25.4	971	11.8	926	10.8	866	9.4	751	7.6	1 165	11.1	1 176	11.1
Paper & Paper Wares	5 034	7.0	5 278	7.2	5 499	7.5	5 491	6.7	5 547	5.2	2 613	2.8	1 699	2.2	1 519	1.9	2 303	2.6	1 993	2.6
Glass E Glass Wares	2 382	2.6	2 071	2.4	2 924	2.9	2 676	2.7	2 849	1.9	1 405	1.2	1 852	1.3	2 283	1.4	2 891	1.6	3 207	1.9
Iron & Steel Wares	16 525	16.4	16 489	17.5	21 085	20.7	26 491	20.6	20 256	11.7	16 382	9.3	14 872	8.6	13 310	7.5	15 364	8.7	30 513	16.5
Electrical Machinery ..	441	1.9	562	2.9	551	3.2	488	2.9	393	2.5	275	1.6	581	2.1	594	2.1	497	1.9	712	2.7
Industrial Machinery ..	3 792	13.3	3 730	14.2	4 415	10.0	5 719	18.8	2 654	8.2	2 034	5.9	2 140	6.5	2 337	6.3	2 132	8.5	4 180	15.4
Agricultural Machinery ..	2 335	4.6	2 126	4.5	2 307	4.5	2 687	5.0	1 415	2.0	1 067	1.3	949	1.1	958	1.1	837	1.2	1 967	2.5
Motor-cars	727	5.5	494	3.6	657	4.8	563	3.9	171	1.2	125	0.8	308	1.6	240	1.1	472	1.9	1 866	7.5
Scientific Apparatus & Instruments ..	212	3.7	177	3.7	205	4.5	235	5.6	174	3.7	152	3.2	169	3.3	275	5.8	255	4.1	361	6.3

439 true, in connexion with the growth of consumption during the last two years, has somewhat risen, but remains nevertheless to-day at approximately a half behind the position of 1928—1931.

The extremely sharp recession of knitted goods import has certainly been evoked directly by protectionist measures (the increase of the duties and the licensing of import). An important rôle was, however, played by the establishment of three undertakings for woven goods manufacture in Kaunas, i. e. the firm of Uljamperliai Bros. and the joint-stock companies „Cotton" and „Diana".

The import of leather and leather footwear has also receded under the influence of the intensification of domestic industry, inter alia the establishment of the „Batas" and „Lithuania" firms, etc.

6. Analysis of Export according to Countries.

The development of Lithuania's export trade from 1928—1937, according to separate countries, is shown by the attached Table No. 7. It contains data on the exports to sixteen countries to which in 1937 in all 97.3% of our exports related.

We see from this table that during recent years almost half Lithuania's export has gone to the United Kingdom.

This high share and the first place among customer-countries for Lithuanian products fell to Great Britain for the first time in 1932, until when Germany had headed the list of Lithuania's foreign markets. The agrarian-protectionist import restrictions introduced in Germany since 1932, on the one hand, and various misunderstandings of a non-economic character, on the other, caused a sharp curtailment of our exports to Germany from 1932—1935. Since the conclusion of a new economic agreement in 1936 Lithuanian - German trade has again revived and shows a fresh upward tendency.

The two following tables illustrate the structure of exports to Great Britain and Germany during the last three years:

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1936 R55 Lithuanians R55

●439

Table No. 6.

The Recession of Import of Various Commodities into Lithuania (in tons).

Commodities	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Sugar	20 018	27 384	31 754	25 957*)	15 471	3 199	12 359	3 040**)	3 277	414
Leather	89.8	116.2	118.8	99.5	51.7	58.8	39.0	16.3	16.4	18.6
Leather Footwear	36.1	30.2	43.3	113.9	30.5	48.1	12.6	11.5	16.3	19.4
Rubber Goods	523.0	605.0	636.5	680.2	617.2	652.3	276.7	180.3	191.8	268.2
Soap	181.7	319.3	303.7	162.4	59.6	9.7	32.4	6.7	15.6	26.0
Woollen Fabrics	392	364	448	467	292	198	176	213	264	259
Cotton Fabrics	2 050	1 569	1 887	1 829	971	926	866	751	1 165	1 176
Knitted Goods	173.3	134.5	116.5	77.5	24.9	18.0	14.7	4.2	5.7	7.3
Paper & Paper Wares..	5 064	5 278	5 499	5 491	5 547	2 613	1 699	1 519	2 303	1 993

*) Establishment of a Factory.
**) Establishment of a second Factory.

●439

Lithuania's Exports to Great Britain (in 1 000 litas)

Commodities	1935	1936	1937
Total Exports	69 513.7	92 152.9	96 581.3
Including:			
Bacon	17 404.5	22 584.3	22 827.9
Butter	18 301.9	25 541.0	27 944.4
Eggs	1 386.5	3 660.0	3 913.8
Boards & Planks.....	6 580.8	5 622.2	9 144.5
Cellulose	4 569.8	4 907.5	4 866.6
Veneer	3 636.0	3 479.3	3 607.7
Flax & tow	5 177.3	12 434.0	12 921.3

Lithuania's Exports to Germany (in 1 000 litas).

	1935	1936	1937
Total Exports	5 435.2	20 598.9	34 479.3
Including:			
Live pigs	2.3	4 045.9	7 503.8
Live poultry.....	0.6	1 492.1	1 534.9
Beef	2.5	246.5	1 168.9
Slaughtered poultry and game	569.9	1 003.0	1 129.9
Butter	63.1	2 928.3	7 588.9
Eggs	4.1	542.0	1 532.1
Boards & planks	355.6	2 290.5	1 886.4
Flax & tow	34.7	1 384.1	923.1

Until 1931 Latvia occupied the third place in Lithuania's export trade. For example, in 1929 our export to that country reached 30 500 000 litas and a share of 9.2% in the total export trade. To be sure the bulk of the commodities then exported to Latvia (for example, flax for about 7 700 000 litas and linseed for about 6 200 000 litas) was re-exported by Latvian customers, so that actually exports to Latvia were also smaller. The agrarian-protectionist measures introduced since then in Latvia have resulted in a sharp fall of Lithuanian exports to that country.

At present, i. e. since 1934, the U. S. S. R. stands in the third place in Lithuania's export trade. She imports from Lithuania chiefly live pigs and also hides and leather.

● 439

Table No. 7.

Lithuania's Export Trade from 1928—1937 according to Countries.

Countries	1928		1929		1930		1931		1932		1933		1934		1935		1936		1937	
	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%
Total Export	256.9	100.0	329.8	100.0	333.7	100.0	273.1	100.0	189.1	100.0	160.2	100.0	147.2	100.0	152.3	100.0	190.5	100.0	208.3	100.0
Including:																				
Great Britain	52.3	20.3	57.4	17.4	65.0	19.5	90.4	33.1	78.3	41.4	71.6	44.7	62.7	42.6	69.5	45.6	92.1	48.4	96.6	46.4
Germany	148.3	57.7	195.9	59.4	199.9	59.9	125.4	45.9	74.0	39.1	52.5	32.7	31.8	21.6	5.4	3.6	20.6	10.8	34.5	16.5
U. S. S. R.	3.6	1.4	1.3	0.4	5.1	1.5	8.2	3.0	6.7	3.5	2.7	1.7	7.5	5.1	13.1	8.6	10.1	5.3	11.0	5.3
France	4.2	1.6	3.9	1.2	2.2	0.7	2.6	0.9	2.9	1.6	3.2	1.9	4.3	2.9	7.1	4.7	8.6	4.5	9.8	4.7
Holland	5.4	2.1	10.7	3.2	6.8	2.0	4.9	1.8	3.9	2.1	3.8	2.4	4.6	3.1	7.9	5.2	5.5	2.9	9.5	4.6
Belgium	4.3	1.7	4.3	1.3	6.8	2.0	10.7	3.9	3.4	1.8	4.4	2.8	6.4	4.3	11.9	7.8	10.5	5.5	7.8	3.7
Czecho-Slovakia	0.8	0.3	0.9	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.06	0.2	0.1	1.3	0.8	4.4	2.9	5.6	3.7	7.1	3.7	7.0	3.4
U. S. A.	2.4	0.9	4.4	1.3	2.6	0.8	2.0	0.7	1.0	0.5	5.3	3.3	4.8	3.2	2.9	1.9	6.7	3.5	6.8	3.3
Sweden	3.1	1.2	2.4	0.7	3.9	1.2	1.8	0.7	1.9	1.0	1.0	0.6	2.6	1.7	3.5	2.3	5.6	2.9	4.7	2.2
Palestine	0.08	0.04	0.2	0.05	0.1	0.04	0.1	0.03	0.05	0.03	0.4	0.2	0.8	0.5	2.0	1.3	2.9	1.6	3.4	1.6
Switzerland	0.04	0.02	1.1	0.3	0.6	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.5	0.3	0.7	0.5	2.6	1.7	1.9	1.0	3.4	1.6
Denmark	1.9	0.7	3.9	1.2	4.4	1.3	3.0	1.1	1.1	0.5	2.4	1.5	4.8	3.1	5.7	3.7	5.1	2.7	2.6	1.3
Austria	0.2	0.08	0.05	0.01	0.05	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.1	0.07	1.4	0.9	1.2	0.8	1.7	0.9	2.2	1.0
Latvia	17.4	6.8	30.5	9.2	22.9	6.8	15.1	5.5	4.4	2.3	5.3	3.3	4.8	3.2	3.7	2.4	3.4	1.8	1.7	0.8
Finland	0.02	0.01	0.3	0.09	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.02	0.01	0.04	0.03	0.1	0.1	0.8	0.5	1.4	0.7	1.1	0.5
Estonia	0.14	0.06	0.2	0.06	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.07	0.15	0.08	0.15	0.1	0.4	0.3	1.3	0.9	0.7	0.4	0.9	0.4

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

439

To France, who holds the fourth place among Lithuania's foreign markets, cellulose, flax, linseed, and sawn timber are predominantly exported.

The principal staples of our exports to Holland are pulp wood, boards and planks, linseed, and calf-skins.

To Belgium go chiefly cellulose, sawn timber, and linseed; to Czecho-Slovakia flax and linseed; to the United States, cellulose and frozen pork; to Sweden, flax; to Palestine, butter; to Switzerland, frozen pork and butter; to Denmark, horses and aspen. The separate items of export to other countries are relatively insignificant.

The development of the distribution of Lithuanian export according to individual countries during the last five years has brought into prominence as a favourable phenomenon the fact that, instead of a concentration of exports on two or three countries, as had formerly been the case, to-day it is capturing an ever increasing number of foreign markets, with the tendency through their simultaneous service to protect itself against sudden reactions, which can occur when, on any ground, export to one market comes to a standstill. The successful fulfilment of this decentralization tendency reveals itself in the fact that whereas until 1932 approximately 80% of export fell to Great Britain and Germany and only 20% to all other countries, in recent years the share of both the above-mentioned countries has sunk to approximately 60%, and that of the remainder has risen to 40%.

7. Analysis of Import Trade according to Countries.

On the strength of the contrasted statistical data in Table No. 8 on the development of Lithuanian import from separate countries during the last ten years, we may conclude that in contradistinction to export, import for long has been less centralized and distributed among a greater number of countries.

The sequence of countries according to the size of import values is, however, not identical with that of export, because between export and import in the trade with separate countries important discrepancies existed and even now still exist.

The problem of our commercial policy is therefore not so much directed to a further decentralization as, on the contrary,

• 439

Table No. 8.

Lithuania's Import Trade from 1928—1937 according to Countries.

Countries	1928		1929		1930		1931		1932		1933		1934		1935		1936		1937	
	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%	Mil. lt	%
Total Import	291.1	100.0	306.4	100.0	312.4	100.0	277.9	100.0	166.9	100.0	142.2	100.0	138.7	100.0	128.6	100.0	156.0	100.0	212.6	100.0
Including:																				
Great Britain	19.2	6.6	26.0	8.5	24.0	7.7	19.7	7.1	17.9	10.8	24.3	17.1	35.1	25.3	47.9	37.3	57.0	36.5	59.3	27.9
Germany	146.8	50.4	150.2	49.0	151.4	48.5	130.7	47.0	67.2	40.3	51.3	36.1	38.8	28.0	14.7	11.4	14.4	9.2	46.4	21.8
U. S. S. R.	9.1	3.1	13.1	4.3	13.8	4.4	17.2	6.2	10.2	6.1	7.8	5.5	5.9	4.3	13.6	10.5	14.7	9.4	17.9	8.4
France	4.5	1.6	7.2	2.3	9.5	3.0	8.3	2.9	5.6	3.4	4.4	3.1	5.2	3.7	4.4	3.4	4.8	3.1	5.6	2.6
Holland	9.2	3.2	10.0	3.3	9.9	3.2	7.3	2.6	4.5	2.7	4.7	3.3	4.9	3.6	6.0	4.7	7.0	4.5	8.8	4.2
Belgium	3.7	1.3	5.2	1.7	7.4	2.4	7.9	2.8	7.6	4.5	7.5	5.3	7.9	5.7	4.9	3.8	13.7	8.7	16.7	7.9
Czecho-Slovakia	13.1	4.5	19.2	6.3	18.0	5.8	19.6	7.0	12.6	7.6	8.6	6.1	9.1	6.6	9.2	7.2	7.4	4.8	6.9	3.3
U. S. A.	20.5	7.0	16.7	5.5	14.7	4.7	10.8	3.9	6.3	3.8	4.3	3.0	3.9	2.8	3.8	2.9	4.4	2.8	7.4	3.5
Sweden	5.5	1.9	5.7	1.9	7.5	2.4	5.4	1.9	3.6	2.1	2.4	1.7	3.0	2.2	3.1	1.4	4.7	3.0	6.9	3.3
Palestine	0.13	0.04	0.02	0.01	0.1	0.03	0.07	0.02	0.14	0.09	0.1	0.08	0.1	0.07	0.25	0.2	0.15	0.1	0.12	0.06
Switzerland	2.6	0.9	2.5	0.8	3.6	1.2	3.2	1.2	1.9	1.1	1.5	1.0	1.7	1.2	1.9	1.5	2.5	1.6	3.5	1.6
Denmark	3.1	1.1	6.3	2.1	5.4	1.7	3.5	1.3	2.1	1.2	1.9	1.4	2.2	1.6	3.3	2.6	4.7	3.0	6.9	3.3
Austria	1.2	0.4	1.8	0.6	1.7	0.5	1.5	0.5	0.9	0.6	2.2	1.8	2.9	2.1	2.1	1.6	2.5	1.6	1.6	0.8
Latvia	10.3	3.6	10.9	3.6	13.4	4.3	11.9	4.3	7.7	4.6	5.7	3.9	2.5	1.8	1.7	2.3	1.9	1.3	2.1	1.0
Finland	0.6	0.2	1.7	0.5	2.2	0.7	1.8	0.6	1.9	1.1	1.4	1.0	0.7	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.4	0.2
Estonia	4.0	1.4	2.0	0.7	3.5	1.1	3.4	1.2	2.1	1.3	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.3	1.2	0.9	0.9	0.6	0.8	0.4

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

439 to the deflection of import to countries with which we have an active trade balance.

Since 1935 Great Britain has held first place in Lithuanian import trade. Her percentage share, however, notwithstanding a slight rise in the absolute figures, in 1937 again receded and does not by a long way correspond to the considerably larger share of Great Britain in Lithuania's export trade.

During the last three years the following articles more especially were imported from Great Britain (in 1 000 litas):

	1935	1936	1937
Herrings	2 147.7	3 223.5	2 345.2
Superphosphates	1 237.6	1 077.9	1 130.1
Sheet-iron	989.6	1 397.9	1 506.3
Coal	5 251.9	8 177.8	7 685.7
Cement	1 429.7	1 511.6	2 141.0
Raw wool	1 633.4	1 674.8	2 176.9
Woollen yarn	3 647.9	6 406.1	6 752.5
Cotton yarn	5 210.4	6 208.1	5 942.5
Woollen fabrics	3 311.9	4 283.2	4 399.8
Cotton fabrics:			
Raw and bleached	1 124.9	1 300.0	1 325.2
Dyed	3 971.4	6 406.4	4 889.7

Germany, who from 1928 to 1931 still supplied approximately half of all commodities imported into Lithuania and who, despite the later decreases of deliveries, until 1934 remained in the first place in Lithuania's import trade, was in 1935 relegated by Great Britain to the second place, which she also occupies to-day. Her share in imports in 1937 again exceptionally increased (from 9.2% to 21.8%), and considerably surpassed the share in Lithuanian export trade.

The principal articles of Lithuanian import from Germany in recent years were as follows (in 1 000 litas):

	1935	1936	1937
Iron rails	—	4.4	1 660.8
Woollen fabrics	36.1	112.2	1 007.0
Cotton fabrics dyed	81.3	128.4	936.8
Factory machinery	331.3	316.3	1 713.5
Machine parts	516.3	502.0	1 231.5

Motor-cars	15.7	122.2	1 136.7	439
Chassis	49.8	187.3	1 196.4	
Scientific apparatus and instruments	239.5	359.4	980.6	

The nomenclature of Lithuanian imports from Germany is, moreover, extremely elusive and differentiated, which is due partly to the lively frontier trade. The above cited articles constitute only approximately a fifth of our total imports from Germany.

The U. S. S R. supplies Lithuania in the first place with round timber for the Timber Syndicate at Memel; petroleum products, coal, salt, superphosphates, and cotton fabrics. She occupies among countries of supply the third place; also her share in Lithuania's import is higher than in export trade.

In the fourth place comes Belgium, who furnishes chiefly iron and woollen yarns. Our imports from Belgium considerably exceed our exports thither, i. e. more than twofold.

From Holland are imported superphosphates, wireless apparatus, and artificial silk yarns; from Sweden and Denmark, motor-cars; from France, iron; from Switzerland, clocks and machinery; from the United States, petroleum products, cotton, and phosphates. The nomenclature of imports from other countries is sharply differentiated.

In general we can assert that Germany had the largest share in the increase of Lithuanian imports in 1937, owing partly to the fact that deliveries from that country in consequence of the conflict in 1935, had unusually declined, and the present rise has only restored the earlier relation. Otherwise imports from almost all other countries have absolutely increased, although as regards the percentage share, several changes have ensued. Only the imports from Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Estonia, and Palestine evince an absolute and a percentage recession.

8. The Trade-Balance with separate Countries. 457

It has already at the outset been pointed out that the liquidation of free-trade, which ensued during the last world economic crisis, and the transition to the quota system, have

651 comparison cannot be doubted because equivalent factors are
473 involved. This contrast furnishes the following result:

Profit Tax in 1 000 litas	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
Industry	2 640.6	2 743.3	2 217.5	2 606.7	2 373.3	2 463.2	3 177.2
Trade	5 724.4	5 980.2	5 595.1	5 133.1	4 343.2	4 635.9	4 854.4

On the basis of the foregoing comparative figures, we may reckon that in comparison with 1930 the taxation capacity of industry in 1936 increased by 20%, whereas simultaneously the Profit Tax returns of trade receded by 15%.

This comparison fully illustrates that the position of trade
● 439 is much more unfavourable than that of industry, which is
473 chiefly due to three factors:

1. The large share of foreign trade in the total goods turnover (direct export and import can be estimated at approximately 40%, and by adding the turnover between wholesale and retail trade the share exceeds 60%) renders our trade to a greater degree dependent upon the fluctuations of the world trend than is the case with our youthful industry, which works chiefly for the home market.

2. For the same reasons, in the sphere of trade, in connexion with the international shrinkage of import, quotas and compensation agreements, private initiative seems far more hampered than in relation to industry.

3. The vigorous growth of the cooperatives, whose object is as far as possible to eliminate intermediate trade, was bound in the nature of things to aggravate the position of private trade in corresponding branches and thereby force down the total turnover amount.

We shall, it is true, in the further course of our deductions see that the decrease in the trade turnover is only an **ad valorem** one, and that its quantitative scope has even increased. This fact, however, in no way prejudices the validity of what has already been stated, because the proportion between the comparative taxation figures relating to trade and industry is not displaced thereby but remains identical.

651 In view of the fact that in crisis years, when the amount
439 of the trade turnover sinks, tax assessments for budgetary
473 reasons as a rule are imposed too high, this circumstance must be taken into consideration for the purpose of the index calcu-

lation of the trade turnover on the basis of the tax statistics, 651
and an appropriate clarification effected. 439

To reinforce this assertion we compare first of all the per- 473
centage development of the Profit Tax receipts from 1930—1936 (the tax is valid at times for the preceding year) with the index already calculated in the previous chapter of the ad valorem development of our foreign trade turnover from 1929—1935. We obtain in this manner the two following sets of figures:

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935
Foreign Trade Turnover..	100.0	101.5	86.6	55.9	47.5	44.9	44.1
Trade Turnover on the basis of tax receipts	100.0	105.5	97.7	89.7	75.9	80.9	84.8

One must bear in mind that the home-trade turnover, [438]
especially in respect of commodities of fixed demand (chiefly foodstuffs) which constitute the relatively most important item of the turnover, is far less subject to trend fluctuations than foreign trade. The growth of domestic industrial production must likewise extend the scope of the home-trade turnover. On the other hand, however, one may not forget that the retrogression of our foreign trade turnover is in the first instance due to the fall of prices, and that its quantitative scope, as has been demonstrated in a previous chapter, even in the crisis years remained above the level of 1929. The fall of prices has approximately in the same manner affected the foreign and home-trade turnovers. If therefore the tax receipts correctly reflected the trade turnover, then this would mean, in consideration of the high percentage share of foreign trade, that the home-trade in inland goods already in 1935 had attained a turnover which, in comparison with 1929, was ad valorem one and a half times, and quantitatively three times larger, which, it goes without saying, cannot correspond to reality.

On the basis of reliable estimates, the turnover assessments 651
of the Tax Inspectorate in the crisis years, in relation to the 438
firms with non-public accounting, were fixed too high. Since on the firms with public accounting, for which the tax is assessed according to the actual turnover, approximately one-fifth of the Profit Tax total devolves, the figures for the total receipts since 1932 have had to be cut down a quarter in round figures in order to depict the real total turnover.

473 included, because, since it simultaneously belongs to the biggest industrial enterprises, it is shown among the latter. This remark refers to the „Maistas" Joint-stock Company, whose rôle in our foodstuffs industry has already been discussed in the relevant section. The following figures relate therefore solely to its share in our trade turnover.

The „Maistas" Company, 69.8% of whose shares are held by the Government, has since 1935 virtually monopolized the entire export trade of Lithuania in meat, cattle, and poultry (the residue pertains to frontier trade) and therefore as a single enterprise in 1937 reached a share of 22.5% in Lithuania's total exports. Its total foreign and home-trade turnover amounted to 60 000 000 litas and was exceeded only by that of the Central Union of Agricultural Cooperatives, „Lietūkis".

473 439 The following table illustrates the course of growth of the share of „Maistas" in our export trade during the last ten years („Maistas" has been operating already since 1923, but began to play an important part in our economy, properly speaking, only after 1930):

Year	Total Lithuanian Exports of Cattle, Poultry, Ham, and Meat Products, in Million Litas	Share in Total Export Trade	Total Export of „Maistas" in Mil. Lt.	Percentage Share of „Maistas" in: Exports of Cattle, Poultry, Meat, Ham, &c.	the Total Export Trade
1928	31.8	12.4%	1.3	4.0%	0.5%
1929	69.1	20.9%	5.9	8.6%	1.8%
1930	107.3	32.2%	24.8	23.2%	7.4%
1931	112.9	41.3%	42.9	38.1%	15.8%
1932	68.5	36.2%	42.8	62.5%	22.6%
1933	63.0	39.3%	42.3	67.2%	26.4%
1934	45.3	30.8%	34.9	77.0%	23.7%
1935	34.4	22.6%	32.7	95.1%	21.5%
1936	48.1	25.2%	42.7	88.8%	22.4%
1937	51.9	24.9%	46.9	90.3%	22.5%

The principal export articles of „Maistas" are bacon and live pigs. Bacon is sold exclusively to England, and live pigs to the U. S. S. R. and Germany. The export of bacon reached its peak precisely in the crisis years 1932 and 1933, and was largely instrumental in equalizing the shrinkage of export of other

articles in our trade-balance at that time, which must be entered to the credit account of „Maistas". When after the Ottawa Conference England greatly expanded her imports of agrarian products from the Dominions, to the detriment of her former European suppliers, our bacon exports also receded, whereby the export structure of „Maistas" was materially altered. The following two comparative tables elucidate this relationship:

I. The Structure of English Bacon Imports

	1931	1936	1937
England's bacon imports, in million £ ..	33.1	27.3	29.3
Including in % from:			
Dominions	0.5	15.7	19.2
European countries ...	97.7	84.1	80.7

II. The Bacon Exports of „Maistas"

	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Exports of bacon, in million litas .	30.3	32.5	37.7	27.6	15.0	20.3	20.8
Share of bacon exports in total export of „Maistas" in %	70.6	76.0	89.0	79.1	45.9	47.4	44.4

Although bacon sales in recent years have receded **ad valorem** by nearly half (and quantitatively by more than half), „Maistas" was able, through the transposition of export to other articles, chiefly live pigs, but also through the building up of poultry and canned goods export, not only to make good the recession of bacon exports, but also in 1937 **ad valorem** to overtake by 9.3% the pre-crisis position (1931) of its total export trade.

Lithuania's total export of corresponding products during the same period not only, under the operation of the fall in prices, declined **ad valorem** by 54% but also quantitatively (on the basis of the price-index of Lietuvos Bankas) by 25%.

474 ed in „Lietūkis", but which effect their sales on their own
438 account, and other quite independent consumer unions. Among the latter mention should be made of the following:

1. „Parama", which carries on the grocery trade and in Kaunas and neighbourhood owns 30 sale establishments. Its turnover amounted in 1937 to 5 200 000 litas against 4 800 000 litas in 1936 and 4 500 000 litas in 1935. „Parama" owns also its own bread bakery, the biggest in Lithuania, the production of which in 1937 reached 5 900 000 litas.

2. „Spaudos Fondas" engages in the book and stationery material trade, also in book publishing. It maintains three sales establishments in Kaunas and ten in the provinces. The turnover reached 6 100 000 litas in 1937 against 5 400 000 litas in 1936 and 4 600 000 litas in 1935.

3. „Karių Ekonominė Bendrovė", a military consumers' union, maintains in Kaunas its own organized warehouse-like emporium. In 1937 its turnover reached 2 600 000 litas against 2 900 000 litas in 1936, and 3 100 000 litas in 1935. It is the only cooperative society whose turnover, if only negligibly, has declined.

4. „Marginiai" engages in the sale of articles of folk art and household industry. It maintains a branch establishment at Šiauliai. In 1937 the turnover amounted to 211 334 litas against 158 783 litas in 1936, and 142 320 litas in 1935.

The total turnover of all trade cooperatives, which already in 1929 had reached the amount of 52 200 000 litas, stayed until 1935 below this level. In 1936, however, it rose to 55 800 000 litas and in 1937 to 65 000 000 litas.

The Central Union of Lithuanian Dairy-farming Cooperative Societies „Pienocentras" belongs formally it is true, not to the trade cooperatives but to the production cooperative societies, but in view of its important share in the goods turnover, especially in the export trade, we will describe its rôle in this section.

474 The union „Pienocentras", which was founded in 1926,
438 counts to-day 192 dairy-farming cooperative societies as mem-
● 439 bers. It disposes in all of over 2 052 milk-skimming stations, and is served by 91 491 milk-purveyors. It owns the monopoly of butter and egg export. Its share in the total export of Lithuania amounted in 1937 to 26.1%. Concurrently it maintains

also inland 17 sale emporia and eight breakfast rooms and in 1937 attained on the home market a turnover of 7 200 000 litas. 438

The growth of the goods turnover of „Pienocentras" and its structure are shown in the following three tables: 439

1. The Structure of the Total Turnover of „Pienocentras" (in 1 000 litas)

Year	Total Turnover	Whereof A. Export	Including: 1. Butter	2. Eggs	Percentage Share in Total Lithuanian Export	B. Domestic Sales
1927	5 981	3 971	3 950	—	1.6	2 010
1928	13 662	10 437	10 437	—	4.1	3 225
1929	25 999	20 888	20 786	102	6.3	5 111
1930	43 854	35 200	34 866	334	10.5	8 653
1931	46 102	37 790	37 055	735	13.8	8 312
1932	45 182	37 079	36 045	1 034	19.6	8 103
1933	36 163	29 909	29 150	789	18.7	6 245
1934	36 329	30 231	28 816	1 397	20.5	6 098
1935	42 438	35 948	33 866	2 046	23.6	6 490
1936	55 897	48 228	42 042	6 151	25.3	7 668
1937	65 730	54 470	47 065	7 375	26.1	7 187

2. Butter Export of „Pienocentras"

Year	Total Butter Export of Lithuania, in Tons	Butter Export of „Pienocentras", in Tons	Percentage Share of „Pienocentras"
1927	2 051	551.2	26.9
1928	2 643	1 374.6	52.0
1929	4 084	2 810.4	68.8
1930	7 357	6 024.4	81.9
1931	8 705	7 480.9	85.9
1932	9 926	9 280.9	93.5
1933	9 580	8 674.2	90.4
1934	9 671	9 589.9	98.9
1935	12 154	12 101.2	99.6
1936	14 629	14 302.4	97.8
1937	15 058	14 964.4	99.4

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3. Egg Export of „Pienocentras"

Year	Total Export of Eggs from Lithuania, in 1 000	Egg Export of „Pienocentras", in 1 000	Percentage Share of „Pienocentras"
1929	55 509	361	0.6
1930	55 188	1 567	2.8
1931	60 998	4 815	7.9
1932	45 790	8 757	19.1
1933	28 796	7 523	26.1
1934	19 247	16 074	83.5
1935	27 798	26 758	96.3
1936	67 184	66 542	99.0
1937	77 063	74 136	96.5

On the basis of the data contained in the foregoing tables, we may form the following conclusions:

1. The total turnover of „Pienocentras" since the foundation year until 1931 grew uninterruptedly. Owing to the crisis years, this growth was interrupted; yet the falling-off in the turnover was not quantitative but evoked by the fall of prices. During the last two years, however, the position of 1931 has also been appreciably exceeded, in 1937 by 42.5%.

2. Nearly 90% of the total turnover of „Pienocentras" devolves upon export. Of this percentage approximately 85% consists of butter export and 15% of egg export. Butter export already since 1934 and egg export since 1935 have been conducted by „Pienocentras" on a monopoly basis. Foreign trade statistics show that simultaneously with the growth of the share of „Pienocentras", Lithuania's total export of corresponding commodities has considerably grown, which proves that the extension of our butter export trade more particularly must be entered solely to the credit account of „Pienocentras". Since 1927, that is, since the time when „Pienocentras" began to engage in butter export, the Lithuanian butter exports have grown quantitatively more than sevenfold, and during the last four years alone, since „Pienocentras" enjoyed a monopoly, amount to an increment of 57%.

[438] 3. The domestic sales do not reveal so favourable a development as export. Ad valorem they were in 1937 still below the level of 1931, although, having regard to price variations, their quantitative scope has risen approximately by 30%.

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RS5 Lithuania: RS5

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At the end of this section we furnish one more comparative table, which shows us the development of the share of our three largest commercial organizations, viz., „Lietūkis", „Pienocentras", and „Maistas", in Lithuania's total export trade.

Year	Export of „Pienocentras", in 1 000 Litas	Export of „Maistas", in 1 000 Litas	Export of „Lietūkis", in 1 000 Litas	Total in 1 000 Litas	Share in Lithuania's Total Export Trade, in %
1928	10 437	1 266	1 000	12 703	4.9
1929	20 888	5 948	1 000	27 836	8.3
1930	35 201	24 849	10 986	71 036	21.3
1931	37 790	42 904	8 127	88 821	32.5
1932	37 079	42 814	952	80 845	42.7
1933	29 909	42 323	1 431	73 663	45.9
1934	30 231	34 880	2 520	67 631	45.9
1935	35 948	32 734	18 949	87 631	57.5
1936	48 228	42 723	18 209	109 160	57.3
1937	54 470	46 855	8 603	100 928	52.8

The figures of the foregoing tables confirm the accuracy of the assertion expressed in the chapter on foreign trade, that the relatively favourable development of our export trade during the crisis years should be entered to the credit account of „Maistas" and „Pienocentras". („Lietūkis" exports chiefly grain and its export is therefore, in dependence on the nature of the harvest, subject to severe fluctuations). Indeed, precisely in the years 1931—1935, when the value amount of our export trade was constantly sinking, did the share of our public commercial institutions grow most vigorously, whereas during both last years of the upward trend, when also private initiative began more strongly to manifest itself, it receded in a percentage sense.

5. The Dynamic of Price Development.

In the valuation of industrial production and the calculation of its index as well as in the estimate of the volume of the foreign and home-trade turnover, we have already been able to

505 „Holland", and „Gotland", sailed under the Lithuanian flag, their total capacity being 3 000 gross registered tons. First of all at the beginning of 1936 the „Maistas" Joint-stock Company, with a view to the favourable expansion of its meat export to England, acquired three vessels with refrigerating plant, and a total capacity of 1 723 gross registered tons, whereby the number of ships under the Lithuanian commercial ensign was doubled. At the end of 1936 the Lietuvos Baltijos Lloydas Joint-stock Company was floated with preliminary share-capital of 2 000 000 litas, later raised to 3 500 000 litas, which took over the three abovementioned vessels from „Maistas", and later purchased two others in Denmark of 1 880 gross registered tons, and finally one more in Norway of 1 566 gross registered tons.

Moreover, the Memel shippers „Sandėlis" in 1936 procured a vessel of 990 gross registered tons and at the beginning of 1938 a second of 1 128 gross registered tons.

Our mercantile marine therefore consists to-day of eleven steamers of a total capacity of 10 299 gross registered tons. They are:

„Utena",	542	gross	registered	tons
„Kretinga",	642	„	„	„
„Maistas",	641	„	„	„
„Šiauliai",	939	„	„	„
„Marijampolė",	941	„	„	„
„Gotland",	990	„	„	„
„Nida",	990	„	„	„
„Holland",	991	„	„	„
„Friesland",	1 029	„	„	„
„Neringa",	1 128	„	„	„
„Kaunas",	1 566	„	„	„

505 439 The development of our foreign trade traffic via Memel port from 1931 to 1937 is shown by the following figures:

Import and Export via Memel.

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	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Import, in 1 000 tons	426.0	611.3	696.7	738.6	666.0	810.7	968.9
Export, in 1 000 tons	194.9	222.1	258.4	275.8	441.1	462.3	370.1

These figures, in which of course transit traffic is also included, show that under the operation of the above-mentioned factors (extension of the port and creation of a home mercantile marine) the goods turnover of Memel port during recent years has doubled. As regards the structure of the goods turnover via Memel, export consists chiefly of the following items (in 1 000 tons):

	1924—28*)	1935	1936	1937
Timber	43.2	154.0	178.7	193.1
Cellulose	68.1	48.4	56.7	73.1
Sulphur sticks	17.2	15.4	13.3	21.1
Linseed	3.3	9.9	21.4	17.9
Butter	0	10.2	15.2	15.8
Meat	0	13.1	13.5	12.6
Flax	3.5	2.1	7.5	7.0
Plywood	4.7	5.5	6.2	5.7
Eggs	0.1	1.7	5.1	5.5
Grain	—	163.4	126.4	5.2

The most important articles imported via Memel (in 1 000 tons) were:

	1924—28*)	1935	1936	1937
Timber	11.3	152.9	247.5	262.3
Coal	146.4	214.3	216.3	229.6
Cement	32.8	55.4	72.9	89.7
Metal & Metal Wares	10.3	34.1	42.8	70.2
Fertilizers	71.2	42.3	45.2	60.6
Sulphur pyrites	31.8	15.9	23.7	49.4
Petroleum	9.3	22.0	29.2	44.4
Limestone and Lime	32.9	43.0	30.5	44.2
Salt	9.2	28.1	25.8	23.5
Herrings	1.3	6.2	9.8	11.2

*) Yearly average.

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The bulk of the goods exported via Memel went in 1924-28 to Germany (51%), Great Britain (15.5%), Latvia, Sweden, Belgium, Holland, and Danzig. On the other hand, in 1937 the sequence was: To Great Britain (46.5%), Holland (10.6%), Germany (8.2%), Belgium, United States, Denmark, and Sweden, which the re-grouping of our export trade during the last ten years reveals.

The goods imported via Memel in 1924-28 originated for the most part from Germany (32.6%), Great Britain (15.3%), Sweden, Danzig, Holland, Norway and Belgium. In 1937 Great Britain took the first place among countries of supply (32.8%), followed by the U. S. S. R. (21.9%), Finland (12.2%), Belgium, Sweden, and for the first time in the sixth place Germany, with only 5.6%.

In conclusion are cited a few comparative figures regarding shipping in the larger neighbouring ports (number of ships):

	1936	1937		1936	1937
Danzig	5 404	5 935	Tallinn	1 589	1 659
Königsberg	4 258	3 332	Memel	1 371	1 414
Riga	1 563	2 054	Libau	520	602

3. Inland Water Traffic.

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The total length of the Lithuanian waterways amounts to 2 774.3 kilometres of which 683.3 klms. are accessible to steamer communication, while on the remaining 2 091 klms. only timber-rafts can be carried.

The principal traffic of steamers and tug-boats takes place on the Kaunas - Memel line. The following data on the goods turnover of our three most important river ports (in 1 000 tons) illustrate the development of inland navigation goods traffic:

Year	Memel	Smalininkai	Kaunas
1931	153.1	109.8	62.7
1932	278.9	91.3	54.7
1933	269.5	148.2	58.7
1934	341.6	162.1	41.4
1935	340.9	91.8	34.4
1936	420.2	140.9	70.7
1937	400.5	154.6	77.6

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

APPENDIX

ECONOMIC FIGURES

433

	1929	1930
INDUSTRY:		
1. Total number of medium and wholesale undertakings (of 5 employed persons upwards)	1 044	1 051
2. Total number of employed workers	19 637	19 334
3. Total figure of engine power in H. P.	.	.
4. Production Index	100.0	108.3
TRADE:		
474 473 1. Total number of larger undertakings (Trade in the narrower sense I — III Corp)	14 255	14 224
439 2. Railway goods traffic 1 000 tons	2 079	1 993
3. Price Index	100	87
4. Foreign Trade Turnover:		
(a) Million Litas	636.3	646.2
(b) Volume	100.0	116.7
5. Cooperative Trade Turnover, million litas	108.6	111.9
FINANCE AND CREDIT CONDITIONS:		
652 1. Monetary circulation, in million litas	102.3	117.2
452 2. State Revenue, in million litas	338.5	347.7
453 3. State Expenditure, in million litas	269.9	320.6
4. Deposits of the Credit Institutions, in million litas	282.8	345.7
5. Loans of the Credit Institutions, in million litas	333.0	437.8
6. Total Sums of Bills of Exchange Protests, in million litas	49.1	40.1
7. Discount Rate of the Lietuvos Bankas	7	7

OF LITHUANIA.

1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	
							433
1 049	1 105	1 108	1 118	1 136	1 135	1 247	
21 053	19 743	20 660	22 282	23 344	25 844	31 689	
70 038	84 804	95 751	94 585	105 349	109 634	125 157	
140.7	153.7		166.5	185.9	244.2	272.0	
							494
14 141	13 590	12 981	12 572	12 034	12 054	12 445	493
2 164	1 599	1 722	1 853	2 003	2 193	2 352	489
74	61	54	52	46	46	53	
551.1	356.1	302.4	285.9	280.8	346.5	420.9	
128.3	106.6	102.2	103.2	103.9	125.2	139.3	
127.8	111.3	105.8	111.3	149.4	185.2	203.6	
							652
127.1	112.7	105.8	101.1	111.4	124.1	131.9	452
340.1	292.0	256.9	264.4	279.9	302.8	329.9	453
335.3	278.2	249.7	251.8	276.9	287.7	318.2	
302.0	291.2	278.4	269.5	229.6	290.2	347.6	
479.6	449.5	446.5	461.9	451.5	467.3	501.4	
67.5	71.7	39.3	32.5	23.5	13.9	12.9	
8½	7	7	6	6	5½	5½	

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

242 therefore hope as yet to equal that of the more progressive countries of Western Europe, but it does exceed the average figure for Eastern Europe. The yield per hectare is 13-14 quintals for wheat and 12-13 quintals for barley and rye; the figure for oats is slightly below the figure for barley, owing to the havoc caused in recent years by rust.

241 Lithuania produces large quantities of cereals and pulse, a large part of which is, however, required for fodder. Forage is also obtained from wide areas of clover, meadowland and [233] pasture. Stock-breeding constitutes the principal agricultural activity: cattle, pigs, poultry. Lithuania used to be famous for her horses, which were exported in large numbers to Western Europe; now, however, there is very little export trade, and almost all the farm-work is done with horses.

Work in the fields generally begins in the second half of April and ends in about mid-November. The winter is long and farm work is concentrated in a relatively short period. The fact that the country is broken up into small farms, in conjunction with the low purchasing-power of the farmer, has prevented the mechanisation of agriculture on any very extensive scale. Cereals and pulse are generally machine-threshed, but most of the field-work is done by animal-drawn implements or by hand. There are a fair number of reapers, binders, seeders, hoers and other types of agricultural machinery, but these are employed only for part of the work; not all the peasant farmers are fortunate enough to possess them, so that a great deal must depend on human labour. This fact and the comparative shortness of the season means that the call for labour is greatest during the summer. Accordingly, a relatively large number of the population lives in the country and is intensively occupied during the season of work in the fields.

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439 The economic structure of Lithuania has determined the character of her trade with Germany. Lithuania disposes of her surplus agricultural production on the international market (in 1938, 40% of her exports were absorbed by the United Kingdom, 26.8% by Germany, 5.7% by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 4.5% by Belgium, etc.). Her imports consist mainly of manufactured products, including 33% from the United Kingdom, 24.4% from Germany, 6.7% from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 4.7% from the Netherlands and 3.8% from Belgium.

In 1938, exports totalled 233 million litai and imports 223 millions. One half of the exports consisted of foodstuffs (122 million litai: including butter 48 millions, bacon 24 millions,

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

fresh meat and poultry 13 millions, cereals about 20 millions and eggs 7.8 millions). 439

The total value of exports of raw materials and half-finished goods was 73.4 million litai. Exports of hemp and tow accounted for 25 million litai, cellulose for 12.7 millions and timber for 21 millions.

Among imports, manufactured products head the list (133 million litai, comprising machinery and tools, automobiles, chemical products, textiles and yarns, etc.), followed by raw materials and half-finished goods totalling 78.7 million litai (gilt metals, cement, chemical fertilisers, coal, naphtha and petroleum, cotton, etc.).

As long as the territory of Klaipėda (Memel) belonged to Lithuania, the foreign trade of the country passed almost exclusively through the Port of Klaipėda (Memel). Under the treaty concluded in March 1939 with Germany, Lithuania retains a free port at Klaipėda. [504]

* * *

There has been a fairly big increase in population; rural families tend to be large. The women, though very fully occupied with their children and domestic duties, find time to look after the animals and work in the fields. This type of work is, however, more often left to women who have no children or domestic duties to attend to — that is, to girls or women whose children are older. Lithuanian women are, as a rule, fit and healthy; nevertheless, they are sometimes forced to neglect their homes, owing to the claims of agriculture and the rearing of children. They are naturally clean and orderly, and like to have a little garden of their own; in winter, they devote themselves to home industries — spinning, knitting, embroidery and sometimes weaving. The artistic value of a great deal of the handwork done in the country is of exhibition standard and has been shown both in Lithuania and abroad — for example, in 1937, at the Paris International Exhibition and, in 1938, at the Berlin International Exhibition of Arts and Crafts. 462

The Lithuanian peasant is somewhat deliberate in character; he is long-suffering and is prepared when necessary to go through difficult times without complaint. This was proved during the war, when, notwithstanding intense suffering, the popular songs and jokes dear to the peasant heart were never forgotten. 156

The rural population used formerly to wear homespun woollen and linen clothing — the production of flax is relatively greater in Lithuania than in any other European country. Of recent years, this type of clothing has disappeared, its place being taken by ready-made factory goods. 291

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

234 of the Government. Since then, the dairy industry and the manufacture of butter have made rapid progress. In 1937, the
474 193 dairymen's co-operative societies, all of which are equipped
433 with the most up-to-date machinery, supplied 420 million kilogrammes of milk — including that delivered to the 2,052 cream-separating centres — and produced 16.9 million kilogrammes of butter. Though, since the war, the population has increased by some 300,000 inhabitants, the consumption of dairy products per head is at present greater than before the war, and butter exports, which were formerly negligible, amounted in 1924 to 524 metric tons and in 1936/37 to 15,000 tons approximately.

231 Hand in hand with the development of the dairy industries
433 has gone the development of pig-breeding (skim-milk is used for the fattening of young pigs). Not only has the number of pigs considerably increased (from 450,000 in 1913 to 1,192,000 in 1937), but the quality of the pigs (for the manufacture of bacon)
● 439 has greatly improved. With the Government's financial support, a bacon export industry has been rapidly built up. In
231 1928, bacon exports amounted to 150 metric tons; in 1932, to
433 more than 25,000 metric tons, and, in 1936/37 (being affected by the introduction of bacon import quotas in England), to more than 10,000 metric tons. These figures, together with those for the export of live pigs (in 1932, 34,000, and, in 1936/37, 125,000 approximately) and the number of pigs kept are proof of the progress made.

235 Poultry-keeping also has made considerable headway; more
433 pure-bred poultry are being raised, and feeding and poultry-keeping technique have become more efficient. Horse-breeding likewise has improved, thus facilitating the sale of Lithuanian horses in foreign markets.

433 Such are the methods whereby the Ministry of Agriculture, the Chamber of Agriculture and the organisations working in conjunction with the latter are striving to improve the production both of crops and live-stock and to foster agricultural industries (dairy industries and the manufacture of bacon). Since 1931, the Chamber of Agriculture has also been endeavouring, with the co-operation of the Union of Young Farmers' Clubs, to rationalise and modernise home industries (weaving, knitting, fur-dressing, felt-making, pottery, furniture, etc.) and to improve the artistic qualities of the articles produced. Products of the home industries are thus enabled to compete with factory-produced goods.

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11 League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RBG Lithuanians RBG

473 known as "Lietuvos Cukrus" was founded (the shareholders being the State and sugar-beet-growers), and this centralises all sugar manufacture.

439 To improve the quality of agricultural produce for export, the Government controls the export of meat (since 1925), butter (since 1927), eggs (since 1927), linseed (since 1925) and flax (since 1926, the control having been further tightened up in 1934). The centralisation of exports of agricultural produce greatly facilitates export control and increases its efficacy.

435 At the time of the fall in the prices of agricultural produce on foreign markets, the Government, to stimulate supplies for export, fixed minimum prices for the pigs bought by the "Maistas" company, the milk supplied to the dairymen's co-operative societies and cream-separating centres (all the dairymen's co-operative societies in the country are affiliated to the "Pienocentras"), the eggs bought by the "Pienocentras" and the cereals bought by the "Lietūkis". In this way, agricultural prices have been maintained with the co-operation of the three central organisations.

651 Various measures have been adopted with a view to the reduction of costs of production. As long ago as 1933, the rate of interest on mortgage loans was lowered; the total of the land taxes payable by agriculturists during the years 1935 and 1936 was reduced by 10%. Agriculturists leaving their villages and settling on self-contained undertakings are exempt from Government land taxes for a period of one year (this privilege is enjoyed by all agriculturists who have taken over separate undertakings since 1932). Agriculturists who, having taken over separate undertakings since 1932, are obliged to change their place of residence (and such is the case with more than half of those concerned) receive from the Ministry of Agriculture a stated
435 quantity of wood at 20% of the normal sale price. Under the price-control system introduced in 1935, maximum prices have been fixed for chemical fertilisers, bran, feeding-cakes, petroleum and certain other articles which are of particular importance to agriculture. For the 1938 autumn sowings, the Government (in conjunction with the "Lietūkis") has reduced the price of chemical fertilisers by itself paying the cost of railway transport.

000 In conclusion, it may be said that, in spite of the agricultural depression which made its appearance some five or six years ago and which has not yet entirely ceased, the Lithuanian agriculturist is at present in a better position than he was before the war; he is better fed and better clothed and has more money to spare for his cultural needs.[1]

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[1] A detailed description of the progress made in this sphere and of the activities of the institutions and organisations for the promotion of agriculture is to be found in the work entitled *Agriculture in Lithuania*, by Professor J. Krikščiūnas, published by the Chamber of Agriculture, Kaunas, 1938.

6: Anonymous U-4,5 (no date) 1938 RBS Lithuanians RBS

Structure of the Commercial Undertakings in Lithuania Major and its Development from 1929—1937.

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	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Total number of trade licences	22 429	22 652	22 767	21 505	20 793	20 177	21 981	23 313	24 380
I. Commercial Concerns in a narrower sense	18 018	18 132	17 945	16 937	17 069	16 132	17 056	17 336	18 108
II. Hawker's trade	719	641	535	710	222	496	1 640	2 257	2 135
III. Auxiliary branches of trade (middlemen, &c.)	496	514	746	601	544	600	559	786	907
IV. Hotel Business	2 556	2 693	2 831	2 604	2 283	2 094	1 970	2 055	2 301
V. Credit and Insurance	102	100	90	91	83	78	74	147	149
VI. Other Commercial Undertakings	538	572	620	562	592	597	682	732	780

The figures quoted under paragraph 1, segregated in this manner, of commercial concerns in a narrower sense, depict more accurately the development tendency of our home-trade than the amounts of all trade-licences. Through the segregation of the hawker's trade, the misleading operation of the tax law variations is to a large extent, if not entirely, eliminated. Classified according to categories, the development of commercial concerns in a narrower sense appears as under:

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Year	Total	Wholesale Trade (I. & II. Corp.)	Large-scale Retail Trade (III. Corp.)	Small-scale Retail Trade (IV. & V. Corp.)
1929	18 018	3 297	10.958	3 763
1930	18 132	3 179	11 045	3 908
1931	17 945	3 208	10 933	3 804
1932	16 937	2 830	10 760	3 347
1933	17 069	2 481	10 500	4 088
1934	16 132	2 284	10 288	3 740
1935	17 056	2 182	9 852	5 022
1936	17 336	2 220	9 834	5 282
1937	18 108	2 273	10 172	5 663

As regards, in the first place, the last column relating to small-scale retail trade, the fluctuations from 1932—1934 were elicited by transitory statistical-technical difficulties in the separation of the hawker's trade, and for that reason possess no contingent significance. The same remark applies to the buoyant growth in 1935, which is attributable to the augmentation of the patent duty. The two remaining sets of figures regarding wholesale and large-scale retail trade indicate, despite a slight rise, particularly in 1937, a recession, which in comparison with 1929 amounts to 32.8% for wholesale trade, and to 7.2% for large-scale retail trade.

The circumstance that the number of wholesale commercial undertakings has suffered a decidedly more severe percentage recession than that of the large-scale retail concerns, proves that the shrinkage of promotion initiative in the framework of our home-trade cannot be interpreted as a consequence of the general concentration process of wholesale commercial undertakings at the cost of large-scale and small-scale retail trade, as in a certain sense it makes itself observable in the sphere of industry. The total of industrial concerns moreover shows no recession, but on the contrary a steady growth. In the framework of the total number, only the wholesale concerns are growing horizontally and vertically more rapidly than the small-scale retail ones. The dynamic of the development of our home-trade is, however, a diametrically opposite one: the total number of undertakings declines; the small-scale retail concerns show, after rectification of the statistical distortion in 1935-6, even a slight growth. Large-scale retail trade is receding only negligibly; and the number of wholesale commercial undertakings is shrinking most sharply. It may also be not uninteresting in this connexion to compare the figures of the complete categories of commercial and industrial trade licences with one another. This comparison gives the following characteristic result:

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Wholesale Industrial Undertakings (I.—V. Class)	241	263	271	251	246	256	272	349	406
In %	100	109	112	104	102	106	113	145	168
Wholesale Commercial Undertakings (I.—II. Corp.)	3 297	3 179	3 208	2 830	2 481	2 284	2 182	2 220	2 273
In %	100	96	97	86	75	69	66	67	69

6: Anonymous U-45 (no date) 1938 RBS Lithuanians RBS

Structure of the Commercial Undertakings in Lithuania Major and its Development from 1929—1937.

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	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
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I. Commercial Concerns in a narrower sense	18 018	18 132	17 945	16 937	17 069	16 132	17 056	17 336	18 108
II. Hawker's trade	719	641	535	710	222	496	1 640	2 257	2 135
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3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

milk suppliers as against 101,348 in 1938 and 69,741 in 1934. 474

Pienocentras with all its departments continued to function throughout the Soviet Russian occupation, although it was transformed into a government agency. In June, 1941, when the Soviet Russian occupation was replaced by the German occupation, Pienocentras[1] came under the control of the German Economic Command (Wirtschaftskommando), also as government agency. In September, 1941, German Commissar for Lithuania von Renteln issued an order granting monopoly to Pienocentras in the business of dairy products and at the same time forbidding anybody to trade in milk products. Since Pienocentras has a wide organization throughout Lithuania, it is very convenient for the Germans in their control of milk production and in their efforts to extract from Lithuania a maximum of milk products. Of course no statistical data is available for Pienocentras's economic activities during the periods of German and Russian occupation. [647]

Deserving of mention in this group is a local grocery trade coöperative society in Kaunas called Parama which owns and operates thirty modern grocery stores, as well as the largest and most modern bakery in Lithuania, with an annual production valued at about six million litas. Its fate under the German occupation is similar to that of Pienocentras. 474 444

4 and 5. Insurance and nonclassified coöperatives.—These two groups are of minor importance in the economic life of Lithuania. Insurance, still undeveloped there, is one of the fields open for coöperation in the future. In 1938 there were two insurance coöperative societies with 7,486 members. Insurance premiums collected in 1938 amounted to 355,495 litas, which, compared with the development of other co- 474 452

[1] [i.e. Central Union of Dairy Cooperative Societies of Lithuania --- Analyst]

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Table 8 shows the number and types of coöperative societies in the years 1937 to 1939.[19] 474

TABLE 8

COÖPERATIVE SOCIETIES OF LITHUANIA
1937–39

TYPE OF COÖPERATIVE	NUMBER OF SOCIETIES REGISTERED		
	1937	*1938*	*1939*
1. Credit	408	398	401
2. Stores and consumers' coöperatives	248	251	275
3. Manufacturing	226	228	224
4. Insurance	1	2	2
5. Nonclassified	375	409	430
TOTAL	1,258	1,288	1,332

1. Credit coöperatives.—Credit coöperative societies were the first to be reëstablished, after the war, in towns and townships. Most of them were organized by the Jewish population and served small merchantmen. Among the farmers, they were organized only after the introduction of stabilized currency, the litas. In 1923, 129 credit coöperative societies were organized; in 1924, 107; in 1925, 136. There are in Lithuania three kinds in this category: town coöperatives (mostly Jewish People's Banks), farmer credit coöperatives, and farmer saving and loan associations. The Jewish People's Banks Union (Zydu Liaudies Banku Sajunga) does no active business, but acts rather as an ideological center and coördinator. This union had 101 member banks in 1930. In recent years the number of credit coöperatives diminished somewhat, as may be seen from Table 8. This is partly due 474 452

[19] C.S.B., 1939, pp. 263–65.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

474 to the merging of two or three small units into one. Evidence
●452 of this is the fact that membership in these societies increased instead of decreasing. In 1935, there were 119,687 members, of whom 77,553 were farmers; in 1936, 121,169 members, of whom 79,392 were farmers; in 1938, 117,155 members and in 1939, 119,326 members.

The financial position of all the credit coöperative societies in 1939 is indicated by the following statistics: total capital, 14,473,200 litas, of which membership shares accounted for 7,903,200 litas; reserve capital, 3,311,700 litas; and other capital, 1,591,100 litas. Total deposits in credit cooperative societies in 1939 amounted to 29,857,700 litas; borrowings from the banks, 22,554,500 litas; credits to members and the rest, 60,823,900 litas.

The farmer credit coöperatives are assembled in the Coöperation Bank of Lithuania (Lietuvos Kooperacijos Bankas).

474 2. *Stores and consumers' coöperatives.*—In 1939 there were 275 coöperative stores and consumers' coöperative societies, as well as one union, the Central Union of Agricultural Coöperative Societies of Lithuania, known under the trade name of Lietukis. The coöperative stores, as well as consumers' coöperatives, trade in colonial goods, while the Union, with its branches, buys farm products for export (mostly grain crops, linseed, and flax), and sells agricultural machinery, petroleum products, salt, cement, fertilizers, and so on.

The Central Union of Agricultural Coöperative Societies, Lietukis, was established in 1923; financially, it is one of the strongest coöperative unions of Lithuania; and it is the most popular. The Union is the largest exporter of grain in Lith-

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Year Dec. 31	Capital-stock	Balance Amounts	Deposits & Current A/cs.	Loans & Discounts
1928	4.56	53.33	30.46	39.04
1929	4.89	54.49	35.80	41.11
1930	5.00	62.60	43.27	48.38
1931	4.79	62.44	32.06	51.83
1932	4.30	52.23	27.80	41.61
1933	4.29	46.83	22.31	35.52
1934	4.51	40.38	15.23	31.46
1935	4.04	35.43	12.27	29.08
1936	3.99	41.30	14.67	33.47
1937	3.87	44.73	19.73	37.08

On the basis of both the foregoing tables, we can draw the following conclusions:

(1) The capital-stock of the Kaunas institutions has been stationary since 1933, but in comparison with 1928 shows a slight growth. The capital-stock of the Memel establishments has sunk below the level of 1928.

(2) The last two years have entirely adjusted the crisis losses of the Kaunas banks, while the Memel institutions also show a revival though not at the same tempo. The deposits there more particularly remain far behind the pre-crisis position.

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III. The third group consists of the credit cooperative societies, which are chiefly spread over the rural districts and possess an old tradition. The first cooperative society was already founded in 1873, and until the World War there were in Lithuania under Russian alien domination 207 credit cooperative societies with 88 900 active membres.

The activity of the credit cooperative societies, interrupted by the World War, was speedily resumed in independent Lithuania, although the erstwhile organizations had been destroyed and new foundations had to be effected. The Government also contributed largely to the expansion of the credit cooperative societies, in which context, since 1930, long-term loans at 3% interest have been granted from State resources.

The development of the activity of the credit cooperative societies, with the exception of the Memel Territory, since 1928 is shown in the following table:

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Year Dec. 31	No. of Cooperatives	No. of Members	Balance Amounts	Deposits	Loans
			(In million litas)		
1928	417	89 816	52.24	21.42	39.01
1929	407	98 380	63.29	30.13	46.59
1930	399	96 968	74.47	39.12	56.98
1931	397	107 535	80.68	38.46	63.64
1932	403	112 105	81.07	38.40	62.53
1933	399	117 809	79.87	37.46	63.74
1934	382	111 647	76.35	34.00	60.83
1935	369	111 909	71.69	29.48	56.83
1936	337	107 796	74.33	32.94	57.31
1937	322	111 582	82.16	39.99	61.64

The decrease in the total number of the cooperative societies is attributable to the amalgamation of smaller unions. The rising development tendency is obvious from the circumstance that the balance sum has already surpassed the pre-crisis level.

The financing of the credit cooperative societies is provided for by the Kooperacijos Bankas (Cooperative Bank), which since 1933 has been re-organized as a joint-stock company with capital-stock of 3 000 000 litas; 2 500 000 litas thereof has been taken up by the Government while the remaining shares remain in the possession of 180 cooperatives.

A less favourable development is shown by the balance-sheets of the cooperative societies of the Memel Territory, which are organized as Raiffeisen loan banks. They are summarized in the following table:

Year Dec. 31	No. of Cooperatives	No. of Members	Balance Amounts	Deposits	Loans
			(In million litas)		
1928	43	12 135	17.10	12.09	13.99
1929	43	12 304	21.51	15.32	18.18
1930	43	12 202	25.71	18.63	22.33
1931	43	12 315	27.89	20.13	24.96
1932	41	11 064	24.60	15.37	21.52
1933	41	10 029	23.60	12.67	20.22
1934	41	9 446	20.28	9.92	17.95
1935	41	8 816	18.99	8.73	16.64
1936	41	8 359	17.99	7.47	15.80

	1935, Jan. 1	1936, Jan. 1	1937, Jan. 1	1938, Jan. 1
Public Institutions	40.64	44.85	38.87	33.6
Officials and Employees	13.09	13.11	14.72	16.6
Farmers	12.52	12.67	14.40	15.6
Merchants & Industrialists	11.22	8.93	8.64	9.0
Liberal Professions	7.99	7.90	7.50	8.2
Workers	2.49	2.53	3.01	3.7

* * *

Summarizing the figures of the Lietuvos Bankas and the Žemės Bankas, the commercial banks and the associations of mutual credit of Kaunas and Memel, the credit cooperative societies and the Raiffeisen loan funds banks, as also of the State savings banks and the savings banks of the Memel Territory, we obtain the following result of the development of deposits and loans in all Lithuanian credit institutions during the last ten years (in million litas):

Dec. 31	Deposits	Loans
1928	225.46	304.38
1929	282.83	333.04
1930	345.73	437.83
1931	302.04	479.62
1932	291.20	449.48
1933	278.40	446.51
1934	269.54	461.95
1935	229.60	451.48
1936	290.22	467.35
1937*)	347.60	501.38

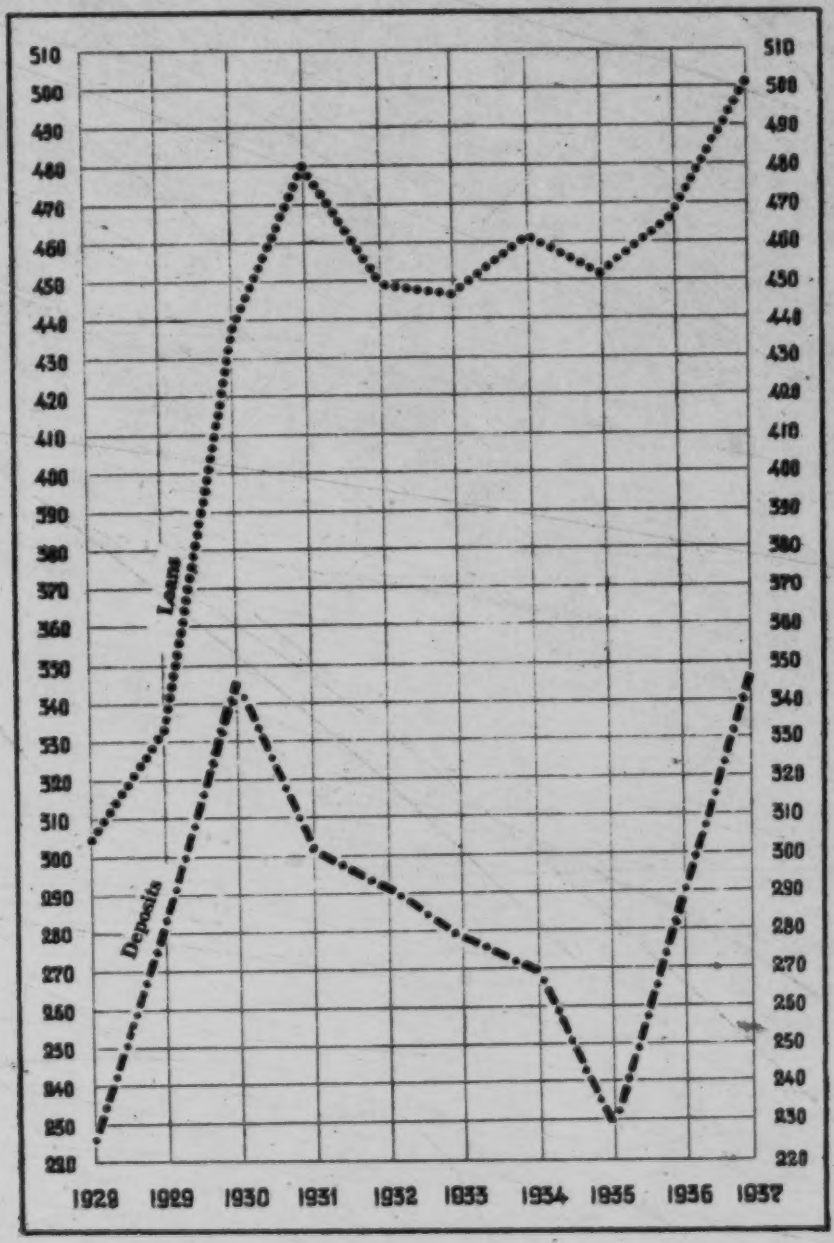
These figures show that both deposits and loans in 1937 again reached and exceeded the pre-crisis position (1930—31). Whereas, however, the deposits in conformity with the contingent situation of economy in the crisis years have suffered a severe setback, the fluctuations of the loans were negligible,

*) Without Raiffeisen loan banks of Memel Territory.

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Diagram No. 7.

452 Loans and Deposits of the Credit Institutions, in million litas.



which is attributable to the intervention of the Government on behalf of agricultural credits. 452 453

In connexion with the consolidation of the credit situation and thanks to the initiative of the Lietuvos Bankas, private discount has also materially decreased. In 1929 it still fluctuated between 14—18%. At the end of 1930 the banks decided that the rate of interest should not rise above 12%; while today it amounts to 8%. Moreover, in accordance with a legal enactment (Government Gazette No. 432) private discount may not exceed the official bank rate by more than three points. 652

On the basis of the above cited balance items of the separate categories of the credit institutions, we may affirm that the overwhelming portion of the credits pertains to agriculture; the credits for trade and industry amount to approximately one-third of the total sum, and are without exception short-term. In view of this and in connexion with the rapid growth of industry, the necessity is ever more and more being felt for a banking institution which, through the provision of long-term credits, would promote the investment activity of industry.

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The consolidation of the credit situation is also characterized by the statistics of bills of exchange protests and the legal compulsory auction sales. The following comparative table embodies the data for the last eight years: 436

	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Total bills of exchange in circulation, in million litas	708.24	760.52	546.52	463.21	490.81	423.40	410.43	472.03
Amount of protested bills, in million litas	40.06	67.51	71.74	39.34	32.48	23.54	13.97	12.98
Percentage share of protests in sum of bill circulation	5.7	8.9	13.1	8.5	6.6	5.6	3.4	2.7
Number of compulsory auction sales of movable property	636	794	1 961	3 104	2 768	2 471	1 621	1 084
Amount of debts in million litas	1.48	1.83	3.33	3.81	2.86	3.83	2.33	1.06
Percentage of debt cover	27	35	27	27	22	14	19	27

The number of bill protests, both according to separate items and the total value and according to the percentage ratio

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

APPENDIX

ECONOMIC FIGURES

433

	1929	1930
INDUSTRY:		
1. Total number of medium and wholesale undertakings (of 5 employed persons upwards)	1 044	1 051
2. Total number of employed workers	19 637	19 334
3. Total figure of engine power in HP	.	.
4. Production Index	100.0	108.3
TRADE:		
474 1. Total number of larger undertakings (Trade in the narrower sense I — III Corp)	14 255	14 224
473 439 2. Railway goods traffic 1 000 tons	2 079	1 993
3. Price Index	100	87
4. Foreign Trade Turnover:		
(a) Million Litas	636.3	646.2
(b) Volume	100,0	116.7
5. Cooperative Trade Turnover, million litas	108.6	111.9
FINANCE AND CREDIT CONDITIONS:		
652 1. Monetary circulation, in million litas	102.3	117.2
452 2. State Revenue, in million litas	338.5	347.7
453 3. State Expenditure, in million litas	269.9	320.6
4. Deposits of the Credit Institutions, in million litas	282.8	345.7
5. Loans of the Credit Institutions, in million litas	333.0	437.8
6. Total Sums of Bills of Exchange Protests, in million litas	49.1	40.1
7. Discount Rate of the Lietuvos Bankas	7	7

OF LITHUANIA.

1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	433
1 049	1 105	1 108	1 118	1 136	1 135	1 247	
21 053	19 743	20 660	22 282	23 344	25 844	31 689	
70 038	84 804	95 751	94 585	105 349	109 634	125 157	
140.7	153.7		166.5	185.9	244.2	272.0	
							494
14 141	13 590	12 981	12 572	12 034	12 054	12 445	493
2 164	1 599	1 722	1 853	2 003	2 193	2 352	489
74	61	54	52	46	46	53	
551.1	356.1	302.4	285.9	280.8	346.5	420.9	
128.3	106.6	102.2	103.2	103.9	125.2	139.3	
127.8	111.3	105.8	111.3	149.4	185.2	203.6	
127.1	112.7	105.8	101.1	111.4	124.1	131.9	652
340.1	292.0	256.9	264.4	279.9	302.8	329.9	452
335.3	278.2	249.7	251.8	276.9	287.7	318.2	453
302.0	291.2	278.4	269.5	229.6	290.2	347.6	
479.6	449.5	446.5	461.9	451.5	467.3	501.4	
67.5	71.7	39.3	32.5	23.5	13.9	12.9	
8½	7	7	6	6	5½	5½	

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1930 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

V. CO-OPERATION[1]

Co-operative thrift and loan societies of the modern type began to be organised in 1873 and, since their foundation, have greatly contributed to the increase of rural prosperity. 474 452

1. The importance of credit in rural life is well known. In the event of loss through fire, sickness among live-stock or bad crops, or on the partition of property between the various members of a family in case of succession, etc., the peasant was obliged to apply to a moneylender in the nearest market town — often the innkeeper — who would lend only on highly unfavourable terms, at a rate of interest rising in some cases to 300% represented by periodic payments in kind (grain, animals, etc.). Furthermore, the moneylender reserved to himself the exclusive right of purchasing his debtor's produce, so that the prices paid to the peasant were extremely low. As a result of these abuses, peasants frequently became insolvent and were evicted from their farms.

The creation of rural credit establishments permits of the organisation of agricultural credit on a fairer basis and in a manner more in keeping with agricultural requirements. The rate of interest is much lower. The peasant can dispose of his produce as he thinks fit and has less hesitation in borrowing for the improvement of his farm — *e.g.*, by purchasing up-to-date equipment, chemical fertilisers, better quality seed, breeding-stock, etc. The creation of rural credit co-operative societies also fosters his native thrift by encouraging him to invest his savings.

2. The peasants' trading co-operative societies — rural consumers' co-operative societies and purchasing and selling societies — which have grown up in Lithuania since 1880 and, above all, since the beginning of the twentieth century, have accustomed the peasants to the management of co-operative undertakings and have thus brought about great and beneficial changes in rural trading through the elimination of short weight, adulterated and low quality goods and, most important of all, by regularising prices. It used to be difficult for the peasants to obtain the articles necessary for the improvement of agricultural production — *e.g.*, chemical fertilisers, which were frequently adulterated by private dealers, better quality seeds, 474

[1] See the article on "La coopération agricole en Lithuanie" in the *Bulletin mensuel de renseignements économiques et sociaux*, No. 10, 1933, of the International Institute of Agriculture.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

VI. AGRICULTURAL CREDIT AND AGRICULTURAL INSURANCE

Agricultural credit may be divided as follows, according to the term of the loan and the conditions of payment : 452

1. Indebtedness to the Ministry of Agriculture for land obtained from the Agrarian Fund, timber purchased, agricultural improvements and the reintegration of land. These are long-term debts ; in some cases, no interest is charged ; in others, interest at 3% per annum. [452]

2. Loans on mortgage are granted to agriculturists almost exclusively by the Agrarian (Land) Bank. Up to 1934, the Bank granted mortgage loans in cash only ; since that year, it has granted mortgage bonds, of variable duration, up to twenty-eight years. The rate of interest is from 3.6% to 4.5%. On January 3rd, 1938, mortgage bonds (4%) were quoted on the Kaunas Exchange at 92.9.

3. Loans granted by the credit co-operatives. The term varies from six to eighteen months ; the loans may be extended for a single period of six months. The maximum loan that may be granted to agriculturists is 5,000 litai. The interest is from 6% to 8%. The credit co-operatives sometimes grant loans against promissory notes, but more usually against recognisances, two or more agriculturists being required to stand surety. The recognisance differs from the promissory note in the following respects : It is exempt from stamp duty ; the duration of the loan may be extended without the necessity for a new recognisance, simply by means of a note on the original recognisance. If the loan is not paid on the due date, there is no need for a protest ; it is recovered by the police, in accordance with a simplified procedure.

4. Loans granted by short-term credit establishments organised as joint-stock companies or mutual credit societies. These credit establishments serve the needs of commerce and industry ; agriculturists only occasionally apply to them for loans. They grant loans to farmers for three to six months at 8%.

The following table shows the indebtedness of Lithuanian farmers at January 1st, 1938 :

		Number of loans	Amount of loans in litai (1 litas = $ 0.592 on September 30th, 1938)
I.	Ministry of Agriculture . . .	122,994	71,239,000
II.	Loans on mortgage	28,818	114,530,000
III.	Credit co-operatives	82,713	55,052,600
IV.	Commercial banks	9,727	6,847,000
		244,252	247,658,600

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

452 The number of loans granted by credit establishments (groups 2-4) is 121,258. Many agriculturists have obtained loans from the three groups of establishments. The number of agriculturists who have obtained loans is therefore less than the actual number of loans. Only 30% of the Lithuanian agriculturists have contracted loans with credit establishments. The area of land mortgaged to the Agrarian Bank is 607,000 hectares. It is usually the larger landowners who apply for loans to the Agrarian Bank.

426 Doubtless farmers have also contracted debts with private individuals, but there is no statistical record of these. According to custom, the eldest son pays over a portion to each of his brothers and sisters and keeps the farm himself. As a rule, the farmer has no ready money and undertakes to pay these portions by fixed instalments ; the farm thus becomes heavily encumbered.

During the economic depression, the farmers were unable to meet their obligations, owing to the drop in agricultural prices ; the Government therefore came to their assistance.

In 1932, a list was drawn up of non-distrainable live-stock belonging to landowners. Farmers were protected from the forced sale of their farms by auction on account of debts contracted before February 1st, 1934, with private credit establishments or individuals. Where debts did not exceed 90% of the value of the agricultural immovable property, they had the right to apply to the competent court to suspend forced sale by auction. The court could do so for a year and a-half, to enable the debtor to come to an agreement with his creditors. Farmers were given facilities for repaying their debts to private persons in the form of mortgage bonds repayable by the Agrarian Bank at their nominal value. With this object, the Agrarian Bank issued a series of bonds, quoted at a fairly low rate on the Kaunas Exchange (78). Farmers could thus not only apply to the Agrarian Bank for loans in the form of mortgage bonds but also could purchase mortgage bonds on the market at a low rate, with which they were able to repay their debts to private individuals (but not their debts to the State or to credit establishments).

According to the provisions now in force, the courts may also decide as to the extension of the time-limit for the repayment of farmers' promissory notes.

Farms may only be sold by auction provided the highest bid is not less than 50% of their value. The value of the farm is assessed by the " viršaitis " (chairman of the executive of the municipality) or by the bailiff, in cases of forced sale.

Where the farmer has to pay over shares under the terms of a will or donation, he need only pay 60% in cash if the obligation arose before January 1st, 1931, or 70% if it arose prior to the period December 31st, 1930, to December 31st, 1932.

Chapter V

THE FINANCE OF LITHUANIA

000 The financial aspect of Lithuania's reconstruction after 1918 involves a discussion of her currency, her state finance, and her public debt.

CURRENCY

436 Up to the time of the World War of 1914–18, Russian ruble notes circulated in Lithuania. As early as 1915, when the first German troops entered Lithuania, a decree was proclaimed which made German marks equally acceptable with the Russian rubles. (Exchange rate: 2.16 marks for 1 gold ruble.) [1]

●453 436 On April 17, 1915, by special decree, an institution under the name Darlehnkasse Ost (Loan Bank of the East) was created and made a special department of Ostbank für Handel und Gewerbe. The main function of this bank was to issue *Obost* rubles [2] and to serve as a state bank in the occupied region. The official exchange rate of the *Obost* rubles issued by the Darlehnkasse Ost was as follows: one *Obost* ruble equaled one Russian ruble or two German (or *Obost*) marks. By a decree of August 6, 1916, the German administration promised to redeem *Obost* rubles with genuine

[1] *Lietuvos Bankas, First Decade, 1922–1932*, Kaunas, 1932, p. 2.

[2] One *Obost* ruble equaled two *Obost* marks, one bank note having both inscriptions.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Russian rubles put into circulation by Darlehnkasse Ost. But on March 30, 1917, this promise was retracted and redemption by German marks was promised at the rate of two marks for one ruble.[3] 453 436

After the declaration of independence, February 16, 1918, because of unsettled conditions Lithuania was unable quickly to introduce her own bank notes. The Provisional Government signed with the Darlehnkasse Ost an agreement by which the notes were to remain in circulation until a Lithuanian bank of issue could be organized. The sums in circulation at that time, as estimated by Professor Rimka, are shown in Table 47. 436 [652]

TABLE 47

GERMAN OBOST NOTES IN CIRCULATION
1917–22

YEAR	NOTES IN CIRCULATION (*Millions of Obost marks*)	VALUE IN LITAS [6] (*Millions*)
1917	125.75	186.77
1918 (March 31)	165.65	327.30
1918 (Dec. 31)	290.90	363.62
1920 (July)	546.80	138.50
1921 (July)	779.80	101.70
1922 (July)	2,000.00	63.00
1922 (Sept.)	3,500.00	17.00

[6] One litas equals 0.150462 grams fine gold.

It may be observed that the number of notes in circulation increased very rapidly while their value in litas decreased. In September, 1922, the total of notes in circulation was more than ten times greater than on December 31, 1918, while at the same time their value in litas was only one

[3] *Ibid.*

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

436 twenty-first as great. In January, 1919, the rate of exchange was 8.27 marks to the dollar, while one year later, in February, 1920, it was 98.994 marks, and in the beginning of 1922, 200 marks. On October 1, 1922, the day redemption of the *Obost* marks commenced, one dollar equaled 1,650 marks; on October 2, 1,815 marks. Russian rubles were redeemed on October 1, 1922, at 0.004 litas.[4]

453 A special law for the establishment of Lietuvos Bankas (the Bank of Lithuania) was passed on August 11, 1922.[5] The financial basis of the bank is 12,000,000 litas capital stock consisting of 120,000 shares of 100 litas par value [656] each. Although Lietuvos Bankas, before Soviet occupation, was a private enterprise in its organization, it was under government control and the general director was appointed by the president of the republic upon recommendation of the Council of Ministers. The Law of Establishment of the Lietuvos Bankas grants a special concession to permit the issuance of notes for twenty years, which period may be prolonged by law.

436 With the first issue of litas notes on October 1, 1922, the 652 redemption of the *Obost* marks at the market exchange rate 648 was begun. The Russian rubles at that time were almost worthless, and the value of *Obost* marks was just a fraction of the original value. This caused a great loss to the population of Lithuania, wiping out everybody's savings and creating generally chaotic credit conditions. There is no question but that Germany was responsible for the inflation and loss in the value of *Obost* marks and that Lithuania had the right to demand reparations. Negotiations for that purpose were

[4] Kazys Sruoga, *Die Wirtschaft der Republik Litauen und ihre Notenemission*, Kaunas, 1930, pp. 15–18.

[5] *Lietuvos Bankas, First Decade, 1922–1932*, Kaunas, 1932, pp. 10–14; *V.Z. Nr. 199, par. 1347.*

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

started in March, 1922, in Kaunas. Reparation was sought for the compulsory introduction of *Obost* marks and the use of issuance rights from August, 1916, until November, 1919, when the German army finally withdrew. The loss to Lithuania was estimated at 5,383 million marks, which sum was demanded by the Lithuanian delegation. Due to the fact that the Germans refused to recognize these demands, negotiations were discontinued. They were resumed in Berlin in May, 1923.[6] These negotiations resulted in a treaty concluded on May 31, 1923, of which the first paragraph says: "Both contracting parties agree not to raise any claims against each other, originating from events of the World War."[7]

After three months of operation of Lietuvos Bankas—that is, on December 31, 1922—there were 30.38 million litas in circulation. The coverage in gold of the notes in circulation accounted for 50 percent and that in gold and foreign exchange for 109.1 percent. The amount of litas in circulation grew, while the coverage in gold decreased somewhat, but it was never less than the one-third prescribed by law. Thus on December 31, 1923, there were 60.07 million litas in circulation; in 1924, 92.98; in 1925, 81.92; in 1926, 86.79; and in 1927, 96.61.[8]

The issue activities of Lietuvos Bankas in later years are indicated by Table 48. At the end of 1938 the notes in circulation amounted to 141.70 million litas, exceeding the previous all-time high of 1930, while in April, 1939, it reached 181.65 millions, a new all-time peak. The coverage in gold

[6] A. Moravskis, *Lietuvos Finansai, Pinigai, kreditas ir bankai* Lietuvoje pries kara ir dabar, II dalis. (The Finance of Lithuania: Money, Credit and Banking in Lithuania before the War and at Present. Part II), Kaunas, 1925, pp. 33–35.

[7] Dailide, *op. cit.*, p. 199; *V.Z. Nr. 173, par. 1197.*

[8] *Lietuvos Bankas Bulletin*, Feb. 19, 1932, p. 18.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 48

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THE ISSUE ACTIVITIES OF LIETUVOS BANKAS
1928–39

YEAR ENDING DEC. 31	BANK NOTES IN CIRCULATION (*Million litas*)	GOLD RESERVE (*Million litas*)	FOREIGN BILLS (*Million litas*)	PERCENTAGE OF COVERAGE IN GOLD AND FOREIGN BILLS
1928	84.77	34.27	43.62	91.9
1929	94.83	35.08	78.48	119.8
1930	117.16	39.39	86.32	107.3
1931	108.95	50.14	33.17	76.5
1932	96.21	49.07	15.96	67.6
1933	89.92	52.00	15.34	76.8
1934	88.24	52.14	8.38	68.6
1935	103.50	36.14	9.91	44.5
1936	110.35	73.10	4.08	69.9
1937	116.56	79.04	1.87	69.4
1938	141.70	64.75	4.83	49.1
1939	165.93	57.71	2.50	37.1

and foreign bills was comparatively high, being 49.1 percent.

436 The highest number of notes in circulation and the lowest coverage were reached in November, 1939. This situation was largely due to the disturbed economic conditions in Lithuania in that year. It will be recalled that in March, 1939, Lithuania was forced to give up her only port, Klaipeda. This transaction was executed in great haste, under the pressure of the German war machine, as a result of which it became necessary to support and furnish with food, shelter, and work about 15,000 refugees.

[167] A few months later over 100,000 refugees from Poland poured into Lithuania, as a result of the war between Germany and Poland. Undoubtedly this circumstance caused a great drain on gold and foreign exchange reserves.

5. The Situation of Credit Institutions.

● 453 The Lithuanian credit institutions can be classified in the following groups:

1. Žemės Bankas (Land Bank). It was founded in 1924 with 50 000 000 litas share-capital, of which 48 000 000 litas was taken up by the Government. Its object consists in the promotion of agriculture through the granting of mortgage loans. Together with the Lietuvos Bankas it is the second largest public credit establishment in the country.

The most important balance items for the last ten years are collated in the following table (in million litas):

Year Dec. 31	Balance Amounts	Deposits & Current A/cs	Loans & Discounts	Including Mortgage Loans
1928	49.84	14.21	39.54	23.11
1929	66.98	11.33	52.99	30.00
1930	95.17	17.12	81.33	54.46
1931	122.29	16.93	110.06	83.49
1932	125.30	21.35	115.32	91.94
1933	135.35	19.88	121.20	102.39
1934	141.95	21.91	125.47	107.01
1935	140.40	22.54	127.68	112.39
1936	149.39	22.18	132.57	116.79
1937	158.07	34.17	144.28	121.74

The mortgage business was properly speaking more widely expanded after 1930, since when the Žemės Bankas, under the amended statutes, has been granted the right of mortgage-deeds issue. The circulation of these amounted at the end of 1937 to 73 500 000 litas. The quotation of the recently issued VII Series at 4.5% amounts to 89—90 per 100 face value.

The course of the balance items quoted in the foregoing table shows that the crisis certainly restricted the development of the operations of the Žemės Bankas without, however, entailing any losses.

A circumstance that was largely instrumental in enabling the Bank to bridge over the crisis was that through the Government the sum of 40 000 000 litas from the Match Monopoly or the so-called Swedish loan was placed at its disposal. The credit business, and inter alia chiefly mortgage

loans show an uninterrupted rising tendency. Since 1928, the amount of the latter has increased sixfold, and since 1931 it has grown by nearly 50%. 453

The rate of interest for mortgage loans amounted in 1930 to 7½%; in 1933 to 6%; in 1935 to 5%; and since July 1, 1936, to 4%. In connexion with the raising of the rate of interest on mortgage-deeds in 1937 to 4½%, the rate of interest on rural credits was also increased to 5%, and on urban mortgage loans to 5½%.

II. To the second group belong 13 commercial banks and 15 associations of mutual credit. Among them 11 banks are organized as joint-stock companies with a capital-stock of 30 700 000 litas. The most important are: Ūkio Bankas (with 15 000 000 litas capital-stock); Kooperacijos Bankas, Komercijos Bankas, Kredito Bankas, Tarptautinis Bankas, Jüdische Zentralbank - all in Kaunas; and Klaipėdos Bankas, Landschaftsbank, Raiffeisenbank A. G. and Tautinis Lietuvių Bankas in Memel.

The most important balance items of the Kaunas credit institutions from 1928 to 1937 are shown in the following table (in million litas):

Year Dec. 31	Capital-stock	Balance Amounts	Deposits & Current A/cs.	Loans & Discounts
1928	26.50	119.57	56.82	74.06
1929	27.28	134.92	76.99	80.41
1930	27.29	156.74	98.27	108.40
1931	27.81	137.57	73.02	86.87
1932	26.93	125.55	72.98	75.75
1933	29.24	126.79	67.21	80.53
1934	28.89	124.11	61.59	80.64
1935	28.85	116.15	54.03	75.99
1936	29.06	133.02	68.84	85.06
1937	29.05	153.35	83.23	103,27

The corresponding figures for the Memel credit establishments are as follows:

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Year Dec. 31	Capital-stock	Balance Amounts	Deposits & Current A/cs.	Loans & Discounts
1928	4.56	53.33	30.46	39.04
1929	4.89	54.49	35.80	41.11
1930	5.00	62.60	43.27	48.38
1931	4.79	62.44	32.06	51.83
1932	4.30	52.23	27.80	41.61
1933	4.29	46.83	22.31	35.52
1934	4.51	40.38	15.23	31.46
1935	4.04	35.43	12.27	29.08
1936	3.99	41.30	14.67	33.47
1937	3.87	44.73	19.73	37.08

On the basis of both the foregoing tables, we can draw the following conclusions:

(1) The capital-stock of the Kaunas institutions has been stationary since 1933, but in comparison with 1928 shows a slight growth. The capital-stock of the Memel establishments has sunk below the level of 1928.

(2) The last two years have entirely adjusted the crisis losses of the Kaunas banks, while the Memel institutions also show a revival though not at the same tempo. The deposits there more particularly remain far behind the pre-crisis position.

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III. The third group consists of the credit cooperative societies, which are chiefly spread over the rural districts and possess an old tradition. The first cooperative society was already founded in 1873, and until the World War there were in Lithuania under Russian alien domination 207 credit cooperative societies with 88 900 active membres.

The activity of the credit cooperative societies, interrupted by the World War, was speedily resumed in independent Lithuania, although the erstwhile organizations had been destroyed and new foundations had to be effected. The Government also contributed largely to the expansion of the credit cooperative societies, in which context, since 1930, long-term loans at 3% interest have been granted from State resources.

The development of the activity of the credit cooperative societies, with the exception of the Memel Territory, since 1928 is shown in the following table:

453 IV. To the fourth and last group belong the State savings
152 banks in Lithuania Major and the savings banks of the Memel Territory. The following tables elucidate their activity:

152 **A. The Activity of the State Savings Banks (in million litas):**

Year Dec. 31	Balance Amounts	Savings Deposits	Loans
1928	3.85	0.86	3.04
1929	5.66	2.07	4.76
1930	12.52	11.00	11.98
1931	26.82	24.80	25.06
1932	36.70	34.17	31.73
1933	41.36	38.75	35.03
1934	46.69	43.12	37.84
1935	47.21	42.90	35.68
1936	57.38	52.29	32.79
1937	66.34	60.12	30.37

453 **B. The Activity of the Savings Banks of the Memel Territory (in million litas):**

Year Dec. 31	Balance Amounts	Savings Deposits	Loans
1928	11.71	9.23	4.21
1929	14.04	11.64	4.86
1930	19.99	15.65	6.81
1931	24.01	18.65	8.09
1932	30.24	23.96	9.06
1933	26.58	19.32	6.48
1934	23.19	15.26	6.73
1935	20.39	11.87	6.57
1936	21.61	13.82	5.70
1937	28.12	18.61	5.32

152 The percentage distribution of the savings deposits in the State savings banks according to vocation is also characteristic of the growing well-being of the working population. The figures are as under:

	1935, Jan. 1	1936, Jan. 1	1937, Jan. 1	1938, Jan. 1
Public Institutions	40.64	44.85	38.87	33.6
Officials and Employees	13.09	13.11	14.72	16.6
Farmers	12.52	12.67	14.40	15.6
Merchants & Industrialists	11.22	8.93	8.64	9.0
Liberal Professions	7.99	7.90	7.50	8.2
Workers	2.49	2.53	3.01	3.7

*
* *

Summarizing the figures of the Lietuvos Bankas and the Žemės Bankas, the commercial banks and the associations of mutual credit of Kaunas and Memel, the credit cooperative societies and the Raiffeisen loan funds banks, as also of the State savings banks and the savings banks of the Memel Territory, we obtain the following result of the development of deposits and loans in all Lithuanian credit institutions during the last ten years (in million litas):

Dec. 31	Deposits	Loans
1928	225.46	304.38
1929	282.83	333.04
1930	345.73	437.83
1931	302.04	479.62
1932	291.20	449.48
1933	278.40	446.51
1934	269.54	461.95
1935	229.60	451.48
1936	290.22	467.35
1937*)	347.60	501.38

These figures show that both deposits and loans in 1937 again reached and exceeded the pre-crisis position (1930—31). Whereas, however, the deposits in conformity with the contingent situation of economy in the crisis years have suffered a severe setback, the fluctuations of the loans were negligible,

*) Without Raiffeisen loan banks of Memel Territory.

which is attributable to the intervention of the Government on behalf of agricultural credits. 452

In connexion with the consolidation of the credit situation and thanks to the initiative of the Lietuvos Bankas, private discount has also materially decreased. In 1929 it still fluctuated between 14—18%. At the end of 1930 the banks decided that the rate of interest should not rise above 12%; while today it amounts to 8%. Moreover, in accordance with a legal enactment (Government Gazette No. 432) private discount may not exceed the official bank rate by more than three points. 453 652

On the basis of the above cited balance items of the separate categories of the credit institutions, we may affirm that the overwhelming portion of the credits pertains to agriculture; the credits for trade and industry amount to approximately one-third of the total sum, and are without exception short-term. In view of this and in connexion with the rapid growth of industry, the necessity is ever more and more being felt for a banking institution which, through the provision of long-term credits, would promote the investment activity of industry.

*
* *

The consolidation of the credit situation is also characterized by the statistics of bills of exchange protests and the legal compulsory auction sales. The following comparative table embodies the data for the last eight years: 436

	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Total bills of exchange in circulation, in million litas	708.24	760.52	546.52	463.21	490.81	423.40	410.43	472.03
Amount of protested bills, in million litas	40.06	67.51	71.74	39.34	32.48	23.54	13.97	12.98
Percentage share of protests in sum of bill circulation	5.7	8.9	13.1	8.5	6.6	5.6	3.4	2.7
Number of compulsory auction sales of movable property	636	794	1 961	3 104	2 768	2 471	1 621	1 084
Amount of debts in million litas	1.48	1.83	3.33	3.81	2.86	3.83	2.33	1.06
Percentage of debt cover	27	35	27	27	22	14	19	27

The number of bill protests, both according to separate items and the total value and according to the percentage ratio

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

APPENDIX

ECONOMIC FIGURES

433

	1929	1930
INDUSTRY:		
1. Total number of medium and wholesale undertakings (of 5 employed persons upwards)	1 044	1 051
2. Total number of employed workers	19 637	19 334
3. Total figure of engine power in H. P.	.	.
4. Production Index	100.0	108.3
TRADE:		
474 473 1. Total number of larger undertakings (Trade in the narrower sense I — III Corp)	14 255	14 224
439 2. Railway goods traffic 1 000 tons	2 079	1 993
3. Price Index	100	87
4. Foreign Trade Turnover:		
(a) Million Litas	636.3	646.2
(b) Volume	100.0	116.7
5. Cooperative Trade Turnover, million litas	108.6	111.9
FINANCE AND CREDIT CONDITIONS:		
652 1. Monetary circulation, in million litas	102.3	117.2
452 2. State Revenue, in million litas	338.5	347.7
453 3. State Expenditure, in million litas	269.9	320.6
4. Deposits of the Credit Institutions, in million litas	282.8	345.7
5. Loans of the Credit Institutions, in million litas	333.0	437.8
6. Total Sums of Bills of Exchange Protests, in million litas	49.1	40.1
7. Discount Rate of the Lietuvos Bankas	7	7

OF LITHUANIA.

1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	
							433
1 049	1 105	1 108	1 118	1 136	1 135	1 247	
21 053	19 743	20 660	22 282	23 344	25 844	31 689	
70 038	84 804	95 751	94 585	105 349	109 634	125 157	
140.7	153.7		166.5	185.9	244.2	272.0	
							494
14 141	13 590	12 981	12 572	12 034	12 054	12 445	493
2 164	1 599	1 722	1 853	2 003	2 193	2 352	489
74	61	54	52	46	46	53	
551.1	356.1	302.4	285.9	280.8	346.5	420.9	
128.3	106.6	102.2	103.2	103.9	125.2	139.3	
127.8	111.3	105.8	111.3	149.4	185.2	203.6	
							652
127.1	112.7	105.8	101.1	111.4	124.1	131.9	452
340.1	292.0	256.9	264.4	279.9	302.8	329.9	453
335.3	278.2	249.7	251.8	276.9	287.7	318.2	
302.0	291.2	278.4	269.5	229.6	290.2	347.6	
479.6	449.5	446.5	461.9	451.5	467.3	501.4	
67.5	71.7	39.3	32.5	23.5	13.9	12.9	
8½	7	7	6	6	5½	5½	

1931	69	89 794	32 433	473
1932	76	90 874	32 547	
1933	84	98 675	34 733	
1934	83	105 979	43 274	
1935	84	105 465	45 207	
1936	85	107 372	44 881	
1937	88	110 883	47 969	

On the strength of these data we may conclude that the financing of industry in the form of share-capital concurrently with the development of wholesale manufacture in Lithuania is constantly growing; it amounts to approximately a third of all capital invested in industry. The number of industrial concerns, which are organized as joint-stock companies, has risen by 57.1% during ten years, from 1928 to 1937, and the total amount of the share-capital by 60.6% in the same period.

The share of foreign capital amounts to 43.3% and is chiefly invested in electricity works, the paper industry, and the chemical industry. The largest portion thereof, i. e. 18 200 000 litas or 35% pertains to-day to Belgium; 12 100 000 litas or 23% to Germany; 6 200 000 litas or 11% to Sweden; and 5 500 000 or 10% to Holland. 471

Approximately 15 000 000 litas represents the investments of the Lithuanian Government, of which the sum of 7 000 000 litas pertains to the „Maistas" Company and 2 700 000 litas to „Lietuvos Cukrus". 652

The share of Lithuanian private capital in the total share-capital invested in industry amounts therefore to 45%. 454 ●

The distribution of industrial joint-stock companies according to individual branches and its development during recent years may be seen from Table No. 2. 473

Thus in 1937 the relatively largest part of the total share-capital pertained to the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry, which possessed 21 undertakings with 27 900 000 litas capital. Among these were 4 mills, 3 chocolate factories, 1 company for sugar production („Lietuvos Cukrus"), 2 undertakings of the meat industry, 3 spirit distilleries, and 4 beer breweries. The number of undertakings has been stationary since 1933; also the capital during the last five years shows only small fluctuations, but in comparison with 1928 it has risen by 66%.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

milk suppliers as against 101,348 in 1938 and 69,741 in 1934. 474

Pienocentras with all its departments continued to function throughout the Soviet Russian occupation, although it was transformed into a government agency. In June, 1941, when the Soviet Russian occupation was replaced by the German occupation, Pienocentras[1] came under the control of the German Economic Command (Wirtschaftskommando), also as government agency. In September, 1941, German Commissar for Lithuania von Renteln issued an order granting monopoly to Pienocentras in the business of dairy products and at the same time forbidding anybody to trade in milk products. Since Pienocentras has a wide organization throughout Lithuania, it is very convenient for the Germans in their control of milk production and in their efforts to extract from Lithuania a maximum of milk products. Of course no statistical data is available for Pienocentras's economic activities during the periods of German and Russian occupation. 231 [647]

Deserving of mention in this group is a local grocery trade coöperative society in Kaunas called Parama which owns and operates thirty modern grocery stores, as well as the largest and most modern bakery in Lithuania, with an annual production valued at about six million litas. Its fate under the German occupation is similar to that of Pienocentras. 474 444

4 and 5. Insurance and nonclassified coöperatives.—These two groups are of minor importance in the economic life of Lithuania. Insurance, still undeveloped there, is one of the fields open for coöperation in the future. In 1938 there were two insurance coöperative societies with 7,486 members. Insurance premiums collected in 1938 amounted to 355,495 litas, which, compared with the development of other co- 474 452

[1] [i.e. Central Union of Dairy Cooperative Societies of Lithuania --- Analyst]

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

474 operative branches, is a small sum. In the unclassified group [457] in the year 1939 there were 430 societies with a membership of 4,581. The total membership of all coöperative societies in 1939 was 161,256.

All the coöperative unions and bigger coöperative societies have representatives in the Council of Coöperatives of Lithuania (Lietuvos Kooperatyvu Taryba), which was formally chartered on January 30, 1925. The task of the Council is to encourage coöperative movement, to maintain close ties among coöperatives in Lithuania and in foreign countries, and to represent them in the government institutions and [204] public organizations. The Council publishes the magazines *Talka* (Coöperation) and *Bendras Darbas* (Coöperative Work).[28]

In short, it may be said that coöperation has played an important role in the economic reconstruction and development of Lithuania since 1918. Coöperative institutions have increased the purchasing power of the farmers, both as producers and as consumers. At the same time they have furthered economic progress both by increasing productivity and by improving the quality of many products.

GRAIN CULTURE

243 Grain culture, which has been known in Lithuania since ancient times, was the backbone of the country's agriculture before the World War of 1914–18. Though there has been a tendency since 1926 to concentrate more on livestock breeding and dairying, grain culture still is the dominating feature of Lithuania's agriculture.

243 In recent years there has been a yearly production of 439 about 1.6 to 1.7 million metric tons of grain, with only a

[28] Balcius, *op. cit.*, pp. 230–31.

4: Kublitzky G-4, 5 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

651 individuals residing in the rural parts of the country is slightly higher, due to the lower standard of living.

745 An employees' sickness-insurance fund was created in 1928 to provide for medical treatment, especially of the poorer classes. Membership in this organization is compulsory for all workers and employees, except farm laborers and State employees. Monthly contributions, equal in amount, are made by both the employer and the employee, according to wage classes, of which there are six. For wage class I (daily wage, 4 lits; weekly wage, 24 lits; and monthly wage, 100 lits) the monthly payment to the sick fund is 5.40 lits. The payments for each wage class are progressively higher, until for class VI (daily wage, 12.01 lits and over; weekly wage, 73 lits and over; and monthly wage, 301 lits and over) the payment to the sick fund is 21.60 lits. The maximum benefit allowed ranges from 3 lits for wage class I to 14 lits for wage class VI.

466 456

An additional amount (10 percent of the monthly payments made to the sick fund) is contributed in equal shares by the employer and the employee to the Labor Chamber.

647 All State employees contribute 6 percent of their wages to a pension fund. Furthermore, from 4.5 percent to 18.73 percent of the wages of a married State employee are deducted for the special fund created to balance the budget, the deduction of a single employee varing between 11.7 percent to 24.53 percent. These deductions apply to State employees residing in Kaunas, Klaipeda, the Klaipeda Territory, and abroad. The deductions made from wages of State employees residing in the rural parts of the country vary from 9.5 percent to 23.73 percent for married, and from 15.3 percent to 29.53 percent for single persons. These rates became effective on April 1, 1937.

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651 Tax deductions from wages amount to 10 percent; however, a certain amount is exempt from taxation. In the case of a single worker the exemption applies to all wages under 36.50 lits per week. Ten percent of the amount exceeding 36.50 lits per week is subject to taxation and is determined in accordance with the family status of the worker. The result of this, in practice, is that married workers with one child do not pay taxes.

745

456 Contributions for social, sickness, accident, old-age, and disability insurance amount in all to 9 percent, 4½ percent of which are paid by the employer and the remaining 4½ percent by the worker.

436 to the total circulation, reached the lowest level in 1937 since the introduction of the litas currency in 1922. The reduction of bill circulation (the quoted figures relate to the number of lists sold) in comparison with 1930—32, is due, on the one hand, to the expansion of mortgage credits (we have seen above that the total sum of loans in 1937 already exceeded the pre-crisis level), and, on the other hand, to the consolidation of the economic situation and the enhanced liquidity of the money market, under the influence of which payments in cash are more frequently effected in trade transactions than formerly. The number of the legal compulsory auction sales of movable property, which reached their peak level in 1933, has since then receded by two-thirds. Although it still stands above the level of the years 1930—31, the position is nevertheless to be designated as more favourable because the peak of the debts for the recovery of which legal proceedings have been instituted stands at approximately one-third below the level of the pre-crisis period.

6. The Insurance Companies.

456 At the present time there are in Lithuania 6 insurance institutions, i. e. the State Insurance Office, 3 insurance joint-stock companies, and 2 mutual insurance companies. The State Insurance Office was founded in 1921; it is subordinate to the Ministry of Finance. In 1930 its capital-stock was fixed by law at 800 000 litas. The three joint-stock companies are:

(a) The „Lietuvos Lloydas", founded in 1922, with a present capital-stock of 800 000 litas.

(b) The „Lietuva", also founded in 1922, with a capital-stock of 600 000 litas.

(c) The Memel Insurance Joint-stock Company, founded in 1923 (capital-stock 10 000 litas).

The „First Mutual Insurance Company of Lithuanian Economy" was founded in 1921; the second mutual insurance company „Kooperacija" in 1925.

The most important data compiled from the balance-sheets of the above enumerated insurance establishments illustrate their activity as follows since 1928 (in million litas):

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Year	Capital	Premium Reserves	Premiums Received	Re-insurance Premiums	Total Losses	Losses after deduction of Re-insurance
1928	3.07	1.13	5.28	3.08	2.27	0.95
1929	3.22	1.32	6.21	3.62	4.92	1.30
1930	3.40	1.80	7.03	4.25	3.04	1.15
1931	3.62	2.32	7.70	4.35	6.31	1.64
1932	3.90	2.17	7.14	4.16	5.08	2.16
1933	3.48	2.07	6.55	3.96	4.38	1.77
1934	3.53	1.95	6.13	3.69	3.73	1.64
1935	3.65	1.84	6.26	3.86	4.72	1.47
1936	3.67	1.72	6.33	4.06	2.16	0.99
1937	4.06	2.01	7.25	4.68	2.91	0.96

The most developed branch of insurance in Lithuania is fire insurance to which pertain approximately 90% of all paid-in premiums. The second most important branch is transport insurance, followed by life insurance, burglary insurance, &c. The last-named branches began to develop more rapidly two years ago.

The development of the Lithuanian insurance institutions is characterized by the circumstance that the share of the agreements concluded with foreign companies in the total insurance business (assessed on the sum of premiums), which in 1932 still amounted to 46%, in 1936 had decreased to 42%.

The development of the fire insurance business is disclosed in the following statement:

Year	No. of Policies	Insurance Sums	Premiums Received	Losses
		in million litas		
1932	56 612	914.7	6.8	4.9
1933	52 434	841.0	6.4	4.2
1934	60 925	884.3	5.5	3.4
1935	58 501	901.0	4.9	4.5
1936	61 654	965.8	5.6	1.8
1937	65 462	964.3	5.8	2.0

In conclusion it must be mentioned that the re-insurance business of our companies with foreign institutions is constantly growing, and that Lithuanian establishments conclude not only re-insurances abroad but also take them over from abroad. The Joint-stock Company „Lietuvos Lloydas" has, for example, business relations with 27 foreign insurance companies, of which seven are in England, four in Germany, four in France, three in Sweden, &c.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

From 1921 to 1923, insurance of farms against fire was compulsory; this system was never generally accepted, and efforts are now being made to promote voluntary insurance. Those insuring are granted as favourable rates as possible. Fire insurance in rural areas is almost entirely in the hands of the State insurance establishment and the " Kooperacija ", the central insurance union. With a view to extending fire insurance in rural districts, steps are being taken to organise mutual insurance societies. 456

Under the Law of March 30th, 1938, the Ministry of the Interior was assigned a fund for grants in compensation for damage caused by natural disasters; 4% of the revenue from the Government land tax is earmarked each year for this fund.

The following grants are made out of the fund to victims of disasters :

(*a*) For damage caused to crops by hail, a sum proportionate to the damage, less 30% (which is regarded as the farmer's own risk);

(*b*) For damage caused by storms, 70% of the value of the buildings destroyed, provided these are necessary for the work of the farm;

(*c*) 70% of the value of live-stock killed by lightning or by the collapse of buildings, payable to the farmer.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

VALUE OF FOREIGN TRADE

439
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TABLE 39

VALUE OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS

(In Thousands of Litas)

YEAR	EXPORTS	IMPORTS	DIFFERENCE
1923	146,795	156,627	— 9,832
1924	266,584	206,534	+60,040
1925	242,715	252,703	— 9,988
1926	253,300	240,761	+12,539
1927	245,929	265,694	—19,765
1928	256,881	291,091	—34,210
1929	329,842	306,422	+23,420
1930	333,739	312,415	+21,324
1931	273,119	277,959	— 4,840
1932	189,126	166,954	+22,172
1933	160,227	142,176	+18,051
1934	147,245	138,690	+ 8,555
1935	152,269	128,579	+23,689
1936	190,485	156,061	+34,424
1937	208,325	212,667	— 4,342
1938	233,198	223,686	+ 9,512
1939	203,194	169,362	+39,832

If the value of imports and exports, commencing with 1932, is translated into dollar currency, a very different index number is obtained. For example, the exchange rate of the litas in January, 1932, was 10.02 litas for $1.00; in January, 1934, 6.42 litas for $1.00; and in 1935, 5.99 litas for $1.00.[1]

It is interesting to note that in 1924 Lithuania had a very favorable trade balance, with exports exceeding imports by over 60 million litas. Three years later the position was ex-

[1] See Apendix F, Foreign Exchange Quotations in Kaunas.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

actly opposite. Starting with 1927 the trade balance for two 439
successive years was unfavorable. In 1927 imports exceeded 451
exports by 19,764,700 litas and in 1928 by 34,210,100 litas. One of the chief causes for this condition may be found in the fact that in 1924 the prices for agricultural products were high, while in 1927 and 1928 they were substantially lower. As Table 39 shows, the trade balance of Lithuania is generally favorable.

SHIFTING OF THE COMMODITIES INVOLVED IN FOREIGN TRADE 439

One of the most interesting things in the foreign trade of Lithuania and one that also shows clearly which way the economic life of Lithuania is going is the shifting of commodities involved. In 1920 the chief exports of Lithuania were lumber and other forest products, which accounted for 40 percent; flax, which accounted for 34.3 percent; linseed, 12.2 percent; eggs, 3.7 percent; and livestock, 1.5 percent. No butter was exported in that year, and food exports generally played a very small role. In the next three years, 1921, 1922, and 1923, the export picture was somewhat changed. Although forest products still retained the most important position, eggs became one of the leading export commodities and in 1921 accounted for 23.5 percent of total exports; in 1922, 20.2 percent; and in 1923, 10.3 percent. But the rise in this commodity proved to be only temporary. In 1927 eggs were down to 4.4 percent of the total value of exports. At the same time there was a constant increase in livestock exports, which rose to 16.2 percent in 1926 [2] and to 21 percent in 1930. After 1925 the statistics of exports of Lithuania were divided into five groups: (1) the livestock group,

[2] C.S.B., *Lietuva Skaitmenimis 1918–1928*, pp. 91–126.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

The debts of Lithuania may be divided into two grou 652 451

(1) debts which originated in the period 1918–22 during the struggle for reëstablishment of the nation's independence and (2) subsequent debts contracted for reconstruction purposes. The debt to the United States for various medicaments, clothing, and foodstuffs obtained from the American military camps in France and from the American Relief Administration belongs in the first group. According to the agreement of September 22, 1924, with the United States, the principal was $4,981,628.03 and accrued interest of 4¼ percent from June 30, 1919, until June 15, 1924, amounted to $1,049,918.94, so that the total debt was $6,031,546.97. Of this amount, $1,546.97 was paid on September 22, 1924, and the remainder, $6,030,000, was to be funded into bonds bearing 3 percent interest until June 15, 1934, and 3⅓ percent after that date until the whole sum was paid. The principal was to be paid in the course of 62 years in fixed amounts each year. Thus, the first amount, $30,000, was due on June 15, 1925, and the last, $227,000, was to fall due on June 15, 1986.[13]

According to the estimate of Moulton,[14] Lithuania, up to June 30, 1931, had paid $1,128,600. The latest payments made by Lithuania to the United States were token payments in the sums of $10,000 on June 15, and $7,000 on December 15, 1933, but after the passage of the Johnson Act Lithuania made no further payments. On May 5, 1934, Attorney General Cummings of the United States pointed out that Lithuania was one among the six foreign governments[15] indebted to the United States government which was not in default under the terms of the Johnson Act, because she

[13] Dailide, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

[14] Harold G. Moulton and Leo Pasvolsky, *War Debts and World Prosperity*, Washington, D.C., 1932, p. 293.

[15] Finland, Great Britain, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Latvia, and Lithuania.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

had made token payments as evidence of good faith in connection with her debt installments.[16]

According to later interpretations of the Johnson Act, however, the State Department on May 10, 1934, informed European debtor governments that while token payments

TABLE 49

FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC DEBTS OF LITHUANIA AT THE END OF 1939

	LITAS
A. FOREIGN DEBTS	
Debts to the U.S.A.	38,661,000 [a]
Debts to Great Britain	718,200 [b]
Liberty Loan	2,939,700
Match Monopoly Loan	25,193,500 [c]
Debts for public works	359,500
Short-term loans	1,043,400
TOTAL	68,915,300
B. DOMESTIC DEBTS	
4½% Domestic Loan of 1935	12,260,400
4½% Domestic Loan of 1936	11,893,600
Treasury Bills of 1937	2,138,300
4½% Domestic Loan of 1939	4,439,000
Vilnius Loan of 1939	15,420,500
Debentures of war collections	16,400
Debts for public works	4,063,000
TOTAL	65,231,200
TOTAL PUBLIC DEBT	134,146,500

[a] Total debts to the United States: 41,600,700 litas or $6,864,801.
[b] Total debts to Great Britain: 1,456,700 litas or £50,849.
[c] $4,157,350.

[16] *New York Times*, May 6, 1934.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

would be acceptable on June 15 when the following installments on the war debts were to have been due, such payments would not serve to free them of being considered in default within the meaning of the Johnson Act.[17] Pressed by adverse economic conditions prevailing in that year, Lithuania was unable to meet her obligation and thus was classified "in default." It must be remembered, however, that exports of Lithuania in that year were the smallest since 1923 and the economic depression in general was at its worst.

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Another sum in this group is the debt of 1920 to Great Britain for war material deliveries to the amount of 7,300,000 litas (£150,000). The total debts originating in the period of the struggle for independence amount to 50,700,000 litas.

In the group of debts for reconstruction the greatest item is the Match Monopoly Loan of $4,500,000, which was contracted in 1930 in Sweden for the transfer of the match monopoly to the Swedish Match Manufacturing Company.

[17] *New York Times*, May 11, 1934.

(b) Introduction of reduced seasonal duties on tropical fruits for the period from January 1 to June 1, on November 30, 1937 (Government Gazette, 592/4130). 651

Concurrently with the import duties, on many goods that are subject to export control, in case they are exported not in the prescribed packing or do not conform to the contemplated standard of quality, the export duties are raised and their export is not permitted respectively. The sole object of these measures is to support the fulfilment of standardization and to improve the quality of our export goods. Subject to export control are: Butter, eggs, meat, seeds, potatoes, apples, flax, linseed, casings, bristles, and crayfish. 439 651

At the end of 1932, Lithuania was also obliged, in the wake of the import restrictions imposed by other countries, to place her imports under State control. This was effected through the Law of December 22, 1932 (Government Gazette, 401/2751) on the introduction of a licence system, first of all only for the import of 11 articles, i. e. sugar, salt, phosphates, iron, steel, tin, coal, cement, cotton threads and yarn, paper, cardboard, and woollen fabrics. This list of goods subject to licence was appreciably extended by later laws, chiefly by the Law of August 4, 1934 (Government Gazette, 453/3161), whereby the number of articles was increased to 46 and among them knitted goods and cotton fabrics were included; by the Law of February 6, 1935 (Government Gazette, 468/3282), and by the Law of February 15, 1936 (Government Gazette, 523/3631), so that to-day of the 216 articles of the Customs Tariff 134, but actually approximately 85% of the effective imports are subject to licence. 651 439

The introduction of the licence system in Lithuania had in view not by any means the stifling of import; it resulted rather only from regard to the structure of the trade-balance. Before the last economic crisis, i. e. at the time when world trade was still not subject to any import and currency restrictions, the question of trade-balances with individual countries played no great rôle because it was easily possible by means of an export surplus achieved with certain countries to equalize an import surplus recorded in trade with others. Ever since, however, foreign trade began to develop chiefly along compensation and accounting lines, the transference of balances has encountered difficulties. Thus in 1932, viz., the last year 457

● 457 before the introduction of the licence system in Lithuania, we had only two active and fourteen passive trade-balances with sixteen countries to which accrued approximately 85% of our foreign trade turnover. Thanks to the licence system, already in 1937 eight balances became active. This therefore shows us that the licence system successfully fulfils its purpose. The statistical data in regard thereto are later cited.

Later than elsewhere, for the first time at the end of 1935, likewise with a view to adaptation to the restrictions in force in most neighbouring countries, exchange control was introduced in Lithuania. The Regulations concerning this matter are contained in the Law on Transactions in Foreign Currency of October 1, 1935 (Government Gazette, 501/3480) and in the Decree regarding operations with foreign currency of November 14, 1935 (Government Gazette, 509/3537).

In connexion with exchange control, Lithuania has concluded special clearing agreements with several countries where currency business is also State controlled. Through the Lietuvos Bankas (Bank of Lithuania) accounting accounts are conducted to-day with Germany, Finland, Greece, Italy, Latvia, and Hungary.

648 439 With all the more important trade clients Lithuania has concluded politico-commercial agreements. The following list comprises a comparison of all the ratified and at present valid commercial agreements of Lithuania with 21 States:

List of the existing Valid Commercial Agreements of Lithuania with other Countries.

1. **Belgium - Luxemburg:**

(a) Provisional Commercial Agreement of August 16, 1928 (Government Gazette, 289/1897).

(b) Arrangement on the application of the foreign Commercial Agreement also to the Belgian Congo and the Belgian mandated territory of Ruanda-Urundi, of February 10, 1936, ratified on February 29, 1936 (Government Gazette, 524/3636).

2. **Brazil:**

Provisional Commercial Agreement of September 28, 1937 (Government Gazette, 599/4198).

Motor-cars	15.7	122.2	1 136.7	439
Chassis	49.8	187.3	1 196.4	
Scientific apparatus and instruments	239.5	359.4	980.6	

The nomenclature of Lithuanian imports from Germany is, moreover, extremely elusive and differentiated, which is due partly to the lively frontier trade. The above cited articles constitute only approximately a fifth of our total imports from Germany.

The U. S. S R. supplies Lithuania in the first place with round timber for the Timber Syndicate at Memel; petroleum products, coal, salt, superphosphates, and cotton fabrics. She occupies among countries of supply the third place; also her share in Lithuania's import is higher than in export trade.

In the fourth place comes Belgium, who furnishes chiefly iron and woollen yarns. Our imports from Belgium considerably exceed our exports thither, i. e. more than twofold.

From Holland are imported superphosphates, wireless apparatus, and artificial silk yarns; from Sweden and Denmark, motor-cars; from France, iron; from Switzerland, clocks and machinery; from the United States, petroleum products, cotton, and phosphates. The nomenclature of imports from other countries is sharply differentiated.

In general we can assert that Germany had the largest share in the increase of Lithuanian imports in 1937, owing partly to the fact that deliveries from that country in consequence of the conflict in 1935, had unusually declined, and the present rise has only restored the earlier relation. Otherwise imports from almost all other countries have absolutely increased, although as regards the percentage share, several changes have ensued. Only the imports from Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Estonia, and Palestine evince an absolute and a percentage recession.

8. The Trade-Balance with separate Countries. 457

It has already at the outset been pointed out that the liquidation of free-trade, which ensued during the last world economic crisis, and the transition to the quota system, have

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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Table No. 9.

Lithuania's Trade-Balances with separate Countries from 1928—1937 in million litas.

Countries	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Total Balance	—34.2	+23.4	+21.3	— 4.8	+22.2	+18.0	+ 8.5	+23.7	+34.5	— 4.3
Including:										
Great Britain	+33.0	+31.4	+40.9	+70.8	+60.3	+47.2	+27.6	+21.6	+35.1	+37.3
Germany	+ 1.4	+45.7	+48.5	— 5.2	+ 6.8	+ 1.2	— 7.0	— 9.2	+ 6.2	—11.9
U. S. S. R.	— 5.5	—11.8	— 8.7	— 8.9	— 3.5	— 5.2	+ 1.5	— 0.5	— 4.6	— 6.8
France	— 0.3	— 3.2	— 7.3	— 5.7	— 2.6	— 1.2	— 0.9	+ 2.7	+ 3.8	+ 4.2
Holland	— 3.8	+ 0.7	— 3.2	— 2.3	— 0.5	— 0.9	— 0.4	+ 1.9	— 1.5	+ 0.6
Belgium	+ 0.6	— 0.9	— 0.5	+ 2.8	— 4.2	— 3.1	— 1.5	+ 6.9	— 3.1	— 8.9
Czecho-Slovakia	—12.3	—18.4	—17.6	—19.4	—12.4	— 7.3	— 4.8	— 3.6	— 0.3	+ 0.06
U. S. A.	—18.1	—12.3	—12.1	— 8.8	— 5.3	+ 0.9	+ 0.8	— 0.8	+ 2.3	— 0.5
Sweden	— 2.4	— 3.3	— 3.5	— 3.6	— 1.7	— 1.4	— 0.4	+ 0.4	+ 0.8	— 2.3
Palestine	— 0.05	+ 0.14	+ 0.02	+ 0.02	— 0.09	+ 0.26	+ 0.7	+ 1.8	+ 2.8	+ 3.3
Switzerland	— 2.6	— 1.4	— 3.1	— 2.7	— 1.5	— 1.0	— 1.0	+ 0.7	— 0.6	— 0.1
Denmark	— 1.2	— 2.4	— 1.1	— 0.5	— 1.1	+ 0.4	+ 2.4	+ 2.3	+ 0.4	— 4.3
Austria	— 1.0	— 1.7	— 1.6	— 1.5	— 0.9	— 2.1	— 1.5	— 0.9	— 0.9	+ 0.6
Latvia	+ 7.0	+19.5	+ 9.4	+ 3.3	— 3.3	— 0.35	+ 2.2	+ 2.0	+ 1.4	— 0.4
Finland	— 0.6	— 1.4	— 2.2	— 1.8	— 1.9	— 1.4	— 0.6	+ 0.4	+ 1.0	+ 0.7
Estonia	— 3.9	— 1.8	— 3.2	— 3.2	— 2.0	— 0.4	+ 0.03	+ 0.08	— 0.2	+ 0.04

invested with great importance the question of the trade-balance in general and the trade-balances in traffic with individual countries in particular.

The development of Lithuania's trade-balance, both general and with individual countries, is shown in Table No. 9.

The development of Lithuania's general trade-balance is decidedly favourable. It has been in most years of the last decade active. The passive balance of 1937 has been easily covered with other active items of the payment balance.

Less favourable was the aspect of separate trade-balances, particularly in the crisis year 1932, when in trade with the sixteen most important countries, fourteen passive balances were opposed to two active ones. The introduction of the licence system has manifestly shown good results in this context, since already in the following year the number of active balances had increased to five, in 1934 to seven, and in 1935 to eleven.

The passivity of the balance in 1937 brought about a slight recoil in this improvement of the position. The greatest share therein was on account of the worsening of the trade-balance with Germany by 18 100 000 litas; with Belgium by 5 800 000 litas; and with Denmark by 4 700 000 litas. Also with Sweden, the United States, the U. S. S. R., Latvia, and Finland, the trade-balance shifted to the detriment of Lithuania, while in trade with other countries a slight improvement was attained. The long existent passive trade-balance with Czecho-Slovakia has been equalized and even concluded with a small active balance.

435 determine the important rôle of price variations during the last ten years. In the specific structure of Lithuanian economy, i. e. the economy of an agrarian land, which must procure the most essential industrial supplies from abroad in exchange for its agrarian products, price equalization, or the so-called „scissors" between the prices of agricultural and industrial staples, is the most important factor of contingent development. Since our industry heretofore has as yet provided hardly any means of production, the production of articles of consumption could cover only a part of the domestic demand, and since the portion of the population engaged in industry is as regards percentage negligible, the industrial crisis in Lithuania, which for the rest had only a slight and short-lived course, must be considered merely as a secondary phenomenon of the agrarian crisis. The causes of the economic stagnation, as Lithuania experienced it from 1932 to 1935*), repose in the sphere of foreign trade. In the chapter on foreign trade we saw, however, that our foreign trade turnover quantitative ly even in the crisis years remained above the level of 1929. This proves that the crisis was occasioned chiefly by the disturbance of the equilibrium of prices. [457] Our trade-balance indeed remained active in the crisis years, thanks to the licence system. We must, however, bear in mind that just as in foreign trade, on the home-market also equilibrium is disturbed by the price scissors, when every farmer must deliver correspondingly more of his produce in order to obtain an equivalent quantity of industrial supplies, whereby inevitably both his consumption is stifled and his zest for production discouraged.

The development of prices in Lithuania is shown by the following index groups, which are taken from the „Lietuvos Bankas Biuletenis" (1926—29=100):

Year	Total Price-Index	Agrarian Products	Industrial Raw Materials and Supplies	The Scissors
1927	100	100	101	— 1
1928	102	105	99	+ 6
1929	97	99	95	+ 4

*) The autumn of 1931 is to be taken as the beginning of the crisis, which has already influenced many year-end figures of that year.

of the native population and the progressive consolidation of 652
our economic independence.

The following table shows the position of the foreign and 652
domestic debts on December 31, 1937 (in 1 000 litas): 457
648

I. Foreign Debts.

Debts to the U. S. A.	44 222.5
Debts to Great Britain	1 161.8
Liberty Loan	3 675.5
Match Monopoly Loan	25 738.9
Debts for the Administration of the Memel Territory	1 232.5
Debts For Public Works	2 507.8
Total:	78 539.0

II. Domestic Debts. 652

4½% Domestic Loan of 1935	16 195.0
4½% Domestic Loan of 1936	15 000.0
Treasury Bills of 1937	3 029.5
State Debt Debentures	57.9
Debts for War Charges	1 620.4
Debts for Public Works	4 192.6
Total:	40 095.4
Total Public Debt	118 634.4

Our State Debts can be divided into two categories: 652

(a) Debts from the time of the struggle for freedom and 648
the first years of independent Lithuania; this period terminated 457
approximately in 1923;

(b) Debts of a later period, which were contracted solely for the purpose of economic reconstruction.

To the former group belong:

1. The debt to the United States, which originated from 1919 and was contracted for various medicaments, clothing,

652 and foodstuffs obtained from the American military camps in
648 France and from the American Relief Administration. The
residue of the debt was fixed by the Treaty of 1924 at
● 457 60 000 000 litas ($ 6 000 000).

2. The debt to Great Britain of 1920 for war material deliveries to the amount of 7 300 000 litas (£ 150 000).

3. The Liberty Loan was realized between 1919 and 1925 in America from the local Lithuanians for the purposes of organization of defence of Lithuania and for goods purchases, to the amount of 18 500 000 litas ($ 1 850 000).

4. The debt to the Allied Powers for the administrative costs of the Memel Territory was consolidated in 1930 for 9 100 000 litas, of which 8 900 000 pertained to France and 200 000 litas to Great Britain.

652 5. The promissory-notes of the State Treasury, which between 1921 and 1923 were issued to the amount of 36 600 000 Ost mark.

6. The so-called War Money Charges Certificates, a sort of extraordinary tax, which in the first years of Lithuanian independence were obtained from the urban population and all commercial and industrial undertakings. These tax certificates are redeemed according to a specified plan at 50% of the face value.

Of the above-mentioned debts belonging to the category of the liberation period there remains at present still unredeemed a total of 50 700 000 litas.

Of the second group, that is of the loans that were utilized for economic investment, the following are noteworthy:

(a) The Match Monopoly Loan, which was contracted in 1930 in Sweden for the transfer of the Match Monopoly to the Swedish Joint-stock Match Manufacturing Company, to the amount of 60 000 000 litas ($ 6 000 000), of which, however, only 45 000 000 litas ($ 4 500 000) was realized, and

(b) The debts for public works which were incurred for the construction of the Telšiai - Kretinga Railway, to the amount of 15 700 000 litas; for the expansion of Memel port, to the amount of 4 200 000 litas; and for the erection of two bridges in Kaunas, to the amount of 1 700 000 litas;

(c) The two domestic loans, viz., of 18 000 000 litas in 1935 and of 15 000 000 litas in 1936.

The loans of the second category were employed exclusively for investment. They were applied to purposes which themselves assure their regular redemption, as, for example, the Swedish loan, which almost in toto (40 000 000 litas) was placed at the disposal of the Žemės Bankas (Land Bank) for extension of agricultural credit. The position of all these economic loans at the end of 1937 amounted to 67 900 000 litas. 652

3. The Payment Balance.

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The payment balance reflects most faithfully the general financial situation of the country. The aspect of the Lithuanian payment balance shows that the situation of our finances can be regarded as healthy and satisfactory.

The following table contains data for several years, which are most characteristic for the changes that have occurred during the last dacade.

The Lithuanian Payment Balance.

(in Million Litas)

	1929	1930	1933	1934	1936	1937
Revenue:						
1. Export	331.3	323.8	156.9	145.4	191.8	229.4
2. Interest & Dividends	2.9	3.4	2.0	2.2	0.9	0.6
3. Other current items	91.5	74.3	39.0	35.8	31.2	27.8
4. Capital Operations ..	11.3	35.4	5.5	12.4	7.5	20.1
Total:	437.0	436.9	203.4	195.8	231.4	277.9
Expenditure:						
1. Import	312.0	322.9	147.7	150.7	163.9	239.2
2. Interest & Dividends	7.9	12.1	6.1	5.2	4.5	3.0
3. Other current items	56.7	63.9	31.4	21.6	22.5	26.3
4. Capital Operations ..	48.6	20.7	18.2	18.2	9.2	6.3
Total:	425.2	419.6	203.4	195.7	200.1	274.8
Balance:	+11.8	+17.3	—	+0.1	+31.3	+3.1

423 656 liveries is niggardly. For instance, 2 pre-reform rubles were paid for a hundredweight of rye, but the state resold the grain to the worker as baked bread at the rate of 3.5 rubles per kilogram. In the black market, the hundredweight of rye sold for 1,200 rubles.

Failure to meet the assessed produce quotas is harshly penalized: cattle are confiscated, families are dispossessed and sentenced to several years of "loss of freedom" at hard labor in concentration camps. And a farmer deals with *two governments*: in daytime with the Russians, at night—with the Lithuanian underground authorities.

A farmer managing 30 ha. farm, must deliver 4,000 kilograms of grains, 4,500 kg. of potatoes, 800 kg. of meat, and specified amounts of hay, wool, eggs, butter and milk to the state. Terms are fixed for such deliveries, usually between fall and Christmas. However, [461] local Executive Committees pay no attention to the fixed terms: they engage in "socialistic competition" to surpass each other in making record deliveries and set the high mark of "voluntary contributions in excess of the quotas." Fixed contingents are not enough: excess quotas are fixed and announced, by armed militiamen, to the exploited farmer as "voluntarily assumed duties of the area inhabitants," plus "voluntary sales to the state" of about 20% in excess of the quota. Detachments of militia ravage the countryside collecting the levies ahead of time. Once the quotas and excess quotas are met,—a distant "sister republic" somewhere in the Altais "challenges" Lithuania to a "socialistic competition." Immediately, tens of thousands of militia and MVD troops descend on the poor farmers to seize "voluntary contributions" in addition to negligently exposed wristwatches, cash, suits, etc. The waylaying of women and girls begins, etc. If "challenges" are repeated, new waves of armed official robbers descend. . . .

This shameless policy of exploitation ruins the farmer. He no longer has bread nor seeds, and is glad to get away from the armed communist terrorists and to settle on a kolkhoz or anywhere out of reach of the collectors of "voluntarily assumed quotas"—but he is fooled, as challenges to "socialistic competition" by distant kolkhozes omit no one. . . . Nothing at all is paid sometimes for the seized stocks, even though the collectors possess signed receipts of payment. And all the time the harrassed farmer must listen to Russian profanity and hear himself called "people's enemy," "kulak," "saboteur," "reactionary," "exploiter," etc.

[511] Workers employed in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes receive but 10% of the minimum standard of living. For this reason, every inhabitant of a state-operated farm and institution MUST steal to protect his family from hunger and nakedness.

The duty of providing "stoykas" is very oppressive. Farmers must provide carriages and horses for postal deliveries, to transport government officials and their Katyushas from place to place, to cut and tote fixed contingents of timber, to transport grain contingents, carry gravel and repair the roads, etc. Of course, a member of the family must accompany the cart. During the German occupation, it was safer for women to accompany the carts. But no woman of any age may risk exposure to Russians. . . . Occasionally the driver and the horse disappear for months—transporting officials to distant places or carting materials for mili-

793 659 661 they discontinue holding Mass and stop the performance of other priestly duties. A number of priests were arrested and the NKVD attempted to enlist their services by threats and blackmail. Because of these methods, several priests consented—and, immediately after their release, fled abroad. Those refusing to become agents were imprisoned. Soon the number of prisoners grew as many friars, preachers and high school students heroically defended their faith.

626 527 461 The Russians initiated a campaign against religious *traditions*. They began by banning the traditional Corpus Christi processions in the streets. All Saints Day was declared to be a working day, and the authorities banned traditional services and mass visits to cemeteries on All Souls' Day. During Advent and Lent, the bolsheviks encouraged dancing, entertainment and anti-religious lectures. Good Friday and Holy Saturday, as well as the second day of Easter, were designated working days. Those failing to report for work on the second day of Easter were prosecuted. In general, at frequent intervals, ordinary Sundays were periodically declared to be working days, and Saturdays—days of rest.

876 626 The teaching of religion in schools was replaced by classes on biology and the Stalin constitution. Biological lectures popularized "Darwinism." The "science of constitution" was to popularize a "Soviet democracy" and its oft-varying shifts directed by party [883] line. In place of religious sodalities and athletic groups, the bolsheviks attempted to form *"Komsomol"* (Communist Youth) nests directed by political instructors called "Komsorg." Religious sermons were replaced by anti-religious tirades in the communist-controlled press and at mass meetings. Attendance at such mass-meetings to hear blasphemies was made compulsory.

626 661 558 Churches kept open and functioning. However, attendants at religious services were terrorized. The Party posted uniformed and non-uniformed spies at church doors to observe and list the churchgoers. Attendance in church was a sufficient reason for dismissal from higher offices.

000 The anti-religious drive, growing in tempo, began to expand. When Bishops Brizgys and Ramanauskas called on Pozdniakov, the former Soviet Minister to Lithuania and at present the Kremlin's deputy satrap, to ask for the return of the premises of the Theological Seminary, the Russian attempted to "reason" with them. Pozdniakov stated that they should have no illusions: what had been accomplished in Russia in 20 years, will be achieved in Lithuania within two to three years by experienced administrators. Why should the Seminary "delude" young men? By the time they became priests, there would be no duties to perform—in Russia the priests already have nothing to do. . . .

Lithuanian Resistance to the Anti-Religious Drive

798 771 The Lithuanians had suffered much for religion—murder, imprisonment and exile to Siberia—during

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

472 Art. 8. Alongside the socialist system of economy in the Lithuanian SSR the law permits the small private economy of individual peasants, artisans and handicraftsmen and small private industrial and trading enterprises.

423 Art. 9. The land occupied by peasant holdings as provided by law is secured for their use free of charge and for an unlimited time.

421 Art. 10. The personal property right of citizens in their incomes and savings from work, in their dwelling houses and subsidiary home enterprises, in articles of domestic economy and use and articles of personal use and convenience, as well as the right of citizens to inherit personal property, is protected by law.

471 185 Art. 11. The economic life of the Lithuanian SSR is determined and directed by the state national-economic plan, with the aim of increasing the public wealth, of steadily raising the material and cultural standards of the working people, of consolidating the independence of the USSR and strengthening its defensive capacity.

● 461 Art. 12. Work in the Lithuanian SSR is a duty and a matter of honour for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat."

The principle applied in the Lithuanian SSR is that of socialism: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

Chapter II. The State Structure

642 Art. 13. For the purpose of mutual assistance among the Union Republics along economic and political lines, as well as along the line of defence, the Lithuanian SSR voluntarily united with the other equal Soviet Socialist Republics, namely:

The Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic,
The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic and
The Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic

in a federal state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Proceeding from the aforesaid, the Lithuanian SSR ensures to the USSR, as represented by its higher organs of state power and organs of state administration, the rights defined in Art. 14 of the Constitution of the USSR.

Outside of the spheres set forth in Art. 14 of the Constitution of the USSR, the Lithuanian SSR exercises state authority independently, retaining its sovereign rights in full.

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

693 Art. 87. The Procurator of the Lithuanian SSR is appointed by the Procurator-General of the USSR for a term of five years.

Art. 88. District and city procurators are appointed by the Procurator of the Lithuanian SSR subject to the approval of the Procurator-General of the USSR for a term of five years.

Art. 89. The organs of the Procurator's Office perform their functions independently of any local organs whatsoever, being subordinate solely to the Procurator-General of the USSR.

Chapter VIII. Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens

641 Art. 90. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to work, that is, the right to guaranteed employment and payment for their work in accordance with
461 its quantity and quality.

The right to work is ensured by the socialist organization of the national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the elimination of the possibility of economic crises and the abolition of unemployment.

Art. 91. The citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to rest and leisure.

[466] The right to rest and leisure is ensured by the establishment of an eight-hour day for factory and office workers, the reduction of the working day to seven or six hours for arduous trades and to four hours in shops where conditions of work are particularly arduous, by the institution of annual vacations with full pay for factory and office workers, and by the provision of a wide network of sanatoria, rest homes and clubs for the accommodation of the working people.

[65] Art. 92. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or disability.
641

This right is ensured by the extensive development of social insurance of factory and office workers at state expense, free medical service for working people, and the provision of a wide network of health resorts for the use of the working people.

[871] Art. 93. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to education.

This right is ensured by universal and compulsory elementary education; by free education up to and including the seventh grade; by a system of state stipends for students of higher educational establishments who excel in their studies; by instruction in schools being conducted in the native language, and by the organization in the factories, state farms and machine and tractor stations of free vocational, technical and agronomic training for the working people.

[152] Art. 94. Women in the Lithuanian SSR are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, government, cultural, political and other public activity.

The possibility of exercising these rights is ensured by women being accorded an equal right with men to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education, by state protection of the interests of mother and child, state aid to mothers of large families and unmarried mothers, maternity leave with full pay, and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens.

4: Kublitzky G-4, 5 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Wages in Lithuania [9]

466 The average working day in the manufacturing industries in Lithuania is 8 hours and the working week 48 hours. The minimum working week in factories is 4 days as provided by the Government regulations.

465 The average daily wages of unskilled industrial workers on July 31, 1937, are shown below, by sex.

462

	Males (lits) [1]	*Females (lits)*
Chemical industry	7.60	----
Hides and skins	4.25	3.15
Textiles	5.20	4.05
Lumber	5.55	4.55
Paper and printing	7.35	4.50
Foodstuffs	4.50	3.95
Electricity, gas, and water	7.25	----

[1] Average exchange rate of lit in February 1938 and December 1938—about 17 cents.

The average daily wages of skilled workers amounted to 8.75 lits. The daily wages of a seasonal farm hand on May 1, 1938, amounted to 2.40 lits for a man and 1.80 lits for a woman, including board, and 3.35 lits and 2.50 lits, respectively, without board.

Farm hands are hired at Christmas time for 1 year and receive wages in cash and in kind, in conformity with an agreement. The yearly wages of farm hands during 1938 are given below. The farm hands are also provided with free clothing, board, and lodging.

	Total yearly wages (lits)	*Cash wages (lits)*
Male hands	332	310
Female hands	263	243
Junior male hands	220	203
Junior female hands	178	162
Shepherds	118	101

Daily wages in the peat-extraction industry average from 5.50 lits to 8.50 lits for unskilled males and from 3.00 lits to 5.00 lits for unskilled females. Machinists receive from 7.50 lits to 9.00 lits per day.

465 The following are the monthly wages paid in Kaunas by the Railway Administration of the Lithuanian Ministry of Communications. Wages in the provincial districts are 10 percent lower.

	Lits per month		*Lits per month*
Locomotive engineers:		Firemen	277.00
First class	519.00	Conductors:	
Second class	476.00	First class	280.00
Third class	415.00	Second class	240.00
Assistant locomotive engineers:		Third class	180.00
First class	337.00	Station masters:	
Second class	314.00	First class	540.00
		Second class	450.00

[9] Report of Vladimir Kublitzky, clerk of American Legation at Kaunas.

4: Kublitzky G-4, 5 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Station masters—Con.	Lits per month	Baggage agents:	Lits per month
Third class	380.00	First class	300.00
Fourth class	340.00	Second class	280.00
Fifth class	300.00	Third class	240.00
Signalmen	200.00	Unskilled workers	[1] 4.50–6.00

[1] Per day

465

Monthly wages paid to Kaunas municipal autobus employees are given below. Wages in the Provinces are 10 to 15 percent lower.

	Lits per month
Drivers	250.00–270.00
Conductors	210.00–230.00
Mechanics:	
First class	300.00
Second class	260.00
Third class	200.00

The figures below show the wages per hour of specified classes of skilled workmen in the building trades throughout Lithuania:

	Lits per hour
Bricklayers, first class	1.50
Bricklayers, second class	1.40
Electricians, ironmongers, and carpenters	1.60–1.70

An unskilled male laborer receives from 5.00 lits to 6.00 lits per day and a female laborer, from 3.00 lits to 4.00 lits per day. [462]

The following wages and salaries are paid to skilled workers in the printing and publishing trades:

	Lits per month		Lits per day
Linotypists	350–550	Mechanics	9
Engravers	350	Stereotypists	9
Assistant engravers	300	Stone polishers	5
Managers, printing room	275	Bookbinders	5
Compositors	250		

Payment for overtime in general amounts to not less than 25 percent of the basic daily wages, provided the rate has not been set forth in the agreement concluded between the employer and employees.

No allowances for dependents or payments in kind are made in Lithuania, except in the case of farm labor. Free housing is given sometimes to watchmen and to one or two skilled indispensable workmen in industrial enterprises. Every laborer after having worked 1 year under agreement is entitled to 12 days' holiday with pay. [466]

In conformity with an amendment to the income-tax law enacted October 9, 1935, a tax on earnings has to be paid by all persons except State employees. This tax varies from 2.00 lits for workmen, either single or married, earning from 101 lits to 130 lits per month, to 53.40 lits for single workers earning from 591 lits to 600 lits. The rates are considerably lower for married persons with a family, the reduction from the single rate amounting to as high as 50 percent where the family consists of 7 or more persons. The income tax for 651

286 practised today by the shepherd girls of the country.
531 Crocheted lace is in general rarer; nevertheless among prosperous farmers we often find decorative crocheting and openwork on beautiful and valuable bed linen.

[291] Gloves and stockings are firmly and closely knitted in several colors, the various threads being carried along on the reverse side. They frequently make their way to Germany, where they appear on the handicraft market as "Swedish" gloves. The most varied-colored ornaments are knitted in, dots and stars, together with flower patterns, and occasionally also animal patterns.
[431] These gay and strong gloves with their bright colors often serve as gifts, and the priest is always presented with them on his winter "calender journeys." In contrast /143/ to other handicrafts, in which, as we saw, old patterns are frequently used in a not so successful manner, their borrowing from the weaving technique in the modern knitted handiwork has an organic and altogether charming effect.

[292] In the Lithuanian folk costume, too, particularly as it has been awakened to new life after the first World War, art and taste are shown: the long colored pleated coat, the colorful bodice, the white shirt with the long embroidered sleeves--everything breathes cheerfulness and joy in colors (see the title picture).*

Therewith is closed the circle which embraces the Lithuanian folk art in all its branches. Many things could be only briefly touched, since the various older and more recent techniques of knotting, crocheting, and knitting can be described only with difficulty.

286 The whole realm of weaving with all its related techniques is exclusively the domain of the
462 woman, while the man has chosen for himself those areas which above all demanded bodily strength or because of the size of the objects did not attract

* [Title picture was not included in HRAF reproduction -- Analyst]

286 the woman. And perhaps it is due precisely to the
462 artistic intuition and the more sensitive sense of color of the woman that her creations unfold a quite special richness in color and ornamentation in the fields of the small handicrafts. /Unnumbered page with illustration--Old Peasant Woodcut/

/145/ Chapter Four
The Spiritual Culture of the City

113 /Unnumbered note on Chapter Four/ A comprehensive presentation of the development of Lithuanian architecture does not so far exist. A brief sketch of the architecture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is given by K. Jasenas in Vol. III, No. 5 of his Visuotinė meno istorija (General History of Art), where we also find practically the only information on Lithuanian castle structures. An appreciation of the architect Vl. Dubeneckis, the builder of the Vytautas Museum, the art school, the state theater, and other public buildings, is given by P. Galaunė in Vol. I of the almanac Prošvaistė (1937). In addition, the valuable monograph by the same author, Vilniaus meno mokykla, 1793-1831 (The Art School of Vilna) (Kaunas, 1928), should be mentioned. Also, the presentation of Lithuanian painting, sculpture, and music is so far limited to sketches and separate articles. (Cf. for example Galaunė, l'Art Lithuanien (1934); Jasenas, History of Art, III, 8, with carefully selected illustrations; etc.)

A. The Architecture
181 1. Historical Preliminaries

The investigation of the cultural elements of Lithuanian national life led us to the conclusion

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

fresh meat and poultry 13 millions, cereals about 20 millions 439
and eggs 7.8 millions).

The total value of exports of raw materials and half-finished goods was 73.4 million litai. Exports of hemp and tow accounted for 25 million litai, cellulose for 12.7 millions and timber for 21 millions.

Among imports, manufactured products head the list (133 million litai, comprising machinery and tools, automobiles, chemical products, textiles and yarns, etc.), followed by raw materials and half-finished goods totalling 78.7 million litai (gilt metals, cement, chemical fertilisers, coal, naphtha and petroleum, cotton, etc.).

As long as the territory of Klaipėda (Memel) belonged to [504] Lithuania, the foreign trade of the country passed almost exclusively through the Port of Klaipėda (Memel). Under the treaty concluded in March 1939 with Germany, Lithuania retains a free port at Klaipėda.

* * *

There has been a fairly big increase in population; rural 462 families tend to be large. The women, though very fully occupied with their children and domestic duties, find time to look after the animals and work in the fields. This type of work is, however, more often left to women who have no children or domestic duties to attend to — that is, to girls or women whose children are older. Lithuanian women are, as a rule, fit and healthy; nevertheless, they are sometimes forced to neglect their homes, owing to the claims of agriculture and the rearing of children. They are naturally clean and orderly, and like to have a little garden of their own; in winter, they devote themselves to home industries — spinning, knitting, embroidery and sometimes weaving. The artistic value of a great deal of the handwork done in the country is of exhibition standard and has been shown both in Lithuania and abroad — for example, in 1937, at the Paris International Exhibition and, in 1938, at the Berlin International Exhibition of Arts and Crafts.

The Lithuanian peasant is somewhat deliberate in cha- 156
racter; he is long-suffering and is prepared when necessary to go through difficult times without complaint. This was proved during the war, when, notwithstanding intense suffering, the popular songs and jokes dear to the peasant heart were never forgotten.

The rural population used formerly to wear homespun 291
woollen and linen clothing — the production of flax is relatively greater in Lithuania than in any other European country. Of recent years, this type of clothing has disappeared, its place being taken by ready-made factory goods.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

VIII. THE ROLE OF LITHUANIAN WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE

Women play an important part in Lithuanian agriculture both economically and intellectually. A farm without a woman is considered as extraordinary; the first thing a young peasant does when he comes into property is to marry, and a widower soon marries again. 462

From time immemorial, the peasant woman has taken her full share of responsibility in rural work. Though not on such a big scale as at present, she always made butter and cheese, collected eggs and occasionally fattened a pig for the market and sold a few geese. The more skilled even contrived to sell a little honey, dried fruits, poppy-heads and onions, and used to take to the fair in the neighbouring town their homespun linen or cloth. The woman's modest earnings were independent of the revenue from the farm; they covered the housekeeping expenditure and enabled her to put a little aside and even to help her husband on occasion.

In a number of districts, the ancient custom still prevails whereby a girl could reject a suitor who did not promise to confer on her, as mistress of his house, the right to manage the whole financial side of the farm.

Legally, women are treated in Lithuania to-day on a footing of equality with men. They have the right to own and administer land or other immovable property whether married or not. After the parents' death, brothers and sisters inherit the land in equal shares; the widow or widower inherits 25% of the estate. No statistics are available of the number of women landowners, but they are known to be less numerous than the men. The principal reason for this is the desire to avoid breaking up estates. One very widespread custom in many districts is for the peasant to leave his land to his eldest son, requiring him at the same time to pay over to his sisters and younger brothers in cash or in stock the shares devolving on them. When a girl marries, the share accruing to her is often registered in her husband's name. Before the war, under the law of the Russian Empire, girls in the Province of Kaunas inherited only one-fourteenth of the immovable property. These various factors have all tended to reduce the area owned by women. It is among the owners of large estates that women constitute the highest percentage, but these estates are few in number. 562 428

When an agricultural census was taken in 1930, women were found to constitute 50.69% and men 49.31% of the total adult 162

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

162 workers permanently employed in farming. Despite the fairly considerable increase in population, the number of rural inhabitants shows a downward tendency, the drop in the case of women being greater than in that of men. The figures for men and women engaged in farmwork in 1923 and 1930 respectively were as followed.

	Women	Men
1923	594,479	535,392
1930	489,566	501,489

462 Women are making energetic efforts to obtain employment in industry, being more attracted than men by urban life.
464 Those who are prepared to spend their life in domestic occupations remain on the farms, while the daughters of landless parents and large families count on finding less strenuous work in the towns. They enlist in industry or domestic service or in other branches. This circumstance, together with the fact that agricultural undertakings in Lithuania consist mainly of average-sized and small farms worked by the owners themselves, explains the exceptionally low percentage of hired female labour found
464 in agriculture. The figures for male wage-earners are slightly higher, but men too are attracted by the easier methods of
162 earning a livelihood in other branches. The agricultural census of 1930 gave the following figures for workers permanently employed in farming :

	Women	%	Men	%
Members of farmers' families	418,010	42.17	419,509	42.32
Wage-earners	71,556	7.22	82,208	8.29

Thus, 85% of the population employed in farming consists of members of the family and only 15% of wage-earners. Both categories include a certain number over fifteen years of age. In 1930, these constituted 12.29% of the total number of agricultural workers, the percentages being as follows :

	Boys %	Girls %
Members of the family	39.81	31.42
Wage-earners	20.06	8.71

464 The introduction of six standards in the elementary schools and the increase in the number of agricultural and domestic economy schools are responsible for a big drop in the number of children in receipt of wages. For the most part, they work only in summer on their parents' farms.

The small number of girls in receipt of wages in large families — which are more common than not — in the country is

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

worthy of note. The explanation is that the elder daughters have to help their mothers in the house. Moreover, there is more demand for boys on the smaller farms; an adult paid hand would cost too much. 464

The distribution of women's work according to the size of the farm is as follows: on the smaller farms — under 15 hectares — there are more adult women than men working who are members of the family; on farms ranging from 15 to 30 hectares paid labour is generally found consisting of adult women and boys, the number of women members of the family working being about the same as that of the men. The number of children working as members of the family is in inverse ratio to the size of the farm, the figures for boys declining rather more sharply than those for girls. In farms of 50 hectares, the percentage of women in receipt of wages becomes equal to the percentage of women belonging to the family, whereas in larger farms the former percentage is the greater. In farms of over 50 hectares, the proportion of women among the wage-earners declines in inverse ratio to the size of the farm. 462 464

Wage-earning female agricultural workers are recruited from among the landless proletariat, which is not very numerous in the rural districts, and more particularly from among families of small landowners and settlers. Many of them are engaged only in seasonal day-labour and live at home.

A woman's work on the farm is very varied. In addition to her usual domestic duties, she has to feed the fowls, milk and often feed the cows and work in the kitchen garden — all tasks for which men as a rule show little inclination. She has, besides, to toss the hay, load the carts, bind the sheaves, pick the flax, etc. Sugar-beet cultivation and other hoed crops require much female labour. With the modernisation of agriculture, dairying, pig-breeding and poultry are tending to constitute more important branches of agriculture, and practically the whole of the export trade in eggs, butter and bacon represents the outcome of women's work. 462

The life of the peasant woman is becoming increasingly difficult, for even though her labour raises the standard of well-being of her own family and of the country as a whole, she is gradually losing part of her economic independence. The income she derived before the war from her eggs, cheese and butter is passing out of her keeping and her husband now receives, through the intermediary of the co-operative dairies, pig-marketing boards and centres for the purchase of flax and eggs, ten times the sum she once earned, this income forming the mainstay of the whole farm budget. A thrifty hard-working housewife who has to be constantly begging her husband for money for minor household expenses is criticied for extravagance. 562

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

286 With so much other work to do, the farmer's wife has little time nowadays for spinning and weaving. This is indeed how 462 her artistic sense, cultivated for centuries, finds expression. There is a special material for every purpose and a special design for every material — for bed-linen and personal linen, pure linen weave; for towels and table linen, linen and cotton mixed, with hundreds of combinations of grey and white checks; for carpets and blankets, linen and woollen materials in brighter colours and bolder designs; for men's suits, woollen materials. The women's traditional costumes are still found in many districts, and attempts have recently been made to extend the use of national costumes in general. Every corner of Lithuania has its own traditions, designs and combinations of colours. The designs of the costumes bear witness to an original taste in art, while the choice of colours is remarkably 522 finely conceived. Again, a great variety of exquisite detailed designs is found in the Easter eggs. Only the son of a Lithuanian woman who had grown up in an atmosphere of mystic legends could have created the Lithuanian "Smūtkelis", the saints in the little chapels standing by the roadside, the amazing Samogitian crosses.

To recall the situation of the country before the war is to realise the importance of the humble peasant woman's rôle. During foreign domination when there were practically no books written in the national language and no Lithuanian schools, the peasant woman was the guardian of the Lithuanian language, customs and art and the inspirer of the national conscience when her sons returned home for the holidays after studying at schools which offered them only the foreign culture of the country's oppressors. The Lithuanian woman's personal beliefs and convictions revealed her integrity and sense of justice. A gentle poetry and original philosophy of life imbued the songs and tales and proverbs which she transmitted to her children. The lore she handed down to her daughters, her simple replies to their questions, reflected an exquisite beauty of character and the finest intelligence. Her bearing was marked by nobility, by a consciousness of her dignity, far above what might be regarded as corresponding to her station in life; in her relations with different classes of society, she exhibited remarkable tact and a keen sense of diplomacy.

The Lithuanian peasant woman has preserved this natural dignity notwithstanding the profound transformation of the whole life of the country. The school with its army of teachers — about 60% are women — the Lithuanian book, the national Press adapted to the requirements of the various social classes, officials and private economic and cultural activities, the agrarian reform, the breaking-up of communal lands into individual

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

farms, improved means of communication, the wireless — all these factors have completely revolutionised the physiognomy of the country and the mentality of its inhabitants. 562

The rôle of the intellectual woman in agriculture is no less important. As a member of the Chamber of Agriculture or of the many associations which aim at promoting the technical advancement of agriculture, as the owner and manager of well-run farms, she takes an active part in the solution of various problems relating to agriculture. Like men, she is found in the service of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Chamber of Agriculture. But it is in the sphere of agricultural instruction that she plays the most important part. Girls have opportunities of studying agronomic science at the Agricultural Academy at Dotnuva, and agricultural domestic economy is taught in the domestic science section of that institution. On completing their studies, they spread the knowledge they have acquired by enrolling as teachers in domestic economy and other agricultural schools; they visit the peasant women in their own homes, in their capacity as agricultural domestic advisers under the Chamber of Agriculture; they give them advice and practical instruction; they organise lectures and courses on questions of interest to farming women, competitions, excursions and local exhibitions; they run young peasants' clubs and play an important part in organisations for the education of rural youth; they contribute to the periodicals for farmers' wives and daughters — "Šeimininkė" (with about 80,000 subscribers), "Jaunasis Ūkininkas" (also with about 80,000 subscribers) and "Moteris" (15,000 subscribers). They prepare lectures, etc., for the half-hour wireless talk for countrywomen. 462

The recently founded Society of Lithuanian Peasant Women looks after the interests of peasant women. Its object is to group all Lithuanian peasant women, including those working on farms, with a view to joint economic action designed to create a new type not concerned solely with their own individual calling but prepared to interest themselves also in the well-being of the nation as a whole. The Society of Lithuanian Peasant Women has an hour's talk on the radio every Sunday, devoted exclusively to the affairs of women in rural areas. 562 575

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

438 in 1921, 4,011; in 1922, 4,933; in 1923, 5,402; in 1924, 5,-
433 419; in 1925, 5,941; in 1926, 5,164; in 1927, 5,437; in 1928, 5,742; in 1929, 6,010; in 1930, 5,842; in 1931, 5,796; in 1932, 5,735; in 1933, 5,451; in 1934, 5,710; in 1935, 12,-067; in 1936, 14,750; in 1937, 15,214; in 1938, 15,717; and in 1939, 16,131.[3]

[651] The sudden rise of the number of industrial establishments registered in 1935 and the subsequent years is the result of the extension of the License Tax in that year to even the smallest establishments. The new ruling required that a license be taken out even by concerns with only a single employee. Thus the figures of 1935 and later are not wholly comparable with the previous ones; nevertheless they reflect
• [463] the rise of industry in Lithuania. A more detailed picture of the development of industry may be obtained from Table 32, which shows that the largest number, over 20 percent, of wage earners are employed in the textile industry. The food and luxury goods industries, which in 1937 held third position with 5,195 employees, advanced to second place in 1938, with 6,150 workers. The third place in 1938 was held by the timber industry, with 4,852 workers, having enjoyed during the previous year an all-time peak in its record of employment. Fourth place, according to the number of workers employed, belongs to the clay products and stone industry; after it come the metals and machinery industry and the clothing and footwear industry.

When the value of industrial production is taken into consideration we get a very different picture of the situation, with the food and luxury industry in first place, accounting for over 41 percent of the total value of the industrial production of Lithuania. Next follow the textile

[3] C.S.B., 1938 and 1939, p. 186 and p. 194 respectively.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 32

CLASSIFICATION OF INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS OF LITHUANIA 1927–39[a]

INDUSTRY	1927		1930		1935		1938		1939[b]	
	Establishments	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*
Peat-cutting	7	603	6	541	7	417	16	1,086	19	1,296
Stone, clay products, etc.	94	1,357	108	1,648	82	1,539	130	3,566	130	3,212
Metals and machinery	97	1,895	94	1,975	92	1,711	120	3,327	97	2,981
Chemicals	49	885	53	792	48	940	48	1,583	53	1,695
Leather and fur	40	657	44	648	37	749	58	1,022	50	865
Textiles	55	1,403	57	2,194	61	4,679	81	7,019	84	4,611[c]
Timber	185	3,446	178	3,096	192	4,238	264	4,852	238	2,864[d]
Paper and printing	52	2,115	64	2,323	71	2,195	84	2,615	81	1,613[e]
Foodstuffs	253	3,786	246	3,616	343	4,284	394	6,150	347	5,925
Clothing and footwear	139	1,607	154	1,891	148	1,952	183	3,056	186	2,841
Electricity and gas works	29	648	26	479	31	512	33	590	31	474

[a] C.S.B., *Statistikos Metraštis*, Vol. 1929–39.
[b] All data in this column after seizure of Klaipeda Territory by Germany in March, 1939.
[c] Before Klaipeda Territory cession: 87 establishments with 7,561 employees.
[d] Before Klaipeda Territory cession: 206 establishments with 4,257 employees.
[e] Before Klaipeda Territory cession: 88 establishments with 2,679 employees.

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538 we see him as a young vicar in the company of other clergymen, who are all drawn with sharp strokes. There is the priest Platūnas, who lives only for his husbandry; Stripaitis, who is completely immersed in the Lithuanian cooperative movement; the idealist Ramutis; and many others. But Vasaris begins to feel ever more strongly that he lacks the calling for his profession. He fashions his life more freely, his thinking changes above all through his love for the wife of Baron Rainakis, the patron lord of his church. Then the World War overtakes him. He sets out for St. Petersburg to study at the Clerical Academy there. Once more he turns around in his wagon toward the village. He hears a thundering crash and sees the tower of his church fall, blown up by the Russians at the approach of the German troops.

It was like a blow that Vasaris felt in his breast. The tower to which the duties of the priesthood, care, and sorrow had bound him was in ruins. It seemed to him that not only the tower had fallen apart, but that with it fell apart many beautiful dreams and ideals of his youth, which had once led him to this place.

In the last part of the novel Vasaris returns to his homeland in the year 1924. Completely alienated from his profession, he lives for his artistic work.

/285/ According to the author's own confession, two problems made him write this novel--the relation of the priesthood to artistic work and the problem of the ex-priest who turns to a
538 secular activity. It should be remembered in
793 this connection that according to Russian law
565 no Lithuanian could occupy an official position
[463] in his home province, which left only the few free professions, and the priesthood for advancement from the peasant class. Thus the majority of the creative intelligentsia of the country was found among the priests to the time of

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1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
1 039	1 044	1 051	1 049	1 105	1 108	1 118	1 136	1 135	1 247

With the exception of 1937, which indicates a big increase of 112, and therefore emphasizes the present-day advance, the remaining modifications in the number of undertakings during previous years are not inconsiderable from a contingent standpoint. They demonstrate that Lithuanian industrial economy did not suffer any serious retrogression in its development through the last crisis. In the very year of the low level of the world crisis (1932), the total number of industrial undertakings in Lithuania actually increased.

433 The contingent development of Lithuanian industry is, 464 however, better shown by the total number of industrial workers employed, and still more accurately by that of the effective working days than by the number of concerns. In the concerns already specified above, with a minimum staff of five persons, the following number of workers was engaged in June or July, i. e. at the time when almost all seasonal workers are fully employed:

1928		18 930	i. e. with the following number of working-days:		
1929		19 637			
1930	(June)	19 334			
1931	(June)	21 053	1931	(June)	504 979
1932	(June)	19 743	1932	(June)	473 621
1933	(June)	20 660	1933	(June)	472 716
1934	(June)	22 282	1934	(June)	527 244
1935	(July)	23 344	1935	(July)	584 958
1936	(July)	25 844	1936	(July)	647 468
1937	(July)	31 689	1937	(July)	775 984

We see from the foregoing figures that the influence of the economic crisis first made itself perceptible in 1932, since until 1931 the number of employed industrial workers was still on the up-grade. We may therefore select 1931 as a basis year, and on the ground of the figures of working-days calculate the following indices of the employment of the industrial economy of Lithuania:

1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	93.8	93.6	104.4	115.8	128.2	153.7

Already on the basis of these figures (an attempt to compute the production index is undertaken in the following chapter) we may assume that the stagnation in the industrial economy of Lithuania elicited by the crisis which, moreover, did not extend to all industrial branches, began about two years later than in the rest of the world and lasted only two years (world crisis 1930 — 1932, in Lithuania 1932 — 1933) and that the recession of employment amounted to only 6.4% of the erstwhile highest level in 1931. 433 464

The regularly progressive upbuilding of Lithuanian economy, despite the crisis, is likewise disclosed in the statistics for the utilization of engine power by industrial concerns. The relevant data for the last seven years are as follows: 371 433

Utilization of Engine Power.

	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Total number of concerns	1 049	1 105	1 108	1 118	1 136	1 135	1 247
Number of concerns with engine power..	747	788	819	822	842	864	946
Water, steam, and Diesel engines in H. P.	51 862	62 878	67 536	66 776	74 207	74 722	79 830
Electric-motors in H.P.	18 176	21 926	28 215	27 809	31 142	34 912	45 327
Total in H. P.	70 038	84 804	95 751	94 585	105 349	109 634	125 157
in %	100.0	121.1	136.7	135.0	150.4	156.5	178.7

On the basis of these figures we can determine: (a) That the share of mechanized concerns in the total number of industrial undertakings from 1931 until 1937 has risen from 71.2% to 75.9%; (b) That the engine power pertaining to a mechanized concern rose in the same interval from 93.8 H. P. to 132.3 H. P.; (c) That the total energy of the engines employed in Lithuanian industry has grown by 18.7% during the last seven years; the energy of the primary power engines was increased thereby 53.9% while that of electric-motors was more than doubled — it has risen by 149.4%.

465 wages, a rise in real wages of approximately 12% since 1931. In various individual branches, moreover, the wages standards of qualified workers were raised not only in 1937 but also in 1935 and 1936, which the above quoted average figures do not indicate, owing to the preponderance of unqualified workers, as a result of the frequent engagement of new employees.

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* *

464 433 The internal structure of Lithuanian industry in respect of the number of undertakings and the total number of employed workers in separate industrial branches are shown by the following Table No. 1.

288 433 464 On the basis of these statistics we may conclude that the largest number of workers, viz., 20.6% of all industrial workers in Lithuania to-day are employed in the textile industry. On an average, a staff of 88 workers pertains to one textile factory.

The first place in respect of the number of employed workers has, however, been reached by the textile industry in recent years, i. e. since 1935. Among all industrial branches in Lithuania it also shows the most intensive development. In spite of the crisis, the number of employed in the textile concerns since 1928 has steadily grown and in comparison with 1928 its position in 1937 had more than quadrupled (+317.5%).

This high level of the employed reflects, however, only the maximum utilization of labour capacity. Thus in 1937 the textile industry was the only branch that employed three shifts, since according to the number of undertakings, viz., 74, it stands far behind other branches.

313 433 464 In the second place stands the timber industry with 16.9% of the total number of workers and 17.6% of the number of undertakings. The size of the staffs rose by 51.1% during the period from 1928 to 1937, the most noteworthy increase having taken place in 1937.

262 433 464 In the third place follows the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry with 16.4% of the total number of workers. According to the number of undertakings (353 concerns or 28.3%), it is, however, entitled to the first place. The total number of the staffs in 1937 in comparison with 1928 shows an increase of 35.4%, which took place during the last three years. During

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 KM5 Lithuanians KM5 433 464

Table No. 1.

Classification of Industrial Undertakings of Lithuania according to Branches from 1928 — 1937.

Branches	1928		1929		1930		1931		1932		1933		1934		1935		1936		1937	
	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers	Undertakings	Workers
I. Peat-cutting	7	578	4	538	6	541	4	480	5	512	4	482	5	515	7	417	10	578	11	629
II. Earth & Stone Industry	91	1 391	106	1 606	106	1.648	104	2 160	101	1 928	94	1 544	97	1 749	82	1 539	89	1 627	99	2 827
III. Metal & Machinery Ind.	93	1 930	85	1 877	94	1 975	95	1 863	93	1 675	88	1 507	91	1 614	92	1 711	86	2 178	103	2 792
IV. Chemical Industry	51	888	52	961	53	792	48	724	46	642	55	901	48	1 355	48	940	47	1 109	48	1 344
V. Leather Industry	36	639	37	635	44	648	38	693	38	614	45	733	41	760	44	824	46	810	51	1 096
VI. Textile Industry	59	1 562	62	1 952	57	2 194	60	2 287	60	2 517	62	2 974	56	3 442	61	4 679	64	5 576	74	6 522
VII. Timber & Woodwork Ind.	193	3 539	178	3 636	178	3 096	193	4 308	210	3 783	211	4 276	196	4 394	192	4 238	181	4 064	219	5 348
VIII. Paper & Polygraphic Ind.	58	2 160	63	2 209	64	2 323	61	2 157	68	1 924	69	2 032	65	2 141	71	2 195	71	2 316	76	2 559
IX. Foodstuffs & Luxury Goods Industry	255	3 837	262	3 773	246	3 616	238	3 752	236	3 735	286	3 772	311	3 811	343	4 284	341	4 770	353	5 195
X. Clothing & Footwear Ind.	147	1 653	149	1 816	154	1 891	157	1 994	142	1 723	140	1 807	148	1 879	148	1 952	146	2 176	157	2 707
XI. Electricity & Gasworks	31	661	28	504	26	479	30	480	30	465	33	448	34	486	31	512	31	508	32	523

[252] the interval 1928—1934 hardly any changes were experienced
[433] in the dimensions of the staffs.
464

To the three above-mentioned industrial branches (textile, timber, and foodstuffs industries) pertain in all 646 undertakings with 17 063 workers, or more than half the total number of concerns and their staffs.

464 The remaining more important industrial branches range,
433 according to the number of employed workers, as follows: The stone and earth industry, which during the last ten years has doubled its staff; the metal and machinery industry, the growth of whose employed workers in the same period amounts to 44.7%; the clothing and footwear industry, with a growth of 63.6%; the paper and polygraphic industry, the staff of which has grown by 18.5%; the chemical industry, which to-day employs 51.3% more workmen than in 1928, and the leather industry, which also in the last decade has enlarged the extent of its staff, i. e. by 71.4%.

The smallest number of workers is employed in peat-cutting and in electricity works. The staff of the former during the last ten years has grown only a little; that of the latter has suffered even a slight retrogression which, however, was in no wise evoked by a falling-off in production but rather by its rationalization, as we see from the production statistics.

2. Aggregate Value of Industrial Production and the Production Index.

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The aggregate value of the gross production of the concerns comprised in the statistics (from five employees upwards) amounted in 1937 to 428 200 000 litas against 354 500 000 litas in 1936, which in the course of the last year implies an ad valorem growth of 20.8%. Segregation into separate industrial branches gives the following result:

	1936		1937	
	In 1000 litas	Percentage share	In 1000 litas	Percentage share
1. Peat-cutting	969	0.3	1 126	0.3
2. Stone & Earth Industry	5 461	1.5	8 431	2.0
3. Metal & Machinery Ind.	17 125	4.8	22 406	5.2

mechanization of Lithuanian industry. For the sake of comparison, we once more quote all three index series, converted to the year 1931: 433

[464]

	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Employment Index	100.0	93.8	93.6	104.4	115.8	128.2	153.7
Mechanization Index	100.0	121.1	136.7	135.0	150.4	156.5	178.7
Production Index	100.0	109.2	·	118.3	132.1	173.6	193.3

The divergent course of the employment index and the production index in 1932, as also the significantly high figure of the latter are the natural result of the enhancement of labour productivity in consequence of the greatly increased mechanization, which the middle index series expresses.

A comparison of the Lithuanian production index with the Index of World Production (without the U. S. S. R.) of the Statistical Section of the League of Nations, published in the „Bulletin mensuel de statistique" in June, 1938, gives the following result:

World Production

1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	88.3	74.8	63.0	71.3	77.0	85.4	95.5	102.5

Production of Lithuania

100.0	108.3	140.7	153.7	·	166.5	185.9	244.2	272.0

This comparison shows that, in spite of the world economic crisis, Lithuanian industry has not been checked in its growth. Thus in 1932, i. e. at a time when world production had suffered a loss of 37% of its position of 1929, Lithuanian production, in comparison with 1929, had risen 53.7%. In the years 1932—1934 the tempo of its development had only slackened, while since 1935 once more a vigorous upward trend has set in, and in 1937 the position of 1929 was more than two and a half times exceeded. This favourable course of Lithuania's industrial production characterizes the foundation period in which the youthful industry of our agricultural land is situated. The re-

Diagram No. 1.

Index Curve of Lithuanian Industry (1931=100)

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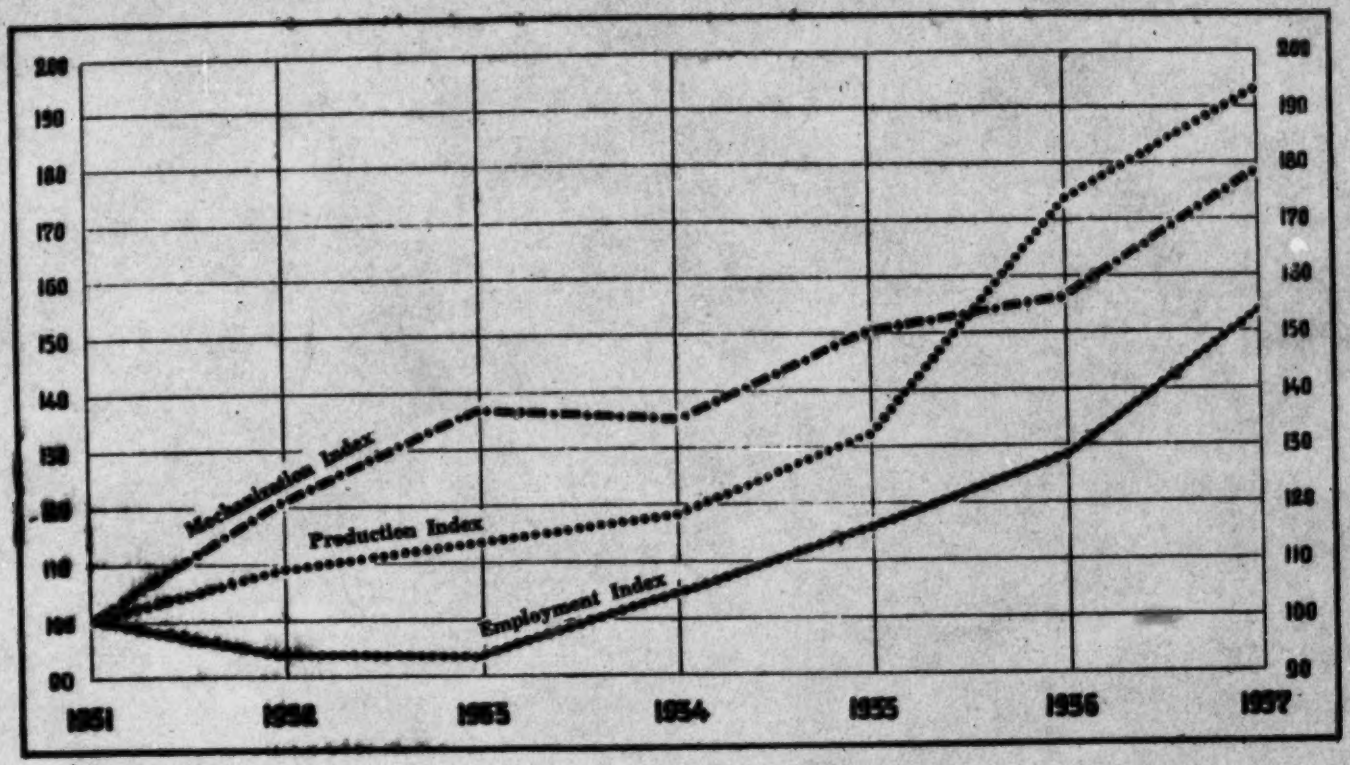

6: Anonymous U-4,5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

253 433 472 lin. Preserving cans are repaired in its own workshops. Moreover, at Kaunas a modern abattoir of „Maistas" has been built for municipal requirements. (The rôle of „Maistas" in our trade is described in the section „Share-capital in Lithuanian Trade").

234 433 5. The dairy-farms show an exemplary growth tempo. The development of Lithuanian butter production is due to the Central Union of Dairy-farming Cooperatives „Pienocentras", concerning whose activity a more detailed report is given in the subsequent section „The Rôle of the Cooperative Societies". The figures contained in the foregoing tables relate moreover only to the larger concerns; the total number of all dairy-farms of the dairy cooperatives included in the production statistics amounted in 1937 to 188.

274 433 6. The number of workers employed in the spirit distilleries remained stationary during the period 1927—1937, whereas the number of concerns rose from 26 to 38.

[464] 7. The development of beer breweries showed no material changes from 1927 to 1931. The number of employed workers since the curtailment between 1932 and 1936 for the first time in 1937 exceeded the figures for 1927.

277 433 8. The number of tobacco and cigarette factories and their staffs has decreased since 1931, which was occasioned chiefly by the decline of consumption during the time of crisis.

From the standpoint of the number of undertakings, the mills and dairy-farms constitute the two strongest groups of the foodstuffs industry. According to the number of employed workers, the meat and canned goods industry and the sugar industry head the list, although it must be borne in mind that as regards the last-named, the production campaign lasts only a few months.

b. The Development of Production

433 The total value of the gross production of the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry in 1937 amounted to 178 300 000 litas and the net production to 50 400 000.

These figures are distributed among separate branches as follows (in 1 000 litas):

on this subject is contained in the section on the trade turnover 000
of the „Maistas" joint-stock company.

The butter production figures specified in the foregoing 234
tables relate only to the quantities supplied by the dairy coope- 439
ratives, which are used almost exclusively for export. Nearly 433
the entire domestic demand is covered by the home production of the farmers (the so-called country butter) which it is difficult to judge by statistics. The supply of export butter shows constant growth. In 1937 it doubled in round figures in comparison with 1931, which must be ascribed to the fact that it has held its ground on the world market better than bacon.

Spirit, beer, and tobacco production greatly receded during 274
the crisis. The last two years brought about, in connexion with 277
the general economic revival, a new upward trend; while of 433
course the doubling of beer production in 1937 is to be attributed to the reduction of the price in consequence of the lowering of the excise, and that of spirit supply in part to its compulsory admixture with petrol („Motorin").

2. The Textile Industry

The textile industry is the second most important industrial 288
branch of Lithuania. It employs the largest number of workers 433
(in 1937, 20.7% of all industrial workers of Lithuania accrued to it); its share in the aggregate engine horse-power amounts to 9.3% and its share in the production value of all Lithuanian industry to over 14% (gross value, 14.9%; net value, 14.3%).

In the pre-war Lithuania, only approximately 300 workers [464] ●
were employed in this industrial branch. The development of textile undertakings since 1927 is shown by the following comparison:

	1927		1931			1938 (Jan)		1937 (July)
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	55	1 403	60	2 287	2 475	79	7 162	11 673
Including								
Flax Treatment	16	468	10	374	607	10	1 201	1 845
Linen Weaving	3	112	3	200		5	728	
Others								
Textile Industry	36	823	47	1 710	1 868	64	5 233	9 828

313 9.1% of the gross value, and 9.0% of the net value of the aggre-
433 gate industrial production.

The development of the timber industry since 1927 is shown by the following table:

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	185	3 446	193	4 308	10 676	219	5 346	13 186
Including:								
Plywood production	•	•	3	473	9 812	3	846	11 861
Sawmills	131	2 731	118	2 741		139	3 548	
Cabinet-makers	43	488	60	786	864	64	658	1 325
Other Branches	11	227	12	308		13	294	

It will be seen from the foregoing that the strongest group of the timber industry is formed by the sawmills. Its lower position until 1936 compared with the pre-war period is due to the loss of round timber formerly drawn from the Vilna region. [464] The vigorous growth of its staff ensued for the first time in 1937. In 1936 the number of workers employed in the sawmills still amounted to only 2 712, a position therefore below the level of 1931. The impetus to the expansion of this branch was given by the greatly increased prices for sawn timber in 1937. The plywood industry, which like the sawmills works for export, had in 1929 already reached the peak of employed workers (851). For the first time in 1937 could the staff be brought again to the same position. The remaining branches, among them the most important, cabinet-making, judged by the dimensions of their staffs, grew only until 1931, and remain, notwithstanding the partial retrieval of the crisis losses, still below the position of that year.

Owing to the exceedingly large share of the special branches of the timber industry working for export, the contingent course of their production has been influenced to a greater degree and more rapidly by the world economic crisis than was the case with other industrial branches. The production index already cited in the previous chapter shows that the timber industry even in 1930 had suffered a setback, and for the first

4. The Paper and Polygraphic Industry.

289 433 464 From the standpoint of importance of its rôle in Lithuanian industrial economy, the paper and polygraphic industry stands in the fourth place. In 1937 there accrued to it 8.1% of all industrial workers; 18.1% of the engine horse-power; 8.4% of the gross value; and 10.8% of the net value of Lithuania's industrial production. According to net production value it ranked correspondingly before the timber industry in the third place. Its development since 1927 is illustrated by the following comparison:

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	52	2 115	61	2 157	8 777	76	2 559	22 602
Including:								
Cellulose and Paper	5	1 133	4	829	8 143	4	1 180	21 675
Paper and Cardboard Wares	9	284	15	365	145	18	371*)	128
Printing Offices and Book-binderies	38	698	42	903	489	54	1 100	799

Already in an earlier chapter it was pointed out that the paper industry belongs to those branches that have grown least since 1929. The index cited therein shows that the paper industry suffered the greatest setback in the crisis years (in 1932 by 32.3%) and in 1937 exceeded its position of 1929 by only 48.8%.

The explanation given in the previous section for the retrogression of timber production holds good also for the [439] paper industry. The cause of the severe recession of the production index of the paper industry in the crisis years lies in the then curtailment of cellulose export (from 60 781 tons in 1929 to 39 384 tons in 1932) and in the high percentage share of cellulose supplies in the aggregate production of the paper

*) Figures for January, 1938, because the July figures do not reflect the complete employment position.

5. The Clothing and Footwear Industry.

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The clothing and footwear industry shows in recent years, among all Lithuanian industrial branches, after the textile industry, the most vigorous growth. Its production in 1937 more than quadrupled in comparison with 1929. To this industrial branch in the past year pertained 8.6% of the industrial workers; 5.3% of the gross value; and 6.9% of the net value of Lithuania's industrial output, whereas its share in the aggregate engine horse-power amounted only to 0.7%. The clothing and footwear industry has therefore the weakest degree of mechanization of all industrial branches of Lithuania.

Its structural development since 1927 is shown in the following table:

[464]

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	139	1 607	157	1 994	482	157	2 707	832
Including:								
Output of Woven Goods	20	328	31	669	143	42	1 158	348
Footwear Industry	53	737	43	629	185	48	782	277
Underwear and other Branches	66	542	83	696	114	67	767	207

On the basis of these data one may conclude that while the footwear industry ten years ago represented the leading branch, to-day the woven goods supply (hosiery and knitted wares) heads the list. The number of undertakings of this special branch has doubled since 1927, and the number of its staff almost quadrupled. The total number of workers employed in the production of underwear and in the tailoring and hat industry has since 1927 risen by 43%; and that of the staffs of the footwear industry during the same period only 6%. It would, however, be a mistake to draw therefrom conclusions concerning the development of the scope of production of the two groups. Footwear output, thanks to the construction of its own factories, has grown more vigorously than that of underwear.

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The development of the woven goods and footwear industry was successfully promoted by the tariff policy, i. e. especially by the Laws of October 1931 and August 1934. The woven goods production to-day entirely covers the demand of the home market, and on that account also the imports of foreign goods, which in 1928 still represented 173.3 tons, by 1937 had sunk to only 7.3 tons. The imports of leather footwear, thanks to the consolidation of native production, have also declined, although not by a long way to the same extent. in 1928, they amounted to 36.1 tons; in 1937, on the other hand, to 19.4 tons.

4. The Metal and Machinery Industry.

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The number of workers employed in the metal and machinery industry in 1937 amounted to 2 792 or 8.8% of all the industrial workers of Lithuania. Its share in relation to the total of the engine horse-power amounted to 3.7%; its share in relation to the gross production value to 5.2%; and in relation to the net production value to 6.4%. This industrial branch was in the pre-war Lithuania more highly developed than to-day. In 1913, in the present political territory of Lithuania approximately 4 000 workers were employed in the metal industry. The diminution of the scope of production is due to the curtailment of the outlet for export goods. Nevertheless, during the last two years one can again discern a rapid development tempo

The comparative figures on the changes in structure since 1927 are shown as follows:

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	94	1 895	95	1 863	3 134	103	2 792	4 677
Including.								
Metal Industry	11	547	20	665	2 781	32	1 190	4 271
Machinery Industry and Means of Transport Production	16	528	19	722		14	1 059	
Mechanical Workshops and Sheet Metal Supply	62	772	51	422	353	46	414	406
Electro-Technical Concerns	5	48	5	34		10	109	

7. The Chemical Industry.

381 To the chemical industry in 1937 accrued 4.3% of the
433 industrial workers; 2.3% of the engine horse-power; 4.9% of the gross value; and 6.3% of the net value of Lithuania's industrial production. In pre-war Lithuania there were only two match factories and one fertilizer factory; other branches were almost non-existent. In independent Lithuania many new undertakings are springing up. The development of separate branches proceeds, however, unequally, as we can gather from the following data:

[464]

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	49	885	48	724	1 244	48	1 344	2 848
Including:								
Match Production	5	326	2	158	213	1	52	140
Soap Production	15	174	15	189	118	12	158	362
Rubber Goods	—	—	—	—		1	620	
Fertilizer Factories	2	109	1	130		1	141	
Colours, Turpentine and Technical Fats	7	69	10	66	913	14	151	2 346
Pharmaceutical and Cosmetic Production	4	30	6	47		9	98	

464 The sharpest decline in the number of undertakings and workers is shown by the match industry. The curtailment in 1931 to two concerns with 158 workers against five undertakings with 326 workers in 1927 may be ascribed to the
[655] creation in 1930 of the State Match Monopoly and the transfer
[473] of the same to the „Lietuvos degtukų akcinė bendrovė" (Lithuanian Joint-stock Match Company) founded with Swedish capital. The still lower position in 1937 was occasioned by the decrease in consumption, which in the analysis of production
388 will be more closely discussed. The staffs of the soap factories
389 show a slight reduction. The number of the workers employed
464 in the Memel Fertilizer Factory has since 1931 only slightly increased.

increased. Against this, the number of concerns and of workers 278
in the colours and technical fats industry since 1927 has 303 464
doubled and in the production of pharmaceutical and cosmetic
goods trebled. The establishment of a rubber goods factory 383
in 1933 had, however, decisive importance, and to this nearly 464
half of the workers employed in the chemical industry pertained. The second rubber goods factory, established at the end of 1937, was not yet working in the period under review.

The following quantity figures show the development of 381
production of separate branches of the chemical industry for 433
the period 1931—1937:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Matches (in million boxes)	45.8	43.3	39.4	41.1	8.7	14.3
Washing soap and powder (in tons)	3 441	2 226	2 072	2 303	2 595	2 794
Toilet soap (in tons)	.	154	200	200	234	230
Rubber boots (in 1000 pairs)	—	—	772	313	786	986
Superphosphates (in tons)	43 400	37 000	47 100	31 605	18 713	42 972

As has already been explained above, the cutting down of match production has been caused by the decline in consumption during the crisis years. The statistics of sale of matches prove this in a clearer manner. There have been sold (in million boxes):

1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
45.9	42.4	39.4	33.8	26.9	26.9	27.1

The output of washing-soap, which shrank appreciably 483
during the crisis years, has not yet regained the pre-crisis [388]
position in spite of recovery during the last three years. The
production of toilet-soap shows a better course. The produc- [387]
tion of artificial fertilizers proceeds irregularly, and its pro-
gress does not coincide with the contingent economic deve-
lopment. A sharply upward tendency is seen in the production [383]
of the youthful rubber industry. The recession in 1935 was
evoked by technical difficulties of the inception period.

In order to be able to form a general idea of the production 381
development of the chemical industry, we must utilize the value 433

381 433 amounts. The production index of the chemical industry, calculated in this manner and already cited in the previous chapter, shows, converted to the standard of the basis year 1931, the following course:

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	93.6	146.2	131.0	146.3	171.0

The recession in 1932 was induced chiefly by the decline of soap and fertilizer production. The jump in 1934 was prompted by the foundation of the rubber goods factory in the preceding year. The setback in 1935 was caused by the repeated shrinkage of fertilizer production and the transitory stagnation of rubber goods production.

8. The Leather and Hide Industry.

282 433 464 In the leather and hide industry in 1937, 1 096 workers or 3.5% of the total number of industrial workers were employed. Its percentage share in the volume of engine horse-power amounted to 1.8%; the share in gross production value 4.3%; and in net value of the industrial production of Lithuania, 2.2%. The lower net value rate is due to the high raw material share.

In pre-war Lithuania the leather industry employed nearly 1 500 workers. The present position is therefore, notwithstanding the growth during recent years, still below the pre-war level. On the other hand, more collateral branches are springing up which did not formerly exist, such as fur manufacture, leather ware production, and the bristle industry. Structural variations since 1927 are illustrated in the following comparison:

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	40	657	36	693	2 617	51	1 096	2 313
Including: Leather Output	26	538	22	555	·	22	751	·
Leather Ware Production	1	6	5	29	·	11	78	·
Fur Manufacture	1	5	—	—	—	4	107	·
Bristle Industry	4	43	6	53	·	9	112	·

282 classes from 1931 to 1935 has partially been reciprocally com-
433 pensated, which is also expressed in the index figures. The doubling of the scope of production in recent years has also led to a considerable decline of leather imports (in 1933, 59 tons, in 1937, 18 tons), in which connexion a prominent rôle has also been played by tariff policy and import licensing.

9. Electricity Works.

377 In connexion with the constantly progressing mechanization of industrial concerns, whereby, as was shown in the
433 General Part, the use particularly of electric engines has intensively increased (by 149.4% since 1931), the supply of electric
● 464 energy, together with the textile industry, is the sole industrial branch of Lithuania whose production ascent since 1929 has suffered no recession even in the crisis years. In 1937, there pertained to these branches (in which also gas supply - Memel - managed by the municipalities, and the exploitation of waterworks are included) 1.6% of the industrial workers; 30.8% of the engine horse-power; 4.0% of the gross production value; and 9.1% of the net value of Lithuanian industrial production. The far higher net value rate is affected by the share of raw material deductions.

The structural development of this branch since 1927 is shown by the following comparative figures:

1927		1931		
No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H.P.
29	648	30	480	22 799

1937		
No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H.P.
32	523	38 511

377 The data of the production statistics on the energy sold
433 in million kilowatt - hours show the following development of our electric current supply since 1931:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
In Millions of kWh	18.7	18.8	22.3	25.7	28.4	35.6
In 1 000 Litas	12 500	11 880	11 310	12 068	12 851	15 172

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The following indices are calculated on the basis of the foregoing data:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Production Index	100.0	100.5	119.3	137.4	151.9	190.4
Price Index	100.0	94.0	76.1	70.1	67.2	64.2

If we compare the course of this price index with the price - index of industrial raw material and produce of the Lietuvos Bankas Bulletin (vide the chapter on „Home Trade"), we must recognize that the prices of current in 1932 were maintained disproportionately high; that in 1937, on the other hand, the average price in comparison with the previous year, contrary to the general price tendency, abated only negligibly. In the interest, indeed, of mechanization of the industry, a further price reduction would be desirable. [435]

10. The Stone and Earth Industry.

A relatively higher percentage share of the employed industrial workers is apportioned to the stone and earth industry, the most important branches of which consist of brick and glass production. This in 1937 amounted to 2 827 or 9.0%, in which context, however, one must bear in mind that these figures relate only to the summer months, because in winter the brick-kilns are not working. The share in respect of the aggregate engine horse-power was far lower, viz., 3.1%, and the share in respect of the gross production value 2.0% and net 3.7%, which signifies a marked improvement. 324 464 ● 433

This industrial branch in the pre-war Lithuania employed approximately 700 workers. It developed vigorously in independent Lithuania and has during the past decade more than doubled both the number of the staff and the scope of production.

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The structural development since 1927 will be clear from the following table:

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P
Total	94	1 357	104	2 160	2 206	99	2 827	3 826
Brick Production	69	970	74	1 703	2 139	73	2 082	2 924
Glass Production	6	2 077	5	248	67	5	349	902
Other Branches	19	180	25	209		11	396	

It must moreover be observed that during the years 1932—1936 the number of workers suffered a severe recession, and that the position of 1931 was for the first time in 1937 overtaken and surpassed.

The production statistics show the following quantity data:

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
Brick production (in Millions)	54.4	45.3	42.6	42.2	47.7	60.7
Bottles (in 1 000)	·	2 760	3 780	3 883	4 776	6 762

It is clear from the foregoing that brick output was severely restricted by the crisis and that the upward trend of 1937 exceeds the position of 1931 by only 12%. A far more favourable development is shown by bottle production, which in 1937 was two and a half times as large as in 1932.

The production index of the stone and earth industry, which expresses the average development tendency of separate branches, proceeded as follows (converted to the basis year 1931):

1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
100.0	92.3	105.2	101.5	124.4	153.8

On the strength of these figures, we may conclude that, on the striking of a balance of production of the total industrial branches, the losses of brick production through the advance of the glass industry were already in 1934 more than compensated. Also the final figures, which signify a growth of 53.8% since 1931, are for the most part to be credited to the account of the glass industry.

11. Peat - cutting.

Peat-cutting forms the weakest industrial branch of Lithuania. In 1937 it employed 2.0% of the industrial workers and disposed of over 1.4% of the engine horse-power. Its production value amounted to only 0.3% of the gross value and 0.7% of the net value of the total industrial production. Its development during the last decade is illustrated by the following statistical data: 382 433 [464]

1927		1931		
No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H.P.
7	603	4	490	612

1937		
No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H.P.
11	629	1 681

Production.

	1931	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937
In tons	22 799	25 285	24 111	32 614	49 059	57 200
Index:	100.0	111.3	105.7	143.0	215.2	250.9

We see from these figures that the growth of production since 1931 by 150.9% was caused chiefly by the mechanization of cutting, because the number of workers in that time has risen by only 28.4%.

In view of the fact that Lithuania must derive coal from abroad, and that the resources of the peat strata are estimated at 230 000 000 tons, peat-cutting is assured a further advance, the more so that the use of this fuel has been adopted already in more industrial concerns (the sugar factories, for example).

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

162 workers permanently employed in farming. Despite the fairly considerable increase in population, the number of rural inhabitants shows a downward tendency, the drop in the case of women being greater than in that of men. The figures for men and women engaged in farmwork in 1923 and 1930 respectively were as followed.

	Women	Men
1923	594,479	535,392
1930	489,566	501,489

462 Women are making energetic efforts to obtain employment in industry, being more attracted than men by urban life. 464 Those who are prepared to spend their life in domestic occupations remain on the farms, while the daughters of landless parents and large families count on finding less strenuous work in the towns. They enlist in industry or domestic service or in other branches. This circumstance, together with the fact that agricultural undertakings in Lithuania consist mainly of average-sized and small farms worked by the owners themselves, explains the exceptionally low percentage of hired female labour found 464 in agriculture. The figures for male wage-earners are slightly higher, but men too are attracted by the easier methods of 162 earning a livelihood in other branches. The agricultural census of 1930 gave the following figures for workers permanently employed in farming :

	Women	%	Men	%
Members of farmers' families	418,010	42.17	419,509	42.32
Wage-earners	71,556	7.22	82,208	8.29

Thus, 85% of the population employed in farming consists of members of the family and only 15% of wage-earners. Both categories include a certain number over fifteen years of age. In 1930, these constituted 12.29% of the total number of agricultural workers, the percentages being as follows :

	Boys %	Girls %
Members of the family	39.81	31.42
Wage-earners	20.06	8.71

464 The introduction of six standards in the elementary schools and the increase in the number of agricultural and domestic economy schools are responsible for a big drop in the number of children in receipt of wages. For the most part, they work only in summer on their parents' farms.

The small number of girls in receipt of wages in large families — which are more common than not — in the country is

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

worthy of note. The explanation is that the elder daughters have to help their mothers in the house. Moreover, there is more demand for boys on the smaller farms; an adult paid hand would cost too much. 464

The distribution of women's work according to the size of the farm is as follows: on the smaller farms — under 15 hectares — there are more adult women than men working who are members of the family; on farms ranging from 15 to 30 hectares paid labour is generally found consisting of adult women and boys, the number of women members of the family working being about the same as that of the men. The number of children working as members of the family is in inverse ratio to the size of the farm, the figures for boys declining rather more sharply than those for girls. In farms of 50 hectares, the percentage of women in receipt of wages becomes equal to the percentage of women belonging to the family, whereas in larger farms the former percentage is the greater. In farms of over 50 hectares, the proportion of women among the wage-earners declines in inverse ratio to the size of the farm. 462 464

Wage-earning female agricultural workers are recruited from among the landless proletariat, which is not very numerous in the rural districts, and more particularly from among families of small landowners and settlers. Many of them are engaged only in seasonal day-labour and live at home.

A woman's work on the farm is very varied. In addition to her usual domestic duties, she has to feed the fowls, milk and often feed the cows and work in the kitchen garden — all tasks for which men as a rule show little inclination. She has, besides, to toss the hay, load the carts, bind the sheaves, pick the flax, etc. Sugar-beet cultivation and other hoed crops require much female labour. With the modernisation of agriculture, dairying, pig-breeding and poultry are tending to constitute more important branches of agriculture, and practically the whole of the export trade in eggs, butter and bacon represents the outcome of women's work. 462

The life of the peasant woman is becoming increasingly difficult, for even though her labour raises the standard of well-being of her own family and of the country as a whole, she is gradually losing part of her economic independence. The income she derived before the war from her eggs, cheese and butter is passing out of her keeping and her husband now receives, through the intermediary of the co-operative dairies, pig-marketing boards and centres for the purchase of flax and eggs, ten times the sum she once earned, this income forming the mainstay of the whole farm budget. A thrifty hard-working housewife who has to be constantly begging her husband for money for minor household expenses is criticied for extravagance. 562

3: Washington & Macgowan G-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RB1 Baltic Countries
Letts RB4
Lithuanians RB5

LABOR CONDITIONS IN THE BALTIC STATES

000 MORE strict control of workers is indicated by laws recently enacted in Latvia and Lithuania.

Forced Labor Service in Latvia [1]

Le 466 [462]

The Latvian Government issued a law on May 31, 1940 providing for forced labor service in Latvia. All able-bodied citisens of both sexes from 16 to 60 years of age must participate "with all their bodily and intellectual abilities" in raising and promoting the defensive and economic strength of the State when called upon by the latter for any service.

Le 647 466

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p 591

3: Washington & Macgowan G-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RB1 Baltic Countries
Lithuania: KB5

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under the law. To protect old craftsmen of minority nationalities who might find it difficult to pass the required examinations, especially in the Lithuanian language, the Registrar may permit persons with good qualifications, who have engaged in their craft for more than 5 years, to continue their work if there is a labor shortage in their respective trades. Such persons are to be included in a special list filed in the Registrar's office, and they will retain their titles if they continue their work during an additional 10 years to the satisfaction of the Registrar.

The law applies to approximately 23,000 skilled workers in Lithuania.

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497 Railroad traffic is lively: military trains pass Kaunas every few minutes. A single passenger train circulates daily between Vilnius and Kaunas, and one train operates every other day between Kaunas and Šeštokai.

499 505 Graveled highways go unrepaired, showing ever greater deterioration. Few ships and barges are seen on the Nemunas, as most of the fleet managed to escape to Denmark in 1944.

465 511 [435] All artisans were driven into "artels": excessive taxes did the trick.

Wages are low and working hours are long. Prices are twice as high as in Moscow: one week's wages is spent on a kilogram of butter. In 1945 butter was transported from Lithuania to Moscow in an "airlift operation," by planes. The Muscovites liked Lithuanian butter—and butter is still exported, depriving the Lithuanians of their diet. Numerous deductions are withheld from wages—up to one half, including "voluntary" subscriptions to state loans, etc.

In consequence of the meager pay, every worker attempts to steal whatever he can, and to sell the stolen products in the black market. Lately the bureaucracy—itself most guilty of embezzlement—began penalizing the workers with harsh penalties. Nevertheless, the practice of stealing is universal, and the Russian officials set the pace. Whenever the so-called "exemplary state farms" call for volunteers to assist in planting or harvesting—there are enough volunteers who anticipate a chance to "hook something."

The morale of factory workers is as low as that of the farmers. The living conditions steadily deteriorate. Discontent over "stakhanovite efficiency," long working hours, low pay, lack of clothing, etc. is widespread. In the early part of 1948 the regime abandoned its choicest proffer to workers—the bait of appointment [554] to managing posts. Today, there is a tendency to build up cadres of skilled specialists, a privileged caste of people in uniform—even telegraph post climbers wear uniforms. . . .

Moral Situation

000 Symbols of Russian "culture" and ways of life universally exhibited by the "masters and victors" are—violence, profanity, drunkenness, thievery, deceit and raggedness.

685 Any criminal tendencies among the natives were drastically curbed by the underground authorities. Felonies were penalized by death sentences—and the sentences were carried out. But thieving is uncontrollable in the factories and in the supply services.

273 186 The Russians and their bootlickers revel in continual drunkenness. Vodka is the universal form of bribe. Unfortunately, the brutal conditions of life affected the Lithuanians to a certain degree, too. People are tempted to forget bitter reality for a half hour at least. The resistance movement continually wages a press propaganda against alcoholism ("Don't be like a Russian!"). For strictly practical considerations of maintaining a supply service for its armed units, the resistance movement repeatedly issued orders banning home distilling and any waste of the much needed grains. The Russians, however, pursue a definite policy aimed at demoralizing the natives and weakening their moral standards. Vodka is dumped on the market in unlimited unrationed qualities. But—the Church is still permitted to preach against the evils of drunkenness.

4: Kublitzky G-4, 5 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Wages in Lithuania [9]

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	Males (lits) [1]	*Females (lits)*
Chemical industry	7.60	----
Hides and skins	4.25	3.15
Textiles	5.20	4.05
Lumber	5.55	4.55
Paper and printing	7.35	4.50
Foodstuffs	4.50	3.95
Electricity, gas, and water	7.25	----

[1] Average exchange rate of lit in February 1938 and December 1938—about 17 cents.

The average daily wages of skilled workers amounted to 8.75 lits. The daily wages of a seasonal farm hand on May 1, 1938, amounted to 2.40 lits for a man and 1.80 lits for a woman, including board, and 3.35 lits and 2.50 lits, respectively, without board.

Farm hands are hired at Christmas time for 1 year and receive wages in cash and in kind, in conformity with an agreement. The yearly wages of farm hands during 1938 are given below. The farm hands are also provided with free clothing, board, and lodging.

	Total yearly wages (lits)	*Cash wages (lits)*
Male hands	332	310
Female hands	263	243
Junior male hands	220	203
Junior female hands	178	162
Shepherds	118	101

Daily wages in the peat-extraction industry average from 5.50 lits to 8.50 lits for unskilled males and from 3.00 lits to 5.00 lits for unskilled females. Machinists receive from 7.50 lits to 9.00 lits per day.

465 The following are the monthly wages paid in Kaunas by the Railway Administration of the Lithuanian Ministry of Communications. Wages in the provincial districts are 10 percent lower.

	Lits per month		*Lits per month*
Locomotive engineers:		Firemen	277.00
First class	519.00	Conductors:	
Second class	476.00	First class	280.00
Third class	415.00	Second class	240.00
Assistant locomotive engineers:		Third class	180.00
First class	337.00	Station masters:	
Second class	314.00	First class	540.00
		Second class	450.00

[9] Report of Vladimir Kublitzky, clerk of American Legation at Kaunas.

4: Kublitzky G-4, 5 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Station masters—Con.	Lits per month	Baggage agents:	Lits per month
Third class	380.00	First class	300.00
Fourth class	340.00	Second class	280.00
Fifth class	300.00	Third class	240.00
Signalmen	200.00	Unskilled workers	[1] 4.50–6.00

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465

Monthly wages paid to Kaunas municipal autobus employees are given below. Wages in the Provinces are 10 to 15 percent lower.

	Lits per month
Drivers	250.00–270.00
Conductors	210.00–230.00
Mechanics:	
First class	300.00
Second class	260.00
Third class	200.00

The figures below show the wages per hour of specified classes of skilled workmen in the building trades throughout Lithuania:

	Lits per hour
Bricklayers, first class	1.50
Bricklayers, second class	1.40
Electricians, ironmongers, and carpenters	1.60–1.70

An unskilled male laborer receives from 5.00 lits to 6.00 lits per day and a female laborer, from 3.00 lits to 4.00 lits per day. [462]

The following wages and salaries are paid to skilled workers in the printing and publishing trades:

	Lits per month		Lits per day
Linotypists	350–550	Mechanics	9
Engravers	350	Stereotypists	9
Assistant engravers	300	Stone polishers	5
Managers, printing room	275	Bookbinders	5
Compositors	250		

Payment for overtime in general amounts to not less than 25 percent of the basic daily wages, provided the rate has not been set forth in the agreement concluded between the employer and employees.

No allowances for dependents or payments in kind are made in Lithuania, except in the case of farm labor. Free housing is given sometimes to watchmen and to one or two skilled indispensable workmen in industrial enterprises. Every laborer after having worked 1 year under agreement is entitled to 12 days' holiday with pay. [466]

In conformity with an amendment to the income-tax law enacted October 9, 1935, a tax on earnings has to be paid by all persons except State employees. This tax varies from 2.00 lits for workmen, either single or married, earning from 101 lits to 130 lits per month, to 53.40 lits for single workers earning from 591 lits to 600 lits. The rates are considerably lower for married persons with a family, the reduction from the single rate amounting to as high as 50 percent where the family consists of 7 or more persons. The income tax for 651

4: Kubilitzky G-4, 5 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

651 individuals residing in the rural parts of the country is slightly higher, due to the lower standard of living.

745 An employees' sickness-insurance fund was created in 1928 to provide for medical treatment, especially of the poorer classes. Membership in this organization is compulsory for all workers and employees, except farm laborers and State employees. Monthly contributions, equal in amount, are made by both the employer and the employee, according to wage classes, of which there are six. For wage class I (daily wage, 4 lits; weekly wage, 24 lits; and monthly wage, 100 lits) the monthly payment to the sick fund is 5.40 lits. The payments for each wage class are progressively higher, until for class VI (daily wage, 12.01 lits and over; weekly wage, 73 lits and over; and monthly wage, 301 lits and over) the payment to the sick fund is 21.60 lits. The maximum benefit allowed ranges from 3 lits for wage class I to 14 lits for wage class VI.

An additional amount (10 percent of the monthly payments made to the sick fund) is contributed in equal shares by the employer and the employee to the Labor Chamber.

647 All State employees contribute 6 percent of their wages to a pension fund. Furthermore, from 4.5 percent to 18.73 percent of the wages of a married State employee are deducted for the special fund created to balance the budget, the deduction of a single employee varing between 11.7 percent to 24.53 percent. These deductions apply to State employees residing in Kaunas, Klaipeda, the Klaipeda Territory, and abroad. The deductions made from wages of State employees residing in the rural parts of the country vary from 9.5 percent to 23.73 percent for married, and from 15.3 percent to 29.53 percent for single persons. These rates became effective on April 1, 1937.

651 Tax deductions from wages amount to 10 percent; however, a certain amount is exempt from taxation. In the case of a single worker the exemption applies to all wages under 36.50 lits per week. Ten percent of the amount exceeding 36.50 lits per week is subject to taxation and is determined in accordance with the family status of the worker. The result of this, in practice, is that married workers with one child do not pay taxes.

456 Contributions for social, sickness, accident, old-age, and disability insurance amount in all to 9 percent, 4½ percent of which are paid by the employer and the remaining 4½ percent by the worker.

*
* *

432 A particularly marked advance is shown by larger undertakings with 50 or more employees*), which represent wholesale industry proper. The following figures illustrate this:

I. Undertakings with 5—49 Employees.

	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Total number of undertakings	969	955	1 015	1 010	1 020	1 038	1 034	1 174
Total number of employees	11 473	11 927	11 402	10 906	11 033	11 072	11 598	13 206

II. Undertakings with 50 and more Employees.

Total number of undertakings	82	94	90	98	98	98	101	125
Total number of employees	11.023	12.433	11.844	13.479	15.123	16.298	18.650	23.387

On the basis of the foregoing figures we can reckon that the medium-sized undertakings during the period from 1930 to 1937, in respect of their total number grew by 15.9%, and in respect of the number of employed personnel, by 15.1%, while the large-scale undertakings in the same time showed an increase of 52.4% in their number and 112.2% in the number of employees.

465 The development of industrial activity is also illustrated by the growth of the total amount of wages paid out. The following figures relate to the months of June and July (in thousands of litas):

1931.VI.	1932.VI.	1933.VI.	1934.VI.	1935.VII.	1936.VII.	1937.VII.
3 636	2 991	2 918	2 927	3 011	3 285	4 237

Compared with the index of the cost of living minimum, these tables show, notwithstanding the decrease of nominal

*) In the „number of employees", the promoters, the workers, and the officials are included.

465 wages, a rise in real wages of approximately 12% since 1931. In various individual branches, moreover, the wages standards of qualified workers were raised not only in 1937 but also in 1935 and 1936, which the above quoted average figures do not indicate, owing to the preponderance of unqualified workers, as a result of the frequent engagement of new employees.

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* *

464 The internal structure of Lithuanian industry in respect of
433 the number of undertakings and the total number of employed workers in separate industrial branches are shown by the following Table No. 1.

288 On the basis of these statistics we may conclude that the
433 largest number of workers, viz., 20.6% of all industrial workers
464 in Lithuania to-day are employed in the textile industry. On an average, a staff of 88 workers pertains to one textile factory.

The first place in respect of the number of employed workers has, however, been reached by the textile industry in recent years, i. e. since 1935. Among all industrial branches in Lithuania it also shows the most intensive development. In spite of the crisis, the number of employed in the textile concerns since 1928 has steadily grown and in comparison with 1928 its position in 1937 had more than quadrupled (+317.5%).

This high level of the employed reflects, however, only the maximum utilization of labour capacity. Thus in 1937 the textile industry was the only branch that employed three shifts, since according to the number of undertakings, viz., 74, it stands far behind other branches.

313 In the second place stands the timber industry with 16.9%
433 of the total number of workers and 17.6% of the number of
464 undertakings. The size of the staffs rose by 51,1% during the period from 1928 to 1937, the most noteworthy increase having taken place in 1937.

262 In the third place follows the foodstuffs and luxury goods
433 industry with 16.4% of the total number of workers. According
464 to the number of undertakings (353 concerns or 28.3%), it is, however, entitled to the first place. The total number of the staffs in 1937 in comparison with 1928 shows an increase of 35.4%, which took place during the last three years. During

4: Kublitzky G-4, 5 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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4: Kuhlitzky G-4.5 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

693 Art. 87. The Procurator of the Lithuanian SSR is appointed by the Procurator-General of the USSR for a term of five years.

Art. 88. District and city procurators are appointed by the Procurator of the Lithuanian SSR subject to the approval of the Procurator-General of the USSR for a term of five years.

Art. 89. The organs of the Procurator's Office perform their functions independently of any local organs whatsoever, being subordinate solely to the Procurator-General of the USSR.

Chapter VIII. Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens

641 461 Art. 90. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to work, that is, the right to guaranteed employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.

The right to work is ensured by the socialist organization of the national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the elimination of the possibility of economic crises and the abolition of unemployment.

Art. 91. The citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to rest and leisure.

[466] The right to rest and leisure is ensured by the establishment of an eight-hour day for factory and office workers, the reduction of the working day to seven or six hours for arduous trades and to four hours in shops where conditions of work are particularly arduous, by the institution of annual vacations with full pay for factory and office workers, and by the provision of a wide network of sanatoria, rest homes and clubs for the accommodation of the working people.

[657] Art. 92. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or disability.

641 This right is ensured by the extensive development of social insurance of factory and office workers at state expense, free medical service for working people, and the provision of a wide network of health resorts for the use of the working people.

[671] Art. 93. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to education.

This right is ensured by universal and compulsory elementary education; by free education up to and including the seventh grade; by a system of state stipends for students of higher educational establishments who excel in their studies; by instruction in schools being conducted in the native language, and by the organization in the factories, state farms and machine and tractor stations of free vocational, technical and agronomic training for the working people.

[512] Art. 94. Women in the Lithuanian SSR are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, government, cultural, political and other public activity.

The possibility of exercising these rights is ensured by women being accorded an equal right with men to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education, by state protection of the interests of mother and child, state aid to mothers of large families and unmarried mothers, maternity leave with full pay, and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens.

3: Washington & Macgowan G-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RB1 Baltic Countries
Letts RB4
Lithuanians RB5

LABOR CONDITIONS IN THE BALTIC STATES

000 MORE strict control of workers is indicated by laws recently enacted in Latvia and Lithuania.

Forced Labor Service in Latvia [1]

Le 466 [462]

The Latvian Government issued a law on May 31, 1940 providing for forced labor service in Latvia. All able-bodied citizens of both sexes from 16 to 60 years of age must participate "with all their bodily and intellectual abilities" in raising and promoting the defensive and economic strength of the State when called upon by the latter for any service.

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On June 7, 1940, a supplementary law was enacted providing that in the future all applicants for vacancies at public offices must prove that they have worked in agriculture for not less than 3 months within the preceding 3 years. Furthermore, all persons who have entered public service within the last 5 years and who, by October 1, 1941, are unable to show at least 3 months' work in agriculture are to be dismissed from service.

Registry of Skilled Workers in Lithuania [2]

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There is to be appointed a Craftsmen's Registrar who will supervise individual craftsmen and workshops. Under penalty of a fine up to 500 lits,[3] these must supply the Registrar with information required

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The law applies to approximately 23,000 skilled workers in Lithuania.

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3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

According to the agricultural census of 1930, the number of farms in Lithuania and their areas are as stated in Table 7. 241 423

TABLE 7

CENSUS OF FARMS

FARM SIZE (*Acres*)	NUMBER OF FARMS	COMBINED AREA (*Acres*)
2.5– 12.5	53,463	380,722
12.5– 25.0	78,237	1,440,338
25.0– 37.5	59,572	1,788,349
37.5– 50.0	33,236	1,408,275
50.0– 75.0	34,197	2,042,511
75.0–125.0	20,597	1,885,111
125.0–250.0 and over	8,078	1,725,742
TOTAL	287,380	10,671,048

Through the land reform, over 45,000 new farms have been established and over 200,000 persons (including new settlers and their families) have been provided with regular occupation and permanent homes. This undoubtedly has brought beneficial results to the social and economic life of the country.[15] Moreover, the land reform has undoubtedly been a means of substantially raising the country's productivity, to the benefit of both the state and the individual farmer. 241 178

When Soviet Russia occupied Lithuania on June 15, 1940, a still more radical "land reform" was proclaimed by the Soviet-appointed puppet government. All land was proclaimed state property. Consequently, the farmer-owners suddenly became only managers of government property and, therefore, could not sell, exchange, or give away their 423 656 471

[15] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 34; Elbergas, *op. cit.*, pp. 64–68.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

423 land. Seventy-four acres (30 hectares) was the maximum
471 allowed each family to manage.
656

Several thousand formerly landless farmers who obtained a few acres through this Soviet "land reform" and whose popular support the Soviet government was seeking found themselves unable to till the allotted land because they had no tools, seed, or livestock and could not secure any aid from the government. The Soviet policy was to force them all into so-called "collective farms" (kolkhoz).

The majority of the farms of 80 hectares (198 acres) or over were not distributed at all but converted into government farms (sovkhoz) controlled through commissars.

Those who were allowed to keep 30 hectares (74 acres) were called "kulaks," and such high taxes were imposed upon them that they were forced to join the government-fostered collective farms.

241 As indicated by Table 7, before the Soviet Russian oc-
423 cupation there were 287,380 separate farms in Lithuania,
656 ranging in area from 2.5 to 250 acres. These farms, on the basis of productive capacity, were classified into three groups.

The first group was comprised of the self-sufficient farms, ranging in acreage from 2.50 to 30 acres. Farmers in this group raised sufficient grain to maintain their families and kept one or two horses for work, one to four milk cows, and some poultry; thus they themselves produced most of their food. They had little to sell and bought little from the town. At the end of 1939, about 160,000 farms or 56 percent of all farms of Lithuania were in this group.

The second group was comprised of farms of between 30 and 70 acres which produced substantial quantities of agricultural products for the market. Although the farming system of this group was similar to that of the first one to the

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

uania: before the 1940 occupation it handled almost the entire grain export.[20] 477

Lietukis, which comprised 145 coöperative societies in its membership in 1939, maintained 16 branch establishments in Lithuania, in addition to its central establishment in Kaunas. It operated in 1939 three grain elevators, one of 3,000 metric tons' capacity in Klaipeda (Memel), another of 3,250 metric tons' capacity in Siauliai, and a third of 2,250 tons' capacity in Kaunas. Furthermore, it possessed a central flax warehouse at Siauliai and 18 grain warehouses at various other places.[21]

Lietukis handles the largest percentage in the total turnover of many commodities of Lithuania: import of fertilizers, 100 percent; salt import, 92.9; import of agricultural machinery, 80; cement import, 42; import of petroleum products, 40; import of herring, 10; iron import, 5; export of grain, 85; export of flax, 27; sale of sugar, 89.[22]

The growth and expansion of business of coöperative stores, Lietukis, and other coöperative societies in the last eleven years before the second world war is indicated by Table 9.[23]

Furthermore, it is worthy of mention that in 1926 Lietukis,[1] acquired 45 percent of the capital stock of the Maistas Corporation, whose principal business is the keeping of stockyards in which livestock is prepared for export. With the acquisition of this stock interest Lietukis indirectly entered the export trade in meat and live animals. Lietukis was also 474 471

[20] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

[21] *Lietukis, Lietuvos Zemes Ukio Kooperatyvu Sajunga* (Lietukis, the Central Union of Agricultural Coöperative Societies), Kaunas, 1934.

[22] *Report of the Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Crafts*, Kaunas, 1938, p. 113. Referred to hereafter as *Report*.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 112.

1 [i.e: The Central Union of Agricultural Coöperative Societies -- Analyst]

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 9

474

SALES OF THE COÖPERATIVE SOCIETIES

(*In Thousands of Litas*)

YEAR	LIETUKIS	TRADE COÖPERATIVES	PIENOCENTRAS [a]	TOTAL
1928	12,129	23,520	13,662	49,311
1929	29,393	52,255	25,999	108,647
1930	23,117	44,992	43,854	111,963
1931	36,743	44,950	46,102	127,795
1932	28,853	37,314	45,182	111,349
1933	32,063	37,534	36,163	105,760
1934	32,617	37,342	36,329	111,288
1935	60,530	46,427	42,438	149,395
1936	73,715	55,560	55,897	185,172
1937	72,360	65,046	65,730	205,599
1938	113,909	95,165	76,920	283,884
1939	138,911	114,285	67,745	320,941

[a] Reference on Pienocentras is given in Section 3 below, on production coöperative societies.

[47] the initiator of coöperative dairies and creameries, which later developed into a separate Central Union of Dairy Coöperative Societies of Lithuania, the Pienocentras.

[647] After Soviet Russian occupation Lietukis[1] was made a government agency with all its branches and continued to function until the German invasion. The Germans in turn took control of Lietukis with all its property, and the German Economic Command (Wirtschaftskommando) issued an order on August 23, 1941, to all the branches of Lietukis, as well as to the agricultural and consumers' coöperative societies, to submit reports on fabrics and other merchandise in its possession and at the same time forbade selling any of the merchandise. It would appear that all the merchandise was confiscated by the Germans.

1 [i.e. The Central Union of Agricultural Coöperative Societies --- Analyst]

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

With the Sovietization of Lithuania by Russia all those corporations were nationalized in August, 1940, and made government establishments. On August 7, 1940, an order was published requesting even the surrender of the shares of capital stock and bonds of private corporations or government.[5] No due compensation was promised. 473

When Russian occupation was substituted by German in June, 1941, the system of private ownership was returned in Lithuania, except private, corporate, or coöperative wealth, which apparently is kept for distribution to German nationals or at least to German sympathizers. 471

THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

The textile industry showed a spectacular rise between 1927 and 1940. But even before this period it had shown considerable advance. It is estimated that in the years 1909 to 1913 this industry in Lithuania employed about 300 workers.[6] In 1927 the number of workers had grown to 1,403, almost five times as many as before the World War, while in 1939 the industry was employing 7,561 workers. 288 433

It is interesting to note that in spite of increasing textile production at home, imports did not decrease proportionately. This may be accounted for partly by the fact that rising living standards increased the demand to such an extent that even the increased production was not sufficient to satisfy it without the aid of proportionately high imports. Lithuania does not export any textile fabrics. [439]

The expanding textile industry modifies the type of textile

[5] *Darbo Lietuva* No. 50, Aug. 13, 1940. (*Darbo Lietuva* [Worker's Lithuania] was a Bolshevik daily in Kaunas, established after the occupation.)

[6] L.G.S.A., 1937, p. 405.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

439 pation. In 1938, Maistas sales to foreign countries rose to 57.85 million litas, while in 1939 it rose to 71.7 million litas, or 24 percent above the 1938 figures.

438 Even in domestic business Maistas showed an impressive rise. Its domestic sales amounted in 1930 to 5.8 million litas and rose every subsequent year until in 1938 they reached 14.9 million litas and in 1939, 18.8 million litas.

257 The sugar industry, which also shows considerable ad-
433 vance, started with one refinery in 1932, employing 67 persons, and in 1939 had two refineries with 246 workers, not counting the many farmers who were engaged in sugar-beet growing and whose incomes were increased through the introduction and development of this branch of agriculture.
257 Inasmuch as the two refineries were insufficient to meet the
471 demands of Lithuania, a third refinery was constructed. All three are owned by the Lietuvos Cukrus Corporation, in which the government participates as owner of a controlling number of shares of capital stock. The first refinery was opened in 1932 in Marijampole and the second in 1935 in Panevezys. The production rose very rapidly: in 1932, 67,000 quintals; 1933, 162,000 quintals; 1934, 82,000 quintals; 1935, 153,000 quintals; 1936, 221,000 quintals; 1937, 272,000 quintals; in 1938, 287,000 quintals [9] and 1939, 208,000 quintals.

234 Another industry in the food-and-luxury category which
433 showed great expansion both in number of establishments and in workers employed is that of dairying, which is covered in the section on coöperatives, above.

438 Other industries, such as grain mills with 761 workers,
433 candy and chocolate factories with 761 workers, and tobacco

[9] C.S.B., 1938, p. 160.

1931	69	89 794	32 433	473
1932	76	90 874	32 547	
1933	84	98 675	34 733	
1934	83	105 979	43 274	
1935	84	105 465	45 207	
1936	85	107 372	44 881	
1937	88	110 883	47 969	

On the strength of these data we may conclude that the financing of industry in the form of share-capital concurrently with the development of wholesale manufacture in Lithuania is constantly growing; it amounts to approximately a third of all capital invested in industry. The number of industrial concerns, which are organized as joint-stock companies, has risen by 57.1% during ten years, from 1928 to 1937, and the total amount of the share-capital by 60.6% in the same period.

The share of foreign capital amounts to 43.3% and is 471 chiefly invested in electricity works, the paper industry, and the chemical industry. The largest portion thereof, i. e. 18 200 000 litas or 35% pertains to-day to Belgium; 12 100 000 litas or 23% to Germany; 6 200 000 litas or 11% to Sweden; and 5 500 000 or 10% to Holland.

Approximately 15 000 000 litas represents the investments 652 of the Lithuanian Government, of which the sum of 7 000 000 litas pertains to the „Maistas" Company and 2 700 000 litas to „Lietuvos Cukrus".

The share of Lithuanian private capital in the total share- 454 capital invested in industry amounts therefore to 45%.

The distribution of industrial joint-stock companies accord- 473 ing to individual branches and its development during recent years may be seen from Table No. 2.

Thus in 1937 the relatively largest part of the total share-capital pertained to the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry, which possessed 21 undertakings with 27 900 000 litas capital. Among these were 4 mills, 3 chocolate factories, 1 company for sugar production („Lietuvos Cukrus"), 2 undertakings of the meat industry, 3 spirit distilleries, and 4 beer breweries. The number of undertakings has been stationary since 1933; also the capital during the last five years shows only small fluctuations, but in comparison with 1928 it has risen by 66%.

3. Share-capital in Lithuanian Trade

The rôle of joint-stock companies in the total figure of our wholesale commercial undertakings is relatively unimportant. In 1937 there were in Lithuania only 32 joint-stock companies, which were engaged in merchandise trade, in a narrower sense, with a total capital of 8 900 000 litas; and three companies engaged in the warehousing and forwarding business with a share-capital of 300 000 litas. Only a few companies among these have a share-capital of more than a million litas, while for half of all the companies the capital amounts to less than 200 000 litas. The development since 1928 is clear from the following table: 473

Year	No. of Companies	Share-capital in 1 000 litas	Year	No. of Companies	Share-capital in 1 000 litas
1928	14	3 211	1933	32	9 485
1929	19	5 725	1934	32	8 640
1930	22	7 100	1935	31	9 057
1931	28	9 400	1936	30	8 232
1932	32	9 759	1937	32	8 907

We see from the foregoing that the number of commercial undertakings organized as joint-stock companies has remained stationary since 1932, and that the total amount of their capital since then has decreased by 9%.

The development of the participation of foreign capital in our commercial organizations shows, just as the reduction of foreign indebtedness described in another chapter, the progressive emancipation of our economy from alien influence and its financial strengthening. The share of foreign capital has fallen from 24.5% in 1931 to 6.1% in 1937. The following figures illustrate the course of this development: [471]

	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Foreign Capital in Lithuanian Joint-stock Companies, in 1 000 Litas	2 310	2 305	1 870	1 747	920	260	544

In the above quoted total figure of commercial joint-stock companies our most important commercial organization is not

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

C O N S T I T U T I O N

(Fundamental Law)

of the

LITHUANIAN

SOVIET SOCIALIST

REPUBLIC

of August 25, 1940

As amended through April 7, 1948

Chapter I. The Social Structure

642 Art. 1. The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic is a socialist state of workers and peasants.

Art. 2. The political foundation of the Lithuanian SSR is the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, firmly established as a result of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and the capitalists and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Art. 3. All power in the Lithuanian SSR belongs to the working people of town and country as represented by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

471 Art. 4. The economic foundation of the Lithuanian SSR is the socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production, firmly established as the result of the liquidation of the capitalist system of economy, the abolition of private ownership of the instruments and means of production in large industrial enterprises, and the nationalization of such enterprises, banks, transport and means of communication with a view to the complete abolition of the exploitation of man by man and the construction of a socialist system of society.

421 Art. 5. Socialist property in the Lithuanian SSR exists either in the form of state property (belonging to the whole people) or in the form of co-operative property.

Art. 6. The land, its mineral wealth, waters, forests, mills, factories, mines, rail, water and air transport, banks, communications, large state-organized agricultural enterprises (state farms, machine and tractor stations and the like), as well as municipal enterprises and large dwelling houses in the cities and industrial localities, are state property, that is, belong to the whole people.

474 Art. 7. The common enterprises of co-operative organizations, with their livestock and implements, the products of co-operative organizations, as well as
421 their common buildings, constitute the common, socialist property of the co-operative organizations.

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

472 Art. 8. Alongside the socialist system of economy in the Lithuanian SSR the law permits the small private economy of individual peasants, artisans and handicraftsmen and small private industrial and trading enterprises.

423 Art. 9. The land occupied by peasant holdings as provided by law is secured for their use free of charge and for an unlimited time.

421 Art. 10. The personal property right of citizens in their incomes and savings from work, in their dwelling houses and subsidiary home enterprises, in articles of domestic economy and use and articles of personal use and convenience, as well as the right of citizens to inherit personal property, is protected by law.

471 185 Art. 11. The economic life of the Lithuanian SSR is determined and directed by the state national-economic plan, with the aim of increasing the public wealth, of steadily raising the material and cultural standards of the working people, of consolidating the independence of the USSR and strengthening its defensive capacity.

461 Art. 12. Work in the Lithuanian SSR is a duty and a matter of honour for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat."

The principle applied in the Lithuanian SSR is that of socialism: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

Chapter II. The State Structure

642 Art. 13. For the purpose of mutual assistance among the Union Republics along economic and political lines, as well as along the line of defence, the Lithuanian SSR voluntarily united with the other equal Soviet Socialist Republics, namely:

The Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic,
The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kirghis Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic and
The Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic

in a federal state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Proceeding from the aforesaid, the Lithuanian SSR ensures to the USSR, as represented by its higher organs of state power and organs of state administration, the rights defined in Art. 14 of the Constitution of the USSR.

Outside of the spheres set forth in Art. 14 of the Constitution of the USSR, the Lithuanian SSR exercises state authority independently, retaining its sovereign rights in full.

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3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

duction did not suffer as much in the agricultural countries as it did in advanced industrial countries. For example, the index of the industrial production of Germany in 1929 fell from 100 to 85.9 in 1930, to 67.6 in 1931, and to 53.3 in 1932. The index of the United States was 80.7 in 1930, 68.1 in 1931, and 53.8 in 1932. At the same time, the index number of the industrial production of Denmark was below 100 only in 1932, when it was 91, while in 1933 it was 105 and in 1934, 117. The index number of the industrial production of Greece continued to stay over 100: in 1930 it was 103.4; in 1931, 107.0; and in 1932, 100.9, while in 1938 it reached 165.1.[4]

Finally, the industry of Lithuania, even with expanded facilities, does not satisfy the demands of its home market. For this reason even during the depression the rate of industrial expansion was not greatly slackened.

Aside from coöperative concerns, analysis of which has been made elsewhere, a great role in the economic life of Lithuania was played by corporations.

In some of them, as in the Maistas and Lietuvos Cukrus corporations, the majority of stock is held by the government.

At the end of 1939 there were 137 corporations in Lithuania with total capitalization of 205,442,000 litas. The banking group comprised 8 units with total capitalization of 89,000,000 litas or 43 percent of total capital of the corporations of Lithuania. Next in importance comes food industry with 20 corporations and 28,345,000 litas combined capital followed by 4 electricity supply corporations with 25,100,000 litas of capital stock.

[4] League of Nations, *Statistical Year-Book 1939–40.*

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3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 37

THE FOODSTUFFS INDUSTRIES

258
4-33

INDUSTRY	1927		1930		1935		1938		1939	
	Establishments	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*	*Establishments*	*Employees*
Grain mills	83	778	74	638	83	619	99	761	96	706
Bakeries	21	156	29	212	43	319	53	465	46	469
Sugar refineries	—	—	—	—	1	133	2	262	2	246
Candy and chocolate factories	40	760	42	866	29	583	36	761	28	657
Slaughterhouses and meat, fish, and canned goods establishments	20	362	20	281	21	1,029	25	1,721	15	1,787 [a]
Milk-product plants	4	26	18	114	110	407	114	507	102	458
Breweries	10	350	10	351	10	246	11	602	9	553
Tobacco and cigarette factories	12	734	10	695	9	574	8	569	6	546

[a] Before Klaipeda Territory cession: 26 establishments with 1,987 workers.

The Maistas Corporation was originally organized in 1923

473 for the purpose of concentrating on the export of eggs and dairy products, but later its activities were turned to organizing slaughterhouses and to producing and exporting meat and canned products.[7] The original capital of the Maistas Corporation was 500,000 litas, consisting of 5,000 shares at 100 litas par value. The first years of the corporation were not only nonprosperous, but the balance for July 1, 1924, showed a loss of 463,237.60 litas. This loss was covered by stockholders in proportional payments according to the stock

[7] *Pirmas Maisto Desimtmetis 1923–1933 Metai* (Maistas's First Decade, 1923–1933), Kaunas, 1933, p. 28.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

held. The first loss did not discourage the promoters, however. In 1925 the capital stock of the corporation was raised to 10,000,000 litas. This increase was motivated by the fact that in constructing the first stockyard the corporation had indebted itself to this amount. But even then the prospects of the corporation were not very encouraging. Private owners soon sought to rid themselves of the stock held, which at the end of 1925 was absorbed by such important organizations as the Union of Farmers of Lithuania, 2,250 shares; the Union of Agricultural Coöperative Societies of Lithuania (Lietukis), 2,000 shares; the coöperative society Lietuvos Eksimportas, 670 shares; and by many smaller units subscribing to their proportionate number of shares. Thus the Maistas Corporation, having been founded as a strictly private enterprise, became an important public enterprise. In March of 1930 the by-laws of the corporation were changed to comply with the new laws of the state and on March 22, 1930, the company was newly incorporated. In the same year the government of Lithuania purchased part of the stock of the corporation for 3,000,000 litas and later an additional portion for 4,000,000 litas. The Maistas Corporation therefore became an institution known in English-speaking countries as a mixed enterprise, from the point of view of control. In 1938, as has already been stated, it owned five stockyards in the most important cities of Lithuania. Its meat and livestock export rose from 226,106 litas in 1923 to 35,420,949 litas in 1932 and 42,720,000 litas in 1936, the last amount representing 22.4 percent of the total value of the country's exports.[8]

The organization showed an exceptionally spectacular rise in exports in the last two years before Soviet Russian occu-

[8] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

433 438 considerable part of the wool and cotton spinning and weaving, the timber sawing, furniture manufacture, the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry, &c. is situated in Kaunas.

In Memel is located the largest part of the timber industry (sawing, plywood supply, and cellulose production), the predominant portion of the wool and cotton industry (two-thirds), the artificial fertilizer industry, a considerable share of the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry (meat treatment, tobacco manufacture), &c.

In Šiauliai are concentrated 85% of the Lithuanian leather industry (tanning), nearly 60% of the footwear industry, and two-thirds of the flax treatment industry. In the district of Šiauliai (at Pavenčiai) is situated a sugar factory (the second in Lithuania) which was established in 1935. In Šiauliai itself also four chocolate and sugar ware factories are in operation.

Besides the foregoing three principal centres of industry should also be mentioned: **Panevėžys**, where are situated the biggest Lithuanian milling concerns, also a meat-canning factory of the „Maistas" Company and a large enterprise of the flax treatment industry; **Marijampolė**, with the first sugar factory founded in 1931 and several sawmills; **Plungė** and **Telšiai**, with two of the largest Lithuanian linen factories; **Tauragė**, with a meat wares factory of „Maistas"; **Rokiškis**, with a textile factory (wool weaving) and several dairy-farms; lastly, **Vilkaviškis**, which harbours a third of the Lithuanian underclothing manufacture, an enterprise for fur dressing and the largest bristle treatment concern.

4. The Rôle of the Joint-stock Companies

473

The development of the joint-stock capital invested in industry has proceeded as follows:

Year	Total No. of jointstock Cos.	Share-capital in 1000 litas	Proportion of Foreign Capital
1928	56	69 059	7 600*)
1929	57	70 434	7 400*)
1930	62	85 851	19 400*)

*) Without Memel.

1931	69	89 794	32 433	473
1932	76	90 874	32 547	
1933	84	98 675	34 733	
1934	83	105 979	43 274	
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The share of Lithuanian private capital in the total share-capital invested in industry amounts therefore to 45%. 454

The distribution of industrial joint-stock companies according to individual branches and its development during recent years may be seen from Table No. 2. 473

Thus in 1937 the relatively largest part of the total share-capital pertained to the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry, which possessed 21 undertakings with 27 900 000 litas capital. Among these were 4 mills, 3 chocolate factories, 1 company for sugar production („Lietuvos Cukrus"), 2 undertakings of the meat industry, 3 spirit distilleries, and 4 beer breweries. The number of undertakings has been stationary since 1933; also the capital during the last five years shows only small fluctuations, but in comparison with 1928 it has risen by 66%.

Table No. 2.

The Total Number of Industrial Joint-stock Companies according to Branches and their Capital in 1 000 litas during 1928—1937

	1928		1929		1930		1931		1932		1933		1934		1935		1936		1937	
	No.	Cap.	No.	Cap.	No.	Cap.	No.	Cap.	No.	Cap.	No.	Cap.	No.	Cap.	No.	Cap.	No.	Cap.	No.	Cap.
1. Peat-cutting	1	280	1	280	1	280	1	140	1	140	1	140	1	140	1	70	1	70	1	70
2. Stone & Earth Industry	4	2 610	4	2 610	4	2 480	2	1 250	3	1 430	3	1 430	4	1 530	4	1 530	1	1 330	4	1 450
3. Metal & Machinery Industry	9	19 079	8	18 413	8	16 539	8	16 665	7	16 565	8	16 387	9	16 537	8	16 062	10	16 308	8	16 050
4. Chemical Industry	3	470	5	1 720	5	6 720	5	6 720	7	6 920	10	8 070	9	8 100	9	8 100	9	8 028	10	9 028
5. Leather Industry	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	250	1	250
6. Textile Industry	4	1 850	5	2 400	6	3 600	9	4 860	10	5 260	10	5 360	11	6 560	11	7 035	11	7 055	16	9 705
7. Timber Industry	3	1 762	5	3 168	5	2 062	7	3 162	7	3 662	7	3 662	7	3 662	7	3 662	7	3 662	7	3 185
8. Paper & Polygraphic Industry	6	17 450	7	18 160	8	18 260	9	18 760	11	18 960	12	19 110	10	19 510	10	19 290	9	19 240	8	18 890
9. Foodstuffs & Luxury Goods Industry	21	16 808	16	15 230	16	18 730	19	24 746	19	26 846	21	27 415	21	27 390	21	26 915	21	26 630	21	27 930
10. Clothing Industry	1	750	2	1 250	3	2 240	5	2 890	7	3 190	8	3 700	7	3 150	8	3 300	8	3 300	8	3 225
11. Building Industry	1	500	1	1 000	1	1 000	1	1 000	1	1 000	1	1 000	1	1 000	2	1 100	2	1 100	2	1 100
12. Electricity Works	2	6 000	2	6 000	3	12 400	3	12 400	3	12 400	3	12 400	3	18 400	3	18 400	3	18 400	2	20 000

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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The next largest item consists of both electricity works with 20 000 000 litas share-capital, which has more than quadrupled during ten years. 473

In the third and fourth place are classed the joint-stock companies from the branches of the paper industry with 18 900 000 litas capital, and the metal industry with 16 000 000 litas capital. The number of related undertakings and therefore also the total sum of capital slightly receded in 1937.

A steep ascent is shown by the number and capital of the companies of the textile branch. The number of companies from 1928 to 1937 rose from 4 to 16 and their capital from 1 800 000 litas to 9 700 000 litas.

The joint-stock companies of the chemical industry during the last ten years also increased from 3 to 10 and their capital rose from 400 000 litas to 9 000 000 litas. In this connexion may be mentioned the foundation of a match company in 1930, „Inkaras" in 1933, and „Guma" in 1937.

The companies of the clothing and footwear industry quadrupled their capital during the last decade, and it now amounts to 3 200 000 litas. Also the share-capital pertaining to the timber industry doubled in round figures during the same interval, and also amounts to 3 200 000 litas.

The capital of the joint-stock companies of the remaining industrial branches is less noteworthy.

On the basis of the foregoing data, we may arrive at the following conclusions with regard to the development tendency of separate special branches: 433

1. The milling industry showed in 1931, in comparison with 1927, a decline in the number of concerns and their staffs, but in recent years a recovery and an advance ensued. This phenomenon related, however, only to the medium and wholesale concerns appearing in our table, which employ at least five persons. Precisely in the milling industry the small concerns are in an overwhelming majority, and these show quite another development tendency. On the basis of the statistics of the trade licences, we may conclude that the total number of all milling concerns, which in 1928 amounted to 1 334, by 1932 had risen to 1 472, but since then until 1937 a reduction of 1 402 has ensued. It is obvious from the foregoing that the reduction in the number of larger milling undertakings until 1931 was due to the process of decentralization, while, on the other hand, in recent years the concentration tendency, combined with more intensive mechanization, has been in the ascendant. 256 433

2. The creation of the sugar industry followed in 1931, when with the participation of the Government the joint-stock company „Lietuvos Cukrus" was established. The first sugar factory was then put in operation at Marijampolė, and in 1935 the opening of a second factory at Pavenčiai ensued. 257 483 [473]

3. The sugar wares and chocolate industry since 1931 has shown a decline in the number of concerns and of employed workers; but the undermentioned production figures, which reveal constant growth, prove that this phenomenon is solely attributable to centralization and mechanization.

4. The number of concerns of the meat industry is stationary. Its growth is, however, illustrated by the quintupling of the number of employed workers which has taken place since 1927. The joint-stock company „Maistas", to whose capital the Government contributes 7 000 000 litas, assumes a monopoly position. It was founded in 1923, but its activity on a wider scale began in 1930. „Maistas" owns to-day five factories, i. e. at Kaunas, Memel, Šiauliai, Panevėžys, and Tauragė. In each factory the manufacture of bacon takes first place, but sausage wares and ham are also prepared. The concerns at Kaunas and Panevėžys produce also canned goods, that at Kaunas also insu- 258 473 433

253 433 ●473 lin. Preserving cans are repaired in its own workshops. Moreover, at Kaunas a modern abattoir of „Maistas" has been built for municipal requirements. (The rôle of „Maistas" in our trade is described in the section „Share-capital in Lithuanian Trade").

234 433 5. The dairy-farms show an exemplary growth tempo. The development of Lithuanian butter production is due to the Central Union of Dairy-farming Cooperatives „Pienocentras", concerning whose activity a more detailed report is given in the subsequent section „The Rôle of the Cooperative Societies". The figures contained in the foregoing tables relate moreover only to the larger concerns; the total number of all dairy-farms of the dairy cooperatives included in the production statistics amounted in 1937 to 188.

274 433 6. The number of workers employed in the spirit distilleries remained stationary during the period 1927—1937, whereas the number of concerns rose from 26 to 38.

[464] 7. The development of beer breweries showed no material changes from 1927 to 1931. The number of employed workers since the curtailment between 1932 and 1936 for the first time in 1937 exceeded the figures for 1927.

277 433 8. The number of tobacco and cigarette factories and their staffs has decreased since 1931, which was occasioned chiefly by the decline of consumption during the time of crisis.

From the standpoint of the number of undertakings, the mills and dairy-farms constitute the two strongest groups of the foodstuffs industry. According to the number of employed workers, the meat and canned goods industry and the sugar industry head the list, although it must be borne in mind that as regards the last-named, the production campaign lasts only a few months.

b. The Development of Production

433 The total value of the gross production of the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry in 1937 amounted to 178 300 000 litas and the net production to 50 400 000.

These figures are distributed among separate branches as follows (in 1 000 litas):

7. The Chemical Industry.

381 To the chemical industry in 1937 accrued 4.3% of the
433 industrial workers; 2.3% of the engine horse-power; 4.9% of the gross value; and 6.3% of the net value of Lithuania's industrial production. In pre-war Lithuania there were only two match factories and one fertilizer factory; other branches were almost non-existent. In independent Lithuania many new undertakings are springing up. The development of separate branches proceeds, however, unequally, as we can gather from the following data:

[464]

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	49	885	48	724	1 244	48	1 344	2 848
Including:								
Match Production	5	326	2	158	213	1	52	140
Soap Production	15	174	15	189	118	12	158	362
Rubber Goods	—	—	—	—		1	620	
Fertilizer Factories	2	109	1	130		1	141	
Colours, Turpentine and Technical Fats	7	69	10	66	913	14	151	2 346
Pharmaceutical and Cosmetic Production	4	30	6	47		9	98	

464 The sharpest decline in the number of undertakings and workers is shown by the match industry. The curtailment in 1931 to two concerns with 158 workers against five undertakings with 326 workers in 1927 may be ascribed to the
[655] creation in 1930 of the State Match Monopoly and the transfer
[473] of the same to the „Lietuvos degtukų akcinė bendrovė" (Lithuanian Joint-stock Match Company) founded with Swedish capital. The still lower position in 1937 was occasioned by the decrease in consumption, which in the analysis of production
388 will be more closely discussed. The staffs of the soap factories
387 show a slight reduction. The number of the workers employed
464 in the Memel Fertilizer Factory has since 1931 only slightly increased.

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

B. HOME TRADE

● 473 **1. The Total Number and Classification of Commercial Undertakings.**

In accordance with the information of the last census, there were in Lithuania between 1923 and 1925 in all 18 164 commercial undertakings with 37 487 employed persons. Of these, 1 581 undertakings with 5 057 persons pertained to the Memel Territory. On the basis of the statistics of the trade licences, 24 380 commercial undertakings were enumerated in Lithuania Major in 1937. Since the number of concerns in the Memel Territory is estimated at 1 800, the total number of commercial undertakings in the whole of Lithuania may amount to over 26 000, which for the last fifteen years implies a growth of over 40%.

A closer analysis of the statistical data forces us, however, to the conclusion that the rising tendency of our home trade-as regards the promotion initiative of individual undertakings-had already in 1931 reached its peak, and that since then the total number of commercial undertakings has materially failen and still remains below that level.

The following table affords a review of the development from 1927—1937, conjointly with classification according to corporations:

Year	Total	I. Corp.	II. Corp.	III. Corp.	IV. Corp.	V. Corp.	I-III. Corp.
1927	20 959	124	3 584	12 433	3 837	981	16 141
1928	22 581	130	3 703	13 242	4 641	865	17 075
1929	22 429	125	3 679	13 312	4 767	546	17 116
1930	22 652	145	3 589	13 583	4 727	608	17 317
1931	22 767	170	3 615	13 602	4 654	727	17 387

6: Anonymous U-4.5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

1932	21 505	149	3 248	13 096	4 441	571	16 493
1933	20 793	127	2 894	12 482	4 828	462	15 503
1934	20 177	115	2 629	12 106	4 851	476	14 830
1935	21 981	110	2 567	11 478	5 745	2 081	14 145
1936	23 313	105	2 537	11 770	6 497	2 404	14 412
1937	24 380	120	2 552	12 445	6 793	2 470	15 117

The figures contained in the first column show for 1937 an appreciably increased total of undertakings in comparison with 1931, but we see that the principal growth, i. e. more than 3 000 concerns, ensued in the years 1935 and 1936. As is known, the Patent Tax for both industry and trade was considerably increased in 1935, the result being that many small traders, who had until then been exempt from the Patent Tax, since 1935 have had to take out a trade licence of the IV. or V. class. This supplementary tax naturally resulted in 1935 and to a great extent also in 1936 in a considerable increase of the total of the trade licences taken out, and solely this circumstance explains the statistical growth of the total figures of commercial undertakings in 1937 over the position of 1931. The figures classified according to corporations show this clearly; only the IV. and V. corporations affected by the supplementary tax since 1935 have appreciably surpassed the level of 1931.

Only the figures concerning the three first corporations afford comparable quantities and only these may therefore be adduced for a description of the contingent development of our home trade. The relevant figures in the last column of the foregoing table show us that the total number of commercial concerns steadily grew until 1931, but from 1932 to 1935 decreased by approximately one-fifth, and during the last two years, especially 1937, has again slightly risen. Although during the period of revival approximately 1 000 new undertakings were promoted, the position of 1927 could not once be reached in 1937; in comparison with 1931 the recession amounted to 13.1%.

The above cited figures relate to all commercial trade-licences, also therefore to the hotel business, credit and insurance companies, &c. It is therefore advisable to examine the statistics on the inner structure of commercial concerns, from which the following data emerge:

6: Anonymous U-45 (no date) 1938 RBS Lithuanians RBS

Structure of the Commercial Undertakings in Lithuania Major and its Development from 1929—1937.

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	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Total number of trade licences	22 429	22 652	22 767	21 505	20 793	20 177	21 981	23 313	24 380
I. Commercial Concerns in a narrower sense	18 018	18 132	17 945	16 937	17 069	16 132	17 056	17 336	18 108
II. Hawker's trade	719	641	535	710	222	496	1 640	2 257	2 135
III. Auxiliary branches of trade (middlemen, &c.)	496	514	746	601	544	600	559	786	907
IV. Hotel Business	2 556	2 693	2 831	2 604	2 283	2 094	1 970	2 055	2 301
V. Credit and Insurance	102	100	90	91	83	78	74	147	149
VI. Other Commercial Undertakings	538	572	620	562	592	597	682	732	780

The figures quoted under paragraph 1, segregated in this manner, of commercial concerns in a narrower sense, depict more accurately the development tendency of our home-trade than the amounts of all trade-licences. Through the segregation of the hawker's trade, the misleading operation of the tax law variations is to a large extent, if not entirely, eliminated. Classified according to categories, the development of commercial concerns in a narrower sense appears as under:

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Year	Total	Wholesale Trade (I. & II. Corp.)	Large-scale Retail Trade (III. Corp.)	Small-scale Retail Trade (IV. & V. Corp.)
1929	18 018	3 297	10.958	3 763
1930	18 132	3 179	11 045	3 908
1931	17 945	3 208	10 933	3 804
1932	16 937	2 830	10 760	3 347
1933	17 069	2 481	10 500	4 088
1934	16 132	2 284	10 288	3 740
1935	17 056	2 182	9 852	5 022
1936	17 336	2 220	9 834	5 282
1937	18 108	2 273	10 172	5 663

As regards, in the first place, the last column relating to small-scale retail trade, the fluctuations from 1932—1934 were elicited by transitory statistical-technical difficulties in the separation of the hawker's trade, and for that reason possess no contingent significance. The same remark applies to the buoyant growth in 1935, which is attributable to the augmentation of the patent duty. The two remaining sets of figures regarding wholesale and large-scale retail trade indicate, despite a slight rise, particularly in 1937, a recession, which in comparison with 1929 amounts to 32.8% for wholesale trade, and to 7.2% for large-scale retail trade.

The circumstance that the number of wholesale commercial undertakings has suffered a decidedly more severe percentage recession than that of the large-scale retail concerns, proves that the shrinkage of promotion initiative in the framework of our home-trade cannot be interpreted as a consequence of the general concentration process of wholesale commercial undertakings at the cost of large-scale and small-scale retail trade, as in a certain sense it makes itself observable in the sphere of industry. The total of industrial concerns moreover shows no recession, but on the contrary a steady growth. In the framework of the total number, only the wholesale concerns are growing horizontally and vertically more rapidly than the small-scale retail ones. The dynamic of the development of our home-trade is, however, a diametrically opposite one: the total number of undertakings declines; the small-scale retail concerns show, after rectification of the statistical distortion in 1935-6, even a slight growth. Large-scale retail trade is receding only negligibly; and the number of wholesale commercial undertakings is shrinking most sharply. It may also be not uninteresting in this connexion to compare the figures of the complete categories of commercial and industrial trade licences with one another. This comparison gives the following characteristic result:

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Wholesale Industrial Undertakings (I. — V. Class)	241	263	271	251	246	256	272	349	406
In %	100	109	112	104	102	106	113	145	168
Wholesale Commercial Undertakings (I.—II. Corp.)	3 297	3 179	3 208	2 830	2 481	2 284	2 182	2 220	2 273
In %	100	96	97	86	75	69	66	67	69

● 473 An examination of the classification of commercial undertakings (in a narrower sense) according to separate branches shows us, however, that the above indicated shrinkage process in the number of undertakings is in no way a generally applicable phenomenon for all branches. On the contrary, the decrease of undertakings is confined to certain special branches only, while other branches are even increasing. The following table best illustrates this development.

Classification of Commercial Undertakings in a narrower Sense according to Separate Branches.

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
1. Foodstuffs and Luxury Goods Trade	11 635	11 783	11 851	11 467	11 489	11 103	11 590	11 681	11 909
2. Agricultural Products	2 574	2 497	2 177	1 756	1 750	1 611	1 641	1 612	1 824
3. Combustibles ..	488	484	370	317	309	323	314	338	383
4. Machinery and Vehicles	234	249	257	154	156	127	122	126	157
5. Metal Wares and Furniture	580	477	532	555	556	514	570	749	768
6. Textiles and Clothing	1 586	1 574	1 664	1 694	1 723	1 576	1 641	1 662	1 813
7. Fancy Goods ..	416	509	571	490	595	500	651	650	686
8. Other Special Trades	505	559	523	504	491	458	514	518	568

The foregoing comparison comprises for the sake of completeness the commercial concerns in a narrower sense of all five corporations together which, it is true, suffers from the drawback that the data for 1932—1934, on the already examined statistical-technical grounds, are slightly distorted (this is chiefly the case for the textile branch) and the final figures of the three last years have been reckoned somewhat too high (especially for agricultural products*). Nevertheless the table correctly reflects the general development tendency. Thus we may assume that there are only three branches in which the employer's initiative was manifestly hampered,

*) For agricutural products in the first three corporations the reduced figures for 1929 amount to 1 271, and for 1937 to 672, which implies a recession of nearly 50%.

while the remaining branches reveal an average firm development tendency. The branches with shrinkage symptoms are: Trade in agricultural products (grain, flax, dairy supplies, eggs, cattle, poultry); trade in combustibles (timber, coal, and naphtha); and trade in machinery and vehicles. There are therefore involved only those branches of trade which, during recent years, have been passing more and more out of the hands of private promoters into the sphere of activity of the commercial cooperatives and the „Maistas" Joint-stock Company, which must inevitably automatically cause a decrease in the number of enterprises of the corresponding branches, the more so since most of the commercial cooperatives are exempt from the Patent Tax and are not included in the total figures of commercial undertakings which are calculated on the basis of the trade-licences issued. The enormous rise of the goods turnover of the „Maistas" Joint-stock Company and the cooperatives is described in the following section. 473

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* *

As regards the geographical distribution of commercial undertakings, besides Kaunas and Memel, Šiauliai and Panevėžys are the most important commercial centres of Lithuania. The following table depicts the development of the geographical distribution of wholesale and large-scale retail commercial concerns in a wider sense (I.-III. Corporations) in Lithuania Major from 1929—1937. 438 473

Geographical Distribution of Commercial Concerns.

Year	Total	Kaunas (City)	Šiauliai (District)	Panevėžys (District)
1929	17 116	2 418	1 846	1 128
1930	17 317	2 453	1 808	1 168
1931	17 387	2 654	1 782	1 172
1932	16 493	2 723	1 773	1 074
1933	15 503	2 674	1 717	1 047
1934	14 830	2 671	1 704	991
1935	14 145	2 532	1 634	949
1936	14 412	2 593	1 666	1 010
1937	15 117	2 690	1 662	1 018

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We see from the foregoing data that notwithstanding the decrease in the total figures, the number of Kaunas concerns in the period under review has grown; in consequence of this the percentage share of Kaunas has also risen from 14.1% in 1929 to 17.8% in 1937. The biggest rise in the number of Kaunas concerns falls to 1931—1932, when in connexion with tariff-technical facilities a number of import firms removed their headquarters from the small frontier town of Virbalis to Kaunas, and to 1936—1937, in the wake of the general economic upward trend. The wholesale commercial concerns, i. e. undertakings of the I. corporation, are, moreover, for the most part concentrated in Kaunas; of the 120 corresponding enterprises of Lithuania, 76 have their headquarters in that city.

While, as shown above, the total number of wholesale and large-scale retail commercial concerns in the rest of Lithuania has suffered an absolute reduction during the past decade, in spite of the revival of the last two years, the growth of commercial concerns in the Memel Territory is estimated at approximately 15%. This phenomenon is to be explained in the first place by the growth of the port trade (see the following chapter for details), which induced various firms to remove their headquarters to Memel or at least to open permanent branches at the port.

2. Total Figures of Goods Turnover

The statistical comprehension of the goods turnover of home-trade in the nature of things encounters greater difficulties than the calculation of the foreign trade turnover. The large number of small undertakings, among them the hawker's trade which with us is still relatively widespread and difficult mathematically to grasp, and most of all the absence still of any sharp cleavage between wholesale and retail business generally aggravate the task of determining the total amounts of the turnover and render their clarification from parallelism quite impossible. The State Central Statistical Bureau on these grounds has hitherto published no relevant data.

One must therefore be content only with substitute figures and estimates. As such may be mentioned: The data on tax receipts; the foreign trade turnover; the reports of the coope-

rative societies (which, however, in the first place reflect only the constantly growing rôle of the cooperatives in our economic life and therefore do not permit any conclusions on the turnover of the total home-trade) and, finally, the results of an inquiry organized by our Chamber of Commerce.

In the tax statistics contingent postponements during separate years are expressed only in a distorted form, because the tax receipts of each single year, besides the taxes assessed on the basis of the turnover in the previous year, contain also arrears from earlier years. Naturally, therefore, the contingent position of the payment year, and not the assessment year, is conclusive for the payment receipts. Bearing in mind the foregoing objections, the tax statistics none the less provide a certain guide and afford us, in the absence of other sources, a summary over a larger series of years.

According to the reports of the State Control, the tax receipts (without the Memel Territory) from trade from 1930—1936, were as follows (in 1 000 litas):

Year	Total	Patent Tax	Profit Tax
1930	8 182.7	2 458.3	5 724.4
1931	8 231.1	2 250.9	5 980.2
1932	7 901.5	2 306.4	5 595.1
1933	7 027.7	1 894.6	5 133.1
1934	6 357.9	2 014.7	4 343.2
1935	6 662.1	2 026.2	4 635.9
1936	6 852.3	1 997.9	4 854.4

The second column respecting the Patent Tax once more confirms the accuracy of the deductions of the former section in regard to the reduction in the number of undertakings of wholesale and large-scale retail trade, and shows that even the extension of tax liability to hitherto tax-free small enterprises in 1935 could not compensate for the decline in the Patent Tax returns.

The third column respecting the Profit Tax, for the reasons above discussed, may only with reserve be regarded as a substitute reflecting the trade turnover. Nevertheless, for the purpose of comparison of the development tendencies of trade and industry, it can, in the first place, be contrasted with the analogous data on the industry tax receipts; the accuracy of the

651 comparison cannot be doubted because equivalent factors are
● 473 involved. This contrast furnishes the following result:

Profit Tax in 1 000 litas	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
Industry	2 640.6	2 743.3	2 217.5	2 606.7	2 373.3	2 463.2	3 177.2
Trade	5 724.4	5 980.2	5 595.1	5 133.1	4 343.2	4 635.9	4 854.4

On the basis of the foregoing comparative figures, we may reckon that in comparison with 1930 the taxation capacity of industry in 1936 increased by 20%, whereas simultaneously the Profit Tax returns of trade receded by 15%.

This comparison fully illustrates that the position of trade
439 is much more unfavourable than that of industry, which is
473 chiefly due to three factors:

1. The large share of foreign trade in the total goods turnover (direct export and import can be estimated at approximately 40%, and by adding the turnover between wholesale and retail trade the share exceeds 60%) renders our trade to a greater degree dependent upon the fluctuations of the world trend than is the case with our youthful industry, which works chiefly for the home market.

2. For the same reasons, in the sphere of trade, in connexion with the international shrinkage of import, quotas and compensation agreements, private initiative seems far more hampered than in relation to industry.

3. The vigorous growth of the cooperatives, whose object is as far as possible to eliminate intermediate trade, was bound in the nature of things to aggravate the position of private trade in corresponding branches and thereby force down the total turnover amount.

We shall, it is true, in the further course of our deductions see that the decrease in the trade turnover is only an **ad valorem** one, and that its quantitative scope has even increased. This fact, however, in no way prejudices the validity of what has already been stated, because the proportion between the comparative taxation figures relating to trade and industry is not displaced thereby but remains identical.

651 In view of the fact that in crisis years, when the amount
439 of the trade turnover sinks, tax assessments for budgetary
473 reasons as a rule are imposed too high, this circumstance must be taken into consideration for the purpose of the index calcu-

lation of the trade turnover on the basis of the tax statistics, 651
and an appropriate clarification effected. 439

To reinforce this assertion we compare first of all the per- 473
centage development of the Profit Tax receipts from 1930—1936 (the tax is valid at times for the preceding year) with the index already calculated in the previous chapter of the **ad valorem** development of our foreign trade turnover from 1929—1935. We obtain in this manner the two following sets of figures:

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935
Foreign Trade Turnover..	100.0	101.5	86.6	55.9	47.5	44.9	44.1
Trade Turnover on the basis of tax receipts	100.0	105.5	97.7	89.7	75.9	80.9	84.8

One must bear in mind that the home-trade turnover, [438]
especially in respect of commodities of fixed demand (chiefly foodstuffs) which constitute the relatively most important item of the turnover, is far less subject to trend fluctuations than foreign trade. The growth of domestic industrial production must likewise extend the scope of the home-trade turnover. On the other hand, however, one may not forget that the retrogression of our foreign trade turnover is in the first instance due to the fall of prices, and that its quantitative scope, as has been demonstrated in a previous chapter, even in the crisis years remained above the level of 1929. The fall of prices has approximately in the same manner affected the foreign and home-trade turnovers. If therefore the tax receipts correctly reflected the trade turnover, then this would mean, in consideration of the high percentage share of foreign trade, that the home-trade in inland goods already in 1935 had attained a turnover which, in comparison with 1929, was **ad valorem** one and a half times, and quantitatively three times larger, which, it goes without saying, cannot correspond to reality.

On the basis of reliable estimates, the turnover assessments 651
of the Tax Inspectorate in the crisis years, in relation to the 438
firms with non-public accounting, were fixed too high. Since on the firms with public accounting, for which the tax is assessed according to the actual turnover, approximately one-fifth of the Profit Tax total devolves, the figures for the total receipts since 1932 have had to be cut down a quarter in round figures in order to depict the real total turnover.

3. Share-capital in Lithuanian Trade

The rôle of joint-stock companies in the total figure of our wholesale commercial undertakings is relatively unimportant. In 1937 there were in Lithuania only 32 joint-stock companies, which were engaged in merchandise trade, in a narrower sense, with a total capital of 8 900 000 litas; and three companies engaged in the warehousing and forwarding business with a share-capital of 300 000 litas. Only a few companies among these have a share-capital of more than a million litas, while for half of all the companies the capital amounts to less than 200 000 litas. The development since 1928 is clear from the following table: 473

Year	No. of Companies	Share-capital in 1 000 litas	Year	No. of Companies	Share-capital in 1 000 litas
1928	14	3 211	1933	32	9 485
1929	19	5 725	1934	32	8 640
1930	22	7 100	1935	31	9 057
1931	28	9 400	1936	30	8 232
1932	32	9 759	1937	32	8 907

We see from the foregoing that the number of commercial undertakings organized as joint-stock companies has remained stationary since 1932, and that the total amount of their capital since then has decreased by 9%.

The development of the participation of foreign capital in our commercial organizations shows, just as the reduction of foreign indebtedness described in another chapter, the progressive emancipation of our economy from alien influence and its financial strengthening. The share of foreign capital has fallen from 24.5% in 1931 to 6.1% in 1937. The following figures illustrate the course of this development: [471]

	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Foreign Capital in Lithuanian Joint-stock Companies, in 1 000 Litas	2 310	2 305	1 870	1 747	920	260	544

In the above quoted total figure of commercial joint-stock companies our most important commercial organization is not

473 included, because, since it simultaneously belongs to the biggest industrial enterprises, it is shown among the latter. This remark refers to the „Maistas" Joint-stock Company, whose rôle in our foodstuffs industry has already been discussed in the relevant section. The following figures relate therefore solely to its share in our trade turnover.

The „Maistas" Company, 69.8% of whose shares are held by the Government, has since 1935 virtually monopolized the entire export trade of Lithuania in meat, cattle, and poultry (the residue pertains to frontier trade) and therefore as a single enterprise in 1937 reached a share of 22.5% in Lithuania's total exports. Its total foreign and home-trade turnover amounted to 60 000 000 litas and was exceeded only by that of the Central Union of Agricultural Cooperatives, „Lietūkis".

473 432 The following table illustrates the course of growth of the share of „Maistas" in our export trade during the last ten years („Maistas" has been operating already since 1923, but began to play an important part in our economy, properly speaking, only after 1930):

Year	Total Lithuanian Exports of Cattle, Poultry, Ham, and Meat Products, in Million Litas	Share in Total Export Trade	Total Export of „Maistas" in Mil. Lt.	Percentage Share of „Maistas" in: Exports of Cattle, Poultry, Meat, Ham, &c.	the Total Export Trade
1928	31.8	12.4%	1.3	4.0%	0.5%
1929	69.1	20.9%	5.9	8.6%	1.8%
1930	107.3	32.2%	24.8	23.2%	7.4%
1931	112.9	41.3%	42.9	38.1%	15.8%
1932	68.5	36.2%	42.8	62.5%	22.6%
1933	63.0	39.3%	42.3	67.2%	26.4%
1934	45.3	30.8%	34.9	77.0%	23.7%
1935	34.4	22.6%	32.7	95.1%	21.5%
1936	48.1	25.2%	42.7	88.8%	22.4%
1937	51.9	24.9%	46.9	90.3%	22.5%

The principal export articles of „Maistas" are bacon and live pigs. Bacon is sold exclusively to England, and live pigs to the U. S. S. R. and Germany. The export of bacon reached its peak precisely in the crisis years 1932 and 1933, and was largely instrumental in equalizing the shrinkage of export of other

articles in our trade-balance at that time, which must be entered to the credit account of „Maistas". When after the Ottawa Conference England greatly expanded her imports of agrarian products from the Dominions, to the detriment of her former European suppliers, our bacon exports also receded, whereby the export structure of „Maistas" was materially altered. The following two comparative tables elucidate this relationship:

I. The Structure of English Bacon Imports

	1931	1936	1937
England's bacon imports, in million £ ..	33.1	27.3	29.3
Including in % from:			
Dominions	0.5	15.7	19.2
European countries ...	97.7	84.1	80.7

II. The Bacon Exports of „Maistas"

	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Exports of bacon, in million litas .	30.3	32.5	37.7	27.6	15.0	20.3	20.8
Share of bacon exports in total export of „Maistas" in %	70.6	76.0	89.0	79.1	45.9	47.4	44.4

Although bacon sales in recent years have receded **ad valorem** by nearly half (and quantitatively by more than half), „Maistas" was able, through the transposition of export to other articles, chiefly live pigs, but also through the building up of poultry and canned goods export, not only to make good the recession of bacon exports, but also in 1937 **ad valorem** to overtake by 9.3% the pre-crisis position (1931) of its total export trade.

Lithuania's total export of corresponding products during the same period not only, under the operation of the fall in prices, declined **ad valorem** by 54% but also quantitatively (on the basis of the price-index of Lietuvos Bankas) by 25%.

438 The home-trade turnover of „Maistas", which maintains
473 47 places of sale for meat and canned provisions throughout Lithuania, has constantly grown. In 1927 it amounted to 4 400 000 litas; in 1936 it had already reached 10 100 000 litas; and in 1937 it had risen to 13 100 000 litas.

4. The Rôle of the Cooperative Societies

474 The significance of the cooperatives in our trade can best
438 be illustrated by the fact that their sales in 1937 amounted to more than 200 000 000 litas. During the last ten years they have quadrupled in value, and quantitatively even increased eightfold.

The course of this expansion can be studied in the following table:

Sales of the Cooperative Societies (in 1 000 litas)

Year	„Lietūkis"	Trade Cooperatives	„Pienocentras"	Total
1928	12 129	23 520	13 662	49 311
1929	29 393	52 255	25 999	108 647
1930	23 117	44 992	43 854	111 963
1931	36 743	44 950	46 102	127 795
1932	28 853	37 314	45 182	111 349
1933	32 063	37 534	36 163	105 760
1934	37 617	37 342	36 329	111 288
1935	60 530	46 427	42 438	149 395
1936	73 715	55 560	55 897	185 172
1937	72 823	65 046	65 730	203 599

The Union of Agricultural Cooperative Societies of Lithuania „Lietūkis", which was founded in 1923 and in the first year of its existence counted only 26 cooperative societies as members, and whose annual sales from 1923 to 1929 on an average amounted to 10 000 000 litas, since the revision and amendment of the statutes in 1930, has become the most important commercial undertaking of Lithuania. The aims which it pursues consist, in the sense of the by-laws, in promoting agriculture

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

APPENDIX

ECONOMIC FIGURES

433

	1929	1930
INDUSTRY:		
1. Total number of medium and wholesale undertakings (of 5 employed persons upwards)	1 044	1 051
2. Total number of employed workers	19 637	19 334
3. Total figure of engine power in H. P.	.	.
4. Production Index	100.0	108.3
TRADE:		
474 ● 473 1. Total number of larger undertakings (Trade in the narrower sense I — III Corp)	14 255	14 224
439 2. Railway goods traffic 1 000 tons	2 079	1 993
3. Price Index	100	87
4. Foreign Trade Turnover:		
(a) Million Litas	636.3	646.2
(b) Volume	100,0	116.7
5. Cooperative Trade Turnover, million litas	108.6	111.9
FINANCE AND CREDIT CONDITIONS:		
652 1. Monetary circulation, in million litas	102.3	117.2
452 2. State Revenue, in million litas	338.5	347.7
453 3. State Expenditure, in million litas	269.9	320.6
4. Deposits of the Credit Institutions, in million litas	282.8	345.7
5. Loans of the Credit Institutions, in million litas	333.0	437.8
6. Total Sums of Bills of Exchange Protests, in million litas	49.1	40.1
7. Discount Rate of the Lietuvos Bankas	7	7

OF LITHUANIA.

1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	493
1 049	1 105	1 108	1 118	1 136	1 135	1 247	
21 053	19 743	20 660	22 282	23 344	25 844	31 689	
70 038	84 804	95 751	94 585	105 349	109 634	125 157	
140.7	153.7		166.5	185.9	244.2	272.0	
							494
14 141	13 590	12 981	12 572	12 034	12 054	12 445	493
2 164	1 599	1 722	1 853	2 003	2 193	2 352	489
74	61	54	52	46	46	53	
551.1	356.1	302.4	285.9	280.8	346.5	420.9	
128.3	106.6	102.2	103.2	103.9	125.2	139.3	
127.8	111.3	105.8	111.3	149.4	185.2	203.6	
							652
127.1	112.7	105.8	101.1	111.4	124.1	131.9	452
340.1	292.0	256.9	264.4	279.9	302.8	329.9	453
335.3	278.2	249.7	251.8	276.9	287.7	318.2	
302.0	291.2	278.4	269.5	229.6	290.2	347.6	
479.6	449.5	446.5	461.9	451.5	467.3	501.4	
67.5	71.7	39.3	32.5	23.5	13.9	12.9	
8½	7	7	6	6	5½	5½	

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

IV. ORGANISATION OF MARKETS

The action of the Government and of the central agricultural organisations with a view to the organisation of markets and the standardisation of agricultural products may be briefly summarised as follows : 474 473

To enable the small agricultural undertakings (which predominate in the country) to produce standardised agricultural products for foreign (and home) markets and to export in large quantities, the Government, even before the world depression, had taken steps to combine the small agriculturists into big central organisations (dealing both with production and marketing). The following three organisations were founded : (1) " Lietuvos Žemės Kooperatyvų Sąjunga " (Lithuanian Union of Agricultural Co-operative Societies). abbreviated to " Lietūkis ", which now centralises all cereal exports ; (2) " Centralinė Lietuvos Pienos Perdirbimo Bendrovių Sąjunga " (Lithuanian Central Union of Dairymen's Co-operative Societies), abbreviated to " Pienocentras ", which now centralises the production of butter for export and the export of butter and eggs ; (3) the " Maistas " joint-stock company (the shareholders being the State and the pig-breeders), which at present centralises the production of bacon and other meat preparations for export and also the export of the meat preparations, animals for slaughter and poultry. In 1930, a joint-stock company 473

344

Chamber of Agriculture at Kaunas.

11 League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RBG Lithuanians RBG

473 known as "Lietuvos Cukrus" was founded (the shareholders being the State and sugar-beet-growers), and this centralises all sugar manufacture.

439 To improve the quality of agricultural produce for export, the Government controls the export of meat (since 1925), butter (since 1927), eggs (since 1927), linseed (since 1925) and flax (since 1926, the control having been further tightened up in 1934). The centralisation of exports of agricultural produce greatly facilitates export control and increases its efficacy.

435 At the time of the fall in the prices of agricultural produce on foreign markets, the Government, to stimulate supplies for export, fixed minimum prices for the pigs bought by the "Maistas" company, the milk supplied to the dairymen's co-operative societies and cream-separating centres (all the dairymen's co-operative societies in the country are affiliated to the "Pienocentras"), the eggs bought by the "Pienocentras" and the cereals bought by the "Lietūkis". In this way, agricultural prices have been maintained with the co-operation of the three central organisations.

651 Various measures have been adopted with a view to the reduction of costs of production. As long ago as 1933, the rate of interest on mortgage loans was lowered; the total of the land taxes payable by agriculturists during the years 1935 and 1936 was reduced by 10%. Agriculturists leaving their villages and settling on self-contained undertakings are exempt from Government land taxes for a period of one year (this privilege is enjoyed by all agriculturists who have taken over separate undertakings since 1932). Agriculturists who, having taken over separate undertakings since 1932, are obliged to change their place of residence (and such is the case with more than half of those concerned) receive from the Ministry of Agriculture a stated
435 quantity of wood at 20% of the normal sale price. Under the price-control system introduced in 1935, maximum prices have been fixed for chemical fertilisers, bran, feeding-cakes, petroleum and certain other articles which are of particular importance to agriculture. For the 1938 autumn sowings, the Government (in conjunction with the "Lietūkis") has reduced the price of chemical fertilisers by itself paying the cost of railway transport.

000 In conclusion, it may be said that, in spite of the agricultural depression which made its appearance some five or six years ago and which has not yet entirely ceased, the Lithuanian agriculturist is at present in a better position than he was before the war; he is better fed and better clothed and has more money to spare for his cultural needs.[1]

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[1] A detailed description of the progress made in this sphere and of the activities of the institutions and organisations for the promotion of agriculture is to be found in the work entitled *Agriculture in Lithuania*, by Professor J. KRIKŠČIŪNAS, published by the Chamber of Agriculture, Kaunas, 1938.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

the most varied types were founded. To the functions they 474
already performed — provision of credit for agriculturists, supplying of consumption goods and agricultural requirements, encouragement of the use of selected seeds and pure-bred stock, co-operative manufacture of milk products — they added the purchase of agricultural produce and the organisation of its sale in foreign markets. Cereals, vegetables, potatoes, linseed, eggs, flax and other agricultural products were previously inadequately prepared both for home and for foreign markets, with the result that the prices received by the peasant were low. The co-operative societies have improved the marketing of agricultural produce; standards have been laid down

Co-operative dairy.

and are rigorously adhered to. The Government has also helped to regulate this aspect of rural life by the enactment of laws on the control of agricultural produce, the texts of which were prepared by the co-operative organisations themselves. These organisations have also given proof of initiative in organising and developing the export of cattle and pigs. At a time when [475] the export of bacon and live animals could only be handled with difficulty by private enterprise, the unions of co-operative societies acquired a very extensive undertaking for the export of live-stock, developed it and subsequently made it over to the "Maistas" joint-stock company. This rendered possible the efficient export of meat and, more particularly, bacon and poultry.

423 so many solemn assurances had been 14 made on the highest authority that there would be no collectivization. . . .

The Russians well realize that collectivization means a decrease of production and a lowering of living standards. But the Soviet regime—materialistic in all its aspects—does not concern itself with materialistic calculations in its drive for forcible collectization: collectivization is a part of the "ideological drive." That is, a part of perfecting the POLICE REGIME.

There were no "estate owners" or "peasants" in Lithuania: Lithuanian agriculturists were all dignified and self-respecting medium and small FARMERS, HUSBANDMEN, who produced enough to maintain comfortable living standards, provided gradual accumulation of farming machinery, earned income enabling them to send their children to universities. They entered specialized fields of production—dairying, cattle breeding, sugar beet production, fowl raising, pig breeding, etc. Lithuanian agricultural economy enabled the country to export annually increasing quantities of the highest grade butter, eggs, cheese, hams, bacon, canned meat, frozen meats, flax, bristles, casings, lard, etc. The farmers lived in isolated homesteads, rather than in Russian-type clustered villages. They enjoyed privacy in their homes surrounded by orchards and flower gardens and crosses.

But, from the Soviet point of view, individual farming tends to maintain "rugged individualism," independent thinking, self-reliance, self-respect, dislike of a police interference. Production by independent farmers cannot be controlled by the most precisely calculated estimates—and the Russians are thinking in terms of simple grain production, rather than specialized varieties of agriculture. Russian officials can never be certain whether the last ounce had been squeezed from an independent farmer.

And a farmer living in his isolated homestead escapes the continual surveillance of the MVD network of spies! Walking off to his orchard, garden or grove, he could maintain liaison with the "people's enemies" and "political bandits"—and every independent-thinking Lithuanian is either a "political bandit" or a "people's enemy" in the Soviet mentality. He could supply the "bandits" with food or clothing, or shelter them at night. This is the most "criminal" aspect of individual farming.

474 In the kolkhoz—it is quite different.

626 Hundreds of families are herded into a closely guarded enclosure where each person is assigned so much "living space" and has no choice in selecting either the "breathing space" or room mates. A few dozen armed MVD troops guard the huge estate bared of all tree vegetation. There is no chance for "hoarding" or secreting a part of the production which is checked in the field by Party officials. No one can enter or leave unnoticed and unquestioned. Every fifth person is an agent informer of the MVD. No one can leave at night or maintain any contacts unsurveyed by the MVD. Everyone can be depended upon to report dutifully for casting his or her ballot at periodic "elections." No one owns any property, except the few pieces of furniture, bedding and personal rags. No one can read the clandestine press unobserved by the agents. No one can own a radio set or listen to clandestine broadcasts. There are "red corners" supplied with ample official propaganda literature and a radio

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474 626 tuned to either Vilnius or Moscow broadcasts deemed proper by the authorities—and loudspeakers are installed so that no one can escape hearing such news. And there is no church or chapel—no one can leave to attend religious services.

In fact, the kolkhoz is a CONCENTRATION CAMP OF STATE SERFS. The Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union published a decree on 7 July 1948: "No one may leave the kolkhoz or any section thereof without permission of the authorities." The serfs must produce their quotas of work—or face a trial for "sabotage."

The *Izvestiya* article of 22 July 1948 was preceded by a boast of comrade Sniečkus, First Secretary of the LKP/b CK: "659,000 ha. of land were seized from estate owners and redistributed to smallholders and the landless." The gratuitious gift of land "for all time" of 15% of all cultivated land area of the country was coupled with a boast of comrade Sniečkus: 900 farms in Šiauliai county were merged into 32 "co-operative artels."

Soon after the gift of land "for all time," the Riga radio broadcast on 30 August: "Sooner or later, *all* of the farmers of Latvia *must* go into kolkhozes." This tune was immediately echoed in the press of Lithuania: those refusing to go into "co-operative artels" were branded "state traitors." . . .

Collectivization Procedure

474 Prior to 1948, there were 20 kolkhozes established in the depopulated and Russian-resettled District of Klaipėda and areas of Vilnius vacated by repatriates to Poland. Thereafter, the first kolkhozes were established among Russian Old Believer sectarians in the northeast. The first kolkhoz near Utena, in a purely Lithuanian community invaded by Russian settlers, was destroyed by the guerrillas. The serfs scattered.

In the spring of 1948, the collectivization drive was pushed.

It began with the dairying farmers. Thus, the Party [234] organ *Tiesa* announced in its issue of 11 May:

"Formerly, milk delivery quotas were fixed according to the number of cows owned by the farms. Now, milk delivery quotas are assessed according to the ratio of general land area under cultivation. The new system aims at inducing the farmers to develop the cattle industry. Furthermore, this decree is directed against the sabotage by the kulaks who falsify the actual number of cows held by them.

"On the other hand, peasants of the kolkhozes are relieved from any compulsory milk deliveries this year. Collective farms deliver milk from every hectare of land under cultivation—25 kilograms per hectare. Nevertheless, 50% reduction is granted for the years 1948 and 1949."

In the issue of 19 September 1948 comrade Sniečkus announced:

"The urgent desire of farmers to go into collective farms gained during the past spring and summer."

He cited 32 kolkhozes in Šiauliai county and new kolkhozes at Sasnava, Liūbavas and Kalvarija. At the same time he threatened a "relentless drive against kulak saboteurs" failing to meet compulsory grain and produce quotas. Numerous instances of prosecution and "loss of freedom" were cited.

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An entire issue of 2 November 1948 of the Party organ was dedicated to describing "the happiness" in the kolkhozes. "More than 300 collective farms are now found in the Republic. Their number increases apace. In a number of counties—viz., Šakiai, Šiauliai, Joniškis, etc.—peasants from entire contiguous areas now work collectively."

Eleven days later the number of kolkhozes was officially placed at 350. On 1 January 1949 the Vilnius radio broadcast that there were 600 kolkhozes in Lithuania. At the Party Congress of 16-19 February 1949 Sniečkus boasted that 22,868 *farm units were merged into* 926 *kolkhozes*. "Within a year the entire agricultural economy will be completely collectivized." In his four-hour speech, he thundered against "the bourgeois nationalist underground, reactionary clergy, western pernicious influences." . . .

Tiesa of 2 November 1948 quoted the new serfs as perfectly pleased with their degradation. Thus, one G. Misiūnas was quoted as saying that the Soviet regime had given him 15 ha. of land but that lately he entered a kolkhoz. "I keep one cow and am raising a pig." He received 7 hundredweights of wheat for his share of work. He also has an individual garden plot but intends to give it up, inasmuch as "the kolkhoz provides everything."

Another serf, L. Savickas, was quoted as saying that every peasant gets 5 rubles daily for his labor, plus payment in produce: the kolkhoz had already distributed 3 kg. of grains to each peasant and promised an additional 7 kg. He expects to work 516 days annually and calculates that, during a year, he would earn 6 tons of grains and about 2,500 rubles in cash. Other peasants might be working fewer days. Nevertheless, "none would earn less than 2 tons of grains."

This outlook was rudely jolted a week later, in the *Tiesa* of 10 November:

"The basic condition BEFORE the distribution of profit among the peasants of a collective farm is that—all of the duties to the state regarding deliveries and return of seed loans, must be met; obligations assumed under contracts be fulfilled; MTS (Motor Tractor Stations) be paid in produce for their work; taxes and state loan subscriptions be paid, and internal funds of an agricultural artel be created and expanded, as demanded by the regulations of agricultural artels.

"Prior to distribution of profit among the peasants, boards of the collective farms must never overlook the plans for their future development, such as construction of administration buildings, dynamo stations, new hatchery reproductors, cultural demands of the kolkhoz, etc. To overlook such important problems—means to trammel the further development of the farm."—In other words, sabotage.

The farmers know the value of the boasts of "happiness" published in the propaganda press—but do not underestimate the gravity of the warnings.

The propaganda was exported to Party comrades abroad, too. Thus, comrade Kunchin's article was published in the issue No. 181 of *Laisvė* of Brooklyn, N.Y. Comrade Kunchin described the collectivization in Joniškis county. The Party's county organization began an intensive drive for collectivization back in 1947. Farmers of the Žagarė township were forced by 4 local communists to drop all work and listen for hours to the agitators—20 such meetings were held.

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474 Grammar school teachers and library managers were enlisted in the propaganda task. At long last, following a year of propaganda, "in the early spring of 1948, the smallholders Gasparaitis, Daugėla and others from Stungiai village of Žagarė township declared a desire to form an agricultural artel in their village. The initiative on the part of the working peasants was immediately supported by the township and county Party and Soviet organs."

The pattern is very clear. Following a full year of terrorization, *two persons* were finally browbeaten "to take the initiative," that is, to sign on the dotted line in the presence of the armed militiamen who had repeatedly searched their farms, requisitioned "excess supplies," beat up and cursed the farmers. The rest of the "organs" immediately "supported the initiative": 56 families at long last capitulated, rather than go to Siberia, and formed the third kolkhoz in the county. . .,

On 18 July, four days before the *Izvestiya* article boasting of landgrants to Lithuanian farmers "FOR ALL TIME," the Moscow radio blared: *"Not a foot of soil must be left in private hands!"*

On 24 July the Vilnius radio seconded: "Individual farms are—hatcheries of kulaks and nationalist bandits," and stressed that "every kolkhoz dweller is deputized by the Communist Party not only to perform his direct duties in the kolkhoz but *assist the Party in controlling the kulak farms* in the neighborhood."

On 9 August the Moscow radio noted that "individual farms, especially in the Baltic republics, were sheltering places for the enemy's agents. . . . It is the supreme duty of the communists of Lithuania to organize kolkhozes and *destroy the centers of bourgeois and Western influence.*"

Resistance to Collectivization

161 474 *The New York Times* of 25 August 1948 published a dispatch from Paris depicting the paced up drive for collectivization. Greatest resistance was believed to exist in Lithuania.

In its issue of 17 October, the *Times* reported that "a new purge of kulaks" was expected in Lithuania. "Last May Soviet militia rounded up many Lithuanian families, ordered them to sign statements that they were moving to Siberia 'voluntarily,' and then sent them east. They were so-called kulaks."

By 14th December, the entire American press published comments on an article of comrade Trofimov complaining that the Lithuanians were dispatching to Lenin some "Soviet folk." Early in January, the Vilnius radio boasted of the *"liquidation of an insurrection" in Lithuania.*

What were the actual facts? The Russian MVD-MGB forces conducted *three "operations" of genocide* and mass deportations in the spring, autumn and winter. These "operations" were planned and ordered by the Kremlin Politburo, and comrade Gavedov was delegated by comrade Abakumov, State Security Minister of the USSR,to execute the "operations." Nevertheless, some gruesome events facilitated the improvisation of an "insurrection."

In consequence of the pussyfooting of the Allied and IRO officials, some simpleton DPs succumbed to the wiles of the Soviet repatriation missions in Western Germany and returned to Lithuania. Some of

661 them, like the 60-year old farmer J. Kaminskas from Oldenburg, were "detoured" to Siberia. Several other
474 families were forcibly repatriated by the Russians from Pomerania—and were executed by the local authorities when they reached their homes. Having identified the former refugees, the Russians at once retaliated against their relatives. Thus, in Sudavia, Rev. Degutis of Virbalis, Rev. Zdanavičius, Rev. Drazdys, township clerk Bieliauskas of Pajevonys, Stasys Aleksa from Jakiškiai, Jonas Micuta from Kunigiškiai were executed. In distant Samagitia, Antanas Ambrozaitis, Antanas Bieliauskas and several other men were exiled to Siberia from Kretinga and their *wives were forced to re-marry*. Similar events have taken place elsewhere.

668 The guerrilla commanders felt obliged to retaliate.
725 On learning that Eugenija Kubiliūtė of Pajevonys had been responsible for some of the Russian-conducted massacres, the guerrillas attacked Pajevonys, found the girl inside the Pajevonys township office, tied her and burned down the structure with the traitor girl inside. The same night the MVD-militia outpost was attacked and destroyed. In the northwest, the guerrillas simultaneously occupied several towns and killed all the communists. Other units invaded the Klaipėda District and seized a Russian arsenal at Šilutė-Heidekrug, including tanks and artillery pieces. Several battalions of the regular Soviet Army sent to combat the guerrillas unexpectedly passed over to the enemy. . . . If there was "insurrection," that was by the regular armed forces of Russia. MVD-MGB troops were moved in and light bombers were summoned to bomb the "bandits" who retreated to the forests. As Russian reinforcements rushed to Pajevonys, a Russian munitions dump exploded. . . .

Then followed the "operation" of May 1948.

Genocide in Operation

474 Rural authorities were instructed to urge the dis-
661 possessed farmers to file applications for land allotments. Of course, none of these instructions were printed in the press. Local officials were instructed to stress that the Soviet regime wanted to endow everyone with land. When petitions were turned in, the officials informed the petitioners that land was allotted to them "in another township" and they must report to certain transportation points. When the farmers and their families, bearing their few worldly possessions arrived at the appointed places, they were encircled by MVD troops, driven to railroad depots and placed on board freight cars bound for Siberia. Conservative estimates placed the number of people deported in this despicable manner at more than 100,000.

Letters began arriving from the deportees telling about the numerous deaths while in transit. People trembled as they listened to threats made by countless agitators. Agricultural work was done listlessly. Fields were neglected. More and more failures to meet taxes and grain delivery quotas were reported in the press, announcing "temporary exile into friendly republics" of the "kulak saboteurs." People became resigned and agreed to go into kolkhozes.

668 The Lithuanian is passionately fond of his soil. How could he leave all his precious belongings and animals to the profane Russians to debase? No: he would rather burn down everything. . . .

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

423 farms (not exceeding 74 acres) during the Sovietization were not reëstablished as owners but were continued as managers, so that the German masters might conveniently remove them from the farms at any moment.

Latest unofficial reports indicate that several hundred German managers have been sent to Lithuania to manage the former government farms. Apparently Germans are keeping the bigger farms for colonization in the event they win this second world war. No doubt, it will take several years after this war to regain the degree of agricultural production achieved during the peace period after 1918.

COÖPERATIVES

474 Coöperatives are the backbone of progress and of economic reconstruction in Lithuania. Although the first cooperative societies in Lithuania originated as far back as the end of the eighteenth century, the wider coöperative movement was begun only in 1881, when the first consumer cooperative societies were organized by I. Ivanavicius. Ivanavicius acknowledges that his inspiration for coöperative work was obtained through traveling in Western Europe —Denmark, Germany, and Switzerland. He was the initiator and a member of the first coöperative dairy society, Birute, which was organized in 1889 and of which large and influential landowners of the district of Raseiniai were members. In 1912 there were in Lithuania 52 consumer coöperative societies with 8,193 members. For better coördination in this work, these individual coöperative societies attempted to establish a central organization, but they were refused permission by the Russian government.[16]

[16] Petras Salcius, *Kooperacija; Kooperacijos paskaitu kursas* (Coöperation; Lectures on Coöperation), Kaunas, 1931, p. 195.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Vartotoju Bendroviu Sajunga Kooperatorius (The Union of Consumers' Coöperative Societies) was finally organized in 1915, but because of the war it was unable to start its work. 474

The second group of importance before the World War consisted of the credit coöperative societies. They were started in 1871, and in 1889 there were 31 of them in the provinces (gouvernements) of Kaunas, Vilnius, and Suvalkai. By 1915 their number reached 155.

The third group of coöperatives before the World War in Lithuania was made up of the agricultural coöperative societies. Their purpose was to raise the standard of agriculture and to introduce and demonstrate to the farmers modern scientific farming methods. These coöperative societies endeavored to supply farmers with fertilizers and farming machinery. The most successful one in that field was Zagre, which was established in 1907 and had by 1913 twenty branches. There were also numerous small coöperative farm groups.

During the first World War most of the coöperatives collapsed. Yet it was these early organizations that prepared the ground for a country-wide spread of coöperatives after the war.

That coöperative activity was strongly encouraged by the government may be observed from the Union Law of the Coöperative Societies, passed on February 7, 1919, which states:

Our country is a country of farms and there is no big capital concentrated in one place; nevertheless, there is much money in the same place, which may be concentrated and made useful through coöperatives. . . . The Ministry of Commerce and Industry is of the opinion that coöperatives will give the country a useful or-

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

474 ganization for the distribution of goods in markets and will abolish speculation among certain merchants who raise the prices spuriously by storing goods and not releasing them to the markets.[17]

It must be remembered that this opinion was expressed shortly after the war, when the great shortage of goods was felt everywhere.

474 In addition, a special Department of Coöperation was
647 created as part of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. Although the government encouraged coöperation, it did not interfere with sound private initiative, particularly in later years, when the post-war conditions were more settled. In 1920 the Department of Coöperation was abolished because coöperation in Lithuania became so strong that it no longer required any special attention from the government.

474 Before Soviet occupation in 1940 most of the coöperative
651 establishments enjoyed tax exemption privileges. According to the Commerce, Industry, Credit, and Trade Profit Taxation Law,[18] the following coöperative establishments were to be free from profit taxes:

1. Consumers' coöperative societies whose capital did not exceed 50,000 litas.
2. All credit and agricultural coöperative societies.
3. All kinds of coöperative unions.
4. All those coöperative societies which did business exclusively among their members, even though their capital was in excess of 50,000 litas.

Undoubtedly those exceptions placed coöperative establishments in a somewhat privileged position in the competitive field as compared with private enterprises.

[17] Salcius, *op. cit.*, p. 203.
[18] V.Z., Nr. 168.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Table 8 shows the number and types of coöperative societies in the years 1937 to 1939.[19] 474

TABLE 8

COÖPERATIVE SOCIETIES OF LITHUANIA
1937–39

TYPE OF COÖPERATIVE	NUMBER OF SOCIETIES REGISTERED		
	1937	*1938*	*1939*
1. Credit	408	398	401
2. Stores and consumers' coöperatives	248	251	275
3. Manufacturing	226	228	224
4. Insurance	1	2	2
5. Nonclassified	375	409	430
TOTAL	1,258	1,288	1,332

1. Credit coöperatives.—Credit coöperative societies were the first to be reëstablished, after the war, in towns and townships. Most of them were organized by the Jewish population and served small merchantmen. Among the farmers, they were organized only after the introduction of stabilized currency, the litas. In 1923, 129 credit coöperative societies were organized; in 1924, 107; in 1925, 136. There are in Lithuania three kinds in this category: town coöperatives (mostly Jewish People's Banks), farmer credit coöperatives, and farmer saving and loan associations. The Jewish People's Banks Union (Zydu Liaudies Banku Sajunga) does no active business, but acts rather as an ideological center and coördinator. This union had 101 member banks in 1930. In recent years the number of credit coöperatives diminished somewhat, as may be seen from Table 8. This is partly due 474 452

[19] C.S.B., 1939, pp. 263–65.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

474 to the merging of two or three small units into one. Evidence
452 of this is the fact that membership in these societies increased instead of decreasing. In 1935, there were 119,687 members, of whom 77,553 were farmers; in 1936, 121,169 members, of whom 79,392 were farmers; in 1938, 117,155 members and in 1939, 119,326 members.

The financial position of all the credit coöperative societies in 1939 is indicated by the following statistics: total capital, 14,473,200 litas, of which membership shares accounted for 7,903,200 litas; reserve capital, 3,311,700 litas; and other capital, 1,591,100 litas. Total deposits in credit cooperative societies in 1939 amounted to 29,857,700 litas; borrowings from the banks, 22,554,500 litas; credits to members and the rest, 60,823,900 litas.

The farmer credit coöperatives are assembled in the Coöperation Bank of Lithuania (Lietuvos Kooperacijos Bankas).

474 2. *Stores and consumers' coöperatives.*—In 1939 there were 275 coöperative stores and consumers' coöperative societies, as well as one union, the Central Union of Agricultural Coöperative Societies of Lithuania, known under the trade name of Lietukis. The coöperative stores, as well as consumers' coöperatives, trade in colonial goods, while the Union, with its branches, buys farm products for export (mostly grain crops, linseed, and flax), and sells agricultural machinery, petroleum products, salt, cement, fertilizers, and so on.

The Central Union of Agricultural Coöperative Societies, Lietukis, was established in 1923; financially, it is one of the strongest coöperative unions of Lithuania; and it is the most popular. The Union is the largest exporter of grain in Lith-

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

uania: before the 1940 occupation it handled almost the entire grain export.[20] 474

Lietukis, which comprised 145 coöperative societies in its membership in 1939, maintained 16 branch establishments in Lithuania, in addition to its central establishment in Kaunas. It operated in 1939 three grain elevators, one of 3,000 metric tons' capacity in Klaipeda (Memel), another of 3,250 metric tons' capacity in Siauliai, and a third of 2,250 tons' capacity in Kaunas. Furthermore, it possessed a central flax warehouse at Siauliai and 18 grain warehouses at various other places.[21]

Lietukis handles the largest percentage in the total turnover of many commodities of Lithuania: import of fertilizers, 100 percent; salt import, 92.9; import of agricultural machinery, 80; cement import, 42; import of petroleum products, 40; import of herring, 10; iron import, 5; export of grain, 85; export of flax, 27; sale of sugar, 89.[22]

The growth and expansion of business of coöperative stores, Lietukis, and other coöperative societies in the last eleven years before the second world war is indicated by Table 9.[23]

Furthermore, it is worthy of mention that in 1926 Lietukis,[1] acquired 45 percent of the capital stock of the Maistas Corporation, whose principal business is the keeping of stockyards in which livestock is prepared for export. With the acquisition of this stock interest Lietukis indirectly entered the export trade in meat and live animals. Lietukis was also 474 491

[20] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

[21] *Lietukis, Lietuvos Zemes Ukio Kooperatyvu Sajunga* (Lietukis, the Central Union of Agricultural Coöperative Societies), Kaunas, 1934.

[22] *Report of the Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Crafts*, Kaunas, 1938, p. 113. Referred to hereafter as *Report*.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 112.

1 [i.e: The Central Union of Agricultural Coöperative Societies -- Analyst]

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 9

●474

SALES OF THE COÖPERATIVE SOCIETIES

(In Thousands of Litas)

YEAR	LIETUKIS	TRADE COÖPERATIVES	PIENOCENTRAS [a]	TOTAL
1928	12,129	23,520	13,662	49,311
1929	29,393	52,255	25,999	108,647
1930	23,117	44,992	43,854	111,963
1931	36,743	44,950	46,102	127,795
1932	28,853	37,314	45,182	111,349
1933	32,063	37,534	36,163	105,760
1934	32,617	37,342	36,329	111,288
1935	60,530	46,427	42,438	149,395
1936	73,715	55,560	55,897	185,172
1937	72,360	65,046	65,730	205,599
1938	113,909	95,165	76,920	283,884
1939	138,911	114,285	67,745	320,941

[a] Reference on Pienocentras is given in Section 3 below, on production cooperative societies.

[47] the initiator of coöperative dairies and creameries, which later developed into a separate Central Union of Dairy Cooperative Societies of Lithuania, the Pienocentras.

[647] After Soviet Russian occupation Lietukis[1] was made a government agency with all its branches and continued to function until the German invasion. The Germans in turn took control of Lietukis with all its property, and the German Economic Command (Wirtschaftskommando) issued an order on August 23, 1941, to all the branches of Lietukis, as well as to the agricultural and consumers' coöperative societies, to submit reports on fabrics and other merchandise in its possession and at the same time forbade selling any of the merchandise. It would appear that all the merchandise was confiscated by the Germans.

1 [i.e. The Central Union of Agricultural Coöperative Societies --- Analyst]

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

On September 7 the Kaunas radio broadcast an order 474 by German Commissar for Lithuania von Renteln whereby the purchase of grain was permitted exclusively to Lietukis. From this order alone it is obvious that Lietukis has been turned into agency serving German war purposes.

Deserving of mention in this group is Spaudos Fondas, a coöperative publishing concern with branch stores in every larger town throughout Lithuania for promoting the sale of books and stationery. After Soviet Russian occupation it met the same fate as Lietukis. On August 5, 1940, a decision of the Government Nationalization Committee (Valstybine Nacionalizavimo Komisija), dated August 3, was published, announcing that Spaudos Fondas with all its branches was nationalized.[24]

3. Production coöperatives.—A very important and com- 474 paratively young branch of agricultural life in Lithuania, 234 the dairy coöperative societies, forms a part of this third group. As mentioned before, prior to 1926 dairying activities were a department of Lietukis. With the rapid growth of coöperative creameries, it was decided in October, 1926, to withdraw from Lietukis and to organize the Central Union of Dairy Coöperative Societies of Lithuania (Centraline Lietuvos Pieno Perdirbimo Bendroviu Sajunga), known briefly as Pienocentras. The task of Pienocentras is to encourage milk production, develop and improve manufacture, and establish a good rating for Lithuanian milk products in the world market; and to organize coöperative dairies and creameries, coördinate their work, and diminish administration expenses through strong central organization.

In 1938 Pienocentras had a membership of 185 dairy co-

[24] *Tiesa*, No. 44, Aug. 5, 1940. (*Tiesa* [Truth] was the daily of the Lithuanian Communist Party during Soviet occupation.)

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

●474 operative societies with 2,105 milk-skimming stations. Pienocentras also exports eggs, in which branch it has attained an almost complete monopoly. For example, in 1939 it handled over 96 percent of the total egg export. The growth and development of Pienocentras may be seen from Table 10,[25] which shows that the work of Pienocentras is a real

234

TABLE 10

TOTAL TURNOVER OF PIENOCENTRAS

(In Thousands of Litas)

YEAR	TOTAL TURNOVER	TOTAL OF EXPORTS	EXPORTS OF BUTTER	EXPORTS OF EGGS	PIENOCENTRAS'S SHARE IN EXPORTS OF LITHUANIA (*Percent*)
1927	5,981	3,971	3,950	—	1.6
1928	13,662	10,437	10,437	—	4.1
1929	25,999	20,888	20,786	102	6.3
1930	43,854	35,200	34,866	334	10.5
1931	46,102	37,790	37,055	735	13.8
1932	45,182	37,079	36,045	1,034	19.6
1933	36,163	29,909	29,150	789	18.7
1934	36,329	30,231	28,816	1,397	20.5
1935	42,438	35,948	33,866	2,046	23.6
1936	55,897	48,228	42,042	6,151	25.3
1937	65,730	54,470	47,065	5,923	26.1
1938	76,920	65,300	55,131	7,833	24.2
1939	67,745	52,100	43,739	8,196	25.7

success not only in attaining a milk-and-egg monopoly in Lithuania but also in encouraging and developing this branch of agriculture. At the end of 1939 all the dairy coöperative societies of Lithuania had 21,701 members as against 18,372 in 1938 and 14,817 in 1937. In 1939 they had 106,605 regular

[25] C.S.B., volumes for 1927 to 1939.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

milk suppliers as against 101,348 in 1938 and 69,741 in 1934. 474

Pienocentras with all its departments continued to function throughout the Soviet Russian occupation, although it was transformed into a government agency. In June, 1941, when the Soviet Russian occupation was replaced by the German occupation, Pienocentras[1] came under the control of the German Economic Command (Wirtschaftskommando), also as government agency. In September, 1941, German Commissar for Lithuania von Renteln issued an order granting monopoly to Pienocentras in the business of dairy products and at the same time forbidding anybody to trade in milk products. Since Pienocentras has a wide organization throughout Lithuania, it is very convenient for the Germans in their control of milk production and in their efforts to extract from Lithuania a maximum of milk products. Of course no statistical data is available for Pienocentras's economic activities during the periods of German and Russian occupation. 231 [647]

Deserving of mention in this group is a local grocery trade coöperative society in Kaunas called Parama which owns and operates thirty modern grocery stores, as well as the largest and most modern bakery in Lithuania, with an annual production valued at about six million litas. Its fate under the German occupation is similar to that of Pienocentras. 474 444

4 and 5. Insurance and nonclassified coöperatives.—These two groups are of minor importance in the economic life of Lithuania. Insurance, still undeveloped there, is one of the fields open for coöperation in the future. In 1938 there were two insurance coöperative societies with 7,486 members. Insurance premiums collected in 1938 amounted to 355,495 litas, which, compared with the development of other co- 474 452

[1] [i.e. Central Union of Dairy Cooperative Societies of Lithuania --- Analyst]

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

474 operative branches, is a small sum. In the unclassified group [452] in the year 1939 there were 430 societies with a membership of 4,581. The total membership of all coöperative societies in 1939 was 161,256.

All the coöperative unions and bigger coöperative societies have representatives in the Council of Coöperatives of Lithuania (Lietuvos Kooperatyvu Taryba), which was formally chartered on January 30, 1925. The task of the Council is to encourage coöperative movement, to maintain close ties among coöperatives in Lithuania and in foreign countries, and to represent them in the government institutions and [204] public organizations. The Council publishes the magazines *Talka* (Coöperation) and *Bendras Darbas* (Coöperative Work).[26]

In short, it may be said that coöperation has played an important role in the economic reconstruction and development of Lithuania since 1918. Coöperative institutions have increased the purchasing power of the farmers, both as producers and as consumers. At the same time they have furthered economic progress both by increasing productivity and by improving the quality of many products.

GRAIN CULTURE

243 Grain culture, which has been known in Lithuania since ancient times, was the backbone of the country's agriculture before the World War of 1914–18. Though there has been a tendency since 1926 to concentrate more on livestock breeding and dairying, grain culture still is the dominating feature of Lithuania's agriculture.

243 In recent years there has been a yearly production of 439 about 1.6 to 1.7 million metric tons of grain, with only a

[26] Salcius, *op. cit.*, pp. 230–31.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB1
Poland EA1

L 248

instead of being water retted as in other parts of Lithuania. Prepared by such methods, flax fiber is of low quality, although this is offset by a rich yield of valuable linseed. In other parts of Lithuania flax is plucked before reaching full maturity. Flax plucked at this state produces linseed of low quality, but the flax fiber is undoubtedly very strong and fine.[32]

L [474]

The concentration of flax exports since 1932 in the coöperative concern Lietukis has raised the quality and reputation of Lithuanian flax. Continued progress in this respect will no doubt be reflected in better prices and greater profits.

TABLE 18

L 248 BC 248 P 248

PRODUCTION OF FLAX IN THE BALTIC STATES AND POLAND

(In Thousands of Quintals)

YEAR	LITHUANIA	LATVIA	ESTONIA	POLAND
1925–29 (av.)	364	221	100	561
1930–34 (av.)	208	141	66	323
1934	222	162	71	308
1935	319	248	105	398
1936	288	185	87	372
1937	313	231	103	381
1938	258	214	74	399
1939	289	192	62	(*a*)

[a] Figure not available.

L 248 439

The importance of flax, tow, and linseed in the exports of Lithuania may be observed from the fact that in 1924 they constituted 26 percent of Lithuania's total exports; in 1926, 7 percent; in 1928, 20 percent; in 1930, 10 percent; in 1937, 15 percent; in 1938, 11 percent; and in 1939, 17 percent.

[32] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

234 half of the cattle were slaughtered for meat by various armies.[33]

Shortly after the World War there was great demand for milk products in Germany and prices were high. It was possible to sell milk and milk products even of low quality, especially in the border districts of Germany. In 1924–25 the conditions began to change. Germany returned to the pre-war methods of tariff protection and adopted the policy of economic self-sufficiency. There were also greater supplies of milk products from other markets, such as Denmark and overseas, which caused a decrease in prices.

Private merchants, interested only in immediate profits and possessing no capital for long-term investments, were unable to improve the quality of milk products. That this quality was low can be deduced from the fact that the butter bought up from the farmers had been prepared in a variety
439 of ways, mostly by primitive methods. The butter was then mixed and packed for export. Naturally, prices for such "mixtures," were low, but eventually it became impossible to sell the product even at low prices.

234 The government was anxious to help the farmers by im-
● 474 proving milk products and increasing exports. The best way
654 to do that seemed to be by coöperation, a method which in later years fully justified the expectations. Through the initiative of the coöperatives and with government subsidies, the quality of butter was improved so much that in 1936, of all the butter-exporting countries, only Denmark was able to get higher prices than Lithuania. Lithuania's position in this market shows even more creditable progress when we

[33] *Centraline Lietuvos Pieno Perdirbimo Bendrovių Sąjunga Pienocentras 1927–1936* (The Central Union of Dairy Coöperative Societies of Lithuania, Pienocentras, 1927–1936), p. 15.

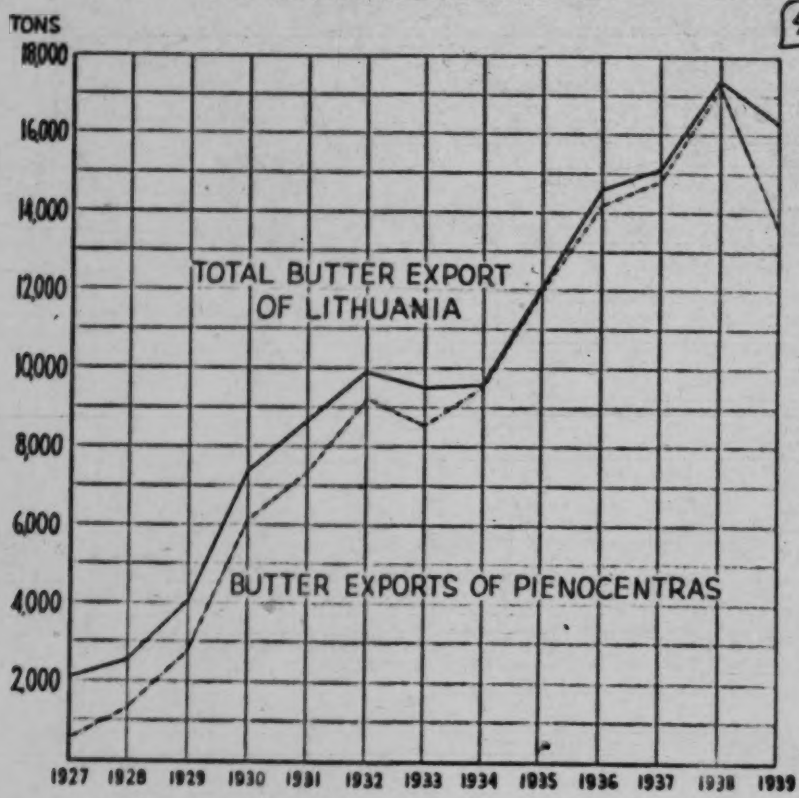
3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

take into consideration the fact that Danish butter had been selling in London for decades and the English consumers had acquired a taste for it.[34]

The first to organize the dairies were the Central Union of the Agricultural Coöperatives of Lithuania (Lietukis) and the Coöperative Society (Gamintojas). In 1923 a separate dairying section was established at Lietukis. The Ministry of Agriculture subsidized the newly organized steam

CHART I

BUTTER EXPORTS OF LITHUANIA



[34] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

234 dairies (using steam power equipment) to enable them to
474 buy new machinery, granting the dairies twenty-five per-
654 cent of the value of the machinery, the subsidy not to exceed 9,000 litas. Subsidies up to 1,500 litas were also given to hand dairies in the same percentage. The Ministry of Agriculture also provided loans on favorable terms for the construction of buildings for new dairies and from 1925
234 granted subsidies up to 5,000 litas for this purpose. In 1926
474 the dairying section of Lietukis was organized into a separate organization—the Central Union of Dairy Coöperative Societies of Lithuania, known by its trade name, Pienocentras. The growth of coöperative dairies is shown in Table 20.

TABLE 20

THE GROWTH OF COÖPERATIVE DAIRIES IN LITHUANIA[a]

YEAR	NUMBER OF DAIRIES	NUMBER OF SKIMMING STATIONS
1923	3	—
1924	61	—
1925	54	—
1927	153	151
1929	262	660
1931	273	1,610
1933	251	1,825
1935	209	1,771
1937	188	2,052
1938	185	2,105
1939	176	2,159

[a] *Centraline Lietuvos Pieno Perdirbimo Bendrovia Sajunga Pienocentras 1927–1936*, p. 21.

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

438 The home-trade turnover of „Maistas", which maintains
473 47 places of sale for meat and canned provisions throughout Lithuania, has constantly grown. In 1927 it amounted to 4 400 000 litas; in 1936 it had already reached 10 100 000 litas; and in 1937 it had risen to 13 100 000 litas.

4. The Rôle of the Cooperative Societies

474 The significance of the cooperatives in our trade can best
438 be illustrated by the fact that their sales in 1937 amounted to more than 200 000 000 litas. During the last ten years they have quadrupled in value, and quantitatively even increased eightfold.

The course of this expansion can be studied in the following table:

Sales of the Cooperative Societies (in 1 000 litas)

Year	„Lietūkis"	Trade Cooperatives	„Pienocentras"	Total
1928	12 129	23 520	13 662	49 311
1929	29 393	52 255	25 999	108 647
1930	23 117	44 992	43 854	111 963
1931	36 743	44 950	46 102	127 795
1932	28 853	37 314	45 182	111 349
1933	32 063	37 534	36 163	105 760
1934	37 617	37 342	36 329	111 288
1935	60 530	46 427	42 438	149 395
1936	73 715	55 560	55 897	185 172
1937	72 823	65 046	65 730	203 599

The Union of Agricultural Cooperative Societies of Lithuania „Lietūkis", which was founded in 1923 and in the first year of its existence counted only 26 cooperative societies as members, and whose annual sales from 1923 to 1929 on an average amounted to 10 000 000 litas, since the revision and amendment of the statutes in 1930, has become the most important commercial undertaking of Lithuania. The aims which it pursues consist, in the sense of the by-laws, in promoting agriculture

and rural industry; organizing trade in agrarian products, and reconciling the interests of consumers and producers. 474 438

To-day „Lietūkis" counts 111 cooperative societies as its members. Besides the central establishment in Kaunas it maintains 16 branch establishments in the provinces; three elevators, viz., at Memel, of 30 000 tons capacity; at Šiauliai, of 3 250 tons capacity; and at Kaunas, of 2 250 tons capacity. Furthermore at Šiauliai it possesses a central flax warehouse, and 18 grain warehouses at various other places. Since the end of 1937 it has managed its own flour-mill at Kalvarija, Suvalkai.

The goods turnover of „Lietūkis", after the overcoming of the crisis years 1932—1933, has constantly grown. The negligible recession in 1937 by 890 000 litas or 1.2% of the turnover was due solely to the reduction of grain export in consequence of the unfavourable harvest.

If, however, we take into consideration that the grain turnover of „Lietūkis" in connexion therewith decreased from 21 300 000 litas in 1936 to 10 600 000 litas in 1937, it should also be pointed out that its turnover with other commodities not only has not receded but, on the contrary, has risen by 10 300 000 litas. Inter alia in 1937, in comparison with the previous year, there increased: The turnover with flax from 4 800 000 litas to 6 700 000 litas; with sugar from 15 500 000 litas to 17 500 000 litas; with naphtha products from 5 900 000 litas to 6 700 000 litas; with agricultural and other machinery from 2 200 000 litas to 3 600 000 litas; with cement from 1 900 000 litas to 2 800 000 litas, &c.

The percentage share of „Lietūkis" in the Lithuanian total turnover of many important commodities amounts to: In the import of fertilizers 100%; in salt import 92.5%; in the import of agricultural machinery 80%; in cement import 42%; in the import of naphtha products 40%; in the import of herrings 10%; in iron import 5%; in the export of grain 85%; in the export of flax 27%; and in the sale of sugar (of inland production) 69%;

The second column of the above quoted table shows the development of goods sales of the trade cooperatives, the number of which to-day amounts to 180. It includes both agricultural cooperative societies, which for the most part are organiz-

474 438 ed in „Lietūkis", but which effect their sales on their own account, and other quite independent consumer unions. Among the latter mention should be made of the following:

1. „Parama", which carries on the grocery trade and in Kaunas and neighbourhood owns 30 sale establishments. Its turnover amounted in 1937 to 5 200 000 litas against 4 800 000 litas in 1936 and 4 500 000 litas in 1935. „Parama" owns also its own bread bakery, the biggest in Lithuania, the production of which in 1937 reached 5 900 000 litas.

2. „Spaudos Fondas" engages in the book and stationery material trade, also in book publishing. It maintains three sales establishments in Kaunas and ten in the provinces. The turnover reached 6 100 000 litas in 1937 against 5 400 000 litas in 1936 and 4 600 000 litas in 1935.

3. „Karių Ekonominė Bendrovė", a military consumers' union, maintains in Kaunas its own organized warehouse-like emporium. In 1937 its turnover reached 2 600 000 litas against 2 900 000 litas in 1936, and 3 100 000 litas in 1935. It is the only cooperative society whose turnover, if only negligibly, has declined.

4. „Marginiai" engages in the sale of articles of folk art and household industry. It maintains a branch establishment at Šiauliai. In 1937 the turnover amounted to 211 334 litas against 158 783 litas in 1936, and 142 320 litas in 1935.

The total turnover of all trade cooperatives, which already in 1929 had reached the amount of 52 200 000 litas, stayed until 1935 below this level. In 1936, however, it rose to 55 800 000 litas and in 1937 to 65 000 000 litas.

The Central Union of Lithuanian Dairy-farming Cooperative Societies „Pienocentras" belongs formally it is true, not to the trade cooperatives but to the production cooperative societies, but in view of its important share in the goods turnover, especially in the export trade, we will describe its rôle in this section.

474 438 439 The union „Pienocentras", which was founded in 1926, counts to-day 192 dairy-farming cooperative societies as members. It disposes in all of over 2 052 milk-skimming stations, and is served by 91 491 milk-purveyors. It owns the monopoly of butter and egg export. Its share in the total export of Lithuania amounted in 1937 to 26.1%. Concurrently it maintains

also inland 17 sale emporia and eight breakfast rooms and in 1937 attained on the home market a turnover of 7 200 000 litas. 438

The growth of the goods turnover of „Pienocentras" and its structure are shown in the following three tables: 439

1. The Structure of the Total Turnover of „Pienocentras" (in 1 000 litas)

Year	Total Turnover	Whereof A. Export	Including: 1. Butter	2. Eggs	Percentage Share in Total Lithuanian Export	B. Domestic Sales
1927	5 981	3 971	3 950	—	1.6	2 010
1928	13 662	10 437	10 437	—	4.1	3 225
1929	25 999	20 888	20 786	102	6.3	5 111
1930	43 854	35 200	34 866	334	10.5	8 653
1931	46 102	37 790	37 055	735	13.8	8 312
1932	45 182	37 079	36 045	1 034	19.6	8 103
1933	36 163	29 909	29 150	789	18.7	6 245
1934	36 329	30 231	28 816	1 397	20.5	6 098
1935	42 438	35 948	33 866	2 046	23.6	6 490
1936	55 897	48 228	42 042	6 151	25.3	7 668
1937	65 730	54 470	47 065	7 375	26.1	7 187

2. Butter Export of „Pienocentras"

Year	Total Butter Export of Lithuania, in Tons	Butter Export of „Pienocentras", in Tons	Percentage Share of „Pienocentras"
1927	2 051	551.2	26.9
1928	2 643	1 374.6	52.0
1929	4 084	2 810.4	68.8
1930	7 357	6 024.4	81.9
1931	8 705	7 480.9	85.9
1932	9 926	9 280.9	93.5
1933	9 580	8 674.2	90.4
1934	9 671	9 589.9	98.9
1935	12 154	12 101.2	99.6
1936	14 629	14 302.4	97.8
1937	15 058	14 964.4	99.4

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3. Egg Export of „Pienocentras"

Year	Total Export of Eggs from Lithuania, in 1 000	Egg Export of „Pienocentras", in 1 000	Percentage Share of „Pienocentras"
1929	55 509	361	0.6
1930	55 188	1 567	2.8
1931	60 998	4 815	7.9
1932	45 790	8 757	19.1
1933	28 796	7 523	26.1
1934	19 247	16 074	83.5
1935	27 798	26 758	96.3
1936	67 184	66 542	99.0
1937	77 063	74 136	96.5

On the basis of the data contained in the foregoing tables, we may form the following conclusions:

1. The total turnover of „Pienocentras" since the foundation year until 1931 grew uninterruptedly. Owing to the crisis years, this growth was interrupted; yet the falling-off in the turnover was not quantitative but evoked by the fall of prices. During the last two years, however, the position of 1931 has also been appreciably exceeded, in 1937 by 42.5%.

2. Nearly 90% of the total turnover of „Pienocentras" devolves upon export. Of this percentage approximately 85% consists of butter export and 15% of egg export. Butter export already since 1934 and egg export since 1935 have been conducted by „Pienocentras" on a monopoly basis. Foreign trade statistics show that simultaneously with the growth of the share of „Pienocentras", Lithuania's total export of corresponding commodities has considerably grown, which proves that the extension of our butter export trade more particularly must be entered solely to the credit account of „Pienocentras". Since 1927, that is, since the time when „Pienocentras" began to engage in butter export, the Lithuanian butter exports have grown quantitatively more than sevenfold, and during the last four years alone, since „Pienocentras" enjoyed a monopoly, amount to an increment of 57%.

[438] 3. The domestic sales do not reveal so favourable a development as export. Ad valorem they were in 1937 still below the level of 1931, although, having regard to price variations, their quantitative scope has risen approximately by 30%.

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanian - RB5

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At the end of this section we furnish one more comparative table, which shows us the development of the share of our three largest commercial organizations, viz., „Lietūkis", „Pienocentras", and „Maistas", in Lithuania's total export trade.

Year	Export of „Pienocentras", in 1 000 Litas	Export of „Maistas", in 1 000 Litas	Export of „Lietūkis", in 1 000 Litas	Total in 1 000 Litas	Share in Lithuania's Total Export Trade, in %
1928	10 437	1 266	1 000	12 703	4.9
1929	20 888	5 948	1 000	27 836	8.3
1930	35 201	24 849	10 986	71 036	21.3
1931	37 790	42 904	8 127	88 821	32.5
1932	37 079	42 814	952	80 845	42.7
1933	29 909	42 323	1 431	73 663	45.9
1934	30 231	34 880	2 520	67 631	45.9
1935	35 948	32 734	18 949	87 631	57.5
1936	48 228	42 723	18 209	109 160	57.3
1937	54 470	46 855	8 603	100 928	52.8

The figures of the foregoing tables confirm the accuracy of the assertion expressed in the chapter on foreign trade, that the relatively favourable development of our export trade during the crisis years should be entered to the credit account of „Maistas" and „Pienocentras". („Lietūkis" exports chiefly grain and its export is therefore, in dependence on the nature of the harvest, subject to severe fluctuations). Indeed, precisely in the years 1931—1935, when the value amount of our export trade was constantly sinking, did the share of our public commercial institutions grow most vigorously, whereas during both last years of the upward trend, when also private initiative began more strongly to manifest itself, it receded in a percentage sense.

5. The Dynamic of Price Development.

In the valuation of industrial production and the calculation of its index as well as in the estimate of the volume of the foreign and home-trade turnover, we have already been able to

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Year Dec. 31	Capital-stock	Balance Amounts	Deposits & Current A/cs.	Loans & Discounts
1928	4.56	53.33	30.46	39.04
1929	4.89	54.49	35.80	41.11
1930	5.00	62.60	43.27	48.38
1931	4.79	62.44	32.06	51.83
1932	4.30	52.23	27.80	41.61
1933	4.29	46.83	22.31	35.52
1934	4.51	40.38	15.23	31.46
1935	4.04	35.43	12.27	29.08
1936	3.99	41.30	14.67	33.47
1937	3.87	44.73	19.73	37.08

On the basis of both the foregoing tables, we can draw the following conclusions:

(1) The capital-stock of the Kaunas institutions has been stationary since 1933, but in comparison with 1928 shows a slight growth. The capital-stock of the Memel establishments has sunk below the level of 1928.

(2) The last two years have entirely adjusted the crisis losses of the Kaunas banks, while the Memel institutions also show a revival though not at the same tempo. The deposits there more particularly remain far behind the pre-crisis position.

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III. The third group consists of the credit cooperative societies, which are chiefly spread over the rural districts and possess an old tradition. The first cooperative society was already founded in 1873, and until the World War there were in Lithuania under Russian alien domination 207 credit cooperative societies with 88 900 active membres.

The activity of the credit cooperative societies, interrupted by the World War, was speedily resumed in independent Lithuania, although the erstwhile organizations had been destroyed and new foundations had to be effected. The Government also contributed largely to the expansion of the credit cooperative societies, in which context, since 1930, long-term loans at 3% interest have been granted from State resources.

The development of the activity of the credit cooperative societies, with the exception of the Memel Territory, since 1928 is shown in the following table:

Year Dec. 31	No. of Cooperatives	No. of Members	Balance Amounts	Deposits	Loans
			(In million litas)		
1928	417	89 816	52.24	21.42	39.01
1929	407	98 380	63.29	30.13	46.59
1930	399	96 968	74.47	39.12	56.98
1931	397	107 535	80.68	38.46	63.64
1932	403	112 105	81.07	38.40	62.53
1933	399	117 809	79.87	37.46	63.74
1934	382	111 647	76.35	34.00	60.83
1935	369	111 909	71.69	29.48	56.83
1936	337	107 796	74.33	32.94	57.31
1937	322	111 582	82.16	39.99	61.64

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The decrease in the total number of the cooperative societies is attributable to the amalgamation of smaller unions. The rising development tendency is obvious from the circumstance that the balance sum has already surpassed the pre-crisis level.

The financing of the credit cooperative societies is provided for by the Kooperacijos Bankas (Cooperative Bank), which since 1933 has been re-organized as a joint-stock company with capital-stock of 3 000 000 litas; 2 500 000 litas thereof has been taken up by the Government while the remaining shares remain in the possession of 180 cooperatives.

A less favourable development is shown by the balance-sheets of the cooperative societies of the Memel Territory, which are organized as Raiffeisen loan banks. They are summarized in the following table:

Year Dec. 31	No. of Cooperatives	No. of Members	Balance Amounts	Deposits	Loans
			(In million litas)		
1928	43	12 135	17.10	12.09	13.99
1929	43	12 304	21.51	15.32	18.18
1930	43	12 202	25.71	18.63	22.33
1931	43	12 315	27.89	20.13	24.96
1932	41	11 064	24.60	15.37	21.52
1933	41	10 029	23.60	12.67	20.22
1934	41	9 446	20.28	9.92	17.95
1935	41	8 816	18.99	8.73	16.64
1936	41	8 359	17.99	7.47	15.80

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

APPENDIX

ECONOMIC FIGURES

433

	1929	1930
INDUSTRY:		
1. Total number of medium and wholesale undertakings (of 5 employed persons upwards)	1 044	1 051
2. Total number of employed workers	19 637	19 334
3. Total figure of engine power in H. P.	.	.
4. Production Index	100.0	108.3
TRADE:		
474 473 1. Total number of larger undertakings (Trade in the narrower sense I — III Corp)	14 255	14 224
439 2. Railway goods traffic 1 000 tons	2 079	1 993
3. Price Index	100	87
4. Foreign Trade Turnover:		
(a) Million Litas	636.3	646.2
(b) Volume	100.0	116.7
5. Cooperative Trade Turnover, million litas	108.6	111.9
FINANCE AND CREDIT CONDITIONS:		
652 1. Monetary circulation, in million litas	102.3	117.2
452 2. State Revenue, in million litas	338.5	347.7
453 3. State Expenditure, in million litas	269.9	320.6
4. Deposits of the Credit Institutions, in million litas	282.8	345.7
5. Loans of the Credit Institutions, in million litas	333.0	437.8
6. Total Sums of Bills of Exchange Protests, in million litas	49.1	40.1
7. Discount Rate of the Lietuvos Bankas	7	7

OF LITHUANIA.

1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	
							493
1 049	1 105	1 108	1 118	1 136	1 135	1 247	
21 053	19 743	20 660	22 282	23 344	25 844	31 689	
70 038	84 804	95 751	94 585	105 349	109 634	125 157	
140.7	153.7		166.5	185.9	244.2	272.0	
							494
14 141	13 590	12 981	12 572	12 034	12 054	12 445	493
2 164	1 599	1 722	1 853	2 003	2 193	2 352	489
74	61	54	52	46	46	53	
551.1	356.1	302.4	285.9	280.8	346.5	420.9	
128.3	106.6	102.2	103.2	103.9	125.2	139.3	
127.8	111.3	105.8	111.3	149.4	185.2	203.6	
							452
127.1	112.7	105.8	101.1	111.4	124.1	131.9	452
340.1	292.0	256.9	264.4	279.9	302.8	329.9	453
335.3	278.2	249.7	251.8	276.9	287.7	318.2	
302.0	291.2	278.4	269.5	229.6	290.2	347.6	
479.6	449.5	446.5	461.9	451.5	467.3	501.4	
67.5	71.7	39.3	32.5	23.5	13.9	12.9	
8½	7	7	6	6	5½	5½	

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

III. SOIL IMPROVEMENT AND AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS

641 The Ministry of Agriculture controls the organisation for the encouragement of technical progress in agriculture, the aim 242 of which is to improve the conditions of existence of the 433 agricultural classes. The Ministry is responsible for carrying out agrarian reform and agricultural improvements, schools of agriculture, the organisation and improvement of veterinary work and supervision of the export of agricultural produce, etc.

In addition to the Ministry, the Chamber of Agriculture (founded in 1927) is also active in agricultural development. It is in charge of all the forms of agricultural training not under the authority of the Ministry, including the agricultural intelligence service; it supervises and co-ordinates the activities of the stock-breeders' associations, the flax-growers' association, the sugar-beet-growers' association and other similar organisations; it also subsidises various agricultural organisations and individual agriculturists with a view to the promotion or improvement of some particular branch of agriculture, and organises agricultural shows, etc.

474 Working in conjunction with the Ministry of Agriculture are various central organisations concerned with the processing 242 of agricultural produce, and its marketing abroad and at home, 433 and with supplying to agriculturists all such goods as they may require. These organisations are: "Lietuvos Žemės Ūkio Kooperatyvų Sąjunga" ("Lithuanian Union of Agricultural Co-operative Societies"), abbreviated to "Lietūkis", "Centralinė Lietuvos Pieno Perdirbimo Bendrovių Sąjunga" ("Lithuanian Central Union of Dairymen's Co-operative Societies"), abbreviated to "Pienocentras", and the "Maistas" and "Lietuvos Cukrus" joint-stock companies.

The chief measures taken with a view to the improvement of agricultural production are the consolidation of holdings (see above), land drainage, the development of agricultural training (see under V) and agricultural research.

312 Systematic work on the drainage of agricultural land could not be begun until 1921. The Ministry of Agriculture is proceeding with the regularisation of the beds of streams and the cutting of dykes which enable agriculturists to drain waterlogged land completely by means of open ditches or drainage pipes. The total area of the land drained by means of dykes from 1921 to 1937 (inclusive) is approximately 416,000 hectares, or more than 10% of all the land used for agricultural purposes.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

As regards *agricultural research*, the Institute of Agricultural Research (founded in 1927) is in charge of experimental work in the field of agriculture throughout the country, with the exception of the work conducted by the Agricultural Academy at Dotnuva. It has at present under its control seven experimental stations dealing with various matters relating to the cultivation of crops, an experimental fruit-growing station (in process of organisation), a crop improvement station (at Dotnuva), a crop protection station (at Dotnuva) and a station for research on the breeding of pigs for bacon. Proposals are under consideration for the foundation of an agricultural machinery testing station and of stations for research into cattle- and sheep-breeding respectively. 242

In consequence of these measures, and particularly the activities of the agricultural intelligence service, agriculturists have begun to introduce a more rational system of crop rotation, to prepare the soil more carefully and fertilise it more rationally (the progress of stock-breeding increases the quantities of manure available), to use better quality seed, to improve meadow- and pasture-land, to make more extensive use of agricultural machinery (through the foundation of co-operative societies for the joint use of machinery), etc. The results have been a decrease in the area of land left fallow and a corresponding increase in the area sown from an average of 2,079,000 hectares for the years 1928 to 1930 to 2,312,000 hectares for the period 1935 to 1937, the increase chiefly affecting the land under the more intensively cultivated crops (wheat, sugar-beet, mangel-wurzels). There has also been an increase in the yield per hectare of all the principal crops (wheat, rye, barley, oats, peas and potatoes), the yield from 1933 to 1937 being almost half as great again as during the years 1901 to 1910. It is worthy of note that, whilst the cultivation of sugar-beet was entirely unknown in the country before the war, the refineries now pay out almost 6½ million litai to the growers each year. The productivity of meadow- and pasture-land has increased to an even greater extent than that of arable land. 311 241 433

This latter circumstance has permitted the development of stock-breeding and the number of farm animals has risen considerably (in the case of cattle, for example, from 766,000 in 1913 to 1,172,000 in 1937). As a result of the organisation of milk control societies, breeding centres, the keeping of stud books, etc., the productivity of stock has also increased very considerably. 233 433

Progress has been particularly noteworthy in the case of cattle (which, in Lithuania, are mainly bred for the production of milk). In 1923, with a view to the transformation of surplus milk into exportable produce, chiefly butter, dairymen's co-operative societies were founded with the financial support 234 474 433

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

234 of the Government. Since then, the dairy industry and the manufacture of butter have made rapid progress. In 1937, the
474 193 dairymen's co-operative societies, all of which are equipped
433 with the most up-to-date machinery, supplied 420 million kilogrammes of milk — including that delivered to the 2,052 cream-separating centres — and produced 16.9 million kilogrammes of butter. Though, since the war, the population has increased by some 300,000 inhabitants, the consumption of dairy products per head is at present greater than before the war, and butter exports, which were formerly negligible, amounted in 1924 to 524 metric tons and in 1936/37 to 15,000 tons approximately.

231 Hand in hand with the development of the dairy industries
433 has gone the development of pig-breeding (skim-milk is used for the fattening of young pigs). Not only has the number of pigs considerably increased (from 450,000 in 1913 to 1,192,000 in 1937), but the quality of the pigs (for the manufacture of bacon)
439 has greatly improved. With the Government's financial
231 support, a bacon export industry has been rapidly built up. In
433 1928, bacon exports amounted to 150 metric tons; in 1932, to more than 25,000 metric tons, and, in 1936/37 (being affected by the introduction of bacon import quotas in England), to more than 10,000 metric tons. These figures, together with those for the export of live pigs (in 1932, 34,000, and, in 1936/37, 125,000 approximately) and the number of pigs kept are proof of the progress made.

235 Poultry-keeping also has made considerable headway; more
433 pure-bred poultry are being raised, and feeding and poultry-keeping technique have become more efficient. Horse-breeding likewise has improved, thus facilitating the sale of Lithuanian horses in foreign markets.

433 Such are the methods whereby the Ministry of Agriculture, the Chamber of Agriculture and the organisations working in conjunction with the latter are striving to improve the production both of crops and live-stock and to foster agricultural industries (dairy industries and the manufacture of bacon). Since 1931, the Chamber of Agriculture has also been endeavouring, with the co-operation of the Union of Young Farmers' Clubs, to rationalise and modernise home industries (weaving, knitting, fur-dressing, felt-making, pottery, furniture, etc.) and to improve the artistic qualities of the articles produced. Products of the home industries are thus enabled to compete with factory-produced goods.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanian RB5

IV. ORGANISATION OF MARKETS

The action of the Government and of the central agricultural organisations with a view to the organisation of markets and the standardisation of agricultural products may be briefly summarised as follows :

To enable the small agricultural undertakings (which predominate in the country) to produce standardised agricultural products for foreign (and home) markets and to export in large quantities, the Government, even before the world depression, had taken steps to combine the small agriculturists into big central organisations (dealing both with production and marketing). The following three organisations were founded : (1) " Lietuvos Žemės Kooperatyvų Sąjunga " (Lithuanian Union of Agricultural Co-operative Societies). abbreviated to " Lietūkis ", which now centralises all cereal exports ; (2) " Centralinė Lietuvos Pienos Perdirbimo Bendrovių Sąjunga " (Lithuanian Central Union of Dairymen's Co-operative Societies), abbreviated to " Pienocentras ", which now centralises the production of butter for export and the export of butter and eggs ; (3) the " Maistas " joint-stock company (the shareholders being the State and the pig-breeders), which at present centralises the production of bacon and other meat preparations for export and also the export of the meat preparations, animals for slaughter and poultry. In 1930, a joint-stock company

Chamber of Agriculture at Kaunas.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1930 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

V. CO-OPERATION[1]

Co-operative thrift and loan societies of the modern type began to be organised in 1873 and, since their foundation, have greatly contributed to the increase of rural prosperity. 474 452

1. The importance of credit in rural life is well known. In the event of loss through fire, sickness among live-stock or bad crops, or on the partition of property between the various members of a family in case of succession, etc., the peasant was obliged to apply to a moneylender in the nearest market town — often the innkeeper — who would lend only on highly unfavourable terms, at a rate of interest rising in some cases to 300% represented by periodic payments in kind (grain, animals, etc.). Furthermore, the moneylender reserved to himself the exclusive right of purchasing his debtor's produce, so that the prices paid to the peasant were extremely low. As a result of these abuses, peasants frequently became insolvent and were evicted from their farms.

The creation of rural credit establishments permits of the organisation of agricultural credit on a fairer basis and in a manner more in keeping with agricultural requirements. The rate of interest is much lower. The peasant can dispose of his produce as he thinks fit and has less hesitation in borrowing for the improvement of his farm — *e.g.*, by purchasing up-to-date equipment, chemical fertilisers, better quality seed, breeding-stock, etc. The creation of rural credit co-operative societies also fosters his native thrift by encouraging him to invest his savings.

2. The peasants' trading co-operative societies — rural consumers' co-operative societies and purchasing and selling societies — which have grown up in Lithuania since 1880 and, above all, since the beginning of the twentieth century, have accustomed the peasants to the management of co-operative undertakings and have thus brought about great and beneficial changes in rural trading through the elimination of short weight, adulterated and low quality goods and, most important of all, by regularising prices. It used to be difficult for the peasants to obtain the articles necessary for the improvement of agricultural production — *e.g.*, chemical fertilisers, which were frequently adulterated by private dealers, better quality seeds, 474

[1] See the article on "La coopération agricole en Lithuanie" in the *Bulletin mensuel de renseignements économiques et sociaux*, No. 10, 1933, of the International Institute of Agriculture.

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

474 agricultural machinery, etc. Without the co-operative societies, the acquisition of these indispensable articles would have been almost impossible. Machinery to facilitate the various processes of farming and tools by which the land could be more efficiently prepared were shown to peasants at exhibitions, conferences and practical demonstrations organised by the rural co-operative societies.

474 242 3. Before the war, when Lithuania was still part of Russia, it was only towards 1911 or 1912 that action to encourage technical progress in agriculture could be developed on anything like a wide scale. Before that date, and particularly since 1906, much had been done in this sphere by the co-operative organisations — agricultural societies and farmers' clubs. At the meetings held by these organisations, many questions relating to the improvement of agricultural production were discussed. Exhibitions, courses of instruction and lectures were regularly held and visits were organised to model farms, experimental stations and demonstrations of agricultural instruments; schools of agriculture were founded and journals were published. General questions of importance to agriculturists were also discussed — *e.g.*, the flight from the land, the problem of agricultural labour, means of transport, hygiene and social insurance.

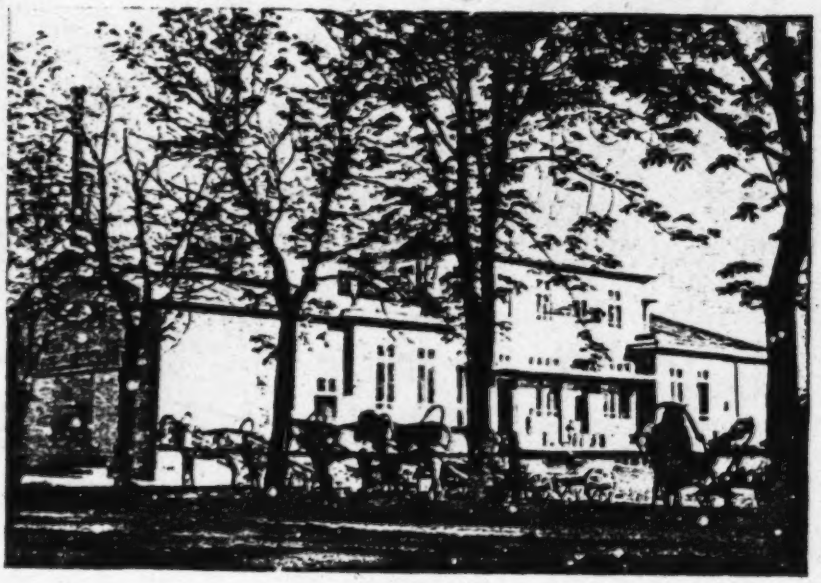
4. Since the end of the nineteenth century, propaganda has been conducted for the development of stock-breeding, particularly for the purposes of the dairy industries, as a substitute for the corn-growing to which Lithuanian agriculturists used largely to confine themselves. This propaganda was directed, in the first instance, to the owners of large agricultural estates and was subsequently extended to the owners of medium and small holdings also.

474 [72] The valuable activities of the co-operative societies in this sphere were interrupted by the war, during which Lithuanian agriculture suffered greatly: there was a fall of 38% in the number of horses, 47% in cattle, 44% in pigs and 30% in sheep; approximately 35% of the arable land was lying fallow and 1,200 villages with 14,270 agricultural undertakings, 2,000 separate undertakings and fifty townships, comprising a total of 57,080 buildings, were destroyed. The independent State of Lithuania was raised from the ruins without any compensation being received for the losses suffered. The co-operative societies applied themselves to the revival of rural life. Henceforward, their activities were better organised, as they were allowed to form unions and were able to concern themselves with the most varied branches of rural life.

In 1918, only 10% of the co-operative societies in being before the war still remained, so that the network of societies had to be extended. In consequence, many new societies of

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

the most varied types were founded. To the functions they 474
already performed — provision of credit for agriculturists, supplying of consumption goods and agricultural requirements, encouragement of the use of selected seeds and pure-bred stock, co-operative manufacture of milk products — they added the purchase of agricultural produce and the organisation of its sale in foreign markets. Cereals, vegetables, potatoes, linseed, eggs, flax and other agricultural products were previously inadequately prepared both for home and for foreign markets, with the result that the prices received by the peasant were low. The co-operative societies have improved the marketing of agricultural produce; standards have been laid down



Co-operative dairy.

and are rigorously adhered to. The Government has also helped to regulate this aspect of rural life by the enactment of laws on the control of agricultural produce, the texts of which were prepared by the co-operative organisations themselves. These organisations have also given proof of initiative in organising and developing the export of cattle and pigs. At a time when [475]
the export of bacon and live animals could only be handled with difficulty by private enterprise, the unions of co-operative societies acquired a very extensive undertaking for the export of live-stock, developed it and subsequently made it over to the "Maistas" joint-stock company. This rendered possible the efficient export of meat and, more particularly, bacon and poultry.

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

474 poultry. The same is true of the export of eggs, which has been taken over by a co-operative organisation (" Pienocentras ") and is increasing yearly.

Similarly, without the activities of co-operative organisations, the efforts of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Chamber of Agriculture to increase rural prosperity would not have been so rich in results.

The co-operative societies create more favourable conditions for the agriculturists' activities; they facilitate rational production and enable agriculturists to obtain the necessary supplies on more favourable terms. In consequence, the income of the agricultural classes has been increased and their cultural level raised.

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

C O N S T I T U T I O N

(Fundamental Law)

of the

LITHUANIAN

SOVIET SOCIALIST

REPUBLIC

of August 25, 1940

As amended through April 7, 1948

Chapter I. The Social Structure

642 Art. 1. The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic is a socialist state of workers and peasants.

Art. 2. The political foundation of the Lithuanian SSR is the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, firmly established as a result of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and the capitalists and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Art. 3. All power in the Lithuanian SSR belongs to the working people of town and country as represented by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

471 Art. 4. The economic foundation of the Lithuanian SSR is the socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production, firmly established as the result of the liquidation of the capitalist system of economy, the abolition of private ownership of the instruments and means of production in large industrial enterprises, and the nationalization of such enterprises, banks, transport and means of communication with a view to the complete abolition of the exploitation of man by man and the construction of a socialist system of society.

421 Art. 5. Socialist property in the Lithuanian SSR exists either in the form of state property (belonging to the whole people) or in the form of co-operative property.

Art. 6. The land, its mineral wealth, waters, forests, mills, factories, mines, rail, water and air transport, banks, communications, large state-organized agricultural enterprises (state farms, machine and tractor stations and the like), as well as municipal enterprises and large dwelling houses in the cities and industrial localities, are state property, that is, belong to the whole people.

474 421 Art. 7. The common enterprises of co-operative organizations, with their livestock and implements, the products of co-operative organizations, as well as their common buildings, constitute the common, socialist property of the co-operative organizations.

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186 The Russian occupation receives no popular support from the masses. Of racial Lithuanians, only a
668 few hardened communists and several thousand released criminals turned collaborators.

There is a definite trend to exclude even Lithuanian communists. In all of the periodic purges, it is the Lithuanian communists who suffer disgrace, expulsion and exile, while Russian embezzlers retain their posts. An "Anti-Cominform" morale is pronounced among the Lithuanian members of the LKP/b. Party and non-Party Lithuanians are still found in the less important "high offices." However, not a single Lithuanian holds an administrative post in any office connected with the military effort. This trend is pronounced even in the distribution of "ministerial" titles.

655 All communications—railroads, waterways, ports, post offices, telegraph, radio, telephone, aviation and highways—are under a centralized "All-Union" control: there are no "ministries" for any communications. A few Lithuanians are still encountered among the MVD railroad guard personnel but their number constantly dwindles.

● 486 Travel inside Lithuania to a distance of 200 km. is not obstructed, with the exception of the "prohibited zones" along the Polish frontier and the seacoast, where special permits from the MVD are required. Otherwise, traveling permits are issued by employing offices. Of course, every traveler must submit to numerous checkings of the papers by armed patrols.

There is no frontier with East Prussia and Latvia, and the same general travel rules apply to journeys to Latvia and East Prussia. Nevertheless, it is deemed safer to procure a *"komandirovka"* (dispatch orders) even if the destination be less than 200 km.—a "detour" to Siberia must never be overlooked. The Latvian frontier is crossed mostly for black marketing. It is possible to go to Byelorussia and into the interior of Russia with a permit issued by a local MVD or Executive Committee. *"Komandirovka"* is required for travel by air.

[191] Transportation tickets, birth, death and other records are printed in Russian and "local" languages. Nevertheless, it is not a rare phenomenon to hear in response to an inquiry in Lithuanian: *"Neponimayu etovo sobachevo yazika"* (I do not understand this canine language).

Mobilization and Demobilization

727 Of the so-called "Lithuanian Units," only one survives—the 16th Infantry Division stationed in Vilnius. The enlisted and non-commissioned officers personnel is roughly 80% Lithuanian, but the officer cadres are predominantly Russian on all levels. Orders are given in Russian. Colonel Motieka is the Divisional Commander, and political "General" Macijauskas is Deputy Commanding Officer. All other mobilized Lithu-
701 anians are dispersed throughout Russian units.

During the war, men of the classes of (birth) 1895 through 1926 were drafted. After the cessation of hostilities in Germany, a few men were demobilized, others were assigned to various Labor Battalions and moved to Russia. Those serving in MVD units were retained in the service. Men born prior to 1923 were demobilized from strictly military units of the Soviet Army.

496 the years 1929—1931 is attributable chiefly to the cessation of Russo-German goods transit through Lithuania which-as described later-since 1931 has been entirely suspended, and to whose credit, thanks to the intersection of the entire territory of the country in earlier years, the higher number of ton-kilometres must be laid. The rise of inland navigation on the Nemunas (see below) and the extension of motor-lorry traffic may also have played a definite rôle. The number of registered motor-lorries, especially in 1937, has appreciably risen, as we can see from the following data:

1929	1931	1935	1936	1937
309	431	322	393	564

496 The appended table illustrates the most important com-
● 497 modities of railway goods transport and the development of their share in recent years:

Railway Goods Transport (in 1 000 tons).

	1929	1931	1935	1936	1937
Timber	609.7	620.5	447.1	459.7	639.2
Grain	198.4	139.2	295.2	250.2	81.5
Animals and Poultry	29.9	42.2	147.2	180.0	185.5
Sugar - beets	—	57.9	110.1	125.1	123.9
Fertilizers	139.9	113.7	100.3	109.3	130.5
Coal	115.0	116.2	108.8	105.9	153.1
Bricks & Clay Products	57.3	160.6	75.2	75.3	102.3
Cement	50.0	71.8	48.4	57.5	76.4
Molasses	—	—	24.6	53.4	55.2
Naphtha Products	42.1	47.5	41.8	43.6	45.5

The apportionment of goods transport among separate railway stations shows an extremely characteristic development:

Goods Transport of the Most Important Railway Stations (in 1 000 tons).

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	1929	1931	1935	1936	1937
Memel	473.1	611.5	795.3	831.6	823.3
Kaunas	419.2	492.3	401.8	452.3	513.8
Obeliai	425.4	611.8	260.8	224.9	213.8
Joniškis	149.7	116.6	152.5	139.9	213.0
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The recession of the goods turnover of both Lithuanian-German frontier stations, Pagėgiai and Virbalis, in 1935 and 1936, reflects first of all the shrinkage shown in the previous chapter of our foreign trade communication with Germany. Since the normalization of Lithuanian-German commercial relations a revival tendency in the turnover was observable in 1937. Above all, however, we see in the foregoing table the tremendous advance of transport to and from Memel, which is due to the ever-increasing importance of that port in our economic life. The importance of our new line of communication, Telšiai - Kretinga, which was opened in 1932, has already been pointed out. The building of this line, as also the [651] introduction of the reduced goods transport tariff in traffic to and from the port of Memel, whereby a more favourable differential rate was granted, has to a great extent contributed to the increase of railway goods transport via Memel during recent years.

The decline of goods transport via Obeliai, the Lithuanian-Latvian frontier station, over which formerly goods transit between Germany and Russia developed, is to be ascribed to the suspension of transit from Germany via Lithuania since 1931.

2. Memel Port Traffic.

The importance of the port of Memel for Lithuania's 504 economic life appears from the fact that, according to the data of the Customs Statistics, in 1937 via Memel 75.5% of our export trade and 68.2% of our import trade were conveyed.

5. Goods Transit.

489 By virtue of her geographical position Lithuania is destined to be a transit country. Owing, however, to special political relations, our transit traffic could not heretofore be developed to the fullest extent, and has also been subject to big fluctuations.

The following table shows the development of our goods transit traffic during the last ten years:

Goods Transit Traffic on Railways and Waterways from 1928—37, in Tons.

Year	Total Quantity	On Railways	On Waterways	To Germany	From Germany
1928	280 839	.	.	.	199 395
1929	431 384	.	.	235 718	208 702
1930	431 297	362 130	69 254	257 632	176 203
1931	345 205	343 980	1 225	226 086	118 942
1932	195 501	13 969	181 532	177 573	18 075
1933	191 627	56 751	134 876	184 948	5 986
1934	263 279	70 494	192 785	231 062	2 722
1935	185 735	50 208	135 526	182 882	1 982
1936	295 534	55 387	240 147	291 935	2 757
1937	308 177	129 225	178 952	305 787	2 241

On the basis of the foregoing data we may reach the following conclusions:

1. Our transit traffic, owing to the erstwhile closing of the frontier with Poland, has developed only in two opposite directions, viz.,

A. As transit for German goods to Latvia, the U. S. S. R., and other Eastern countries;

B. As transit for Latvian, Russian, and other goods to Germany.

The transit traffic of the first category, that is, the transit from Germany, has, however, since 1933 almost entirely ceased, so that to-day 99% of the goods transit falls to transit to Germany. The cessation of the transit traffic from Germany has, it goes without saying, resulted in a sharp curtailment of

the total volume of our goods transit which, however, during the last two years has again displayed a rising tendency. 489

2. Until 1931 our transit traffic had developed mainly on the railways, whereas water traffic was inconsiderable. Since 1932 this relation has diametrically changed, and for the first time in 1937 railway transit again grew somewhat more rapidly without, however, being able to reach the scope of goods transit on the waterways.

According to countries of origin our goods transit traffic has proceeded as under (in tons):

	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Transit to and from Latvia	38 000	63 068	45 624	50 958	126 736
Of which on Railways	38 000	63 068	45 620	50 958	126 716
U. S. S. R.	116 131	170 924	105 500	216 577	37 748
Of which on Railways	103 594	166 405	103 361	216 114	37 624
Other Countries	37 496	29 286	34 610	27 998	143 694
Of which on waterways	31 282	26 380	32 162	24 038	141 308

These figures show that the total transit from Latvia takes place on the railways and that Latvia's share in the total volume of our goods transit by rail has grown rapidly in recent years. In 1933 it amounted to 66.9%; in 1937 it was already 98.1% of our transit traffic on the railways of the consignments from Latvia.

The transit traffic from other countries has accordingly developed preeminently on the waterways, i. e. principally on the Tilsit - Ragnit line. Until 1936 Russia had the largest share in this goods transit, while among other unspecified countries the most considerable part fell to Sweden. In 1937 in connexion with the curtailment of Russian pulp wood deliveries to Germany, Russian transit has receded, and the first place has been taken by Finland. The allocation of our transit on sea and river ways among separate countries appeared as follows in 1937:

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From	Finland	109 658	tons or	61.3%
„	U. S. S. R.	37 624	„ „	21.0%
„	Sweden	31 646	„ „	17.7%

As regards the internal structure of goods transit through our country, pulp wood constitutes the most important item, claiming as it does on an average 80% of both the railway and waterways transit. Of the remaining goods, fertilizers play an important rôle in railway transit, and in transit on the waterways limestone from Sweden. The remaining consignments are inconsiderable.

It is as yet difficult to judge how the resumption of traffic with Poland will affect water transit, but possibilities of expansion of transit, especially on the riverways, are undoubtedly available.

The goods turnover of the port of Smalininkai most strikingly characterizes inland communication; then in the turnover of Memel port transit traffic with Germany (via Tilsit - Ragnit) is also included. On the inland waters downstream chiefly timber, and upstream coal and iron are conveyed. 505

Timber-rafting takes place mainly on the Nemunas and to a lesser extent also on the Neris, Jūra, Minija, and Nemunėlis. The quantities of round timber, pulp wood and firewood carried on the waterways were as follows (in cubic metres):

1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
206 669	412 902	360 000	473 706	441 396	266 292	468 966

Shipping on the Nemunas to-day serves predominantly inland traffic. In connexion with the regulation of economic relations with Poland, the possibility of increased utilization of these waterways for transit trade is to the fore.

4. Roads and Highways.

In 1918, i. e. at the time of the foundation of the independent Lithuanian State, the total length of roads amounted to 1 190 kilometres, but in this connexion it must be borne in mind that the majority of them were in an almost impassable condition, and that many bridges were destroyed. In 1928 already 1 701 klms. and at the end of 1937, 1 956 klms. were available, of which 1 265 klms. were under the jurisdiction of the State Highways Board and the remainder under that of the local administrations. The total length of roads during twenty years had therefore increased by 766 klms. which had been achieved partly by means of the improvement of old routes and partly by the construction of new ones. In that time a total of 1 247 klms. of roads had been fundamentally repaired, 213.5 klms. newly built, and 937 bridges constructed. The cost of this work amounted to 60 000 000 litas, of which 40 000 000 litas was on account of road and 20 000 000 litas on account of bridge construction. Besides the above-mentioned roads, there are also 31 530 klms. of country roads. The total length of all roads and highways is therefore 33 486 klms. 491

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

XII. RURAL PLANNING

491 Before the war, only rudimentary means of communication existed. During the hostilities, transport conditions became even worse : the main roads were broken up and the by-roads suffered serious damage. When Lithuania became independent, all the existing roads had to be rebuilt and new means of communication to be provided. Between 1918 and 1937, over 1,000 kilometres of main roads were repaired and over 200 kilometres built. In 1937, there were 1,950 kilometres of main roads. Adding by-roads of the first category (4,365 kilometres) and of the second category (9,300 kilometres), there is a total of 15,000 kilometres of roads — that is, roughly 270 kilometres per 1,000 square kilometres and 60 kilometres per 10,000 inhabitants. The farmer, in addition to the main roads and the by-roads of the first and second categories, can use the by-roads of the third category, connecting villages and isolated farms, so that he usually has adequate means of communication and can always take his produce to the nearest markets. Motor-bus services (a means of communication which is rapidly spreading) make travelling fairly easy. The Government proposes to build 700 kilometres of main roads in the next ten years and to develop and improve the system of by-roads.

621 As regards other questions connected with rural planning, it may be noted that the villages are divided up into separate isolated farms (see II), and that, in four or five years time, built-up villages areas will have ceased to exist. Agriculturists who have left their villages to take up farming on these separate undertakings have to dig wells, but this does not, as a rule, present great difficulties, as drinking-water is found nearly 377 everywhere. Electrification has only just started : at present, regional electric power stations are being set up (the source of energy being peat), and the construction of a large central hydro-electric power station is under consideration. It is possible that the problem of the electrification of the country-side may become a matter of pressing concern in the near future : the drawbacks attaching to the system of scattered and isolated farms will then become apparent.

369 For these isolated farms, the school and church, representing the economic and ideological aspects of organised farming interests, serve as cultural and social centres. Together with the Press and the wireless, they correct such dangers as isolated members of the rural community might otherwise be exposed to from a cultural and social point of view.

1. A land reform program divided former common pasture land into separate farms.

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

1. Railway Goods Transport.

496 The total length of our railway lines amounts to 1 778 kilometres. Of this total 1 230 klms. pertain to the broad-gauge lines and 548 klms. to the narrow-gauge lines. Of the newly-constructed lines finished during the last ten years, for goods transport the most important is the Telšiai - Kretinga Railway completed in 1930—1932. The object of this line, which it fulfils, is to provide better connexion between the port of Memel and the hinterland. This new line is 71 klms. in length.

The railway rolling-stock to-day disposes of 4 351 goods waggons. In 1937 1 567 waggons were equipped with more modern ventilation. Moreover, 20 new goods trucks were built; 20 cattle transport waggons and 22 refrigerator waggons acquired, and 67 goods waggons converted into refrigerator waggons.

The following comparative figures show the development of railway goods transport:

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Total annual quantity, in 1 000 tons	2 079	1 993	2 164	1 599	1 722	1 853	2 003	2 193	2 352
Monthly average, in million ton-klms	28.3	28.0	31.9	22.0	20.6	23.4	24.7	25.8	26.3

The figures of the first row strikingly reflect the contingent development of our economy. After the peak reached in 1931 followed the sudden drop in 1932 caused by the crisis; then the compensation for losses until 1935 and finally a new ascent in 1936 and 1937, far above the level of 1931.

The circumstance that the monthly average reckoned in ton-kilometres in 1937 also still remains below the position of

Goods Transport of the Most Important Railway Stations (in 1 000 tons).

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The recession of the goods turnover of both Lithuanian-German frontier stations, Pagėgiai and Virbalis, in 1935 and 1936, reflects first of all the shrinkage shown in the previous chapter of our foreign trade communication with Germany. Since the normalization of Lithuanian-German commercial relations a revival tendency in the turnover was observable in 1937. Above all, however, we see in the foregoing table the tremendous advance of transport to and from Memel, which is due to the ever-increasing importance of that port in our economic life. The importance of our new line of communication, Telšiai - Kretinga, which was opened in 1932, has already been pointed out. The building of this line, as also the [651] introduction of the reduced goods transport tariff in traffic to and from the port of Memel, whereby a more favourable differential rate was granted, has to a great extent contributed to the increase of railway goods transport via Memel during recent years.

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497 Railroad traffic is lively: military trains pass Kaunas every few minutes. A single passenger train circulates daily between Vilnius and Kaunas, and one train operates every other day between Kaunas and Šeštokai.

499 505 Graveled highways go unrepaired, showing ever greater deterioration. Few ships and barges are seen on the Nemunas, as most of the fleet managed to escape to Denmark in 1944.

465 All artisans were driven into "artels": excessive taxes did the trick.

511 [435] Wages are low and working hours are long. Prices are twice as high as in Moscow: one week's wages is spent on a kilogram of butter. In 1945 butter was transported from Lithuania to Moscow in an "airlift operation," by planes. The Muscovites liked Lithuanian butter—and butter is still exported, depriving the Lithuanians of their diet. Numerous deductions are withheld from wages—up to one half, including "voluntary" subscriptions to state loans, etc.

In consequence of the meager pay, every worker attempts to steal whatever he can, and to sell the stolen products in the black market. Lately the bureaucracy —itself most guilty of embezzlement—began penalizing the workers with harsh penalties. Nevertheless, the practice of stealing is universal, and the Russian officials set the pace. Whenever the so-called "exemplary state farms" call for volunteers to assist in planting or harvesting—there are enough volunteers who anticipate a chance to "hook something."

The morale of factory workers is as low as that of the farmers. The living conditions steadily deteriorate. Discontent over "stakhanovite efficiency," long working hours, low pay, lack of clothing, etc. is widespread. In the early part of 1948 the regime abandoned its choicest proffer to workers—the bait of appointment [554] to managing posts. Today, there is a tendency to build up cadres of skilled specialists, a privileged caste of people in uniform—even telegraph post climbers wear uniforms. . . .

Moral Situation

000 Symbols of Russian "culture" and ways of life universally exhibited by the "masters and victors" are—violence, profanity, drunkenness, thievery, deceit and raggedness.

685 Any criminal tendencies among the natives were drastically curbed by the underground authorities. Felonies were penalized by death sentences—and the sentences were carried out. But thieving is uncontrollable in the factories and in the supply services.

273 186 The Russians and their bootlickers revel in continual drunkenness. Vodka is the universal form of bribe. Unfortunately, the brutal conditions of life affected the Lithuanians to a certain degree, too. People are tempted to forget bitter reality for a half hour at least. The resistance movement continually wages a press propaganda against alcoholism ("Don't be like a Russian!"). For strictly practical considerations of maintaining a supply service for its armed units, the resistance movement repeatedly issued orders banning home distilling and any waste of the much needed grains. The Russians, however, pursue a definite policy aimed at demoralizing the natives and weakening their moral standards. Vodka is dumped on the market in unlimited unrationed qualities. But — the Church is still permitted to preach against the evils of drunkenness.

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504 Under German rule, Memel, as the northernmost situated port, which lacked a hinterland, did not acquire full importance, and served exclusively timber transport. For the first time under the Lithuanian regime a rising period began for Memel port. The indispensable investment works, which for the first time rendered the port accessible to the navigation of larger oceangoing vessels, demanded heavy outlays, the redemption
653 of which will take a long time. The Government during the
504 past fifteen years has laid out 39 000 000 litas on construction work and cost of up-keep of the port, while during the same time the receipts reached only 9 500 000 litas. Besides these directly invested sums for the extension of the port, no less considerable amounts have been expended on the erection of warehouses, petrol tanks, refrigerators, and similar installations. Certainly the receipts show a rapid rise: whereas until 1935 they fluctuated between 500 000 litas and 800 000 litas annually, in 1936 they already amounted to 1 360 000 litas and in 1937 to over 1 500 000 litas.

[502] The most important construction work consisted in the deepening of the harbour on an average by 2 metres, in order to render it navigable for ocean steamers. Thanks to these works, the harbour depths to-day in many places are from 8 to 9 metres and in the new dock of the winter port from 7 to 7.5 metres. In the next few years, moreover, further deepening of the harbour to 10 metres is planned.

The already mentioned new dock of the winter port comprises an area of 96 000 square metres and is accessible to large vessels with a displacement of 10 000—15 000 tons. Among other works should be mentioned: The strengthening of approximately 2 000 metres of quays with ferro-concrete and iron reinforcement; the creation of a yacht harbour; extension of the railway track in the port by 4 300 metres; erection of three modern electric cranes; building of new port warehouses with 73 000 cubic metres storage capacity; the completion of the electric power station, &c.

505 The development of Memel shipping since the attachment of the Territory to Lithuania is shown by the following figures:

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11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

fresh meat and poultry 13 millions, cereals about 20 millions 439
and eggs 7.8 millions).

The total value of exports of raw materials and half-finished goods was 73.4 million litai. Exports of hemp and tow accounted for 25 million litai, cellulose for 12.7 millions and timber for 21 millions.

Among imports, manufactured products head the list (133 million litai, comprising machinery and tools, automobiles, chemical products, textiles and yarns, etc.), followed by raw materials and half-finished goods totalling 78.7 million litai (gilt metals, cement, chemical fertilisers, coal, naphtha and petroleum, cotton, etc.).

As long as the territory of Klaipėda (Memel) belonged to [504] ●
Lithuania, the foreign trade of the country passed almost exclusively through the Port of Klaipėda (Memel). Under the treaty concluded in March 1939 with Germany, Lithuania retains a free port at Klaipėda.

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There has been a fairly big increase in population; rural 462
families tend to be large. The women, though very fully occupied with their children and domestic duties, find time to look after the animals and work in the fields. This type of work is, however, more often left to women who have no children or domestic duties to attend to — that is, to girls or women whose children are older. Lithuanian women are, as a rule, fit and healthy; nevertheless, they are sometimes forced to neglect their homes, owing to the claims of agriculture and the rearing of children. They are naturally clean and orderly, and like to have a little garden of their own; in winter, they devote themselves to home industries — spinning, knitting, embroidery and sometimes weaving. The artistic value of a great deal of the handwork done in the country is of exhibition standard and has been shown both in Lithuania and abroad — for example, in 1937, at the Paris International Exhibition and, in 1938, at the Berlin International Exhibition of Arts and Crafts.

The Lithuanian peasant is somewhat deliberate in cha- 156
racter; he is long-suffering and is prepared when necessary to go through difficult times without complaint. This was proved during the war, when, notwithstanding intense suffering, the popular songs and jokes dear to the peasant heart were never forgotten.

The rural population used formerly to wear homespun 291
woollen and linen clothing — the production of flax is relatively greater in Lithuania than in any other European country. Of recent years, this type of clothing has disappeared, its place being taken by ready-made factory goods.

11: Scheffer O-4, 5 (ca. 1660) 1704
EP4 Lapps
Letts R84
Lithuanians R85

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to submit under the Protection of *Sigismund Augustus* King of *Poland*, who made *Courland* a Dukedom, and gave it to *Goddard Kettler* of *Nesselrath*, the last Master of the *Teutonick* Order in *Livonia*, to hold it as a Fief of the Crown of *Poland*. But *William* the youngest Son of this *Goddard*, who succeeded his elder Brother in the Government, was dispossessed of his Dominions by *Sigismund* III. King of *Poland*, and lived in Exile till 1619, when he was restored to the Dukedom, whose Posterity enjoy it to this Day.

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The *Poles* also remain to this Day possess'd of some inconsiderable Places of the *South* side of the River *Dwina* or *Dune*, among which *Dunaburgh* is the only Place worth taking notice of.

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The Dutchy of *Memel* is likewise a part of the *Southern Livonia*: Its Capital City bearing the same Name, is Situate upon, and encompass'd by, the River *Tanger*, which not far from thence exonerates it self into the Sea, in the Gulph call'd the Lake of *Courland*, and affords a very Commodious Harbour to this little but pleasant Town: Its Castle is very well Fortified; it was *An.* 1250. built by the Master of the Order of *Livonia*, and in 1328. sold by them to the Master of the *Prussian* Knights. In the Truce made in the Year 1635, betwixt the *Poles* and *Swedes*, it was Stipulated, that the said City and Dukedom should be surrendred to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who ever since remains in possession of it.

CHAP. II.

Of the Antient Inhabitants of Livonia, *and their Superstitions and Customs.*

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[illegible]

IT is beyond all dispute, that *Livonia* remain'd for a long time involved in the Darkness of Paganism and Idolatry, this Country being quite unknown in these Parts, till in the Year 1158, a Merchant Ship of *Bremen* (or as some will have it of *Lubeck*) being forced by a Tempest into the Gulph of *Riga*, made the first

 discovery

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Lithuanians RB5

PRUSSIANS EL8

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speaking. The Memel Statute signed by France, Britain, Italy and Japan legalized the Lithuanian *fait accompli* but stipulated that the Memel territory should enjoy internal autonomy. Russia rejected the Memel Statute and even protested against it as interfering with Lithuania's internal affairs.

In March 1939, Hitler repeated for Germany's benefit the *coup de force* of 1923, detached Memel from Lithuania and brushed aside the Memel Statute. In January 1945, the Red Army conquered the Memel area and restored it to Soviet Lithuania. The Russian conquest of Memel, which ceased, of course, to be an autonomous territory and became an integral part of the Soviet Union, finally consecrated the unity of the Njeman valley.

Li 504 563 S.U. 504

As one of the most important ports of the U.S.S.R. on the Baltic coast, Soviet Klaipeda was too important to be left in Lithuanian hands. Russian colonization began, providing staff for the extensive Klaipeda ship-repairing works and for other important enterprises. In 1947 the number of Russians in the port was large enough to warrant the opening of a permanent Russian theatre.

RUSSIAN KOENIGSBERG

Pr. 175 648

By annexing Koenigsberg, and by converting it into a purely Russian city, Soviet Russia has in the geopolitical and ethnical sense outflanked the Baltic States, and transformed them into a kind of Russian hinterland. Figuratively speaking, the whole of Soviet East Prussia constitutes a belt which cuts off the unreliable Baltic nations from the West.

The annexation of north-eastern East Prussia, with Koenigsberg as administrative centre, is a great historical triumph for Russian policy. This former German province had played a conspicuous part in Russian military history: it had been the battleground of four consecutive wars which Russia had waged against a western enemy; the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), the Napoleonic Wars and the First and Second World Wars. The idea of permanently attaching East Prussia to the Russian Empire is not new to Russia's ruling circles. It had been suggested during the Seven Years' War when the troops of Czarina Elizabeth occupied East Prussia, but only the Soviet Union possessed enough dynamic strength to put the annexation of that territory into effect.

Pr. 727 648 SU. 175 177

The Soviet writer, Vyacheslav Shishkov, in his great historical novel *Yemelyan Pugachov* evoked the memory of the first Russian occupation of Koenigsberg. Although the novel was written at the height of the Russian-German conflict, Shishkov described the harmonious relations which had prevailed between Russians and East Prussians at the time of the Seven Years' War. When occupying Koenigsberg, said Shishkov, 'Russian progressive officers were interested in everything that was use-

[Cf. cat. 116, pp. 104-118, R1 Sov. Un., 21: Kolarz -- Analyst]

497 Railroad traffic is lively: military trains pass Kaunas every few minutes. A single passenger train circulates daily between Vilnius and Kaunas, and one train operates every other day between Kaunas and Šeštokai.

499 Graveled highways go unrepaired, showing ever
505 greater deterioration. Few ships and barges are seen on the Nemunas, as most of the fleet managed to escape to Denmark in 1944.

465 All artisans were driven into "artels": excessive taxes
511 did the trick.

[435] Wages are low and working hours are long. Prices are twice as high as in Moscow: one week's wages is spent on a kilogram of butter. In 1945 butter was transported from Lithuania to Moscow in an "airlift operation," by planes. The Muscovites liked Lithuanian butter—and butter is still exported, depriving the Lithuanians of their diet. Numerous deductions are withheld from wages—up to one half, including "voluntary" subscriptions to state loans, etc.

In consequence of the meager pay, every worker attempts to steal whatever he can, and to sell the stolen products in the black market. Lately the bureaucracy —itself most guilty of embezzlement—began penalizing the workers with harsh penalties. Nevertheless, the practice of stealing is universal, and the Russian officials set the pace. Whenever the so-called "exemplary state farms" call for volunteers to assist in planting or harvesting—there are enough volunteers who anticipate a chance to "hook something."

The morale of factory workers is as low as that of the farmers. The living conditions steadily deteriorate. Discontent over "stakhanovite efficiency," long working hours, low pay, lack of clothing, etc. is widespread. In the early part of 1948 the regime abandoned its choicest proffer to workers—the bait of appointment
[554] to managing posts. Today, there is a tendency to build up cadres of skilled specialists, a privileged caste of people in uniform—even telegraph post climbers wear uniforms. . . .

Moral Situation

000 Symbols of Russian "culture" and ways of life universally exhibited by the "masters and victors" are—violence, profanity, drunkenness, thievery, deceit and raggedness.

685 Any criminal tendencies among the natives were drastically curbed by the underground authorities. Felonies were penalized by death sentences—and the sentences were carried out. But thieving is uncontrollable in the factories and in the supply services.

273 The Russians and their bootlickers revel in con-
186 tinual drunkenness. Vodka is the universal form of bribe. Unfortunately, the brutal conditions of life affected the Lithuanians to a certain degree, too. People are tempted to forget bitter reality for a half hour at least. The resistance movement continually wages a press propaganda against alcoholism ("Don't be like a Russian!"). For strictly practical considerations of maintaining a supply service for its armed units, the resistance movement repeatedly issued orders banning home distilling and any waste of the much needed grains. The Russians, however, pursue a definite policy aimed at demoralizing the natives and weakening their moral standards. Vodka is dumped on the market in unlimited unrationed qualities. But—the Church is still permitted to preach against the evils of drunkenness.

504 Under German rule, Memel, as the northernmost situated port, which lacked a hinterland, did not acquire full importance, and served exclusively timber transport. For the first time under the Lithuanian regime a rising period began for Memel port. The indispensable investment works, which for the first time rendered the port accessible to the navigation of larger oceangoing vessels, demanded heavy outlays, the redemption
653 of which will take a long time. The Government during the
504 past fifteen years has laid out 39 000 000 litas on construction work and cost of up-keep of the port, while during the same time the receipts reached only 9 500 000 litas. Besides these directly invested sums for the extension of the port, no less considerable amounts have been expended on the erection of warehouses, petrol tanks, refrigerators, and similar installations. Certainly the receipts show a rapid rise: whereas until 1935 they fluctuated between 500 000 litas and 800 000 litas annually, in 1936 they already amounted to 1 360 000 litas and in 1937 to over 1 500 000 litas.

[502] The most important construction work consisted in the deepening of the harbour on an average by 2 metres, in order to render it navigable for ocean steamers. Thanks to these works, the harbour depths to-day in many places are from 8 to 9 metres and in the new dock of the winter port from 7 to 7.5 metres. In the next few years, moreover, further deepening of the harbour to 10 metres is planned.

The already mentioned new dock of the winter port comprises an area of 96 000 square metres and is accessible to large vessels with a displacement of 10 000—15 000 tons. Among other works should be mentioned: The strengthening of approximately 2 000 metres of quays with ferro-concrete and iron reinforcement; the creation of a yacht harbour; extension of the railway track in the port by 4 300 metres; erection of three modern electric cranes; building of new port warehouses with 73 000 cubic metres storage capacity; the completion of the electric power station, &c.

505 The development of Memel shipping since the attachment of the Territory to Lithuania is shown by the following figures:

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Shipping Movement at Memel Port from 1924—1937.

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Year	Entries Vessels	Entries 1 000 net reg. tons	Clearances Vessels	Clearances 1 000 net reg. tons
1924—28*)	762	367.8	764	367.3
1929	807	502.8	802	501.5
1930	960	499.8	960	500.1
1931	981	445.5	982	448.0
1932	1 113	519.7	1 117	516.9
1933	1 069	600.6	1 088	605.3
1934	1 030	622.8	1 039	625.5
1935	1 225	691.3	1 249	692.0
1936	1 371	788.5	1 395	790.1
1937	1 414	844.7	1 433	847.1

We gather from these data that the number of entries and clearances during the period under review has risen by 86.6% and their net registered tonnage by 130.1%. This advance ensued preponderantly during the last five years.

The distribution of the shipping entries at Memel according to national flag is as follows:

	1924—28*)	1935	1936	1937
Lithuania	15	48	96	107
Germany	408	480	544	527
Sweden	125	221	247	231
Great Britain	58	95	114	131
Denmark	51	116	128	117
Holland	6	74	80	83
Norway	25	53	55	65
Estonia	9	35	35	29
Latvia	51	27	20	19

The doubling of the number of vessels sailing under the Lithuanian flag in 1936 is due to the fact that the year in question marked an important expansion of the Lithuanian mercantile marine. Until that year only three vessels belonging to the Memel shipping firm Schwederski, „Friesland",

*) Yearly average.

505 „Holland", and „Gotland", sailed under the Lithuanian flag, their total capacity being 3 000 gross registered tons. First of all at the beginning of 1936 the „Maistas" Joint-stock Company, with a view to the favourable expansion of its meat export to England, acquired three vessels with refrigerating plant, and a total capacity of 1 723 gross registered tons, whereby the number of ships under the Lithuanian commercial ensign was doubled. At the end of 1936 the Lietuvos Baltijos Lloydas Joint-stock Company was floated with preliminary share-capital of 2 000 000 litas, later raised to 3 500 000 litas, which took over the three abovementioned vessels from „Maistas", and later purchased two others in Denmark of 1 880 gross registered tons, and finally one more in Norway of 1 566 gross registered tons.

Moreover, the Memel shippers „Sandėlis" in 1936 procured a vessel of 990 gross registered tons and at the beginning of 1938 a second of 1 128 gross registered tons.

Our mercantile marine therefore consists to-day of eleven steamers of a total capacity of 10 299 gross registered tons. They are:

„Utena",	542	gross	registered	tons
„Kretinga",	642	„	„	„
„Maistas",	641	„	„	„
„Šiauliai",	939	„	„	„
„Marijampolė",	941	„	„	„
„Gotland",	990	„	„	„
„Nida",	990	„	„	„
„Holland",	991	„	„	„
„Friesland",	1 029	„	„	„
„Neringa",	1 128	„	„	„
„Kaunas",	1 566	„	„	„

505 439 The development of our foreign trade traffic via Memel port from 1931 to 1937 is shown by the following figures:

Import and Export via Memel.

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	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Import, in 1 000 tons	426.0	611.3	696.7	738.6	666.0	810.7	968.9
Export, in 1 000 tons	194.9	222.1	258.4	275.8	441.1	462.3	370.1

These figures, in which of course transit traffic is also included, show that under the operation of the above-mentioned factors (extension of the port and creation of a home mercantile marine) the goods turnover of Memel port during recent years has doubled. As regards the structure of the goods turnover via Memel, export consists chiefly of the following items (in 1 000 tons):

	1924—28*)	1935	1936	1937
Timber	43.2	154.0	178.7	193.1
Cellulose	68.1	48.4	56.7	73.1
Sulphur sticks	17.2	15.4	13.3	21.1
Linseed	3.3	9.9	21.4	17.9
Butter	0	10.2	15.2	15.8
Meat	0	13.1	13.5	12.6
Flax	3.5	2.1	7.5	7.0
Plywood	4.7	5.5	6.2	5.7
Eggs	0.1	1.7	5.1	5.5
Grain	—	163.4	126.4	5.2

The most important articles imported via Memel (in 1 000 tons) were:

	1924—28*)	1935	1936	1937
Timber	11.3	152.9	247.5	262.3
Coal	146.4	214.3	216.3	229.6
Cement	32.8	55.4	72.9	89.7
Metal & Metal Wares	10.3	34.1	42.8	70.2
Fertilizers	71.2	42.3	45.2	60.6
Sulphur pyrites	31.8	15.9	23.7	49.4
Petroleum	9.3	22.0	29.2	44.4
Limestone and Lime	32.9	43.0	30.5	44.2
Salt	9.2	28.1	25.8	23.5
Herrings	1.3	6.2	9.8	11.2

*) Yearly average.

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The bulk of the goods exported via Memel went in 1924-28 to Germany (51%), Great Britain (15.5%), Latvia, Sweden, Belgium, Holland, and Danzig. On the other hand, in 1937 the sequence was: To Great Britain (46.5%), Holland (10.6%), Germany (8.2%), Belgium, United States, Denmark, and Sweden, which the re-grouping of our export trade during the last ten years reveals.

The goods imported via Memel in 1924-28 originated for the most part from Germany (32.6%), Great Britain (15.3%), Sweden, Danzig, Holland, Norway and Belgium. In 1937 Great Britain took the first place among countries of supply (32.8%), followed by the U. S. S. R. (21.9%), Finland (12.2%), Belgium, Sweden, and for the first time in the sixth place Germany, with only 5.6%.

In conclusion are cited a few comparative figures regarding shipping in the larger neighbouring ports (number of ships):

	1936	1937		1936	1937
Danzig	5 404	5 935	Tallinn	1 589	1 659
Königsberg	4 258	3 332	Memel	1 371	1 414
Riga	1 563	2 054	Libau	520	602

3. Inland Water Traffic.

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The total length of the Lithuanian waterways amounts to 2 774.3 kilometres of which 683.3 klms. are accessible to steamer communication, while on the remaining 2 091 klms. only timber-rafts can be carried.

The principal traffic of steamers and tug-boats takes place on the Kaunas - Memel line. The following data on the goods turnover of our three most important river ports (in 1 000 tons) illustrate the development of inland navigation goods traffic:

Year	Memel	Smalininkai	Kaunas
1931	153.1	109.8	62.7
1932	278.9	91.3	54.7
1933	269.5	148.2	58.7
1934	341.6	162.1	41.4
1935	340.9	91.8	34.4
1936	420.2	140.9	70.7
1937	400.5	154.6	77.6

The goods turnover of the port of Smalininkai most strikingly characterizes inland communication; then in the turnover of Memel port transit traffic with Germany (via Tilsit - Ragnit) is also included. On the inland waters downstream chiefly timber, and upstream coal and iron are conveyed. 505

Timber-rafting takes place mainly on the Nemunas and to a lesser extent also on the Neris, Jūra, Minija, and Nemunėlis. The quantities of round timber, pulp wood and firewood carried on the waterways were as follows (in cubic metres):

1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
206 669	412 902	360 000	473 706	441 396	266 292	468 966

Shipping on the Nemunas to-day serves predominantly inland traffic. In connexion with the regulation of economic relations with Poland, the possibility of increased utilization of these waterways for transit trade is to the fore.

4. Roads and Highways.

In 1918, i. e. at the time of the foundation of the independent Lithuanian State, the total length of roads amounted to 1 190 kilometres, but in this connexion it must be borne in mind that the majority of them were in an almost impassable condition, and that many bridges were destroyed. In 1928 already 1 701 klms. and at the end of 1937, 1 956 klms. were available, of which 1 265 klms. were under the jurisdiction of the State Highways Board and the remainder under that of the local administrations. The total length of roads during twenty years had therefore increased by 766 klms. which had been achieved partly by means of the improvement of old routes and partly by the construction of new ones. In that time a total of 1 247 klms. of roads had been fundamentally repaired, 213.5 klms. newly built, and 937 bridges constructed. The cost of this work amounted to 60 000 000 litas, of which 40 000 000 litas was on account of road and 20 000 000 litas on account of bridge construction. Besides the above-mentioned roads, there are also 31 530 klms. of country roads. The total length of all roads and highways is therefore 33 486 klms. 491

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liveries is niggardly. For instance, 2 pre-reform rubles were paid for a hundredweight of rye, but the state resold the grain to the worker as baked bread at the rate of 3.5 rubles per kilogram. In the black market, the hundredweight of rye sold for 1,200 rubles.

Failure to meet the assessed produce quotas is harshly penalized: cattle are confiscated, families are dispossessed and sentenced to several years of "loss of freedom" at hard labor in concentration camps. And a farmer deals with *two governments*: in daytime with the Russians, at night—with the Lithuanian underground authorities.

A farmer managing 30 ha. farm, must deliver 4,000 kilograms of grains, 4,500 kg. of potatoes, 800 kg. of meat, and specified amounts of hay, wool, eggs, butter and milk to the state. Terms are fixed for such deliveries, usually between fall and Christmas. However, [461] local Executive Committees pay no attention to the fixed terms: they engage in "socialistic competition" to surpass each other in making record deliveries and set the high mark of "voluntary contributions in excess of the quotas." Fixed contingents are not enough: excess quotas are fixed and announced, by armed militiamen, to the exploited farmer as "voluntarily assumed duties of the area inhabitants," plus "voluntary sales to the state" of about 20% in excess of the quota. Detachments of militia ravage the countryside collecting the levies ahead of time. Once the quotas and excess quotas are met,—a distant "sister republic" somewhere in the Altais "challenges" Lithuania to a "socialistic competition." Immediately, tens of thousands of militia and MVD troops descend on the poor farmers to seize "voluntary contributions" in addition to negligently exposed wristwatches, cash, suits, etc. The waylaying of women and girls begins, etc. If "challenges" are repeated, new waves of armed official robbers descend. . . .

This shameless policy of exploitation ruins the farmer. He no longer has bread nor seeds, and is glad to get away from the armed communist terrorists and to settle on a kolkhoz or anywhere out of reach of the collectors of "voluntarily assumed quotas"—but he is fooled, as challenges to "socialistic competition" by distant kolkhoses omit no one. . . . Nothing at all is paid sometimes for the seized stocks, even though the collectors possess signed receipts of payment. And all the time the harrassed farmer must listen to Russian profanity and hear himself called "people's enemy," "kulak," "saboteur," "reactionary," "exploiter," etc.

●[511] Workers employed in the kolkhoses and sovkhoses receive but 10% of the minimum standard of living. For this reason, every inhabitant of a state-operated farm and institution MUST steal to protect his family from hunger and nakedness.

The duty of providing "stoykas" is very oppressive. Farmers must provide carriages and horses for postal deliveries, to transport government officials and their Katyushas from place to place, to cut and tote fixed contingents of timber, to transport grain contingents, carry gravel and repair the roads, etc. Of course, a member of the family must accompany the cart. During the German occupation, it was safer for women to accompany the carts. But no woman of any age may risk exposure to Russians. . . . Occasionally the driver and the horse disappear for months—transporting officials to distant places or carting materials for mili-

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The morale of factory workers is as low as that of the farmers. The living conditions steadily deteriorate. Discontent over "stakhanovite efficiency," long working hours, low pay, lack of clothing, etc. is widespread. In the early part of 1948 the regime abandoned its choicest proffer to workers—the bait of appointment [554] to managing posts. Today, there is a tendency to build up cadres of skilled specialists, a privileged caste of people in uniform—even telegraph post climbers wear uniforms. . . .

Moral Situation

000 Symbols of Russian "culture" and ways of life universally exhibited by the "masters and victors" are—violence, profanity, drunkenness, thievery, deceit and raggedness.

685 Any criminal tendencies among the natives were drastically curbed by the underground authorities. Felonies were penalized by death sentences—and the sentences were carried out. But thieving is uncontrollable in the factories and in the supply services.

273 186 The Russians and their bootlickers revel in continual drunkenness. Vodka is the universal form of bribe. Unfortunately, the brutal conditions of life affected the Lithuanians to a certain degree, too. People are tempted to forget bitter reality for a half hour at least. The resistance movement continually wages a press propaganda against alcoholism ("Don't be like a Russian!"). For strictly practical considerations of maintaining a supply service for its armed units, the resistance movement repeatedly issued orders banning home distilling and any waste of the much needed grains. The Russians, however, pursue a definite policy aimed at demoralizing the natives and weakening their moral standards. Vodka is dumped on the market in unlimited unrationed qualities. But—the Church is still permitted to preach against the evils of drunkenness.

181 They are industrious, peace-loving, and
unassuming people, described by ancient chroniclers as "rough but pious."
Since time immemorial and ever spiritually attuned to nature, they
have built their entire culture upon a natural basis. Like the Letts, who
are related to them, they live to a great extent in a "wood age" which
is very ancient but for that reason no less many-sided, skillful, and
342 sensible. The houses are made of wood; their foundation beams rest on
the bare soil or on field boulders. The roof at one time probably con-
sisted of spruce bark, as the covering sheets for the peat still do today;
but now the roof is made of straw which is held on to the ridge by ridge ride
In front of the door there is usually placed a narrow porch with a gabled
roof and with little benches to the right and to the left. Formerly the
houses had only one room, smoking-room style, but now they usually
have a tripartite division with entrance hall in the middle, and living
room and bedroom to the right and the left of it. The floor consists of
352 a loam coating or of boarding. The furniture consists of wall benches,
loose benches, well-carved solid chairs, a table, wall boards, and pine-
353 wood splinter holders; on the walls are hung pictures of saints, fre-
quently portraits of the old Lithuanian rulers, and, symptomatic for the
343 great amount of emigration, photographs from America. Aside from
the living quarters, granaries (klete), barns, stables, wells, and bath
● 515 house belong to the Lithuanian farmstead. In the bath house they bathe
in steam which rises from heated stones on which the water is poured.
This, incidentally, is also the way the Indians do it. The bather lies
on a bench and cools and massages himself at the same time by means
412 of a cluster of birch twigs which he dips in fresh water. The hand-
operated mill is a very ancient instrument. It has one stationary and
[231] one turning stone in a wooden box. Likewise ancient is the beehive
made of a hollow tree stem--bee keeping is the most original native
and the most highly developed form of the collecting economy, which is
here, as among the Letts, universally practiced and skillfully cultivated--;
ancient, too, is the zoche, the plow with the forked share, which, as
late as the 16th century, was made entirely of wood, and which even
today is completely wooden except for the iron shoe; just like the har-
rows with branches tied to them, and the snowshoes made of hollowed-
534 out oakboards tied under the foot. Ancient, also, are the musical in-
struments: the nine-stringed kanklys, the truba made of a birch branch
cut lengthwise, hollowed out, and tied together again; the short reed
pipe, the trapezoid shaped cymbal, the stringed zither made of an osier
switch, played with a bow fashioned in the same way; with a resonator

532 [517] circle of responsibility: it[1] called into being a theater, an opera, and a music school--institutions which the state took over--and combined within itself all the creative forces of that period which were aiming with great energy and much idealism to create the basis for a new artistic culture within the framework of the new national life.

537 874 In the year 1924 the founding of an art school took place. At its head was the painter Justinas Vienožinskis, who, although he belonged to the older generation, pursued with great freshness the new artistic trends of Western Europe but at the same time directed attention to the values which were lying dormant in the Lithuanian folk art. A painter of colorful culture, himself a product of the impressionism of the previous century, he found a style of his own. Along with him there came as teachers a number of the older artists. In spite of unfavorable material conditions the art school today has well beyond 100 students and has become an independent factor in Lithuanian cultural life. Its director is the well-known art historian and critic Ignas Šlapelis.

532 Adomas Galdikas (born 1893), who began with drawing but found his real field as a painter, also works as a professor at the art school. A thoroughly self-willed artist, he did not remain untouched by the various new trends of European painting, but always followed independent paths. His individuality grows out of his inner ties to Lithuanian folk art. Unusually versatile--along with his landscapes and portraits his opera decorations must also be mentioned--Galdikas underwent a lively artistic development. It is characterized by the Frenchman Waldemar George, who /182/ writes in a monograph dedicated to the artist: "By approaching the archaic expression of religious folk art, Galdikas seeks something other than only an assortment of colored tones and lines. This confrontation with folk art allows him to be con-

1 [Lithuanian Art Association, 1919 -- Analyst]

* 533 /91/ He who is in love, thinks that the others are blind.
An evil word is heard by everyone.
The hands of the mother are soft, but her tears heavy.
The living man is driven to the grave, but when he is dead, he is exalted to heaven.
One's own tears are bitter, other's only wet.
To a good person even the thief is a guest.
Even a small stump overthrows a large wagon.
One disaster--no disaster; two or three eat a man up.
In the winter the stove is a brother, in the summer--clay.
The autumn makes us all lords.

* 4. Folk Riddles

538 524 The Lithuanian riddles are on an equal plane with the proverbs and sayings in spiritual content. They, too, combine a sharp gift of observation with a great wealth of imagination, and in their brevity and conciseness belong to the /92/ most characteristic creations of a peasant culture. Like the fairy tale, the riddle leads us back into the childhood years of humanity; it contains the imprint of early thought. No less a person than Bielenstein drew from the unusual similarity of Lithuanian and Lettish riddles the conclusion "that both types of riddles originated in a period when Letts and Lithuanians still spoke one language and were one people," (58) and

[13]

58. 1,000 lettische Rätsel, translated and explained by A. Bielenstein (Mitau, 1881), Introduction, p. 10.

gives us surprising enlightenment on the mythological content of a number of riddles. In this connection we may only mention that the riddles of both peoples are characteristic of a mental

538 attitude which--peculiar as it may strike the
524 modern city dweller--we still meet in such regions of Germany as lie away from the great highways; we may think for example of the popular riddles that are still alive today in the Bavarian woods and are there given by the mother of the bride to the instructor of the bride /Brautweiser/: two long parents and many short children (a ladder). Or: there are nine maids, they all lie in a single bed, all in the middle, none at the end (a spinning wheel with nine spokes). We have here before us a stage of culture at which the peasant creates something completely out of his own mind. Thus most of what was said concerning Lithuanian proverbs and sayings applies also to the riddles. All of nature lives in them; every thing, every object is taken up, elevated into a higher sphere, and made to participate in human life. Force and boldness of comparison are often
[533] surprising. Even in the dainos the pleasure of the Lithuanian in such riddles plays a part; we may think for example of the beautiful song known from Rhesa, in which the girl is sent out by her stepmother to get "winter green and summer snow." In other songs, which are composed in dialogue form, several riddles are connected with each other, whereby the question of the first strophe is followed by the solution in the second.

The following examples are taken from the collection of Krēvē-Mickevičius, who /93/ recorded them from the mouths of the people in the parishes of Alytus, Merkinē, and Kabeliai in the years 1909 to 1925. (59) [See page 105--Analyst]

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59. V. Krēvē-Mickevičius, "Tautosakos rinkiniū 1, Mislēs," (Riddles), Tauta ir Zodis (Kaunas, 1928), Vol. V. The most important collection of Lithuanian popular riddles is that of K. Jurgelionis, Mislių knyga (Book of Riddles) (Chicago, 1913)(over 1,000

113 riddles). Cf. further the pertinent chapters in Schleicher and Bezzenberger, op. cit. Important for more detailed studies: R. Petsch, Das deutsche Volksrätsel (Strassburg, 1917).

*

538 It runs, it speaks, it does not stand still, and
524 nevertheless it lies. (A river.)
Born outdoors, grown up outdoors, it comes home to sleep.
(Grain.)
By day it carries bones, by night it gawks about. (A pair of shoes.)
When it cries, everyone is happy and lifts his feet. (A violin.)
There came a bird flying without wings, it sat on a tree without branches. (The snow.)
A young woman in the room, her braids outside. (A carrot.)
There stand two columns, on the columns a beehive, on the beehive an egg, on the egg a forest. (A man.)
It runs without feet, it cries without a throat. (A wagon wheel.)
An iron mare, the tail of hemp. (A sewing needle.)
/94/ Ten men fill a sack. (Fingers and mouth.)
The family eats, the table complains. (A sow.)
It has legs but it does not walk, it has feathers but it does not fly, it has straw but it does not eat, it has a soul but not always. (A bed.)
What is harder than steel? (A snout.)
I sprouted and having sprouted I grew; grown I became a girl, and from a girl a young woman; from a young woman an old one. Become old, I received eyes, and from the eyes I crawled out myself. (A poppy.)
There comes a fine gentleman with a little red jacket: drive the hens away, I am not afraid of the dogs. (An earthworm.)
Who is not humble in church? (A fly.)

*
533 Sometimes higher than the roof, sometimes smaller
524 than a mouse, green as grass, sweet as honey.
(A pear.)
When it sings I do not hear it, when it is silent, I cannot sleep. (Fortune.)
/95/ What is more dear than father and mother? (Sleep.)
Everyone buys it but no one wants it. (A coffin.)
In the middle of the field a black pot is boiling. (An ant hill.)
The feet of stone, the trunk of wood, the cap of straw, the eyes of glass, and on the cap sits an old man and smokes a pipe. (A house.)
The father is not yet born, the son already reaches to heaven. (Fire and smoke.)
Two little sisters do not meet over a hill. (The eyes.)
Not a bush, but with leaves; not a shirt, but sewed together; not a person, but it speaks. (A book.)
Without a pencil, without hands, he paints flowers on the window. (The frost.)
A black devil sits on a golden seat. (A kettle on the fire.)
If you break through ice you find silver, if you break through the silver you find gold. (An egg.)
/96/ Five stables, one door. (A glove.)
In summer in fur--in winter without fur. (A pea.)
Neither legs nor hands, but it climbs a tree. (Hops.)
It goes through fire--it does not burn; it goes through water--it does not drown; it goes over straw--it does not rustle. (A shadow.)
Red coat, green cap. (A carrot.)
A little mother clothes the whole world. (A needle.)
A fine barrel without hopps. (An egg.)
Born in the forest, grown up there, it came home and became sacred. (The cross.)
Without a soul, without breath, it tells the truth. (A clock.)

*
538 What is red after death? (A crab.)
524 A blind little dove flutters through the whole
● world. (A letter.)
A little woman with one foot has 1,000 dresses.
(A head of cabbage.)
/Unnumbered page with illustration--Crosses in
* the Evening/
538 /97/ 5. On the Study of Lithuanian Folklore
814 We cannot close the present chapter without having cast a glance on the folklore research itself, whose results found here a brief presentation which proceeded essentially from an artistic standpoint. The beginning of this research goes about a hundred years back, when the recording of songs, fairy tales, proverbs, and other texts began. Today the printed collections alone comprise 12,000 folk songs with 3,000 melodies; in addition, close to 4,000 fairy tales and folk tales and thousands of smaller pieces. German scholarship was of special importance, above all for the beginning of the scientific investigation of Lithuanian folk poetry. At first it was philology that drew the Lithuanian songs, fairy tales, proverbs, etc. into its scope; later the investigation of Lithuanian folk literature became a special field of study, which, to be sure, until very recently has been to a certain degree dependent on philology. Men like Schleicher, Bezzenberger, Geitler, Brugmann, Leskien, Chr. Bartsch, passarge, Zweck, Sauerwein, Gisevius, Tetzner, Scheu, and many others were indispensable to the development of this science. The publications of the "Litauische Literarische Gesellschaft" which existed before the first World War contain in all areas of Lithuanian folklore the most valuable results and suggestions, especially since the society placed its organ at the disposal of non-German scholars, too. The contribution of other nations is weaker, although here, too, important names in the field of folklore study can be named,

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

There are large peasant youth organisations such as "Jaunoji Lietuva", the Rifle Association, "Pavasaris", etc. The Chamber of Physical Culture has drawn up a programme of physical culture and sport for the peasant youth, which also takes account of their less material needs. The programme is divided into two parts, one for winter and one for summer. It includes games, exercises in self-defence, light exercise, popular dances and community games, running, jumping, throwing, ball games, more strenuous competitions, wrestling, riding, hiking, swimming and winter sports. 883 526

The Chamber of Physical Culture has introduced a national physical culture badge, which is conferred on young people in the camps held by the different organisations, after they have had adequate time to train for it.

A sculptor of religious statuettes.

2:Anonymous U-4 (no date)1947 R85 Lithuanians R85

793 659 661 they discontinue holding Mass and stop the performance of other priestly duties. A number of priests were arrested and the NKVD attempted to enlist their services by threats and blackmail. Because of these methods, several priests consented—and, immediately after their release, fled abroad. Those refusing to become agents were imprisoned. Soon the number of prisoners grew as many friars, preachers and high school students heroically defended their faith.

626 527 461 The Russians initiated a campaign against religious *traditions*. They began by banning the traditional Corpus Christi processions in the streets. All Saints Day was declared to be a working day, and the authorities banned traditional services and mass visits to cemeteries on All Souls' Day. During Advent and Lent, the bolsheviks encouraged dancing, entertainment and anti-religious lectures. Good Friday and Holy Saturday, as well as the second day of Easter, were designated working days. Those failing to report for work on the second day of Easter were prosecuted. In general, at frequent intervals, ordinary Sundays were periodically declared to be working days, and Saturdays—days of rest.

876 626 The teaching of religion in schools was replaced by classes on biology and the Stalin constitution. Biological lectures popularized "Darwinism." The "science of constitution" was to popularize a "Soviet democracy" and its oft-varying shifts directed by party [883] line. In place of religious sodalities and athletic groups, the bolsheviks attempted to form *"Komsomol"* (Communist Youth) nests directed by political instructors called "Komsorg." Religious sermons were replaced by anti-religious tirades in the communist-controlled press and at mass meetings. Attendance at such mass-meetings to hear blasphemies was made compulsory.

626 661 558 Churches kept open and functioning. However, attendants at religious services were terrorized. The Party posted uniformed and non-uniformed spies at church doors to observe and list the churchgoers. Attendance in church was a sufficient reason for dismissal from higher offices.

000 The anti-religious drive, growing in tempo, began to expand. When Bishops Brizgys and Ramanauskas called on Pozdniakov, the former Soviet Minister to Lithuania and at present the Kremlin's deputy satrap, to ask for the return of the premises of the Theological Seminary, the Russian attempted to "reason" with them. Pozdniakov stated that they should have no illusions: what had been accomplished in Russia in 20 years, will be achieved in Lithuania within two to three years by experienced administrators. Why should the Seminary "delude" young men? By the time they became priests, there would be no duties to perform—in Russia the priests already have nothing to do. . . .

Lithuanian Resistance to the Anti-Religious Drive

798 771 The Lithuanians had suffered much for religion—murder, imprisonment and exile to Siberia—during

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THE LITHUANIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

131 /3/The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic is situated in the western part of the S.S.S.R.

The territory of the Lithuanian S.S.R. constitutes 65,200 square kilometers. In the south it borders on the Polish Democratic Republic. Inside the Soviet Union Lithuania's neighbors are: in the north, the Latvian S.S.R.; in the west and the southwest, the Kaliningrad Oblast', R.S.F.S.R. The northwestern part of the Lithuanian S.S.R. occupies the coast of the Baltic Sea.

133 The surface of the Lithuanian lands presents a hilly plain, cut through by rows of elevations, lakes, swamps, and woods. There are up to 1,743 lakes in the country. The majority of these are situated in the south. The most cut-up section of the district is found in the seacoast province, which stretches form the southwest to the northeast. The elevations in the west reach from 175 to 200 meters. This is the so-called Zhemaitis* elevation, or the

*Editor's Note--Names which did not occur in English reference books available to me occur in a form transliterated from Russia and are marked with an asterisk.

Telshiai Mountains.

In the area of the lower Nemunas there is a valley that merges into a similar valley along the lower course of the Neris (Viliya) and the Nevezys rivers. A strip of valley from 20 to 25 kilometers wide extends along the Baltic seacoast which forms in the south the shallow Kurshiu Marios (Courland Spit). The landscape in the east and in the south of the Republic is extremely varied. "Hills beyond hills, and beyond those-little hillocks," thus the poet Baranauskas describes his native land. /4/ In Sarasay mountains and hillocks are surrounded by woods, and they look into the lakes as if admiring themselves. Dzukiya competes for beauty with the Sarasay country. The same hills and woods are scattered amoung fields and lake islands, like rich nosegays. Here is the largest number of lakes.

133 Zhemaitya* (Zhmud*) is beautiful, with its forests, the
529 largest in Lithuania, and its Shatriya* and Medvagalis* mountain, steeped in legends. Zhemaitiya* ends at the Baltic Sea, with the ports of Klaipeda and Shventoiji, and with the sea resorts Palanga, Smelta, Yodkranta*, and Nida, which are known far beyond the Republic's frontiers. Palanga, with its pine woods and snow-white sand dunes is one of the finest resorts on the Baltic shore.

342 restraint, a mental flexibility of its inhabitants and follows along the path of the natural development that has led from the old "smoke house" to the present-day form of the Lithuanian farm. (10)

10. Cf. the presentation of the types of design of the Lithuanian farmhouse in Mortensen (op. cit., pp. 93-96) and the analogous drawings in Galaunė (op. cit., p. 55). [See cat. 13, pp. 113 + 114 -- Analyst]

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342 If the external form and organization of the farmhouse resulted at first from practical requirements, at the same time the wood construction was easier to work with and met the needs of decoration to a greater degree then the simple stone construction. It is understandable that the artistic embellishment extended predominantly to the appendages of the buildings. Here Lithuanian ornamentation unfolded in beautiful patterns based partly on the surrounding nature and partly constructed according to strict geometrical principles. The richest decorations of this type are found in the klėtis, again proof that this peculiar building was not a simple granary but the primitive dwelling. We find the instinct for artistic forms both in the various types of carved columns of the porch and the beautifully vaulted arches at the ends of the sides. (11)

11. P. Galaunė, op. cit., p. 62.

The front part of the dwelling, resting on four columns, exhibits in its ornamentation elements of the baroque and the renaissance, whose models, following Galaunė, /106/ we will have to seek first in the buildings of Lithuanian castles and farms of that period. A parallel phenomenon of this sort of adaptation to a more general cul-

•531 322 342

tural level is formed by the colorful ornamentation of the old South German farmhouses. Especially the carved decorative mouldings which close the front part of the Lithuanian dwelling toward the roof exhibit a great ornamental richness. The massive front doors of the farmhouses are usually decorated with a rosette, the symbol of the sun. Stylized animal and plant patterns are born primarily by the upper end mouldings of the windows, while the often brightly painted shutters themselves are decorated with carved rosettes. The so-called "gable horns" are basically no more than the gable-shaped supports of the long pole that forms the ridge of the wooden house. A lively need for ornamentation has shaped them in Lithuania, similarly as in North Germany, into the most varied forms. We find the silhouetted imitations of horse heads, as well as birds, flowers, and people.

The ornamental decoration of the Lithuanian farmhouse frequently exhibits in the north and northeast of the country Russian influences of style which differ distinctly from the Lithuanian patterns. The latter extend farther back into antiquity. "We will not be mistaken," says the Lithuanian art historian Galaunė, "if we maintain that among no other people, with the possible exception of the Letts and Finns, such an abundance of primitive elements has been preserved as in our ornamentation." (12) This ornamentation,

12. Ibid., p. 23.

concerning which more must be said in another place, in its application to the Lithuanian farmhouse, is of strict proportions and pure form. It is harmoniously fitted into its principles of construction as to proportion and line. And as there is no farmhouse in the whole country that does not have its little flower garden which is

•531 lovingly cared for by the girls, this same loving
322 attitude took the elements of Lithuanian ornament-
342 ation out of the surrounding nature and decorated the simple house of the Lithuanian farmer with its symbols.

/107/ 2. The Village Church

000 From what was said above results also the special mood which hovers over the Lithuanian villages and which hardly an artist who has once stayed in Lithuania has escaped. One must, perhaps, have wandered oneself through the country and entered one of these quiet farms, which nothing betrays from afar but the circle of trees which surrounds it. One must once have made a long journey through the country, have experienced the colorful shades of an evening in the East, the rushing of a village stream, the fragrance of the little hidden gardens. For this mood is necessary to the understanding of the Lithuanian village.

[346] On the highest hill in the village lies the church, plainly built in the simple forms of log construction.

Let us remember how we regard the city church or cathedral as the symbol of soaring worship of God in a wealthy commercial and royal city. Here everyone feels the concentrated energy of the whole population directed toward the attainment of a higher goal, dedicated to a higher, supernatural idea, desirous of giving here its best. But is it basically any different with the little Catholic village churches of Lithuania? Is not in the last analysis everything which the human spirit has created in the sense of a higher idea, a pious ideal, to be considered as equally valuable?--with the sole difference that in the one case the idea was able to unfold freely, while in the other case it remained bound within simple limits. With such thoughts one may enter

532 been to any greater extent. This happened in connection with the emergence of a new nationalism which is intent at tracing the spiritual forces of its own country as they are manifested in folk art and folk customs--on the other hand through the development of expressionism, whose representatives created mood and suggestive animation out of the art of the primitive. All external phenomena are reduced by expressionism to the last degree of their simplicity. External experiences yield to inner spiritual phenomena. Thus it is no wonder that the products of Lithuanian folk art, above all the peasant wood sculptures, at the international art exhibition in Monza, in 1925, had an unusual success. It was precisely the contrast between the naivete of presentation and the power of their expression which found understanding appreciation and recognition.

/128/ The expressionistic elements mentioned by us are characteristic not only of the area of religious folk art which we have treated so far. They are manifested with equal strength in the secular areas of peasant art. We have thus come to the extensive field of handicraft, which has been independently developed in Lithuania in the manifold forms of wood carving, weaving, pottery, decorative painting, and many others, and whose products have found loving appreciation and recognition especially among German artists and scholars.

531 4. The Home and in the Village
322 Woodwork, Ceramics, Ironwork, Decorative Painting

In considering these branches of folk art, too, we must proceed first from wood carving, for the forest gave the Lithuanian from olden times everything which he needed for his life in the way of household articles--from the wicker cradle to the towering cross in his cemetery.

•531 322 If he gave to the laboriously carved object a special beauty, a characteristic ornamentation, he raised it thus above the ordinary and gave it its own stamp and individual significance. In his already mentioned essay, (39) the East Prussian poet Alfred Brust writes concerning this wood-

39. Alfred Brust, cf. note 21.

work: "The center of gravity of creative art in Lithuania has rested in handicrafts. Especially in the wooden objects of practical use an expressionistic spirit of joy and satisfaction is felt. Although very much of this home art has been lost through fire in the war, there are in the farms of remote villages still a quantity of beautiful objects which, if shown in an exhibition, would leave a deep impression among the connoisseurs. Chests, tubs, and mortars of every variety attest to great artistic /Unnumbered page with illustration--Bell Tower in the District of Telšiai/ /129/ industry, and pine-chip holders of deceptive primitiveness betray an excellent taste for a unified pattern in household articles."

The strong artistic force which speaks from these peasant articles of everyday use has also directed to itself the attention of many other artists; I may name among others Prof. Buhe and Prof. von Osterroth. Above all it is the manner in which the Lithuanian ornamentation grows out of the object itself with absolute artistic logic. Hans Heinrich Schaeder speaks of this in an essay written with great love; (40)

40. Heinrich Schaeder, loc. cit., p. 62.

"The whole creative activity of the Lithuanian is a unity, and rooted in the deepest foundations of his soul. Thus it comes about that every individual part of his life's utterances is basically

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bound to every other and seeks a relationship to the totality of his life. He does not have the intention of decorating the objects which he makes for his use, but lets the ornaments, the arabesques, sprout out of them with no less necessity than that with which a plant produces the blossom out of itself. Thus there is no handicraft among the Lithuanians; whether he weaves a belt or applies colors to the shell of an egg--always it is the truly artistic instinct that moves him. All these things have the direct effectiveness of great art."

Still a fourth person may be mentioned in this regard, the founder of the Kaunas City Museum, the old Tadas Daugirdas (Thaddäus von Dowgird), who was not only an eccentric, but also an artist, and from whom stems the characteristic saying: "The Lithuanian does not make, he creates. To make is nothing; to create is everything."

Thereby the nature of Lithuanian household art is clearly enough paraphrased: out of a creative imagination, bound by inherited traditions, originated the forms and decorative motifs of the wooder household objects as well as the patterns and colors of those colorful ribbons and aprons which will occupy us at the end of this chapter.

/130/ The ornaments which decorate the practical objects of the peasant household contain no hidden symbolism. In part they are the same geometrical forms that we already have encountered in another place. They resulted from the technique of lines and nothces which were primarily used in such articles as come frequently in contact with water, like the wash paddles which the Lithuanian peasant woman still uses today for her laundry. The most beautiful objects, however, are executed in deep carving, or the ornament is completely cut out, as we see it, for example, in towel racks, and thereby developed into some-

322 thing of their own. We find as ornaments rosettes,
531 stars, and wavy lines, interrupted and lozenge frets, also stylized plant patterns--though less often--on chests, dishes, platters, canes, etc. On spindles and distaffs, on the other hand, the favorite ornament is the circle divided into six segments, the ancient symbol of the sun, whose production presents only little difficulty and therefore is often repeated. Only on coat racks do animal forms appear, taken from nature, primarily birds. Splendidly carved towel and spoon racks, knives, forks, and spoons, shuttles and whetstone holders, boxes and caskets, even carved flasks show great technical skill and artistic manipulation. Only in rare cases does an object of household use remain without ornamentation.
[354] The old žibintuvas, the pine chip holder, an often very beautifully carved frame holding the chips that illuminated the work room, is today
[533] found only in museums as is the kanklēs, the ancient zither-like instrument of the Lithuanians, which is also richly carved, and which today has awakened to a new life. (41) In all of these

[113] 41. On the development of the kanklēs cf. the basic work of the Swedish Professor Tobias Norlind, Bidrag Till Kantelens Historia (Särtryck ur Rig, 1923).

patterns sways an inner rhythm that attests to an absolute feeling for style. One should also never overlook the fact that these objects were created only for personal pleasure or for the pleasure of people to whom they were given--as perhaps by a youth to a maid. Thus they maintained the charm of the personal and direct and also the value of uniqueness.

/131/ In view of this joy in the ornamentation of practical objects it is almost astonishing not to find furniture decorated with carving in the

Lithuanian village--be they peasant beds, tables or benches. Here rules rather a peculiar sobriety, which is to be explained only by the fact that there has never been a bourgeois culture in the Western sense of the term in this country, formerly a part of Russia. But this seems under any circumstances to be a prerequisite to a rural residential culture.

A home industry bringing artistically worked wooden objects onto the market did not formerly exist in Lithuania. Quite in contrast to Germany, for example, folk art, although reaching such height of expression, did not produce a national handicraft. Neither was this art developed into a handicraft in the countryside--this was opposed by the peasant's home economy--nor was the city handicraft--we may think, for example, of the interior furnishings of the city church--stimulated by it. The reasons for this will be discussed in the chapter on the intellectual culture of the city.* We speak, therefore, quite intentionally in this regard of a home culture. Only in recent times has a handicraft arisen in Lithuania on a national basis, such as Daugirdas aspired even before the World War.

There is no question that the rich store of forms of the Lithuanian home art offers a favorable soil for the development of an independent handicraft. To be sure, modern Lithuanian handicraft, as it is promoted, for example, by the trade schools, the orphanages, and similar institutions, is still today trying to develop its own avenues. This development is not without danger, for not every path leads to the goal. We see here at times efforts simply to take over Western forms and give up the indigenous ones; this would be an unfortunate break with the Lithuanians' own independently developed, /132/ tradition. On the other hand, attempts at transferring directly to wooden furniture and wooden objects the primitive weaving patterns

* [cat. 116, pp. 145-195--Analyst]

600 which were conditioned precisely by the technique of weaving must destroy the inner relationship between object and ornament. Burned or carved juostos on wooden book covers are warning examples. Nevertheless we do meet individual personalities who by their own artistic power accomplish in this area exemplary results; we may think for example of the modern weaving of the Bagnickaitė.

323 531 Compared to the products of a highly developed art of woodwork, those of Lithuanian ceramics are far inferior. Here predominate the primitive stroke, line, zigzag, and ribbon patterns, which are pressed into the clay with a stone or a splinter of wood, and which hardly differ from the patterns of the clay shards from the Old Prussian graves. In addition we find painted vessels. In recent times various attempts have been made to renew the technique of glazed painting on platters, dishes, pitchers, and vases, which has almost been forgotten today.

The forms of the pots are in general not very individual. This is probably connected with the fact that until recently the Lithuanian made his pots, too, of wood or bark, while pottery for a long time lay mostly in the hands of Jewish artists. We find here a retrogression composed to earlier times, for at the art exhibition "Vilna-Minsk" of 1918 there was among the exhibited tiles a special piece from a very old period which came from Panevėžys and was noteworthy in that it represented the Mother of God in the native costume.

531 327 Nevertheless this seems to have been an exception, for in general ceramics experienced no strong artistic development among the Lithuanian people--quite in contrast to iron work, which has been briefly dealt with in the paragraph on roofed crosses.[1] Almost every one of these high crosses ends in a /133/ second, smaller, ironwork cross, which is attached to the other with a thorn. These

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 124-133 -- Analysis]

327 iron pieces are of unusual grace and lightness.
531 They rise in a rhythmic upswing and repeat the theme of the symbolic ornamentation in their own language. Rosettes, flowers, sun, moon, and all the other symbols of the early pagan period awaken in them to a new life, and so great is the diversity of forms that among hundreds of these products of ironwork hardly one resembles another. This high development of form appears especially striking in a country which has no iron supply of its own. Perhaps just for that reason iron was valued as an especially precious metal, for it was worked almost exclusively for such decorative forms. In the daily life of the people it was not able to supplant wood. Therefore, apart from metal work on doors and windows and a very few practical articles of wrought iron, almost nothing has been preserved from olden times. The fact that the art of ironwork, too--insofar as it was art at all--satisfied only the religious need for ornamentation has made it today into a dying branch of the old Lithuanian village art.

531 Unfortunately, the same also applies to the
352 use of colored ornament and decorative painting of practical objects which was earlier practised in the country. The "colorful little windows" of which the old dainos sing have become rare, and beautifully painted chests have been relegated to museums. In Samogitia they were decorated with strong and heavy colors; in the northeast of the country, on the other hand, probably under Slavic influence, with light and lively colors. (42) In

42. A. Rukštelė, see above, p. 42.

the chests that are preserved, principally bridal chests, the predominant ornament is the lily; in addition we find other flowers and leaf patterns, sometimes in imaginative stylizations--also occasionally birds, primarily those which wear rich

•531/ decorative colors in nature. On the other hand,
352 any representation of human life, /134/ so dear to Poles and Russians, is lacking. From the darkly toned background the colors are set in relief forcefully and without transitions--green and yellow; white and red; green, violet, and yellow--and in still other combinations, which always speak of a sure feeling for colors. In their total impression these chests, in spite of the liveliness of their colorings, have a calm effect. Nevertheless the few examples of this art which I have so far seen seem to me not to express shat I should like to consider the truly characteristic feature of coloring in Lithuanian folk art--the creative force of the colors. This can become truly effective only where it no longer stands in the service of drawing, but makes the surface itself subordinate, as in the flow of the colorful patterns of the Lithuanian decorative ribbons or in the margučiai, the Easter eggs.

531/ The Lithuanian margučiai (marginti--to
776 decorate in colors) exhibit the same stylized ornamentation in a state of stability that is fluidly shaped in the juostos--leaves, flowers, geomettrical figures in infinitely changing form--but here it is the color which brings it forth, which becomes an end in itself, and which controls and fashions the surface. It is precisely in the margučiai that one can observe how the nature of the complementary colors is fully grasped. The extent of the oval is seen as a unit and only rarely divided into segments. The loving investigator and collector of these little works of art, Tadas Daugirdas, has written some interesting things concerning this branch of folk art. (43) He relied

[113] 43. Thaddäus von Dougird, "Margutschai--die litauischen Ostereier," Kownoer Zeitung, 1917.

•531 on a large amount of material including 4,700
796 colored ornaments and samples which he had collected in the whole area of European Russia and East Germany as far as the Riesengebirge. The egg is indeed celebrated by many peoples as the symbol of awakening life in nature. The custom of artistically painting Easter eggs is known nct only in Lithuania but also in other countries, above all in Poland, and probably the Lithuanians took it over from the Poles but developed it further in their own way.

/135/According to the investigations of Daugirdas, the Lithuanian Easter eggs, the most beautiful examples of which are to be found along the central and lower course of the Memel as far as Schmalleningken, differ from the Polish primarily in their calmer colors. On these subdued colors the decorative drawing frequently has an especially beautiful effect. The eggs are cooked, dipped in the coloring--plant colorings are used--and the pattern is scratched in. In contrast to this the Poles paint the projected pattern on the raw egg with fluid wax, and employ for this a little wooden stick which is split at the end and provided with a little narrow metal tube. The eggs are dipped into a lighter, cold coloring solution. They are called pisanki. After drying, wax is again applied to the spots which are to remain lighter, and the egg is dipped into a darker coloring solution. This process is repeated various times with darker and darker colors, so that the egg finally obtains the most varied color patterns and ornaments. At the end the egg is cooked and the layer of wax is dissolved. The Lithuanians employ this process less often, and usually only with two colors.

"The making of the margučiai," says Daugirdas, "is almost exclusively the work and artistic province of the Lithuanian girl, more seldom of the married woman. The eggs are colored on Easter

•531 Saturday, but not scratched until Sunday afternoon;
796 making them earlier is considered a sin." The Lithuanian Easter eggs, too, are hardly ever sold in the market. They are gifts of the godparents or the mother for the children and tokens for friends and for the clergy of the town. While the neighboring Letts know only eggs of one color, the Lithuanian margučiai are already attested in the sixteenth century. At the present time the old custom has remained alive primarily in the district of Trakai.

286 Weaving and Related Techniques

That Lithuanian folk art--we may think of the folk song or of the grave crosses, or of any branch at all--forms a unity in its innermost nature and /136/ has created an artistic style of its own, has been pointed out by many critics. The sphere of this art comprises the whole life of a rural culture with a rare compactness; one thing is related to the other, and as the last field, the village art of weaving harmoniously joins this circle.

Flax, harvested in one's own field, spun on one's own spinning wheel, woven on a peasant loom, has been a familiar material in Lithuania since very olden times. Connected with its processing was the song, whose rhythm followed the movement of the loom, and whose words extolled the weavers who knew how to weave fine patterns. Thus in this art there is nothing foreign; it does not rest in the hands of a few--every girl, every woman in the villages still knows it today. And old women still know today that ancient art of spinning where the flax wrapped around a distaff is spun off with the aid of a spindle which the spinner turns with her hand.

286 The colors, too, with which the threads
386 were dyed, were originally quite natural. They were produced from earth, iron ore, plants, birch

286 leaves, oak and alder bark, and the method was
386 guarded as a family secret. Their production was very laborious. The plants were broken up and cooked with the thread; the ashes of the plants were used as a stain. Always only the thread was dyed, never the finished fabric. Thus one obtained serene colors of unlimited durability. Aprons a hundred years old exhibit a quiet brilliance which is still enchanting today. Although the natural colors have gradually been supplanted by modern aniline colors, knowledge of the old coloring technique is still preserved in many peasant families.

286 The use of colors change. Brown, blue, and
301 red were probably the oldest colors. To them was
531 added green. The pattern originated on a white background. We can best recognize the Lithuanian interpretation of color in the juostos, those colorful decorative ribbons which /137/ serve as ribbons for belts and aprons, as fastenings of fur coats, and as decorations for the girls. They are distributed across the whole country, but show provincial differences both in the colors and in the patterns and techniques. Their coloration is analyzed in a fine manner by Karl Brammer: (44)

[113] 44. Karl Brammer, "Litauische Webereien," Litauenbuch, loc. cit., p. 52.

"The nature of complementary colors is grasped here with astonishing sureness; an error never occurs. Red and greenish blue, orange and cyanic blue, greenish yellow and violet are placed next to each other in striking fashion. Furthermore the skillful use of white with opposite colors has a very fine effect. From the use of red and yellow on a black background (*) it can be clearly be seen

* The latter occurs only very rarely. V.J.

that the relationship between dark and brilliant

301 colors is also very well known. Joy in an abundance
286 of colors indeed exists among the Lithuanians, but
531 not loud joy in loud, bright colors as among the Poles; rather, the nature of color is here much more deeply and clearly comprehended." In addition it may be noted that coloration in the Lithuanian weaving has undergone a development in the course of time--above all in the technique, which on the one hand considerably increased the number of available colors and on the other enhanced their brilliance. We can recognize this when we compare, for example, the thoroughly simple coloration of the oldest ribbons and aprons known to us with that of a later period. This means, however, no lessening of the value of the later colorful weaving patterns; and above all Brammer is right when he lays the principal weight on the sensitivity of the color composition. But just this sensitivity could only later unfold itself to full expression.

An actually inspired hymn to the colorful juostos is sung by another German artist, who was also brought to Lithuania by the World War: Hans Heinrich Schaeder. He writes: "The color is here still freer, since it is liberated from consideration of the body, the three-dimensional space, /138/ and lives only for the surface. The surface is infinitely delicate like the soft material of the ribbons; the color slings to it. One does not grasp the fact that here colorful threads are woven together; did not these patterns grow like flowers under a rising and setting sun? All the secreta and longings of the Lithuanian soul are hidden in these ribbons. These wonderful, serene colors, were they not subdued by the tears of the woman who did the weaving? This melody of lines and colored surfaces, is it not intimately related to the infinite sweetness of the Lithuanian songs?"(45)

45. Heinrich Schaeder, op. cit., p. 64.

In earlier times the juostos were never put

•531
286 on the market. Women and girls gave them to those
301 whom they loved. On an old juosta the beginning
[431] of a little yearning love song is woven in. A woven dedication mentioned by Kurschat (1911) reads:

> I wove as I was able to, I gave it to
> whom I wanted.
> But I always believed that my beloved
> should receive it.

Thus these ribbons often speak of a rare tenderness of feeling, and their colorful patterns seem illuminated by longing and love, by fate and sorrow. In many ribbons there were also, as Otto Glagau (1869) informs us, mottoes in English and French whose meaning the peasant girls naturally didn't know, but which remained preserved in certain families and were always imitated anew. Here, to be sure, we have forms of a later development, just as the occasional use of metal threads goes back to the influence of the Lyon silk industry in the eighteenth century. Otherwise one used in an earlier period only threads of flax, wool, and hemp; the use of silk, on the other hand, has arisen only in most recent times. Frequently these silk juostos are sold today as binders or crocheted together as table runners, but in the villages these uses are unknown.

The production of the juostos proceeds in three different ways. We know pintinės, austinės, and kaišytinės--/139/ i.e. a braiding, a weaving, and a darning technique. The oldest of them is the braiding technique, which is still practised in the north of the province of Aukschtaiten in the districts of Zarasai, Panevėžys, and Ukmergė, though it has become quite rare. (46) The threads

46. A. Rukštelė, loc. cit., pp. 22-23 and 46.

are laid over a board and then braided, beginning

1[juostos, i.e. colorful ribbons -- Analyst]

286 from the middle. Thus result two parts in which
531 the same pattern begins at the middle and runs
301 toward the outer edges. The ribbons thus produced, which can be well stretched, are especially wide. They usually contain a simple pattern of different stripes which cross each other. Their production no more demands equipment than that of the woven ribbons (juostos austinės), which today are the most familiar types and are distributed over all of Lithuania. The weaver ties the colorful wool threads from which the juosta will be made to a hook on the wall with one end, with the other to her belt, after she has wound the threads around a little stick and laid them parallel in such a way that half of the threads are on top and half on the bottom. Thus the warp is formed. With a shuttle in her hand the weaver pulls the cross threads--the so-called woof--through the lengthwise threads according to the pattern, and pushes each cross thread against the other with a kind of wooden folder [Falzbein]. The most difficult part is the stretching out of the pattern.(46)

46. A. Rukštelė, op. cit., pp. 22-23 and 46.

In contrast to these woven ribbons, the third, the darning technique (juostos kaišytinės), has today become about as rare as the braiding technique. Its home is the Suvalkijan area. In the darning technique the colored threads that produce the pattern are pulled through by hand. During the weaving itself, the colorful pattern is embroidered in and pulled fast with the next turn. This technique, for which the weaver needs a little hand loom, "represents considerable progress in the Lithuanian ribbon technique, brought about by the increased use of stylized flowers as weaving patterns, /140/ whose imitation would encounter insurmountable difficulties in the juostos austinės (woven ribbons)." (47)

286 (woven ribbons)." (47)
• 531
[113]

47. Johanna Behr-Heyder, Cologne, "Litauische Volkskunst," Leipziger Ill. Zeitung, November 8, 1917, p. 10.

In analyzing the weaving patterns, which are almost exclusively of a geometrical nature, it is in most cases overlooked that the technique of weaving alone had of itself to lead to specific patterns. Certainly the many terms used today were given them only much later, names supplied by all kinds of visible things of the surroundings--the duck, the cuckoo, the hoopoe, the window, the broom, the rose, the fir tree, even the goat's hoof, and many others. That from the technique of weaving many similarities arose with peoples separated in space and time, is thus only natural. From the great variety of designs results the tremendous richness of this ornamentation, especially since the patterns occur in the most varied combinations. To discuss them in more detail is forbidden by the scope of this presentation, but there are certainly many hundreds of patterns.

While in western Lithuania decorative weaving is not so strongly cultivated--apart from Palanga, where primarily juostos with star and flower patterns are favored--the whole abundance of this colored ornamentation is concentrated in the area of Suvalkija, above all in the districts
291 of Marijampolė and Vilkaviškis. This area is
53 also the home of the famous tulip pattern and of
286 the colorful Lithuanian decorative aprons. Simple aprons are known also in the region of Zanavykai and Zarasai as well as in the province of Dzūkija, while in Samogitia they are completely lacking. Nowhere, however, is the coloration unfolded so subtly and the ornamentation to such a richness as in Suvalkija. On a brown, blue, red, or green background the ornament grows like a precious flower. Perhaps the most beautiful of these patterns, the tulip stylized in the most varied forms,

286 goes back to some symbolic representation, espec-
•531 ially since the tulip itself was an unknown flower
291 in Lithuania. The /141/ stylization has progressed so far here that practically only the term has remained. The tulip pattern is repeated on these aprons in a continuous scrollwork, or in fours in a square, or also in combination with characteristically stylized scrolls and leaves.

Galaunė says concerning these aprons: "They are known only in the province of Suvalkija and here and there in the sections of the Vilna area bordering on Suvalkija. They form here a kind of oasis, whose origins we are unable to trace today because of the lack of almost any data. This oasis is so self-contained that its influence has hardly spread in any direction. Ribbons similar to our juostos are found among a large number of our close and more distant neighbors, but the aprons with the tulip pattern woven in are completely unknown elsewhere." (48) It may be added

48. P. Galaunė, op. cit., p. 262.

that the High Lithuanians make only white woven aprons with red cross-stripes at the bottom end, while the aprons of the Low Lithuanians (Samogitians), also white, exhibit red lengthwise stripes.

The weaving technique for the Suvalkija decorative aprons is similar to that for the juostos kaišytinės; they are woven on the loom, and the pattern is set in during the weaving from colorful wool threads, so that it appears as if embroidered. Nothing certain can be said about age and origin of these aprons. We know only that the oldest of those now existing go back to the second half of the eighteenth century. Perhaps, as Galaunė assumes, they once had a symbolic significance and symbolized innocence and virtue. And perhaps they were so beautifully fashioned because they had no practical purpose to serve. (49) In Prussian

49. p. 266.

286 Lithuania they were in any case not known and
531 according to Vydūnas were only taken over from
[291] later immigrants. (50) Much of the beautiful

[13]

50. Vydūnas, Litauen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart (Tilsit, 1916). Emma Dethlefsen, "Über litauische Volkstrachten in Ostpreussen," Blätter für Heimatkunde und Heimatschutz, Vol. 3, Nos. 1 and 2.

Lithuanian decorative weaving is found today in the churches as altar covers, the ribbons as ornamentation on the alms bag.

As with all settled peoples, so among the Lithuanians a rural art of rug weaving--as /142/ is customarily developed among nomadic tribes as a folk art--did not exist in earlier times. The rugs and bedspreads woven today in the countryside, which are usually of one color and are frequently found in city houses, are of more recent origin. They borrow their manifold square circle or lozenge patterns from the heavy linen weaving which the peasant woman makes for her practical use. To set off the pattern in color either bleached linen is woven in together with unbleached, or a difference of tone is gained by weaving in hemp or cotton. These patterns, too, are beautiful and of great ornamental richness. From the point of view of age they represent the oldest Lithuanian weaving patterns. We find them in the coarse woolen towels as well as in the tablecloths that are laid out on festive occasions in the peasant houses. The hand towels are often decorated with artistic cross-stitch work, usually in red, primarily the decorative towels that do not serve for daily use. They formerly hung on the richly carved hand towel racks and are given only to guests to use. Their ends are formed by peculiarly braided lace, knotted by hand from the end threads of the weave. This is a very old technique that is still

286 practised today by the shepherd girls of the country.
531 Crocheted lace is in general rarer; nevertheless among prosperous farmers we often find decorative crocheting and openwork on beautiful and valuable bed linen.

[291] Gloves and stockings are firmly and closely knitted in several colors, the various threads being carried along on the reverse side. They frequently make their way to Germany, where they appear on the handicraft market as "Swedish" gloves. The most varied-colored ornaments are knitted in, dots and stars, together with flower patterns, and occasionally also animal patterns.
[431] These gay and strong gloves with their bright colors often serve as gifts, and the priest is always presented with them on his winter "calender journeys." In contrast /143/ to other handicrafts, in which, as we saw, old patterns are frequently used in a not so successful manner, their borrowing from the weaving technique in the modern knitted handiwork has an organic and altogether charming effect.

[292] In the Lithuanian folk costume, too, particularly as it has been awakened to new life after the first World War, art and taste are shown: the long colored pleated coat, the colorful bodice, the white shirt with the long embroidered sleeves--everything breathes cheerfulness and joy in colors (see the title picture).*

Therewith is closed the circle which embraces the Lithuanian folk art in all its branches. Many things could be only briefly touched, since the various older and more recent techniques of knotting, crocheting, and knitting can be described only with difficulty.

286 The whole realm of weaving with all its re-
462 lated techniques is exclusively the domain of the woman, while the man has chosen for himself those areas which above all demanded bodily strength or because of the size of the objects did not attract

* [Title picture was not included in HRAF reproduction -- Analyst]

346 The transition from Renaissance to baroque
177 becomes clear, for example, in the cathedral of Seinai, built in 1619. The most important baroque churches of Lithuania, however, stem for the most part from the baroque period proper, between 1650 and 1750, when, in the train of the Jesuits many other Catholic orders also settled in the country and started a lively building activity. The outward incentive for this was given by the fact that after the devastations of the Russian invasion, in 1655, the building of numerous churches and monasteries became necessary.

The new builders brought with them from Italy a completely different interpretation of space. The Gothic main aisle /156/ was now replaced by a ground plan the form of the Greek cross, with a lengthened main nave and deep chapels at both sides. But what has already been said concerning the Gothic applies also to the baroque construction in Lithuania: its architecture is more simplified than in the West, and above all, it does not have the powerful dome vault over the crossing of the nave with the transept, otherwise so typical of the baroque church. There is in Lithuania only one exception to this--the mighty monastery church of Pažaislis, which will be treated later.

346 Along with the new interpretation of space
• 531 went a different world of forms. The linear Gothic
177 decorative forms disappeared and made way for the "decorative ideas of the Italian late Renaissance and baroque, springing forth plastically and conceived for broad surfaces." (12) In the same way

12. Prof. P. Weber, op. cit., p. 128.

the coloration changed; in place of the red brick color came the white plaster surface which was supposed to simulate the marble of the south. Characteristic of this type of construction is the Jesuit church at the city hall square in Kaunas.

½ [From beginning of 16th century -- Analyst]

346 The high facade with its two towers, between which
531 a richly decorated ornamental gable often rises,
177 became typical for the new interpretation of the front.

The temporal relationship which existed between the emergence of baroque in Lithuania and the influx of the Jesuits was not accidental, for these buildings express a very specific spiritual attitude and intention, above all in the way these churches are decorated. (13) According to the in-

[113] 13. The Jesuits did not enter Kaunas until 1642. Cf. on this point K. Lerkis, S. J., "Kaip jezuitai isikūrė Kaune?" (How Did the Jesuits Settle in Kaunas?), Židinys, 1934, Vol. XX, pp. 184-192.

tention of the Jesuits, "mankind in the whole world should continually be torn anew from the sphere of everyday interests and should be directed to the divine through splendid churches, resplendent altars, gilded images of saints, statues, confessionals, and through perspective frescoes on the ceilings pointing up toward heaven." (14) How well

[113] 14. René Fülop-Miller, Macht und Geheimnis der Jesuiten (Berlin, 1932), p. 523.

the Catholic church succeeded with this striking architecture in influencing the peasant population of the country, is seen both in Lithuanian folk art and in the fact that the name of Queen /157/ Bona, who transplanted the Italian style to Lithuania, was kept alive through the centuries among the people and gradually took on a legendary ring.

346 Of all the baroque buildings of the city of Kaunas the Dominican church built in 1612 (the so-called student church in the Vilniaus gatvė) is the oldest. In the period of Russification it was

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[For a discussion of wooden crosses in Lithuania, see cat. 116, pp. 111, 124-133.]

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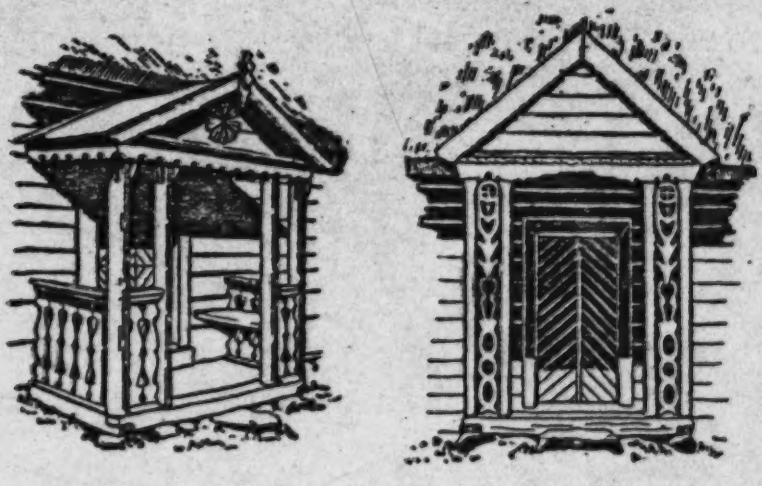

2.—3. Porches

was a large terrace where in summer the inhabitants could take their meals and sleep.

342 Decoration was generally scarce and usually limited to the front of the
● 531 house. Perforated boards embellished the cornices, the cross beams and the window frames. They were cut in saw pattern or in a design of intersecting segments of a circle. They were decorated with rows of hearts and various other ornaments. Sometimes birds or other arimals surrounding a vase were placed on both sides of the holy tree of the Orient, the "Hom", which is perfectly recognizable. The oculi are surrounded by rosaces. The bodies of the pillars were often decorated with spheres or tores placed one above the other. The balustrades imitated the carvings
[777] on the rail posts. On the façade circular designs were often used. On the gable two intersecting branches representing horses or birds showed the ancient zoomorphic combinations we find so often in Romanesque sculpture. They were believed to protect the dwellers against ruin, disease and fires. According to legend, evil spirits flying over a village only entered dwellings which lacked this ornament on which they could perch and take breath.

1 [Errata: should be other animals. Cf. Errata Sheet, p. 204, cat. 116. --- Analyst]

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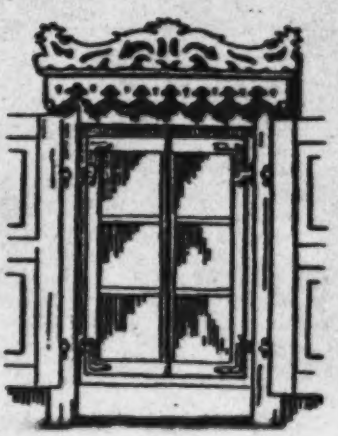

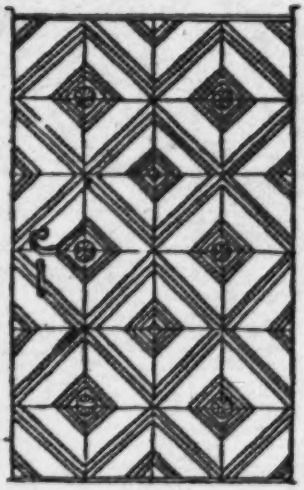

4.—7. Windows and Doors

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8.—14. *Iron Door Mountings (cf. Chapter on Domestic Art)*

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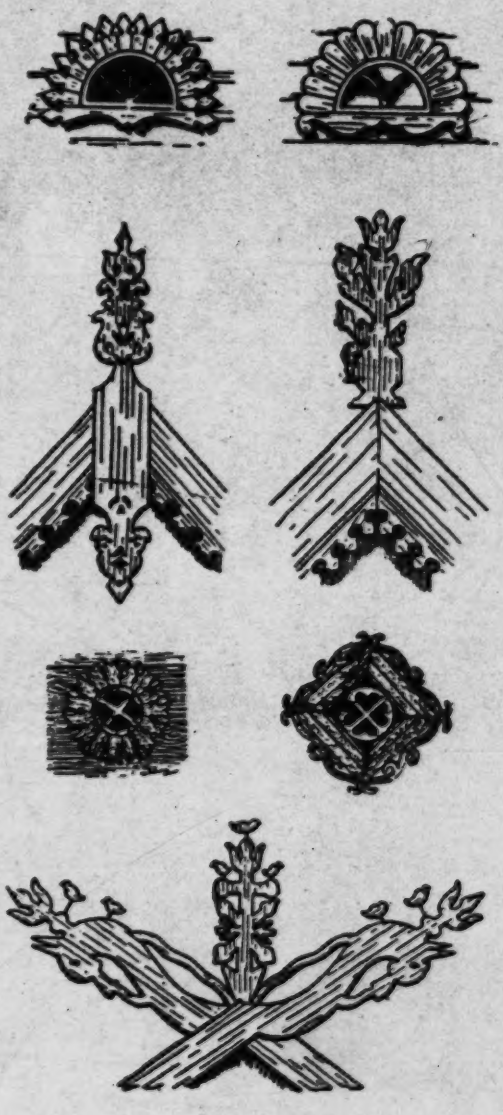
Such were the simple dwellings in which the peasant still succeeded in improving his condition of life and in introducing some progress. All these designs repeat themselves with remarkable constancy through generations and they are also to be found in buildings adapted to modern requirements.

When it became necessary to enlarge the dwelling-house, the attached storehouse gave rise to interesting architectural developments. Such houses are called "*klétis*", a name derived from *kali* — wood in Sanscrit — compare with the Greek *kality* and the Celtic *kliath*, words more than a thousand years old.

The roof is extended on one side or projected over the gable and sup-



15.—21. Gable Ornaments and Windows

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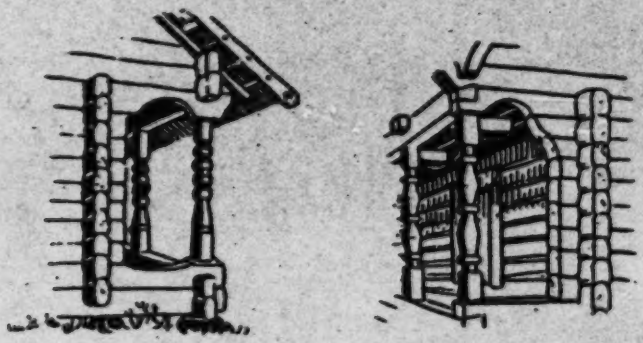

26.—27. "Prieklétis" of the Storehouse

342 ported by two or four posts which form a kind a pillar-borne frontal,
531 "*prieklétis.*" The vertical section and plan resemble those of a small Greco-Roman prostyle. The *klétis* corresponds to the naos, the *prieklétis* to the pronaos. This is a wooden temple, Mr. Galauné compared them with one. The proportions, the distribution of parts and the whole arrangement of the front are nearly identical. Horizontal branches supported by the pillars form the architrave, above which appears the frontal. The transversal beams, with their ends inserted in the entablature of the roof, bear some resemblance to triglyphs and metopes.

341 There can be no doubt that this architectural type, which originated in centres of human culture that had no contact whatever with Greece, is completely independent from classical buildings, but the absence of direct ties renders such coincidences all the more remarkable. Indeed they are of great interest for the investigation of the genesis of the ancient type of architecture. The principal factors which produced the Doric style are well known. Several trends are knotted together therein and form a homogenous order, but it is a Northern strain that seems to define its particular character. The triglyphes, the metopes, the steep roof as well as certain parts of the plan are due not to the technique of stone building, but to the timber-framing system hailing from the North. Unfortunately we can form nothing but hypotheses with regard to the pre-Hellenic huts of Thessalia and other regions which may have co-operated in their

[Errata: should be kind of. Cf. Errata Sheet, p. 264, cat. 116 --- Analyst]

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42.—44. Iron Heads of Crosses on Churches and Bell-Towers

346 They are formidable barns, the austerity of which reminds one of Cistercian architecture. The same may be said of the churches which reproduced classic models with marble panelings, colonnades and cornices. At Utena the entablature is replaced by a supplementary roofing running along the walls, as is to be seen on certain church towers. The dome is composed of an octagon with a roof supporting a small square turret, the lantern. The reduction of curves to straight lines gives the structure an air of particular solidity. No luxury, no clever distribution in which everything is calculated, in which every profile has been meditated, but only a frank and sober framework of timber. In the churches of the 17th and 18th centuries there are baroque bulbs on the roofs or on the towers, but such light designs only serve to accentuate the massiveness of the construction. The wood is not hidden behind a coating of stucco. Friezes and mouldings are replaced by simple boarding. The seafaring peoples of the North built their church to resemble the hull of a boat. In Lithuania they are the work of the wood chopper. Even if inspired by the mason the builder of huts will not renounce his craft. He will discover therein new possibilities and succeed in erecting buildings on a hitherto unusual scale. By suppressing such elements of construction and ornamentation which belong to monuments built of stone only, he will succeed in avoiding what is not genuine and only calculated to deceive the eye and in creating an art belonging to him alone.

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

CROSSES AND CHAPELS

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But Lithuania is not only a country of wooden churches: she is particularly the land of crosses. Inseparable from the landscape their outlines follow the undulations of the fields and penetrate into the woods. They are placed along the roads, in the proximity of sources, on tombs, on *piliakalniai*, both in solitary and frequented places. According to legend you find one at every ten paces in Holy Žemaitija. At the cemetery of Vilnius they leave no room for a tree. Though they are originally funereal they are mostly votive offerings. They commemorate a birth, a baptism, the favorable issue of a lawsuit. They are planted in times of epidemics or of drought. They remind the peasant of the successes and misfortunes

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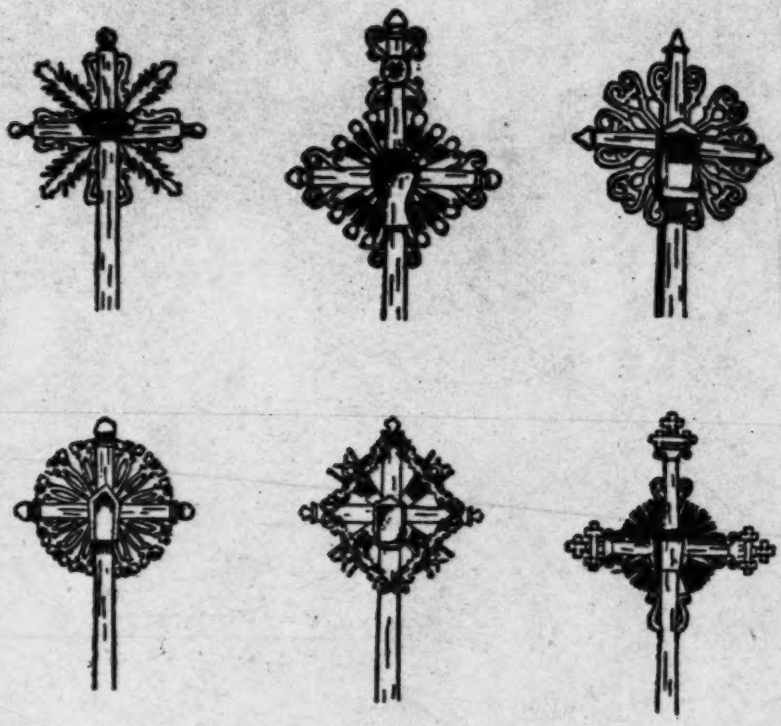

49.—54. Crosses

of his lifetime. Their consecration was celebrated by ancient rites and banquets, at which mead and beer flowed in streams. They often had nothing in common with a cross but the name and the clergy forbade their use. As early as 1426 the church proscribed them. It refused to bless them and had them removed from the neighbourhood of the chapels. Mr. Basanavičius has proved that the origin of these monuments lies far back in primitive beliefs. Trunks of trees, often rudimentary stems, were erected in prehistoric cemeteries. The archives of the churches at Insterburg testify to the custom followed by the Lithuanians up to the 17th century of placing on their tombs figures carved from boards, horses for men and birds for women. Up to the present day in the graveyards of

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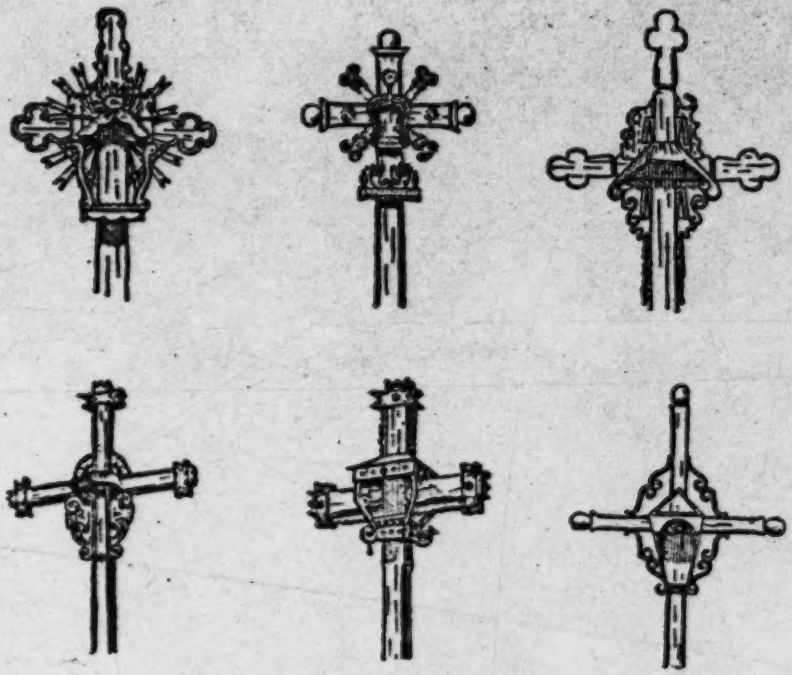

55.—60. *Crosses*

fishermen in the region of Klaipéda (Memel), one may come across toads and fantastically shaped animals carved in oak or in pinewood. They are placed not near the head, but at the feet of the dead. In these monsters cowering on the grave, there is no trace of Christian symbolism Though their variety seems to be inexhaustible, — Mr. Varnas photographed more than 2000 crosses all differing one from the other — these crosses and steles may be divided into several groups. According to Mr. Galaunė, the most ancient type is a simple tree trunk rudely squared. Similar funereal posts have also been found in Russia, in Finland and in Hungary. At their tops there is sometimes a small roof and sometimes a small niche. From these two archaic types stem two series of crosses: the "mushroom cross", crowned by a gable and the "lantern cross", consi-

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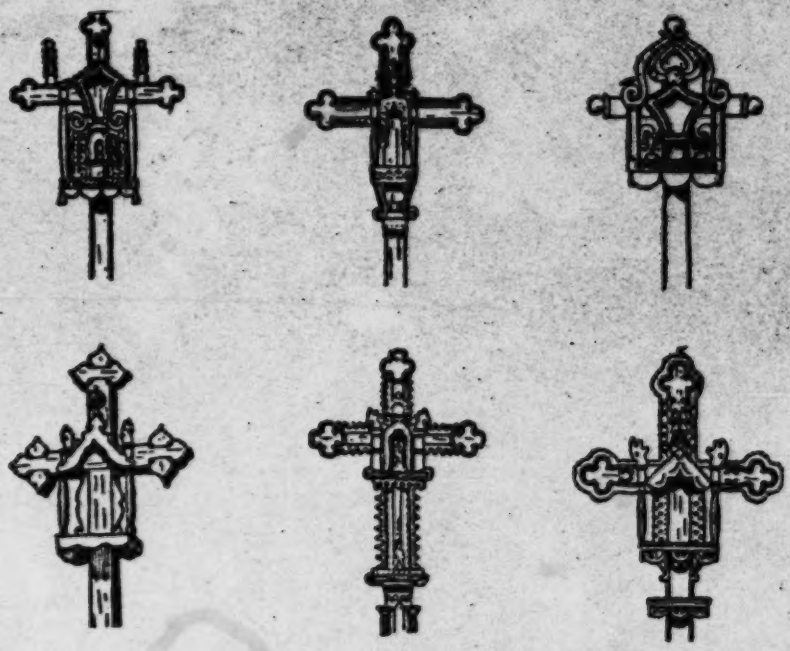

61.—66. Crosses

sting of a chapel supported by a pedestal. A third series comprises the crosses properly so called.

In these types of craftsmanship on a reduced scale, rather than in churches and dwelling-houses, the woodcutter gives his imagination free play to produce complicated forms. The roof of the "mushroom cross" is constantly renewed and reshaped as a cone or a pyramid, a star or a Greek cross. Cornices are suspended below it. It is supported by consoles or by twisted columns. They become reliquaries set on high posts. Sometimes a number of such erections are placed one above the other in the shape of strange pagodas. The "lantern type" goes through a similar evolution, small houses replace the ordinary roof, small *klétis*, the front of which is decorated with two columns, buildings in the shape of a cross or a polygone with spires or small central domes or rotundas. The walls are fre-

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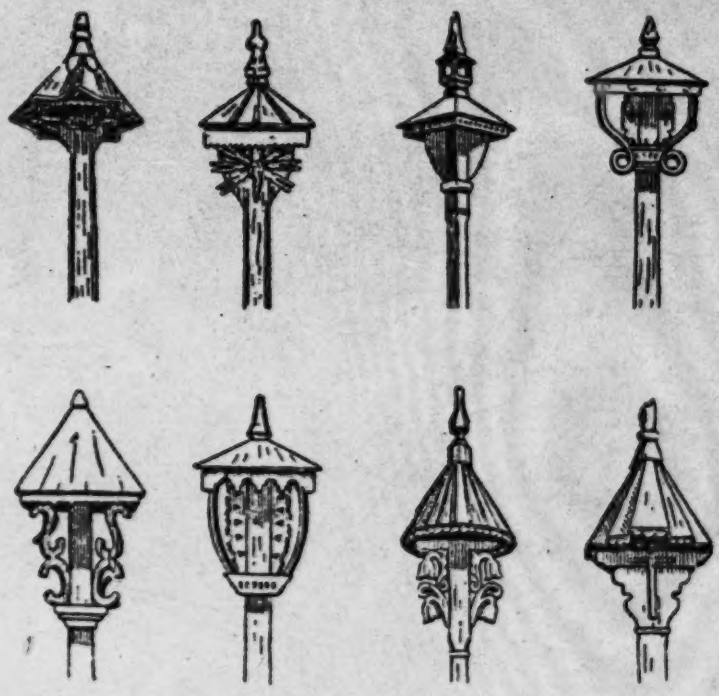

67.—74. *Crosses*

quently replaced by pillars. The chapel is often protected by trellis work, by jutty rooms, by openwork balustrades, so that the chapel itself seems to be nearly submerged under the weight of this light burden. It is an architecture of fairy tales and toys.

But it is the third group, that of crosses proper, that is the fittest object of such goldsmith's work in boards. It may be combined with the "lanterns", and then the chapel is placed at the crossing of the arms. In some cases the chapel disappears completely, leaving nothing behind but its back wall, which then becomes an independent element of ornamentation, a shield with capricious outlines fixed at the intersection of the arms of the cross. One could have thought that henceforth all traces of the ancient themes

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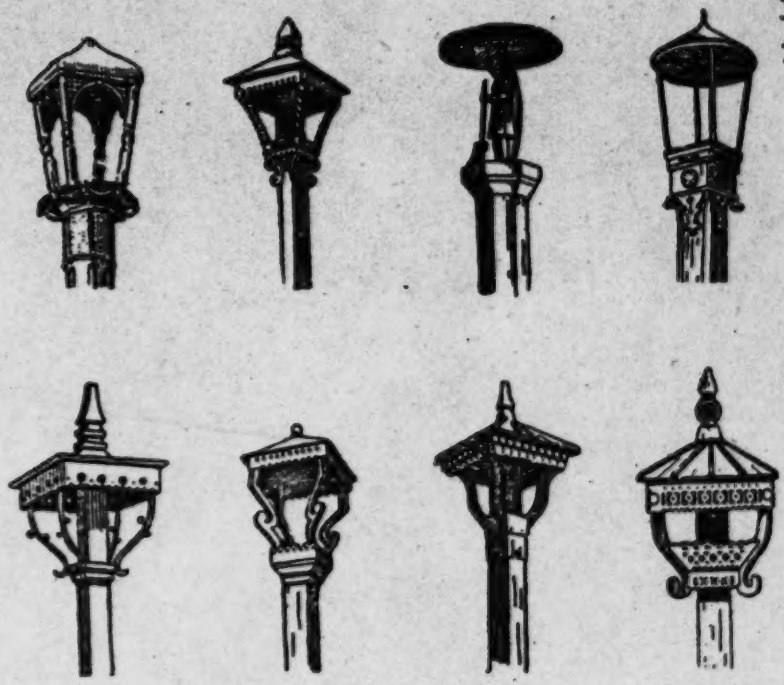

75.—82. Crosses and Chapels

had disappeared, but such is not the case. Around the cross, with or without a chapel, there are often placed wheels and disks of fire. As in Ireland there are frequently to be seen circles or fan shaped arrays of arrows, leafwork, palm leaves, wreaths of flowers. Sometimes their dimensions do not exceed those of a simple aureole, but in certain cases the cross is submerged thereunder.

To the now barely discernible Christian symbol another element is joined, 778
the origin of which goes back to pagan traditions. It is a surviving rem- 531
nant of prehistoric forms and of the ancient worship of the celestial bodies. Sun wheels are revived and eclipse the symbol of Christ. The myth is also preserved in the legends transmitted by word of mouth.

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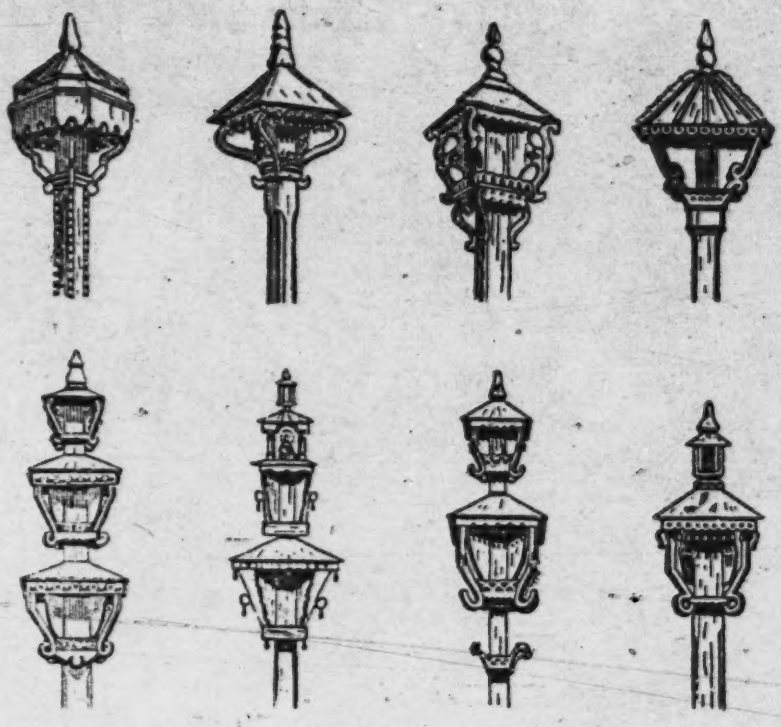

83.—90. *Crosses*

There can be no doubt that the most ancient forms are those in which the wheel prevails. Sunk in the flames of the former god, the emblem of the new religion is lost at first in the conflagration and only emerges from it gradually. Gradually also the light of the celestial body diminishes and transforms itself into an aureole. For a long time both symbols are at par, but later the cross emerges. It has often several arms, each of which itself bears several arms. Finally the last of these accessories disappears and the cross alone remains in its traditional simplicity. The large grave crosses that stand inclined all over the open country belong to the most recent type.

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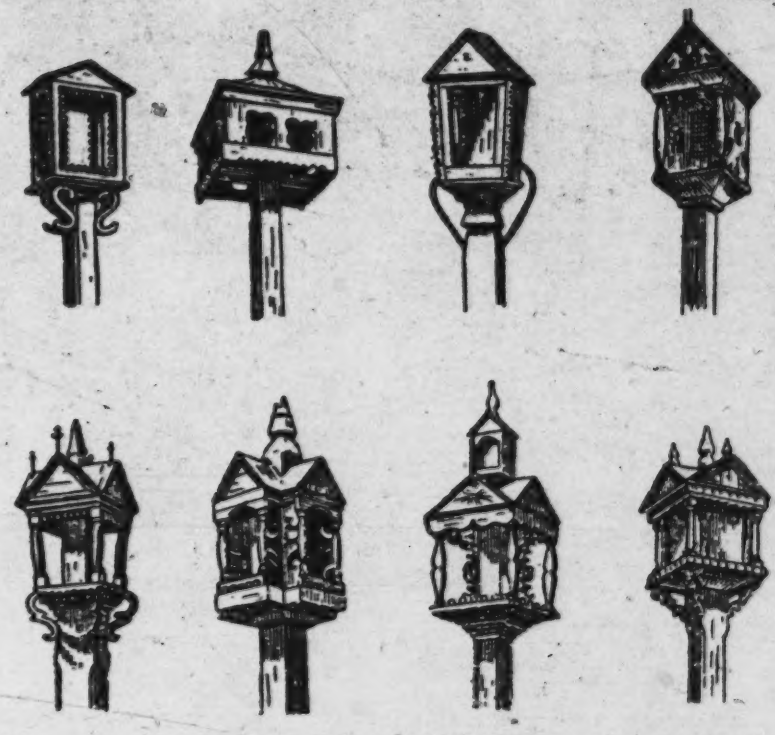

91.—98. Crosses and Chapels

Small votive chapels are scattered in the woods and in the meadows. They only came into fashion at some later time and they are especially frequent in Žemaitija. They shelter small statuettes and offerings are usually deposited there, such als strings of beads of amber or glass, ribbons, colored tissues, artificial flowers and frequently also pocket mirrors, to which some particular meaning seems to be attached. Small statuettes of the Holy Virgin are surrounded by bits of looking glass, that reflect and multiply her image. Sometimes such chapels are suspended aloft on trees, sometimes they stand on the ground or on a base of stone. These are the cages or the cabins of the Saints. The "cages" often attached to oaks,

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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99. *Votive Chapel near Kremala*

100. *Votive Chapel near Skiemoniai*

firs and pines, do not differ essentially from the small "houses" set upon pillars and crosses, but the "cabins" constitute a distinct series. They are much larger, their height sometimes attaining two meters, they are no longer toy houses and not yet real houses. Sometimes they consist of an old excavated tree trunk, surmounted by a conical roof, the statuette itself is placed in the very heart of the tree. They sometimes reproduce the *klétis* type of church or its pyramid-shaped steeple, and often they are built on a circular, hexagonal or octagonal plan. They are easier to make on account of their reduced scale, which presents the double effect of a church and piece of furniture. These monuments abound in inventions, but they are not the work of ornamentalists like the lanterns. The decorative elements of Western buildings are adapted to them and the Gothic as well as the classic forms are reproduced there according to the taste of the joiner.

The small chapels are loaded with spires and ornamental flowers. Broken arches run along the walls and join the colonnades. The various themes are thrown into one and recast. Out of this mixture arose a fantastic

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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101. Votive Chapel near Jučiūnai

102. Votive Chapel, Forest of Šilėnai

miniature architecture, a Pompeian style of the Middle Ages, similar to that of the tabernacles and stained glass windows of churches. Baroque designs treated with liberty and measure are also frequent. Nothing is forgotten here, pinions, broken gables, delicately outlined roofs and so on. Cornices, entablatures, pillars, capitals and mouldings are carved with the greatest skill and an eye for detail. Imaginary and real at the same time, these small tempietti lost amid the vegetation, seem to have been devised to receive the smaller deities of Nature. Similarly to the steles, crosses and churches, these chapels are frequently surmounted with ornaments in wrought iron. These appear later than the wooden solar roses, but continue their tradition. Until the end of the 18th century they usually represent the signs of celestial bodies, the sun, the crescent moon or celestial wheels. Later the cross appears, but it is often broken up by the geometrical ornamentations. Sometimes each arm bears supplementary arms, sometimes the horizontal arms are double or even treble. Angels, animals, persons and certain Oriental images are also represented. But the design is always dominated by the theme of radiation.

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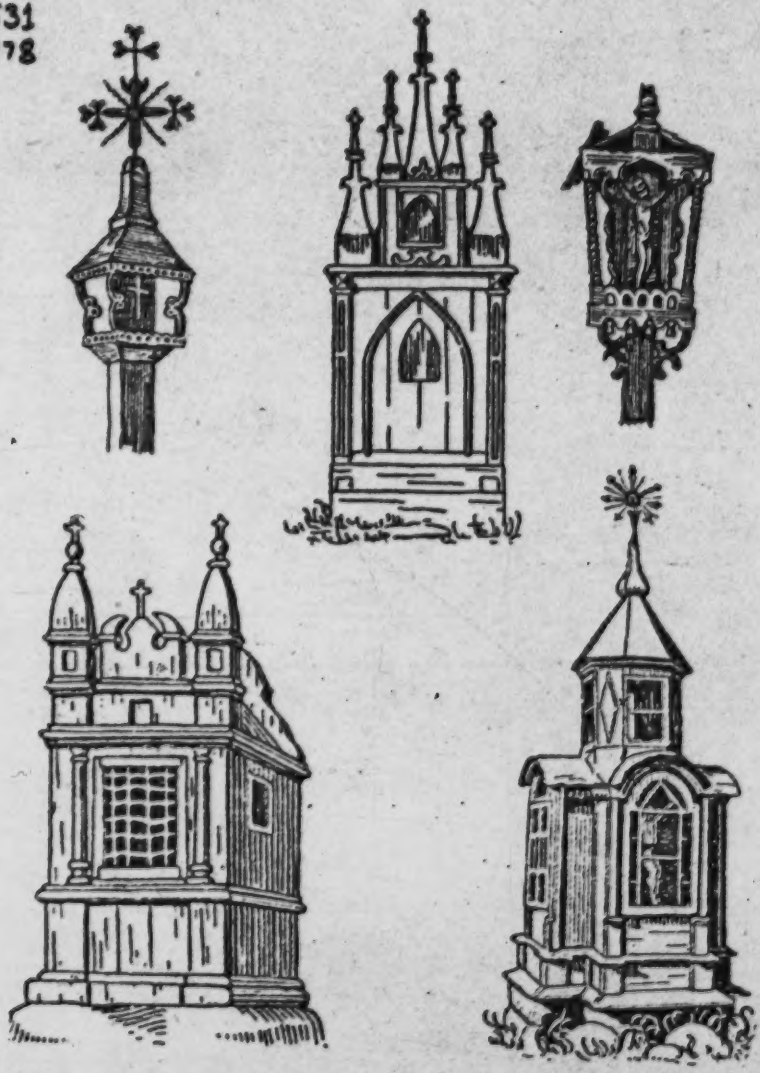

103.—107. Votive Chapels and Crosses

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108.—113. Crosses and Chapels

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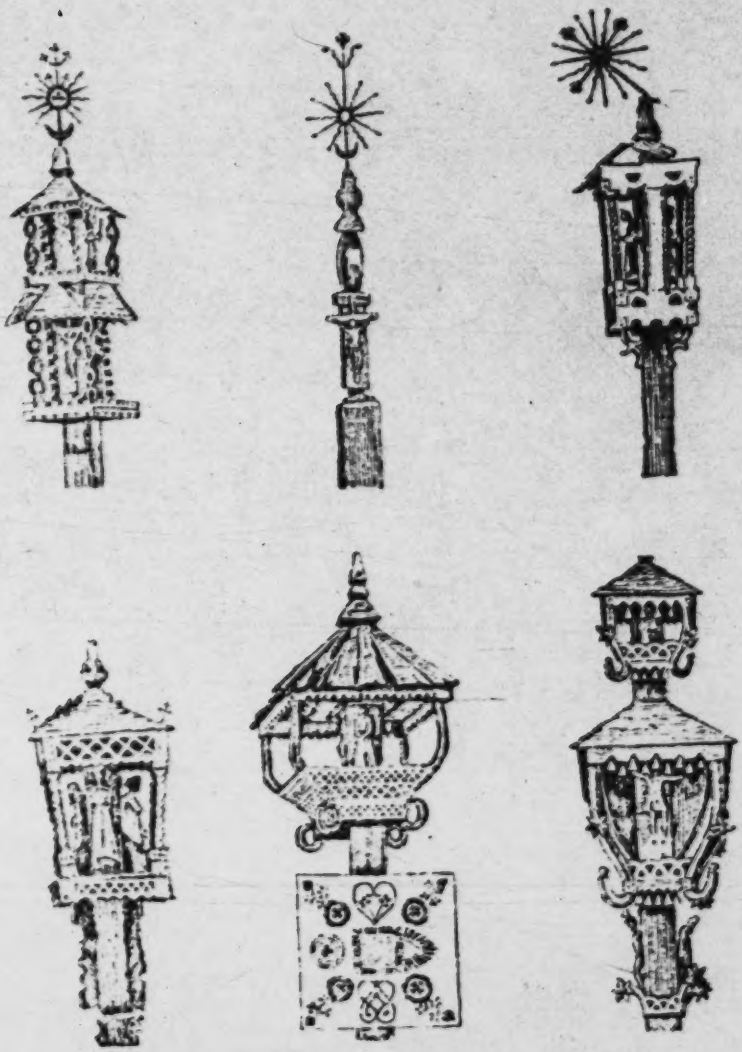

114—119. Crosses and Chapels

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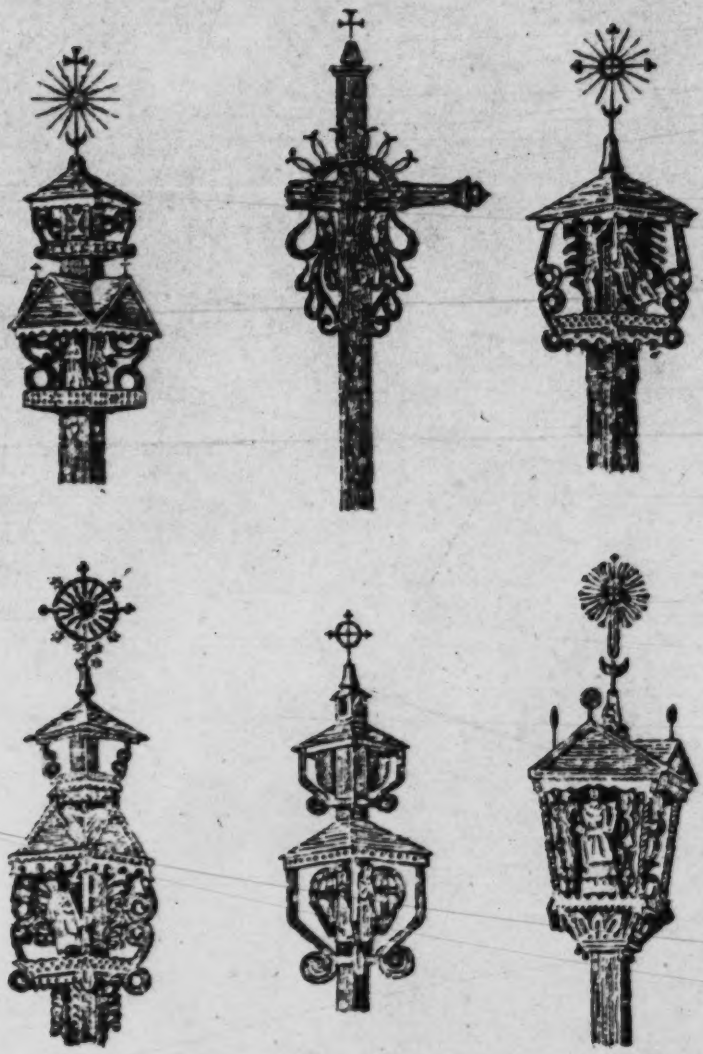

120.—125. Crosses and Chapels

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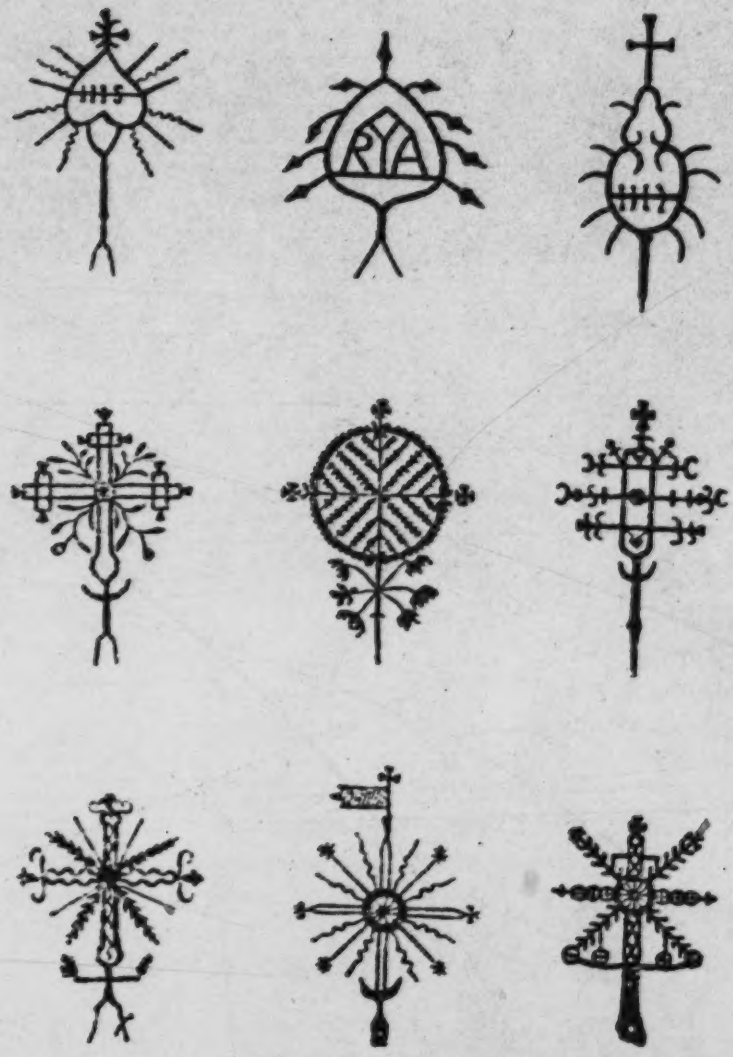

124.—134. Iron Heads of Crosses

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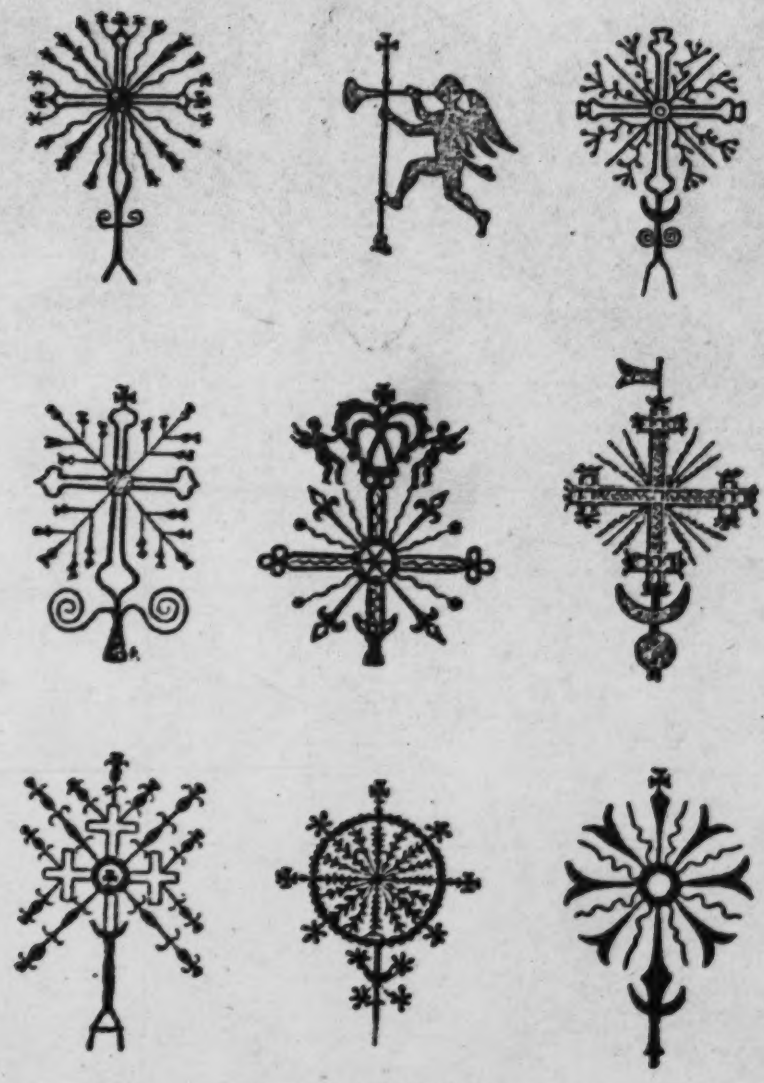

133.—143. *Iron Heads of Crosses*

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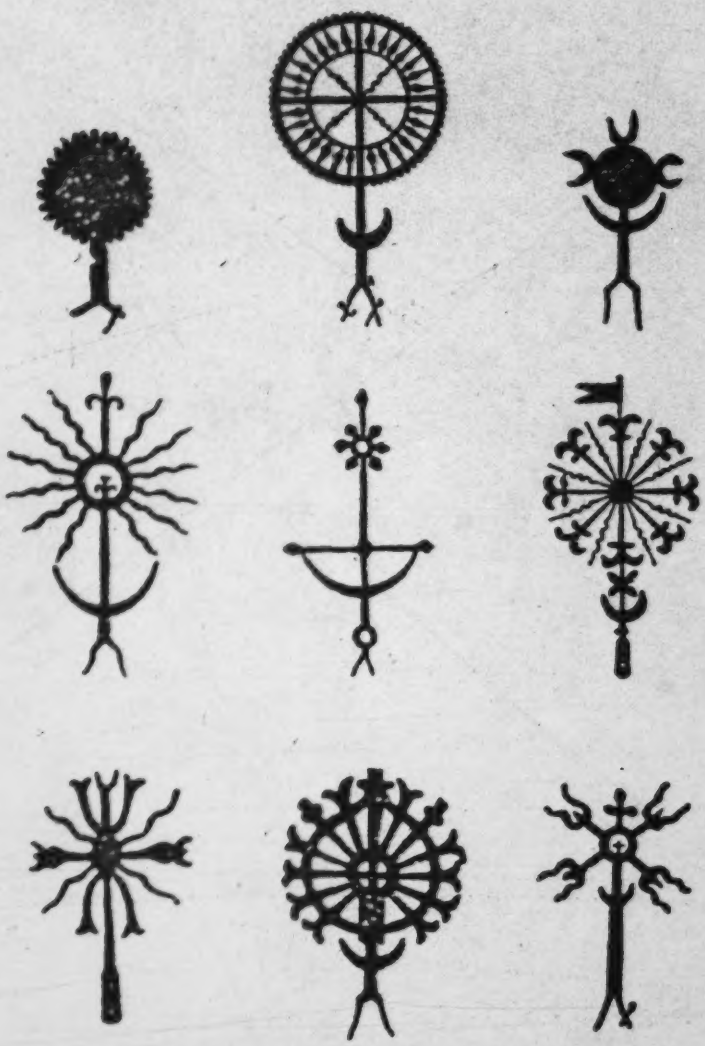

144.—152. Iron Heads of Crosses

P. 52

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Arrows stream forth in all directions, regularly undulated sword blades, idealized vegetation, tulips which are already to be found on prehistoric jewelry, the uruta, the national flower and branches of fir. When executed in metal they retain all the hardness and refinement of the material of which they are made. In these complicated networks all the parts are cleverly united and cut with cold precision. The monuments are crowned by iron crystals resembling blackened crystals of snow. 531 778

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

DOMESTIC ART

322 [531] During the long winter months of enforced retirement in his dwelling the peasant does not remain inactive, he repairs and manufactures all the things he needs. He also tries to decorate and embellish familiar objects and his faithful tools, such as the spinningwheel, the distaff, the loom, the beating arms, the sheaths of the whetstones, the napkin-rings and the nutcrackers. Similarly to the *dievdirbis,* he cuts and carves wood. He uses it even to make such appliances as are generally made of iron; primitive ploughs made of oak were still in existence a few decades ago, the locks are often a device made of boards, the bells for the cattle are made of hollowed-out branches and emit the dull sound of a rattle, and last but not least, so are most of his musical instruments, the *"trimitai"* trumpets, 1.50 or 2 meters long, wrapped in bark, — the *"kanklés"*, a sort of zither with an archaic box. Certain containers, tuns, buckets, pails and devices for measuring agricultural produce, are composed of simple staves held together by rings. Sometimes they are made of bark so tightly plaited that they can hold water. Such plaited vessels are used in Žemaitija in the manufacture of beer. The liquid within them is heated by means of incandescent stones. Even in our days such enormous *"dundulos"*, resembling Greek jars serve as containers for flour and cereals.

Part of the crockery is made of wood. Cups, spoons, saucers, goblets for 322
tasting spirits, all present a great variety of shapes. Each type serves a special purpose. Sometimes they have a ritual meaning. The museum of Kaunas (Kovno) owns twin cups, from which bride and bridegroom drank on their wedding-day. It is cut from a single piece of wood in the shape of a horn, and is the equivalent of the ancient rhyton. The raw material used, readily submits to treatment with a knife and favors carved decoration. Sometimes the wood is engraved in the manner of a bone by simple striation, sometimes it is carved. The many sharp edges produce an effect of dry lights and shades. Sometimes a board is entirely perforated and the designs seem to have been punched out. This method is chiefly applied to window frames. The two other methods are applied to all sorts of objects. Designs containing figures are rare. Distaves and beaters are often decora- 322
ted with birds or two flaming hearts, such are gifts exchanged between lo- 531
vers. But generally the ornamentation consists of vegetation or geometrical figures. The design of plants is most frequently made by slight incisions. On thread-like stalks large leaves and flowers are suspended, spread as on a sheet of a herbarium. The contours are regular and supple. They freeze and become harder the deeper the incision. Work with a cutting tool entails regular movements, which produce both straight lines and curves. It is under such technical conditions that the abstract style is originated. Zigzags, crosses, triangles unite in a thousand ways and are ceaselessly renewed. On plane surfaces prisms and diamond shaped points are cut. Inside the large figures small designs are cut, a trellis of polygones and rosaces. These "ornamented ornaments" are placed side by side, they intersect and fit into each other, and in their apparent monotony an infinite variety is manifested. A distaff and a spindle, thus carved with care and precision, become precious objects.

No doubt this gamut contains elements which are common to nearly all rustic arts, and the tool everywhere leads the hand to execute the same designs. The geometric themes entail designs which very often coincide. Some of them composed of interlaced circles are common to all ages and to all countries, they can be seen on the ceramics of Susa, on Roman mosaics, Syrian lintels and Merovingian manuscripts. The shepherds of the Pyrenees reproduce them on their crockery up to the present day. But the distribution and the place of these designs lends them

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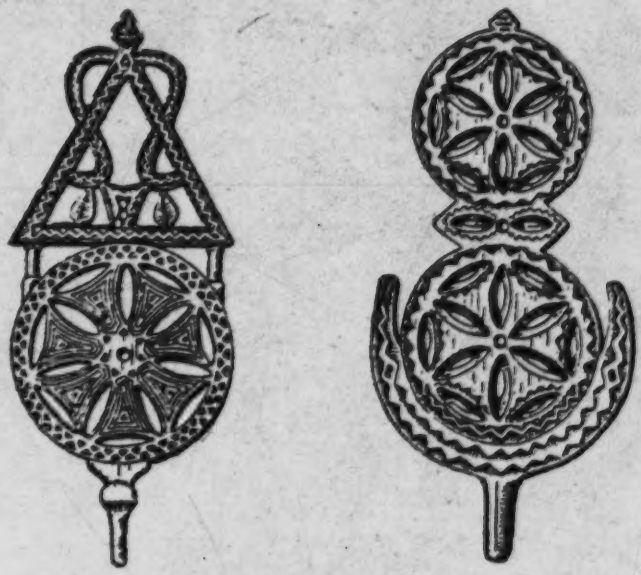

156. Carved Distaves, used on a Spinning-Wheel

a personal note. Sometimes the decoration is made in high relief, the edges disappear and the outlines become more subtle, while maintaining their clear-cut precision. Plants again invade the panels, flowers crush each other on the polished surfaces of the boards. Instead of graphic roses, we find an abundant vegetation. Small baroque volutes sometimes mingle with rustic decoration. This decorative sculpture sometimes takes on a grotesque character, especially on walking sticks and nutcrackers. Such walking sticks are entirely covered with geometrical ornaments and are crowned with a head or a torso. Some of them serve as marks of distinction or of clanship. etc. These so-called *"krivulés"* belong to chieftains and are passed from hand to hand in case of a summons or the transmission of an order. The nutcrackers represent monsters with powerful jaws, in which can be recognized domestic animals, the fauna of the steppes or grimacing human faces.

The great wooden coffers serving at the same time as trunks and cup-

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

The great wooden coffers serving at the same time as trunks and cupboards in which the family valuables are piled up, are generally decorated 531
with paintings. On a monotone background are carved idealized flowers, 352
framed in rectangles or planted in pots, such as tulips, roses, daisies, harebells. They often sprout forth on the same straight or undulated twig at regular intervals. Animals, such as horses, cocks and hens, oriental lions and even the image of a mermaid with the tail of a fish are less frequent. The colors are usually brillant blue, yellow and white. The strokes of the brush are energetic and clear. They contrast by their breadth and their spontaneousness, with the minutely calculated ornament carved with a knife. In the *klétis*, with their bare walls, such large painted panels play the part both of pictures and frescoes. In the same spirit the village painter applies himself to the decoration of window shutters, the doors of houses, small chapels and crosses. Among the art still in existence, cera- 323
mics plays a large part. The tumuli, *anthapiai* and *piliakalniai*, have yielded 531
numerous prehistoric specimens. There is earthenware of solid and simple profile thrown by hand. Such vessels are sometimes narrow with an elongated neck, and sometimes low and wide. Large plates with vertical or oblique edges have also been found. The bottom is generally flat. The decoration is composed of fir trees or saw-teeth or indentations. These elements subsist up to the present time. The peasant pottery follows the same procedures and is decorated with the same ornaments. The gray, black, brown or red earth is modelled on a primitive throw, dried and baked over a moderate fire. Here the whole gamut of the ancient designs can be seen, such as dentelated and undulated designs, rhombs, crosses. They run along the rims, cover the bodies and sometimes even extend to the bottoms. The designs become more regular, but their elements do not change. Even when provided with improved tools, the potter returns incessantly to the same old designs. This constancy however does not exclude an enrichment of the craft. The number of types increases, milk-jugs, — *"puodýné"* or *"dubenélis"* — with oval bodies, large neck and without handles, water-jugs, — *"asotis"* — which resemble the antique oenochoi, bowls, saucers, special vessels designed as containers for the meals of the workers in the fields and with a double body connected by a single handle. Sometimes the clay jugs are wrapped in plaited bark.

The ceramic items are nowadays glazed and influenced by painting, the ornaments are now not only engraved, but also painted with a brush. New

531 figures appear, stars of intersected lines, flowers similar to those painted
323 on trunks. They radiate from the centre of the plates and dishes, emphasize the curves of the bodies, the rims and the necks. They are animated designs which seem to have been invented by the rapid movement of a clever hand, and which always occupy the place intended for them. Here also the colors are free and vivacious. Yellow, red, blue spots are clearly visible on a ground often of a darker color, brown, gray or green. When covered by a varnish or glazed, such objects which are made of a somewhat coarse material, frequently assume metallic tints. The simple shapes usual in household ware, become more complicated in vases, candlesticks, small pots designed for the decoration of dwellings and holy water containers. Sometimes the design is even overloaded, multiple bodies, small vases set on rims of the main body, double, triple or even multiple handles sinuously undulating, undulated or embossed rims, handles rolled up in baroque convolutions. Curve and countercurve, used with discretion, lend a singular elegance to this robust pottery.

Zoomorphic themes which are not used in pottery, are developed with much imagination in children's whistles. There is a distinct series of odd figures, horsemen, rams with big horns, birds, dogs, horses, fantastic monsters. With their arms formed in guise of small handles, their bodies reduced to a trunk and the limbs to small projecting branches, they resemble the schematized statuettes of archaic Greece. As everywhere else popular ceramic art has been threatened by industrial production. But in the neighbourhood of Biržai, Radviliškis and Vilkoniai, potteries are still in existence and the potters are still active. Those of the region of Biržai have managed to maintain their old reputation.

531 Certain designs of the ceramic are also employed in the decoration of egg-shells which is still common in most parts of the countries of Eastern Europe, in Poland, Roumania, Czechoslovakia and Russia, though not with the neighbouring Latvians. In Lithuania this custom is mentioned in documents of the 16th century. Egg shells are not only painted at Easter, but, in certain regions, at other feasts also, as e. g. on St. George's Day or at Whitsuntide. This is done in two different manners; either the eggs are plunged in the colored liquid and the design is then engraved with a knife, or in imitation of the technique of the Javanese batik, the figures are designed by the application of wax and the egg is afterwards soaked in

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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157.—162. Decorated Eggs

the color. When the wax is removed, the ornaments appear in white. A great variety of shades is obtained by using a series of colored baths. Some of the designs used in pottery are retained, such as firs, rosaces, stars, dots, zigzags, a few types of flowers, but the design is small and condensed, it covers the egg with a network of lace. The potter turns goldsmith. These designs have distinct names, the adder, chicken's feet, the rake, butterflies, snow crystals. But these names are more or less symbolical and have only a very distant connection with the corresponding design. In general the background is dark, black or dark brown, blue or red. It resembles island wood more than egg shell.

Besides wood and ceramics, work on textiles, wool, cotton and particu- 286
lary linen is one of the richest and most ancient branches of popular art. 531
On Latvian territory tissues of the Iron Age have been discovered, with metal ornaments resembling those still in use in Lithuania, but in wool. Prototypes of the latter must certainly also have existed. Later certain

10 Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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163.—168. Decorated Eggs, Pattern scratched with Knife

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elements may have been imported from the East. The word "*kilimas*", which means carpet, is directly derived from the Asiatic *kelims*. Unfortunately their patterns have not been preserved, but the foreign inventories of the 17th century assign them a good place. Linen and fabrics have always been renowned and were exported as far as Hungary.

Tissues, embroideries made for the decoration of the home or of clothes are the work of women. They make them by hand and by means of archaic devices, such as the spinning-wheel, distaff, spindle and loom, which have undergone but little change in the course of centuries. Linen is used alone or mixed with cotton for sheets, table-cloths, napkins and towels. In the large cloths, which are so solid that they are handed on from generation to generation, the damask decoration is of an infinite variety. Raw linen and bleached linen, linen mixed with cotton threads intercrossed in all directions combine to bring forth designs in checks, stars or intersec-

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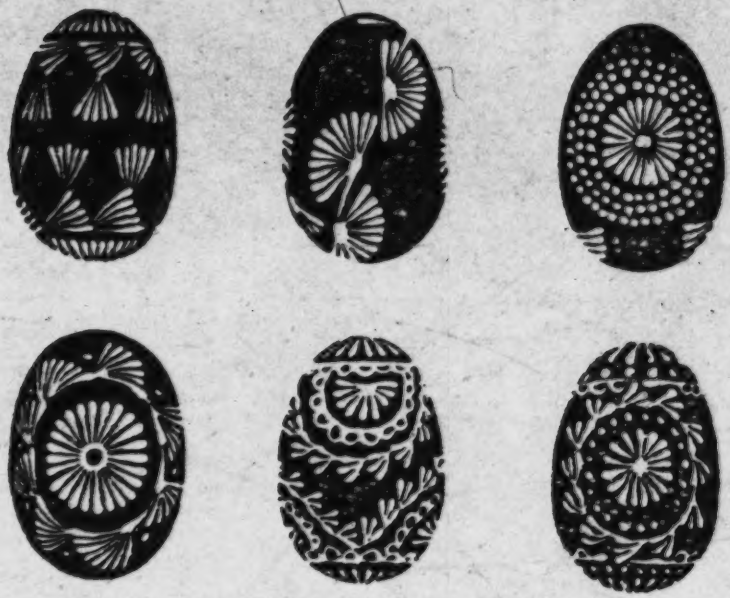

169.—174. Decorated Eggs, Pattern laid on with Bees-Wax

ting circles. Designs in gray on gray, which are sometimes very intricate, 531
produce light effects which relieve the austerity of the material used. 286
Towels are made on the occasion of a birth. They are also used to cover a coffin. Being much smaller than sheets, they require smaller cleverly laid out designs. In the district of Biržai they are often given a colored band along the edge, generally red, but sometimes blue, or long plaited fringes. The lace that sometimes borders them is made with a needle or a spindle.

Colors are sometimes used in the cloths, but chiefly in clothing. Two item[1] are of special interest, the "*juostos*" and the "*žiurstai*", i. e. belts and aprons. In the former the most ancient designs are preserved, whereas the latter are remarkable for the splendor and richness of their decoration. The *juostos* make use of several techniques and of different looms, some of which are complicated, whereas others are so rudimentary that a shep-

[1] [Errata: should be items, cf. Errata Sheet, p. 204, Cat. 116 --- Analyst]

531 herdess can work them while watching the cattle. They are made of woven,
286 plaited or sewn strips. Originally they were made of wool, but later bleached or coarse linen and even cotton bought in town were added.

The most ancient belts were plaited. They are decorated with simple zigzags and only in a few tones, white, red, blue. Some of them may still be found in the neighbourhood of Zarasai, Panevėžys and Ukmergė, but they become increasingly rare. The sewn *juostos* of Suvalkai (Suvalki) too are seldom to be found. The method most frequently employed is weaving. The primitive specimens show but few colors, blue green, red, rarely black and white, with a brownish border. With the Dzūkai Lithuanians of the region of Merkinė, Alytus and Pūnia, white and red, prevail, but the scales show a a tendency to increase. Nevertheless, red, green. and yellow prevail. The designs are geometrical and formed of interwoven threads. Designs à la Grecque, swastikas with ramified branches, rosaces and complicated polygones are worked in lozenges, squares and crosses. Also ladders, hooks, angles, windows, rakes, goat's hooves, nuts, four-and fivefold eyes. The ornaments crowd together and form new designs, an uninterrupted series of straight lines and angles. The principal parts of the design occupies the centre of the strip. A double row of ornamentation appears on broad belts. Each side of the belt is framed by two small independent friezes.

Aprons are made by more skilful methods, certain techniques resemble those of the *kilimai*. The ornaments are often handsewn, and various systems are employed on the same apron. The preparation of the frame itself requires more care. The threads are colored by the weaver herself and work proceeds slowly. On a background of dark blue, garnet or green and even black, large designs are worked in linen or cotton. They are fleur de lys, idealized roses, or red, violet, blue and yellow tulips. The designs are combined in crosses, rosaces, zigzags, in solid broad ornaments, that remind one of the sumptuousness and the violent coloring of the ancient Spanish tissues. They are sub-divided into horizontal bands. The design is sometimes spread over the surface, sometimes it is framed by rays. Such designs, standing out against the background, maintain the character of a coat of arms. The tulip, one of the four flowers dear to the decoration of the East, which has been known in this country ever since prehistoric times, appears there as an emblem. These *žiurstai* are worn everywhere, but they all of them come from Suvalkai, the district of

1/n [Errata: should be tendency. cf. Errata Sheet, p. 204, cat. 116, --- Analyst]

Mariampolé and of Kalvarija. At Klaipéda their decoration consists 531
of several finely embroidered horizontal strips. They are not only or- 286
naments, but also symbols of virtue. In some villages it is considered im- [183]
proper to be seen without an apron. Once, at a market, a woman was asked to sell her apron and she considered herself outraged.

The other parts of the dress of a peasant woman are: a linen shirt with 291
wide plaited sleeves, trimmed with small embroidered designs, a very ample woollen skirt, sometimes dark and plain and sometimes striped or of a Scottish pattern, gathered at the waist and a sleeveless vest, the "*kiklikas*", a kind of corslet often made of valuable brocade, which made its first appearance in the early 19th century. According to Mr. Galauné, the first specimens were perhaps imported by the soldiers of Napoleon's "Grande Armée", on their retreat from Russia. In the neighbourhood of Klaipéda, the *kiklikai* are of dark velvet. Necklets of coral and especi- 301
ally of amber are worn on the neck. Their beads, either raw or cut in facets with a knife, have not only the value of gems, but are endowed with magic qualities, they belong to times gone by and to legend. These fossil drops of resin, which have been described by Tacitus and were sold by Ligurian traders who imported them into the countries of the Mediterranean and Black Sea area, where they were deemed to be more precious than gold and who therefore jealously kept the secret of their origin, often contained imprisoned insects and other mementoes of olden times.

Young girls wear on their heads a band of tissue held at the back by a 291
flow of colored ribbons, married women wear instead "*nuometas*", a sort of white veil several meters long, which is of Eastern origin, but was also adopted in the West, and Tertullian recommended its use. At first this fashion found but few followers and was later abandoned, but it became the rule for married women from 1300 until 1500. During that time a large number of themes of sculptural models were imported into Lithuania, the survivals of which have been described above. It is possible that this fashion followed the same route. And do not certain weavers, with their dour yet finely cut profiles encircled in white, resemble some statues of the Middle Ages? The veil with its folds and its ritual knots is sacred, it bestows upon such as have taken it a certain measure of authority and of office. With their head-dress resembling that of the Saints of the Church, these peasant women would seem to belong to a religious order.

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians R85

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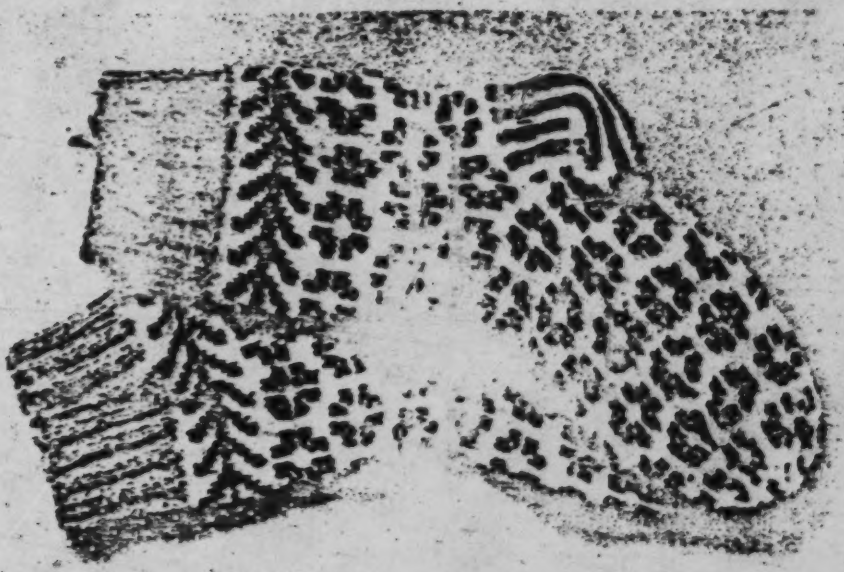

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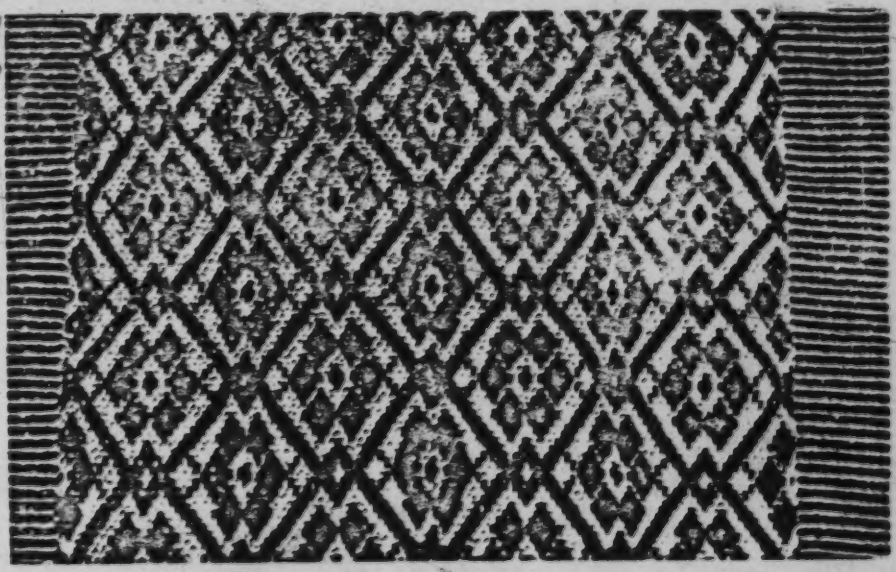

62. Socks
District of Kretinga

63. Carpet Design

10: Baltrušaitis RB5 Lithuanians RB5
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[For additional examples of decorative art, appended to the text, see pages 94-113, pages 148-203, category 116.]

5:Masiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

874 in operation admit candidates who possess certificates that they have finished four or six grades of a gymnasium, or a lower agricultural school, and give them from 2 to 3 years of training. The purpose of the lower agricultural schools is to raise the standard of the practical training of farmers and farm-wives. Graduates of elementary schools are automatically admitted for a study period of 2 years. The nine State and eight private schools of this class have an attendance of 1,504 and employ 137 teachers.

871 The government of Lithuania assigns considerable sums for educational purposes. For instance, in 1938 the budget of the Ministry of Education carried the figure of 56,656,891 litas (44,580,045 ordinary, and 12,076,846 extraordinary expenditures), or 16.34 percent of the total National budget.

●532 The Lithuanian sculptor, Petras Rimša, portrays the "Lietuvos Mokykla" (The Lithuanian School).

778 and birds; and many others whose meaning is hidden
322 to us grow out of the Lithuanian crosses as the
764 expression of a deep mental attitude which flows from the spiritual life of an inwardly rich people. From the purely artistic angle, in the Lithuanian cross ornamentation, which recalls both a most loyal attachment to faith and a close communion with the dead, we are touched by the compactness with which it grows out of the crosses and blends into a unity with them. (31) In current times, to

[113] 31. V. Jungfer, Alt-Litauen, op. cit., p. 87. V. Jungfer, Hinter den Seen, hinter den Wäldern, Bilder litauischen Volkstums (Königsberg, 1932), pp. 45 and 58.

be sure, it must be recognized how amid a younger and more rationalistic generation the old symbolism of the forefathers is more and more forgotten. Not only does the old custom of setting up crosses disappear; even where wooden crosses are still erected, one meets more and more frequently slender, smooth crosses without any ornamentation, of which only the majestic height still recalls their primitive tradition. (32)

32. A few beautiful and artistically valuable crosses have today been set up in the garden of the Vytautas Museum in Kaunas.

/118/ 2. The Wood Sculpture

• 532 Our survey of the Lithuanian crosses and their chapels would not be complete if we did not include in our presentation those wooden sculptures of the Christian saints which were mentioned above and for whose sake the chapels of the Lithuanian crosses were created.

Lithuanian wood sculpture, to which we thus turn our attention, has, in its origin and its early stages, not been clarified. Romantic research,

including also Brensteyn and Dr. Basanavičius, attributed it to paganism and supported this view with a prohibition of Bishop Tyszkiewicz from the year 1752, which reads: "In many towns in Samogitia highly unskilled wood carvers go about, real destroyers and blasphemers of sculpture, who at their own risk blaspheme the statued of saints, so that they do not look like gods but like Lernean monsters which have nothing at all to do with any sacred tradition in their appearance and features." (33)

[113] 33. Cf. V. Jungfer, Julturbilder aus Litauen (Berlin, 1918), p. 120. The complete Latin text reads: "Plurimis in locis per Samogitiam divagantur imperitissimi sculptores, an verius Iconoclastae et Iconomachi, qui proprio Marte effigies Sanctorum moliantur, non quam speciem deorum, quam monstra Lernaea ab omni sacra Traditione, habitu gestuque ex toto se abhorrentia, vili autem pretio simplicioribus abtrudentes graviter eis imponant, unde optata pullulat, materia nullis vicinorum sectariorum cachinnis. Parochi locorum arguant, increpant tales et confiscent, nisi specialem an Nobis produxerint licentiam."

The current term for these sculptures--in the vernacular dievukai "little gods"--seems to support this theory further. Now we have, however, no reliable support for any anthropomorphic belief among the ancient Lithuanians, and know only that they considered rivers, springs, and forests sacred as the dwelling places of their deities. On the other hand, the term dievukai for these sculptures among a Roman Catholic peasant folk is so self evident as to need no further explanations here. The fact that even today priests occasionally refuse to consecrate these sculptures

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if they fall outside the bounds of religious tradition, makes the prohibition of the bishop appear in quite a different light. It is therefore not permissible to infer an unconscious continuation of the images of pagan gods from the artistic incompetence of many wood carvers or their ignorance of religious models. On the contrary, the origin of the peasant wood /119/ sculpture in Lithuania seems by no means to reach that far back and is, as we shall see, closely tied to the religious interpretation of the Western middle ages.

It appears questionable, to be sure, whether Galaunė does not go too far when he places the earliest of these sculptures only at the beginning of the eighteenth century and explains the prohibition of the bishop by the fact that the first primitive and timid beginnings of this new art were conditioned by the baroque age, in which the city churches of the country were decorated with a particular abundance of pictures and sculptures. In them the village artist is supposed to have seen his oldest models, while the preceding Gothic did not so generally nourish religious sculpture in Lithuania and therefore remained without influence on the village. (34) Since all written

34. P. Galaunė, op. cit., p. 175.

sources are lacking, and since no sculptures from earlier periods have remained preserved because of the impermanent nature of the material, which was exposed to every weather, the question of age can probably never be completely solved.

As a matter of fact, although we find in the village sculptures various elements of baroque and even some of Gothic, it is mostly a matter of a primitive art of a peasant stamp, with which one could perhaps compare a few archaic examples from the early period of German art. (35)

35. pp. 176-180.

•532 The Lithuanian sculptures reveal, first, the whole content of a clearly defined peasant culture, occasionally permeated by a certain homeliness of interpretation, and, seen from the standpoint of religious ideas, simplicity of faith. The best of these sculptures bear a serious and solemn character. The artistic means which are employed are elementary. The impression on the observer is frequently very strong and direct. There are among these figures those of block-like monumental effect, where little value is placed on the details, while again in others the details are carefully executed. Precisely the striving to achieve a monumental impression through the simplest presentation of form attests frequently to a sense and great understanding for the demands of sculpture.

/120/ The hair of the figures is symmetrically parted, frequently ornamentally stylized--in other parts of the same sculpture a realistic interpretation may again be realized. In the dress, long drapery predominates. The posture of all these figures is strictly frontal.

The anatomical feeling of the artist is not yet developed. The head of the figures as the seat of the spiritual functions is also favored in its proporrtions. The hands are too small or too big in relation to the rest of the body, and also of unequal size. In group representations, on the medieval model, the less important figures are scaled much smaller in their proportions than the principal figures. This even applies very often to the pieta representations, in which the scale of the body of Christ corresponds to that of a child, so that the significance of the sorrowing mother will be emphasized.

The artist still struggles for mastery of the material, he is still unable to animate his figures through movement--a small inclination of the head means here a good deal--or, in most cases, to give a deepened spiritual expression to

the faces. Thus it is sometimes quite moving to see how the peasant artist tries to balance this failing through a piling up of the external attributes of pain; witness the heart of the sorrowing mother pierced by seven swords.

Occasionally these sculptures are so simplified that one can recognize only in the typical attributes which saint the artist intended to represent. Here the religious model is completely subordinate; the presentation of form attains its own character. In such cases the artist obviously has elaborated independently and individually his own impressions, taken from the gospels or from sermons. He has then infused his own life into his sculptures. And thus, under his hands, Saint Isidore, that pious Spanish farmhand for whom the angel plowed /121/ while he prayed, became a Lithuanian farmer with straw hat, peasant jacket, and wicker seed-basket. Thus the Mother of God, as she stood upon the serpent and crushed the sins of the world, became for him a Lithuanian peasant woman who has experienced much sorrow and much work, and whose features betray all the harshness of her fate. And thus genuine artistic expression frequently exudes from all the primitiveness and traditional restraint. In such creations the people shows its own face. In them is mirrored the culture of the country and the mental attitude of its inhabitants. From these two elements the peasant sculptures are to be understood. The connecting link, however, is the religious spirit which created them.

We know today the models for a large number of these village sculptures, know that the blessing Christ holding the globe has its model in a picture in the cathedral of Vilna, just as does Saint Kazimir--know that the sculptures of Jesus bearing the cross owe their origin to a small statue in the chapel of Šnikpiškis near Vilna, and that the standing Jesus with the chained hands

goes back to a wooden statue in the Antokol church, (35) but basically these things are not

35. pp. 176-180.

at all so important. For the nameless artists of the Lithuanian villages who saw such models on their pilgrimages or in pictures of saints, in woodcuts and copper etchings in religious books--they recreated these things as their own artless sense dictated, gave them their own forms and their own primitive symbolism. What had been created by the Gothic and by baroque ostentation, what the art of wood-carving produced in the Western countries out of its own feeling for style, in drama and movement, in the highest refinement of inner expression--all that was changed by these thoughtful, pious, and quiet men into simple and heavy forms, into calm and as it were motionless masses, into quiet observation and epic narrative. It was as if the hand which had guided the plow by day was also heavy in the evening when it grasped the knife. In observing these /122/ things one should never forget with what infinitely simple tools these sculptures were produced--only with hatchet and knife. They are carved from a single piece; only the appendages are usually attached.

All their models are borrowed from the spiritual and pictorial world of the Western Middle Ages, the form of the pieta as well as the group of St. George with the dragon, who became in Lithuania the patron saint of agriculture--only that here, too, independent deviations from the model are again to be noted, for St. George in these representations carries no banner with a red cross, but occasionally has the cross on his cloak like the knights of the orders of the Middle Ages. Even the most common of these sculptures, the sorrowing Christ (Lithuanian: rupintojėlis

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or smutkelis), is already known from a wood sculpture of the German Middle Ages around 1500. (36)

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36. Dr. Willi Burger, Altdeutsche Holzplastik (Berlin, 1926), p. 179. Cf. further: Franz Wolter and Willi Burger, Die mittelalterliche Holzplastik in Deutschland (Munich, 1924).

But precisely this sculpture, about whose meaning many pious legends are woven, has become quite an original possession of the people through its treatment by the peasant artists, and has experienced many transformations and variations. One sees it above all in Samogitia again and again, in villages, at crossroads, by trees in the forests. It seems as if just this figure of the sorrowing Christ with the crown of thorns, who rests Himself, exhausted, His head supported in His hand, His elbow on His knee, particularly expresses the contemplative nature of the Lithuanian peasant and has attained an individual form from the sorrow of a people over centuries-long slavery and from the melancholy of the landscape. This sculpture as no other has inspired the carvers to individual creation and has attained inner animation. At times a really unearthly mood speaks from it, which shows how deeply the artist lost himself in his idea. (*)

(*) Cf. on this point the poem of Putinas-Mykolaitis.

Lithuanian wood sculpture did not take over and elaborate all the pictorial subjects which came from the West. To be sure, the number of saints which are represented is very great, but /123/ certain favorite motifs return again and again. Besides those already named there are St. John of Nepomuk, always in clerical robes with a

532 skullcap, in his right hand a crucifix, in his left a palm branch--St. Anthony, in monk's garb, in his left hand a crucifix, in his right hand a lily as the symbol of innocence--very seldom St. Kazimir, in royal robes with a crown on his head, in his hands a cross and a lily--more frequently St. Rokhus. Since the wood carver borrowed the features from the men of his surroundings, we occasionally meet, along with pure Lithuanian types, Russian and Tatar types also. The female saints frequently wear the Sunday dress of the Lithuanian peasant women. Especially often we see St. Barbara with a crown on her head, in her right hand a sword, in her left hand a chalice with the Host; and St. Katharina, at her left the wheel on which she was bound at the command of Emperor Maxentius; also Saints Anna and Agatha. The latter is always represented with a loaf of bread in her hand. Her veneration seems to go back to non-Christian origins, for the bread consecrated to her, which is carefully preserved throughout the year, brings help in case of fire and is carried around the burning farm.

The figures of these saints are frequently housed in groups in the little chapels of the roofed crosses, sometimes more than ten figures next to each other. There are also others for whose placement particular locations are favored: St. John of Nepomuk at bridges, John the Baptist with Christ at rivers and lakes, St. Isidore in the fields, or St. Florian near city houses which he is supposed to protect from fire. (37) John of

37. A. Rukštelė, op. cit., p. 84.

Nepomuk and John the Baptist are both joined together by the people under the name Joneliai (plural of the intimate form for John).

Like the wood sculptures of all peoples the Lithuanian ones are painted--especially for pro-

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tection against the weather--and from this they often obtain a peculiar charm. But /124/ the poor Lithuanian wood carver could not procure those expensive paints with which the South German artist decorated their sculptures. He had to be satisfied with what the merchant in the nearest little town offered him. Red, blue, white, green, even silver and gold are used, not always tastefully, but at times with a decided aesthetic feeling and sense of the effect of colors.

Thus these sculptures are very uneven from the point of view of their artistic value. We know some that one can compare easily with those of the West, and which one almost does not want to attribute to a simple peasant, and also others to which the words of the pious bishop still apply today--whose faces are distorted and hardly human. But the best of these village artists have always worked out of an inner vocation, and their creations have arisen from a longing for higher spirituality. What we know of the artists themselves, is not much. The few God-carvers whom we know are pious old people, often eccentrics. They do not belong to the wealthy of the village; their work does not yield profit. When th y finally close their eyes, they will hardly leave any successors, for their art, too, is disappearing, as the crosses decay which are their witnesses.

3. Woodcuts and Paintings

In very close relationship to the village sculpture stands an area of artistic activity which is hardly known to wider circles and even less appreciated--the peasant woodcut. It, too, goes back to the beginning of the eighteenth century. Its models were altar and church paintings, above all however those little pictures of saints which were distributed from Vilna as copper etchings and usually represented copies of famous paintings, such as the Crucifixion of Dürer,

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the St. Katharina of Rubens, and many others. The creator of such woodcuts favored above all /125/ representations of miracle-working saints, which were eagerly bought by the peasants at great indulgence festivals. Thus this art, too, stand exclusively in the service of the religious idea.

The škapliernikai of the church villages, who produced and sold these simple woodcuts, used for their work very soft wood--usually linden--since their only tool was a knife. The board was smoothed and then received a coating of chalk or wax. Now the portions which were to remain white on the paper were cut out of the wood, while the actual drawing was carved in relief. The figures received a strong contour line; shadows were produced by a simple stroke technique. The woodcuts were printed without the aid of any sort of press, simply by hand. Thus, as Galaunė stresses, their technique can be compared only with the German individual woodcuts of the fifteenth century, and as a matter of fact Germany was the sponsor of this technique in Lithuania. Since the prints were made on ordinary paper and the coloring was done with inks of very little permanence, hardly any old originals have been preserved. But the number of subjects as well as their popularity among the people speaks for their wide distribution. Their popularity is proved by the fact mentioned by Galaunė, (38) that after the emergence of lithography in

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38. Cf. for the section on the village woodcuts and paintings, Galaunė, op. cit., pp. 231-238, as well as the literature referred to there. Further: P. Galaunė, Lietuvių liaudies raižinių katalogas (Catalogue of the Woodcuts of Lithuanian Folk Art) (Kaunas, 1927), as well as the pertinent chapter in A. Rukštelė loc. cit., pp. 41-48.

532 Germany the best-loved of the Lithuanian woodcuts were lithographed there and exported to Lithuania. A reprinting in Warsaw, in 1921, of the blocks available there--nearly all the blocks were taken to Warsaw by Polish connoisseurs--contains 42 Lithuanian woodcuts and 24 Polish woodcuts of a similar style.

The home of the Lithuanian woodcut is the province of Samogitia. Here even existed in Kalvarija even at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a school where one could learn this art, which was practiced in the country town Darbenai up to the middle of the century. All but a few of the names of the producers /126/ of these woodcuts are today forgotten. From the middle of the century on, the village woodcut was supplanted by industrially produced lithographs and chromolithographs, which we find today in every farmhouse.

Just as the village sculptures, the old woodcuts, as we can see in those examples that have been preserved, deviated sometimes quite far from the religious models. And in this characteristic transformation lies also their significance for Lithuanian folk art. Often the carvers left out parts of the original model in order to put in their place familiar patterns, often even stylizations of plants and trees. We find even independent groupings of saints in some woodcuts. Everything that was said in the section on village sculpture concerning standardization of expression, proportions, and means of representation applies also to the woodcuts. Since the laws of perspective were not known to the woodcut makers, they created their figures on a double plane, placing those figures which were supposed to stand in the foreground on top of the other figures. The background of the pictures is uniform, often enlivened by small ornaments.

Concerning the artistic value of these wood-

532 cuts, too, practically the same can be said as about the sculptures: along with very primitive imitations there are those of great beauty and subtlety of interpretation. From a cultural point of view they are of interest in the way artistic impressions coming from the outside world are taken up and transferred to a completely different plane of feeling and expression through a peasant interpretation which is basically inadequate for them.

Along with these woodcuts there was also developed in Lithuania, in the nineteenth century, a type of peasant religious painting, of which a few pieces have been preserved. They, too--insofar as they are not simple copies of church paintings--reveal a fresh naivete of feeling and deep faith. Thus in one of these pictures the eye /127/ of God is represented, framed by clouds. Out of these clouds two hands reach down to earth, from one of which seed falls upon the field, while the other blesses two kneeling men with bread. A landscape with a few trees provides the background. From this picture, which is not associated with any model--and in this, to be sure, represents an exception--speaks a thoroughly independent interpretation of great charm.

The peasant artist usually had at his disposal only two or three colors. In most cases he first completed the drawing and then painted it in. Through the influence of time the colors have greatly changed, so that many of these pictures exhibit quite singular tones.

Unfortunately only a very short span of development was allotted to this kind of religious painting in Lithuania. It was destroyed by the same technique to which also the village woodcuts fell victim.

The areas of religious folk art in Lithuania treated thus far have only in the last few years

532 been to any greater extent. This happened in connection with the emergence of a new nationalism which is intent at tracing the spiritual forces of its own country as they are manifested in folk art and folk customs--on the other hand through the development of expressionism, whose representatives created mood and suggestive animation out of the art of the primitive. All external phenomena are reduced by expressionism to the last degree of their simplicity. External experiences yield to inner spiritual phenomena. Thus it is no wonder that the products of Lithuanian folk art, above all the peasant wood sculptures, at the international art exhibition in Monza, in 1925, had an unusual success. It was precisely the contrast between the naivete of presentation and the power of their expression which found understanding appreciation and recognition.

/128/ The expressionistic elements mentioned by us are characteristic not only of the area of religious folk art which we have treated so far. They are manifested with equal strength in the secular areas of peasant art. We have thus come to the extensive field of handicraft, which has been independently developed in Lithuania in the manifold forms of wood carving, weaving, pottery, decorative painting, and many others, and whose products have found loving appreciation and recognition especially among German artists and scholars.

531 4. The Home and in the Village
322 Woodwork, Ceramics, Ironwork, Decorative Painting

In considering these branches of folk art, too, we must proceed first from wood carving, for the forest gave the Lithuanian from olden times everything which he needed for his life in the way of household articles--from the wicker cradle to the towering cross in his cemetery.

346 of this type, all of which date from the fifteenth century, are still preserved today in Kaunas. The oldest is the Vytautas church (Franciscan church) built in 1400, which the grand duke erected in memory of the recognition of Lithuanian independence by Jogaila. The history of its founding is set down on a marble plaque near the main entrance. The interior decoration is very simple. [532] Noteworthy is a picture by Kalpokas over the main altar, whose upper half represents the ascension of Mary, while the lower half shows Vytautas with his soldiers at the Vorskla, as he pledges himself with a solemn oath to build the church. The grand duke gave this church to the Franciscan order, whose monastery then stood on the site of the present city hospital. (6) Although the church /152/ was

[113] 6. Kan. J. Tumas, "Iš Vytauto bažnyčios istorijos" (From the History of the Vytautas Church), Iliustr. Lietuva, Vol. 1927, Nos. 15 and 16.

destroyed in the seventeenth century by the Swedes, in 1812 by the French, and in the middle of the nineteenth century was transformed into a Russian church, it remained the only one of the old churches which faithfully preserved its Gothic character. Its peculiar tower stems from the beginning of the nineteenth century, the facade decoration of the side wings from the same period.

The construction of the gigantic cathedral of the archbishop (Cathedral of Peter and Paul) also reaches back into a very early period. In the renewal of its privileges, of 1503, it is mentioned that the church was built "in very old times, almost at the beginning of Christianity," and was richly endowed. (7) In its size alone--

7. Valančius, see above.

it is 84 meters long, 34 meters wide, and 28 meters

high--it makes a powerful impression. After the great fire of 1770, which left only the foundation walls standing, it was rebuilt in a different form. Probably the church was originally built with two towers (in its present form the one tower interferes with the symmetry of the exterior). In the nineteenth century a side chapel was added to the south front by Bishop Paliulionis; it contains pictures by Tyrolian artists and a beautifully carved altar. Further to be mentioned is the building of the cathedral library, which reminds one of the Marienburg castle. The interior of the cathedral was completely covered over by later artistic styles after its reconstruction: the pilasters, the columns, and above all the numerous altars sparkle in the magnificence of the baroque, whose animation is increased still more by numerous rococo forms. But, as K. Jasenas correctly points out in his art history, a counterbalance is created by the powerful compactness of the main altar (from the year 1775), which subdues the total impression into serious and mighty solemnity. (8) Precisely this

[113] 8. Jasenas, Visuotinė meno istorijz /General History of Art/, V, p. 267.

altar, between whose Corinthian columns tower gigantic figures of the apostles, has a particularly majestic effect. Thus the impression which proceeds from this cathedral is unusually strong, and the spirit of medieval piety and religious artistic instinct becomes directly alive. The [532] church paintings[1] were mostly /153/ painted in the middle of the nineteenth century by Elviro Andriolli, an Italian artist who settled in Lithuania and was naturalized.

Considerably younger than the cathedral, but also still stemming from the fifteenth century, the Seminary Church of St. George first meets the eye of anyone who approaches the city from the river.

1 [in Cathedral of Peter and Paul in Kaunas -- Analyst]

946

monastery was built according to the plans of the architect Lodovico Fredo, who was later followed by Pietro Putini. (16) Thus arose a baroque structure

16. Kairiūkštytė-Jacynienė, op. cit., p. 19.

on the Italian model of imposing grandeur. It required means unheard of at that time. The cut stone which covers the facade of the church and the entrance gate came from abroad, Danzig and Riga supplied the iron, the marble quarries of Cracow supplied the white, red, and black marble that covers the whole interior of the church up to the principal cornice. It was carried by waterway via Warsaw and Danzig to Königsberg, and transported on from there in wagons.

Of particular interest from the point of view of art history is the completely symmetrical composition of the whole monastery, as well as the six-sided ground plan of the church, "a highly rare, almost unique case in architecture." (17) The

17. Ibid., p. 128.

tremendous, towering dome, through which an abundance of light pours onto the main altar, while the side chapels fade in a half light, makes a powerful impression on the entering visitor, and draws his gaze upward. All the ceilings of the church[1] and of all the neighboring rooms are decorated with exuberant stuccos and fresco paintings, in which the whole art of the boldest Italian perspective painting comes alive. In their splendid colors live the traditions of Titian, Tintoretto, and Veronese. These frescoes undoubtedly belong among the most beautiful and artistically most valuable not only of Lithuania, but of the closer eastern countries in general. Of the painters three are known, Ferdinando delle Croce, Angelo Palloni da Compi, and Delbene, among whom the last should be especially mentioned.

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1 [of Monastery of Pažaislis near Kaunas -- Analyst]

B. Painting and Sculpture

532 1. Development up to the first World War.

217 The palaces of the Radvilas, of the Paz, of the Sapiehas, and many others today lie in ruins. Only one or the other ruin still reminds one in its gigantic proportions of the power of the earlier lords of the land. With the castles of Lithuania, the precious store of pictures which they contained was also destroyed at the same time. Thus in 1830 the picture gallery of Princess Sapieha went up in flames. The art collection of the Radvilas, too, was half destroyed. The uprising /171/ of the year 1863 destroyed the most valuable portion of the archaeological collection of the Museum of Vilna. Valuable objects of art were removed by the Russians to St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Kiev, where they were exhibited in galleries, if they were not burned; the last happened, for example, to the remains of the Sapieha gallery, at the command of Czar Nicolas I. The first World War, however, brought with it the greatest destruction. With it a centuries old tradition was carried to the grave, never to be reawakened to life.

532 For these reasons the new Lithuanian painting grew in a completely independent soil, without tradition or connection with the artistic past of the country. The young Lithuanian painters sought and found the soul of their people in the nature of their homeland and in their heroic past. Sometimes they also built further along the line of the old peasant folk art, which extends into our own time. Around the turn of the nineteenth century /sic/ artistic life in Lithuania achieved its first blossoming. In the year 1907 the first Lithuanian art society was founded in Vilna.

532 In order to understand the beginning of Lithuanian artistic life, which was concentrated in the
186 old capital of the country, one must consider to what extent this spiritual life--no matter whether

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it had to do with painting, poetry, or science--was focused in a single point--the national idea. The idea of the liberation of the people from the Russian yoke, at first not yet conceived of as absolute governmental independence, first gained real form at the moment when the buried springs of national consciousness again began to flow. The beginnings of pictorial art also stood partially in the service of this idea. In sagas and fairy tales, in folk songs, in wood carving and weaving of the villages lay hidden the elements to which that first generation of artists now first gave the concept of a native creativity by bringing them into consciousness. The folk art /172/ thus became a symbol of their own worth, but also a symbol of all that which separated and distinguished their own people from its neighbors. From such ideas arose the great picture book of the Lithuanian Crosses which was published in 1912 by the art society in Vilna. Along with impressive drawings by Antanas Jaroševičius, it contains an introductory essay by Dr. Basanavičius, who with the means of historical research pursued the same purpose--to awaken awareness of the value of their own folk art by carrying it forward from an archaic past and thus throwing a special light on it. The meaning of history became thus a second root of these efforts. From the deeds of a glorious past the ideals of the present were easily derived, above all the lietmotif that Lithuania had once been a powerful state and for that reason must not perish.

To be sure, such ideas did not affect all artists to the same degree and were expressed differently at different times. The glow of these ideas faded for many who were far from home. Foreign themes gained in influence; the force of Western artistic trends--realism and impressionism--allowed the spring to be forgotten from which an independent Lithuanian art could have been created--the folk art.

532 Only much later, under the imprint of expression-
186 ism, did a change set in, as will be shown later.

A third factor, however, retained for all these artists its particular tone, no matter whether they stayed long years abroad or worked in the homeland. This third factor was the earth--the Lithuanian countryside, from which they all sprang and which, in its thousandfold moods, constantly welled up in their soul anew--the little dreamy village, the babbling brook, the wide expanse of the snow-covered landscape in the winter. Thus the countryside of the homeland became a symbol of all that for which one fought.

532 /173/ The themes for that first generation of artists were thereby partially given. We see this for example in the picture "Vision" by Antanas Zmuidzinavičius (born 1876). A mystical rider gallops along the horizon of a nocturnal cemetery landscape. In his right hand he swings a sword. But the rider is a symbolization of Vytis, the old Lithuanian knight at arms, and the picture breathes not so much a romantic mood of the past as a prophecy of a future. Thus the success which Zmuidzinavičius achieved at just that time with his romantic realism, with which he brought to life the past of the people, is completely understandable. At the same time he became the representative of a realistic, more academic, school of landscape painting, which was to dominate not only the first beginnings of Lithuanian art. He received his training on long journeys to Germany, Paris, and Italy. In 1906 he returned to Vilna. We possess excellent landscapes by this artist--in some the peaceful, dreamy beauty of the Lithuanian forests and lakes finds its true expression. Many are not "realistic" in the usual sense of the word, and from the best speaks that nuoširdumas with which the Lithuanian language describes the genuineness of a deep feeling and a lyric mood.

Nevertheless in an art which proceeds primar-

•532 ily by way of recounting the past there exists the danger of making concessions to public taste. I am not thinking only of several paintings in the war museum in which individual events in the country's history are illustrated, as it were, and in which obviously something other than a purely artistic purpose has been pursued. In general Lithuanian painting from that time on up to the most recent past has moved along the line of realism--impressionism. That conservative element which we have already observed in the development of architecture applies also, mutatis mutandis, to painting. Undoubtedly this development, which has been overcome by now, contained a second danger impairing the appreciation of art by a still untrained public, /174/ in that the attention of the observer remained directed predominantly to the story behind the picture.

Apart from Zmuidzinavičius there were independent personalities who stood out in that first generation of artists and who went their own ways. In the water colors of Kajetonas Šklerius-Šklerys (died 1932) was reflected all the pictorial magic of the atmosphere whose chamr is pursued by the artist with sensual refinement. Brilliance of colors is shown especially by his Italian landscapes, the results of long trips to the south. It was just this landscape of the south, in which the sun throws objects into relief up to the far distances, that gave the impressionist the subjects for a series of beautiful water colors. Side by side with this unproblematic harmony stands the mood of the Lithuanian landscape--in gardens outside the city that are covered with snow, birches along the road, accompanied by a tender, dreamy basic harmony, sections of autumn landscapes, finely toned down in their colors, everyth ng seen with a great sensitivity and directness of natural experience. From the still-lifes of this artist, too, speaks a high, colorful culture, sometimes per-

532 meated by a visionary mood. His portraits appear less characteristic.

A strong personality is the mark of Adomas Varnas (born 1879), whose creativity has passed through various stages of development. He, too, like Zmuidzinavičius, began with symbolic presentations, and, remained faithful to realism his whole life long, but he achieved thereby a feeling for form all his own, a new, heightened interpretation of reality, which led him to ever greater simplification in his modelling of the objective world. This is also evident in his coloration. In his later pictures his distance from nature becomes greater; lyric contemplation gives way to a more rational interpretation which perhaps leaves one cooler, but which gives the artist's own personal note to his interpretations of the Lithuanian countryside. After long years of silence, during which he devoted all his powers to the mastering of the Lithuanian art of woodwork, above /175/ all the roofed crosses, he presented to the public creations in which a stronger, more concise method of handling the brush is followed. The descriptive power of Varnas is most strongly shown in his portraits, which, as far as characterization and reproduction of personality are concerned, belong among the best that has yet been created by Lithuanian painters. His heads gain their effect through their greater than lifesize scale, through great simplification of details, and the art of intensification. The head of the gymnasium director Žilinskis, with its gaze turned inward and its deep thoughtfulness, is a fine example; and the self-portrait of the artist with his wife, created as early as 1912, is very impressive--two heads pressing forward in animation with wide open eyes and hair flowing against the storm. The element of motion is splendidly depicted here, the heads so near that we think we can feel their breath, while everything in the distance is dissolved in indefinite tones in which

532 one feels the waves of the sea rushing forward. (29)

[113] 29. On Varnas cf. also Ign. Šlapelis, "Adomo Varno kūrybos keliais" (Following the Paths of the Creations of Adomas Varnas), Iliustr. Lietuva, 1927, No. 12.

Among the most gifted impressionists of the older generation belongs Petras Kalpokas (born 1880). He too, like many others of the Lithuanian artists, spent long years in Switzerland and Italy, a fact which did not remain without influence on his development. Galaunė writes of him: "He is an impressionist of great style, free to the point of boldness in his technique. His portraits betray the influence of Italian painting. In his Lithuanian landscapes he knew how to let the essential features of this unique nature stand out. In his 'Temptation of Christ' and in his 'Pieta' he tries to reproduce the psyche of the Lithuanian people." (30) Kalpokas had already made a name for

[113] 30. P. Galaunė, l'Art lithuanien (Malmö, 1934), p. 34.

himself in Russia before the first World War. At the outbreak of the World War a large number of his pictures were on their way to an exhibition in Munich and, unfortunately, fell victim to the events of the war. Among his best works belong a number of landscapes and his self-portrait.

/176/ Finally to be reckoned among the older generation is Jonas Šileika, who underwent his training in Munich, a strong, artistic temperament, completely dominated by his joy in colorful compositions and decorative effects, in his portraits a realist with a striving for spirituality and animation (Portrait of a Lady, 1925, Čiurlionis Gallery). His portrait of the writer Žemaitė was honored with a prize in Chicago in 1920.

532 Among the artists who found themselves exclusively drawn to sculpture, Petras Rimša (born 1881), who stood close to academic naturalism, found early recognition. Rimša is one of the artists in whose creations the social and political distress of his people before the first World War found a special emphasis, and whose participation in the actual problems of his time also was much more active than that of many others. He became known to broad circles through his sculpture "The Battle," in which the Lithuanian knight at arms is shown in battle with the Polish eagle, which he defeats--a sculpture that aroused such strong indignation in Polish circles that the artist himself destroyed it in a fit of rage. A second famous sculpture, "The Lithuanian School," calls back into memory that period of Russian suppression in which (1864-1904) Lithuanian books and Lithuanian schools were forbidden. It shows a mother at the spinning wheel teaching her small son how to read. Quite apart from the highly impressive subject, the characterization of the two figures is also well executed artistically. Later the artist proceeded to enlivening his sculptures by the use of popular decorative ornamentation. Thus sometimes very original works were produced. From his last years, finally, date several medals and bronze plaques, which combine a clear composition with fine stylization.

Along with Rimša, Juozas Zikaras became known. The latter stood under the influence of the development of the nineteenth century, in which sculpture was completely /Unnumbered page with illustration--Pieta/ /177/ separated from architecture, left the realm of monumentalforms, and approached painting through expression. Thus his art remained small art in the sense of impressionism. In this realm Zikaras created various well executed sculptures, medals, and bas-reliefs. A bold attempt was

•532 his satirical stylization of a "modern madonna," a bas-relief that shows a modern woman in a short skirt, the fashion at that time, and crossed legs, who regards her child with an expression "like a mother who does not love her child, but only tolerates it like an uninvited guest." (31)

[113] 31. Ig. Šlapelis, "Iš J. Mackevičiaus ir J. Zikaro parodos," Meno kultūra, 1928, No. 1, pp. 18-19.

532 543 Therewith the first generation of artists, whose works were represented at the first Lithuanian art exhibition in 1907, has been briefly characterized in its outstanding personalities. No less than 23 artists were represented with 242 pictures. The paintings were sent from far and wide--they came from Russia, Poland, Switzerland, Italy, Tyrol, and France--for very many of these artists lived at that time outside of the country. At the head of the art association, which in the following years sponsored a number of further exhibitions, was together with Rimša, Antanas Zmiudzinavičius, one of the most active champions of that generation of artists, who placed his organizational talents completely at the service of this idea. (32) They were joined by a third, the

[113] 32. Vydūnas, Litauen (Tilsit, 1916), p. 116.

composer and painter Mykolas Čiurlionis, an artist who, through his creations, at that time drew to himself the attention of the leading Russian artistic circles.

532 Born in 1875, the son of an organist in Druskininkai, Čiurlionis was accepted as a boy into the private orchestra of Prince Oginski in Plungė. His unusual musical talent and his likeable character caused the prince to send him to the conservatories of Warsaw and Leipzig. In 1901 we find

him, returned from Germany, in Warsaw, where he supported himself after the death of his patron by giving music lessons. Around this /178/ time began his meteoric rise as a painter and draftsman. In 1907 he moved to Vilna, two years later to St. Petersburg. Here in the center of Russian artistic life his creativity reached its high point. But quite suddenly a rapid decline took place. A serious illness overtook him, and a dissolution of his mental powers set in. Thirty-six years old, he died in 1910 in a sanatorium.

The self-willed personality of Čiurlionis reflects like a prism the peculiar character of his people which tends towards mysticism. From his creations speaks the elementary man as he grows out of the Lithuanian countryside without inwardly separating himself from it, the man from whose being the broad plain of the East shines forth and blends with him, the way the whole nature which surrounds him blends with flowers, mountains, and rocks. On this soil his special artistic quality is growing. The deeply musical and rhythmical element that carried him forward made him strive for the direct expression for his artistic revelations. Thus he consciously remounced everything conventional, even renounced the forcing, and thus the dulling, of his inner vision through the medium of the material. Filled with a cosmic religiosity, he transferred the means of music to color and created preludes, humns, sonatas, and symphonies. His last work was a tempera painting--Hymn to the Setting Sun.

From the lyric mood, however, he proceeded to the contemplation of pure form. Thus he saw the reality which lies behind things, and which manifested itself to him in geometrical laws. He fashioned with infinitely delicate colors his imaginary landscape in a noble composition of unreal mountains and broad plains, and filled the space with transparent forms, from which only the rhythmical and

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geometrical principle of the material still shines forth. The human form is here of necessity excluded. Heinrich Schaeder, to whom we owe several very fine observations concerning Čiurlionis, stresses above all the cosmic element /179/ manifested in his pictures, for example in the "Pyramids": "Pure crystal forms, pyramids and obelisks, become plane surfaces and the creators of their own space. A spring wind is thrown between the many arms of two candelabra and carries long slanting streaks of light toward the sky. A powerful sight: on the globe rests 'Rex' the ruler, a transparent, straight-lined, hemmed-in surface which projects upward through two celestial spheres. Clouds swirl in the lower, in the upper armies of comets race toward the calm of the midpoint. Here the stormy movement of the spheres is truly creased." Or the artist wanders through the signs of the zodiac. "In endless distances, in unearthly worlds arise the hieratically rigid forms of Virgo, of Aquarius. And above them stands their constellation." (33)

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33. Heinrich Schaeder, "Čiurlionis--ein litauischer Maler," Das Land Ob. Ost (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1917), pp. 393-395.

Next to such visions are simpler, deeply human allegories and symbols. The symbol of friendship--a precious crystal, presented with closed eyes and the touching movement of devotion; fate--a child on a blooming meadow, an unreal, otherwordly form and landscape--overhead a black bird with gigantic, outspread wings. The number of such explanations could be increased, but little would thus be gained for the understanding of this painter; for just as in all the other pictures, the material here is not seen as material but projects into a second plane of reality which borrows from ours only the external forms. At times the force of this master is also expressed in creations that

are completely rooted in the countryside of his homeland and are completely filled with its mood, like his "Cemetery in Samogitia." But here, too, the deeper symbol of the impermanence of everything worldly grows out of the landscape which he fashions.

What affects the sensitive observer in all these pictures so strongly is the deep inner necessity to which they owe their existence, this struggle of the soul for a sublime view /180/ of the cosmos. Čiurlionis belongs among those men who receive their light from within, like Beethoven and Rilke, for example. What they create does not come about through certain impressions of the outer world which are then artistically elaborated, but everything is inner vision. An irresistible force drives them to the representation of their visions. How strong this inner force was in Čiurlionis is proved by the fact, told by his brother, that the sick artist even in his last months, in the night, when everybody in the sanatorium had gone to rest, painted uninterruptedly by candlelight until dawn. (34)

[113] 34. The literature concerning Čiurlionis is relatively extensive. It consists principally of essays in various art periodicals. Among others may be mentioned the special Čiurlionis number of the periodical Naujoji Romuva, Vol. 5, 1935, No. 42; further the brief sketch by Galaunė in l'Art lithuanien, op. cit., pp. 12-13; as well as the little article by the same author: "M.K. Čiurlionies galerijos istorija" (History of the Čiurlionis Gallery). Bičiūnas wrote a biography of Čiurlionis. In German: Schaeder, op. cit., and V. Jungfer, Hinter den Seen, hinter den Wäldern Königsberg, 1932), pp. 65-69. The great Čiurlionis monograph published by P. Galaunė in 1938, which above all contains valuable unpublished picture material, could not yet be consulted.

000 not yet be consulted.

532 Thus Čiurlionis art is unique. He is one of those rare masters who even in great nations are born only once in a great while. The largest portion of his paintings--148 creations in oil, tempera, and pastel, and 35 graphic works--is found today in the State Gallery of Paintings at Kaunas, located in the Vytautas Museum. His style, i.e. the outward form of the representation, was taken over by Šimonis, who also resolves reality into geometric figures in many of his pictures. His colored compositions radiate great brilliance. Simonis made a name for himself especially as an illustrator. (35)

[113] 35. Cf. Jean Mauclère, Sous le ciel pâle de Lithuanie (Paris, 1936), pp. 52-54.

2. Recent Trends

The first spring of Lithuanian art came to an end in the first World War, which had a crippling effect on all spiritual creativity and scattered the Lithuanian artists all over the world. Nevertheless through the war several of these painters became known also in Germany, for example Varnas and Zmuidzinavičius, whose pictures at the great Lithuanian exhibition in Königsberg, in 1918, received various expressions of recognition in the German press. (36) Only after the end of the war

36. For example the Kön. Hartungsche Ztg. of August 27, 1918.

did the rest of the artists return. /181/ The beginning of new statehood gave to their creativity a broader framework. At that time (1919) there arose a "Lithuanian Art Association" which took over the heritage of the first art association but at the same time also broadened significantly its

532 [517] circle of responsibility: it[1] called into being a theater, an opera, and a music school--institutions which the state took over--and combined within itself all the creative forces of that period which were aiming with great energy and much idealism to create the basis for a new artistic culture within the framework of the new national life.

537 874 In the year 1924 the founding of an art school took place. At its head was the painter Justinas Vienožinskis, who, although he belonged to the older generation, pursued with great freshness the new artistic trends of Western Europe but at the same time directed attention to the values which were lying dormant in the Lithuanian folk art. A painter of colorful culture, himself a product of the impressionism of the previous century, he found a style of his own. Along with him there came as teachers a number of the older artists. In spite of unfavorable material conditions the art school today has well beyond 100 students and has become an independent factor in Lithuanian cultural life. Its director is the well-known art historian and critic Ignas Šlapelis.

532 Adomas Galdikas (born 1893), who began with drawing but found his real field as a painter, also works as a professor at the art school. A thoroughly self-willed artist, he did not remain untouched by the various new trends of European painting, but always followed independent paths. His individuality grows out of his inner ties to Lithuanian folk art. Unusually versatile--along with his landscapes and portraits his opera decorations must also be mentioned--Galdikas underwent a lively artistic development. It is characterized by the Frenchman Waldemar George, who /182/ writes in a monograph dedicated to the artist: "By approaching the archaic expression of religious folk art, Galdikas seeks something other than only an assortment of colored tones and lines. This confrontation with folk art allows him to be con-

1 [Lithuanian Art Association, 1919 -- Analyst]

• 532

scious of his earthly art. Galdikas . . . recognized that all objective searching in art is meaningless . . . This living faith, this power to see and understand the divine principles of nature, led him to a Lithuanian atmosphere filled with mystery." (37)

[113] 37. V. Vizgirda, "Tapyba ir skulptūra Lietovuje" (Painting and Sculpture in Lithuania), Naujoji Romuva, Vol. V, No. 10/11, March 17, 1935, p. 248.

Except in the French Museum Jeo de Paume, works of Galdikas are found in the museums of Kaunas and Riga.

Vienožinskis and Galdikas thus already belong essentially to a new generation, whose educators they become. In their ateliers a number of talented young artists received their training. The latter joined together later into a special group of "Independents" and thus separated from the "Lithuanian Artists' Association," which continued to include the artists of the older generation. Nevertheless the difference in goals of the two groups does not seem so strong as might be concluded from their names. Even among the "Independents" we do not encounter radical nor extremist tendencies. Impressionism clearly has an after effect among them, too.

In 1932 a new group, "Ars," split off from the group of "Independents" under the leadership of Galdikas; its efforts derived from completely new ideas, as appears from a proclamation which was published at the first exhibition of this group in the same year. (38)

[113] 38. Naujoji Romuva, No. 45, of November 6, 1932 (Vol. III).

Since this proclamation is of special interest

532 for the most recent development of Lithuanian painting, a part of it is reproduced here; "The world, above all our own /183/ people, has entered into a new epoch. After a whole five hundred years we have again entered into competition with the great nations of Europe. We have looked around us and have come to the conviction that the lack of deeper artistic efforts as well as the imitation of artistic forms long outgrown is destroying our art."

In these spirited utterances we see a sharp renunciation of everything that is still connected with the naturalism and impressionism of the nineteenth century. The director of the state gallery of paintings, Paulius Galaunė, expresses himself in a similarly sharp manner in the same almanac. He at first discusses the reasons why the so-called "high art" of Lithuania cannot look back on any past, while the real values of the artistic culture of the people lie concealed in folk art; and he then continues: "it is a peculiar fact that beginning with the first Lithuanian art exhibition our artists have appeared not as children of their own race, but as 'Europeanized' copyists of Lithuanian nature. The ideal of beauty of our educated class, then being crystallized, was 'like in a photograph.' And this ideal sufficiently satisfied the artists of the first Lithuanian art exhibition. When one observes the groups of our young artists being educated today, one sees clearly that this education takes place from the inside, that there is a striving to make conscious what lies dormant in the character of the Lithuanian countryside."

Even if these judgments may appear too sharp to a historical observer of the development of the young Lithuanian painting, they clearly characterize the negative limits of the most recent, as opposed to all earlier efforts. The positive program of this group, however, becomes clear from

532 the introduction to the proclamation: "We have entered upon a bare and painfully neglected field. Through the /184/ spectacles of the centuries we see in the distance a high artistic culture--the sorrowing Christ (sculpture of folk art, V.J.), the fairy tale, the folk songs. A high artistic heritage, already hidden within the walls of museums or almost destroyed by the wind of our darkness, these things contain in their primitiveness powerful artistic models for us."

The connection with the old Lithuanian folk art thus becomes in these words the program of the newest art. The national idea becomes still clearer in the following: "We have decided to serve this epoch of the reborn fatherland and to create its style. A work of art means a new reality of life. Our ardent striving is directed toward the enrichment of our life through new values. We strive for collaboration with other peoples by contributing our work, which expresses the soul of our people, to the common treasury of art. We recognize the formal victories of the current art, for they grant us greater freedom of creation. But we do not burden our members with any preconceived artistic dogmas. We are filled with the ardent desire that each one of us, according to his individual character and inclinations, may serve the artistic culture of our country."

A whole series of young artists who joined the "Ars" group have had the possibility of independently educating themselves further abroad after completing their training at the art school in Kaunas. Thus the most varied influences of modern artistic trends are expressed in their work.

It would still be premature to pronounce judgment on this most recent development in Lithuanian artistic life. Much is still in flux here. In any case the existence of a serious and pure artistic will which carries the development forward can be stated. Only a later period, looking back, will be able to judge its results.

'0:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

SCULPTURE

532

The chapels and crosses shelter small deities, the *"dievukai"* and *"rupintojėliai"*. The Holy Virgins and the Christs, as well as the good popular Saints, take up their quarters under trees, appear in the "cages", hung in trees, conceal themselves in the "cabins". It is perhaps in this imagery in wood that the Lithuanian peasant has done his utmost. A religious art, though not an art of the church, this sculpture spread in spite of the periodical campaigns of the clergy. One inconoclastical[1] crusade follows another, but the work of the "God makers", the *"dievdirbis"*, does not cease. As late as in 1752 the bishop Tiškevičius of Žemaitija preached against this statuary. No doubt he invoked the same reasons as St. Bernhard in his fight against the monsters of the Romanesque churches, excessive freedom of expression and rudeness of features. Such figures were denied benediction and their admission to sanctuaries was forbidden with only two exceptions, a crucifixion and a Christ. All the others populate the fields, the woods and the roads.

Such conflicts have had a profound repercussion on the formation of this art. Driven out of the church popular sculpture cast off the fetters of convention and developed itself freely. The subjects most frequently treated were borrowed from the Gospels and the Apocrypha, as well as from the legend of the Saints. The chief subject taken over from the Gospel was the cycle of the Passion: Pietà, the Virgin of the Seven Sorrows, Christ

1 [Errata: should be iconoclastical. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, Cat. 116 --- Analyst]

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

532

in a sitting posture or bearing the cross, the Crucifixion. The Pietà remained faithful to its canonical image, as in Western sculpture the Holy Virgin was represented with the body of her Son on her knees. The figure of the Saviour is sometimes quite small in comparison with that of his mother, — he always has remained a child. The Virgin of the Seven Sorrows shows an immense heart pierced by seven flaming swords The sitting Christ is represented as awaiting execution.

153. „Rūpintojėlis", wood-cut, 18th cent.

The Apocrypha furnished scenes from the education of the Virgin and St. Joseph rocking the Holy Infant. Among the Saints St. George killing the Dragon takes first place, being the patron Saint of the Lithuanian peasant. Then follows St. Isidore, patron Saint of the agricultural labourer with the angel a the plough. The iconography is in general correct. St. Catherine holds the wheel, St. Agatha the bread, St. John Nepomuk a crucifix and a branch. St. Rochus the pilgrim, followed by his dog, covers his crushed leg, St. Francis receives the stygmata. Nevertheless, certain details sound a particular note, the image of Pietà is often blended with that of the Virgin of the Seven Sorrows and an aureole of stars surrounds the Mother of God, while two angels bearing chandeliers stand on each side. Sometimes she is represented with the crown of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania on her head. The sitting Christ, generally represented alone in Western sculpture, is here attended by two hieratic worshipping figures. According to Žemaitic legend this is not a scene of the Passion, but represents Christ returned to earth after his resurrection. He is resting by the wayside and weeping over the misery of mankind. The Christ of

a [Errata: should be angel at, Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, Cat. 116 --- Analyst]

532 Nazareth has a thick growth of hair, — a reminiscence of a much venerated statue brought from Italy to Vilnius in 1700, — on which the hair was believed to have grown by a miracle. St. Rochus and St. Isidore, having arrived from abroad, wear bowler hats. St. Francis sometimes has a large spoon stuck in his belt. The bread of St. Agatha protects against fire. In case of fire, consecrated bread is carried around the house. St. George is often represented wearing a helmet. It would be easy to multiply these examples.

It was not however these picturesque details which filled the representatives of the church with indignation, but much rather the form, the movement and the treatment of the subject.

Certain figures remind us of the images of Greece of Homer. A rudely shaped trunk has a simple sphere for a head. On other faces a smile of Kozee is frozen. The canon is often irregular, heads either too big or too small, hands sometimes enormous and sometimes atrophied, postures convulsed. It is here in these deformed bodies that the artist gives the measure of his power of expression. Certain heads, e. g. that of the sitting Christ submerged in the mass of his hair, his cheeks stained by gigantic drops of blood, or that of the crucified Christ displaying His large hands, His mouth like an open wound, His eyes scarcely visible, produce a dramatically violent impression. The features of such heads differ widely. Sometimes the heads are supported by long, thin necks, sometimes they are fixed immediately on the trunk with eyes wide open or closed and the mouths distorted in grimace, they are supernatural and yet true. Other figures stiffen in inaccessible gravity like that flat and pale Virgin holding her dead son with the gestures of an automaton.

These figures however belong to two races: at the side of a tormented and monstrous mankind, we see a pastoral and peaceful mankind. There the Saints are peasants, round-cheeked with salient cheekbones and big astonished eyes. This is a homely world. The Pietà is no longer an insensible idol, but a peasant woman who is bending over her son. She is surrounded not by angels, but by winged choirboys. Often she looks like a timid shepherdess hidden behind a fan formed of swords. Such statues are full of good nature and joviality and they are perhaps still more pathetic than the supernatural beings with their exaggerated features. The episodes there are not scenes of family life, an atmosphere of

mystery still persists. The little angel who, with courageous hands, seizes the handle of the plough, resembles a troll in a fairytale. The tale is often told with an epic simplicity and love of detail does not affect the great lines. Quizzical observations assume a new meaning. A miracle performed by a Saint dressed like a village curate, seems to be all the more marvellous. Provided with symbolic attributes such as bread, tools etc. these peasants with the resigned features of the wise and the humble ones, are given the wings of angels and enter into legend.

Such are the principal aspects of this sculpture. At the same time deities and toys, reality and fable, but seldom indifferent, these little statuettes carved in wood affect or terrify us. The reason of the hostility of the clergy in the era of Classicism and afterwards, when countryside churches favored mass production of statues, is easily comprehensible.

The composition and execution of these statues are very varied. We find there all the stages of an evolution which extends from archaism to sophisticated refinement. Forms preserved in the rites of craftsmanship, though wide apart in time, meet again on the same object and are applied in the same workshop. Rigorous geometry, monumental distribution of the masses and the colorful play of agitated surfaces contradict and complete each other.

These statues are hewn by hard and vigorous blows. Synthetic lines simplify the features and sometimes deform them. Details are accentuated by graphic incisions, the polychromy of pure and vivacious colors emphasizes the outlines and plans. A deep sense of architecture is everywhere manifested. Certain extended bodies stiffen into pillars. The legs of a sitting Pietà form a pedestal for the body of Christ. These statues are great in spite of their reduced scale. The wood in them is no longer a senseless material, it helps to animate the features represented. Within the statues the tree trunk is still alive. The priest's vestments resemble a suit made of the bark of a tree. St. George's dragon seems to twist and turn like a tortuous root. These are indeed sylvan deities hewn from a log of wood. Rigidity sometimes disappears to give place to a more flexible treatment. The graphics of the outlines are softened. The masses flow freely in a ripple of lights and shades, a breeze passes over the folded clothing and the outlines sometimes assume an affected grace. In his eagerness to make use of anything he can, the sculptor seeks to exhaust

532 all possibilities and takes his inspiration from every quarter. In his art we find traces of the Western Middle Ages, of the Baroque and even of the rustic toys of the present time. ~~Lost in a world~~ far removed from the highways of history, the village sculptor is often in arrear ~~and~~ sometimes successive epochs and fashions reach him simultaneously. Styles which would exclude each other elsewhere meet here. These different contributions arriving simultaneously enrich his choice. But, though a recipient for different techniques and various styles, the sculptor still remains true to himself. He transposes and adapts without betraying his true personality.

The influence of toys is particulary noticeable in groups the units of which are placed side by side like tin soldiers without any common action to link them together. They are displaced or interchanged, although they are incapable of motion. Such groups of articulated dolls are nevertheless touching in their candour. This series comprises a number of animals, St. George's horse is often a fine pied wooden mount. The two oxen fixed to a board and placed before a plough look like gingerbread beasts. Led by an angel they become God's own beasts. The magic objects of the little ones serve for the worship of the adults.

532 177 Among the Western styles which have exercised the strongest and most lasting influence in this field, the baroque elements and classic art should be mentioned in the first place. Following the Counter Reformation the Jesuits triumphed over all the numerous currents of art in Lithuania. The great European currents penetrated everywhere. Five large religious colleges were established between 1565 and 1575, the largest at Vilnius in 1579. There the latest doctrines were taught and tastes refined. A new age of civilisation began, cathedrals and palaces were built and foreign masters called upon to co-operate. Collections were brought together by the nobility and in the churches. Certain miracle performing statues are still venerated. But the influence of this sculpture is limited chiefly to the propagation of a certain number of iconographic types and plastic themes. The carver in wood is not insensible to this statuary, but his work, although inspired by it, lacks its magnificence. The faces are heavier, the gestures are awkward, the proportions become impersonal. The agitated folds and mystic rays have perhaps been assimilated best. But even amid

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

532
177

all these luxuriant undulations certain traits seem to be reminiscent of the flamboyant style. There seems to be no doubt that medieval art has exercised the stronger influence. This becomes evident in the very choice of the themes, such as the Passion, the Pietà, the Holy Virgin of the Seven Sorrows, afflicted Christ and in the preference shown for scenes of the childhood of Christ or of the education of St. Mary, in the success of some Saints, such as St. Rochus, the protector against the plague. The cycle of 15th and 16th century subjects is reconstituted. In it we find also the figure of the Devil, with his bat wings, his horns and crooked claws, the demon of Žemaitija hails from the hell of the Middle Ages which classic art did not retain.

This is a strange survival of a vast ancient repertoire. Nothing interfered with its development. In the churches of the towns hardly any traces of it are at present to be found, but the chapels nailed to the trees or built at the roadside are full of such images. They preserve it as a kind of relic of the first Christians in this country. The witnesses of their baptism have never abandoned the Lithuanians.

We know that the religion of the West was introduced at the exact time when this sculpture flourished. The conversion of certain chieftains, such as Mindaugas in 1251 and Gediminas in 1320, did not affect the beliefs of the people. Only in the 15th century the penetration of Christendom became deeper and broader. At first it had to adapt itself to local traditions, to allow itself to be mixed with local legends, later transforming and renewing the ancient faith. No doubt the wooden Gothic Saints were heartily welcomed in this country of trees. The popular pathos which developed in the last years of the Middle Ages, with its sense for melodrama and its love of anecdotes which go right to the heart of the peasant, has certainly also largely contributed to further the new propagation of these ancient forms.

These have left a profound impression on the sculpture of this country. Even the statues copied from the classic baroque monuments often show a touch of it. Medieval man survived in our makers of images. But this is not only the man of the 15th century, a more archaic and unknown Middle Age also survives in him. The oversized deities and the statues bearing

532 clumsy heads are sometimes more akin to the characters of the 12th cen-
177 tury, than to those of the great Gothic altar pieces. They show identical deformations and their movements are the same, angular and rigid. There too the supernatural world of fairytales reigns. Elongated shapes frozen in a trunk, remind one the statue pillar of Chartres. As they do in architectural ornamentation, vertical folds form real streaks. Certain crucifixes show the same violence as the Christ of Perpignan. If a Romanesque sculptor had had to represent a group of the Pietà, he would have done it in the same manner as shown by a group in which a stiff St. Mary holds the body of her child with arms and legs rigid, broken into a rectangle and supported by the massive pedestal formed by the Virgin's knees. The Virgins of Auvergne reappear in certain sitting Virgins. But these insensible idols are but distant relatives of Sainte Foy of Conques, sometimes adorned with necklaces, and they have no historical connection with her. There has been no transmission, but an accidental coincidence of conception.

When carving a Gothic saint from his log, the *dievdirbis* to a certain extent unveils his past. The energetic tool of the peasant rips off the bark formed in the course of years and lays bare the primitive form. Square images issue from opulent statues. The outlines are simplified and schematized. In the suffering features of Christ are expressed the ferocious features of a more ancient god. Movements again become jerky, the bodies stiffen, become shorter or longer and again attain the coarseness and power of bygone days. The rudeness of the means, the necessity of solid construction, the innate taste for geometric forms, coupled with a craving for the strange and the supernatural, bring about the same deformations as we find in the statuary of the 12th century, certain aspects of which also show popular traits. The hermit of the Nemunas river dreams the same dreams as the makers of images and the monks who once decorated the small Romanesque churches. It is this fraternity of forms and of technique, which has made it possible to reconstruct an ancient and unknown world.

Strange contradictions thus characterize the principal aspects of this sculpture. It is somewhat indifferent with regard to the great Western currents which have left fine traces in this country. It bears deep marks of an
532 epoch of which we possess but few monuments. And finally it shows certain striking affinities with an art which had never been known in these regi-

ons. But, most of all, it belongs to the forest. Its statuettes still show the structure and retain the fragrance of newly hewn wood. Even in our days the *dievukai* have not changed. It is this faithfulness towards the world into which they were born which alone can explain their permanence.

532

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

PAINTING AND ENGRAVING

532 Painting has a character different from that of sculpture. Though a religious art too, it has less stable traditions and more spontaneous techniques. The pictures are generally painted on wooden panels covered with a plastering of stucco, but also sometimes on tissue, on glass or even on paper. The artist himself prepared his colors with oil or eggs. The subjects did not differ much from those of the statuary. Several compositions: St. George, who figures in nearly all *sumai* of Žemaitija, the Crucifixion, the Pietà, the Virgin of the Seven Sorrows and St. Rochus, are often directly inspired by them. Sacred images to be found in the churches or illustrating books also served as models, but the themes were not always faithfully reproduced. New designs appeared and some of them are of a charming naiveté, as for example the hands of the Lord emerging from a bank of clouds and throwing big loaves of bread to the kneeling peasants. The design has however no stability, the composition is irregular, the gamut of colors is limited to two or three tones. These very shortcomings give them their poetic charm. As painted by the "douanier Rousseau" of the village, Christ and the Saints are near to the people, their awkwardness gives them more truth than a correct design would have been able to do. Sometimes the traits are more definite, thick contours emphasize the outline and the decorative effect In most cases these engravings hail from Lower Lithuania and the most ancient samples which have been preserved date from the beginning of grows more distinct. The splashes of color are distributed with generosity, 1

1 [Errata; transport lines 21 and 23 from p.62 to the beginning of p.64. Cf. Errata Sheet, p.204, cat. 116. --- Analyst]

1C:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

oversized flowers and 532
ornaments appear on the clothes at the will of the brush. A riper art however manifests itself in engravings.
Here too the artist is inspired by the wood. As in painting the ele- 532
ments of technique are 177
introduced by the currents of Western Art. To be sure, at first copies were made of the incunabula and the illustrated books collected by the clergy, but new sources of inspiration were soon found. Engravings came from Germany and further distant lands. A number of compositions were inspired by works of French popular art, and may be the trade in playing cards, that were also engraved on wood, had its share in their diffusion. Epinal pictures may also have followed the same channels.

154. The Crucifixion, wood-cut, 18th cent

1/1 [Errata: should be the. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, Cat. 116. --- Analyst]

532 the 17th century. One St. George is dated 1710, and the most recent sheet dates from 1853. From 1865 until 1904 this production was practically stopped by the Russian *ukase* on printing. During that time only a few new editions with changed inscriptions have been issued. And since the end of the period of suppression this art seems to have been unable to recover. At present a large part of the originals and of the printed copies is in Germany, many are in Poland and only a few have remained in Lithuania.

The subjects are exclusively of a religious or didactic character. Among the themes treated in common with sculpture, we again find St. George, Christ at Nazareth, St. John of Nepomuk, St. Anne, stygmatized St. Francis, in short, all the familiar figures, but on the one hand the composition is not always the same, and on the other, there is a much larger variety of prototypes. Not only drawings were made of venerated statues, but also of etchings, popular engravings, paintings by old masters, such as a Christ attributed to Roger van der Weyden, which had been at Vilnius, the Coronation of the Holy Virgin by Rubens, certain compositions of Paolo Veronese, copied from deformed reproductions thereof, a Crucifixion by Dürer. Such copies were far from being true and sometimes whole parts are missing. Cuts were made and also additions. On the same panel fragments of various origin are thrown into one. Famous works copied from inexact models often become irrecognizable.

The procedure followed by the artist is very simple. On a wooden panel usually of lime prepared a long time in advance, a coat of wax and chalk was spread, on which the delineation was drawn by means of a pencil or a pen. The design was then carved with a knife. The typographic ink stamped in large slabs often exceeds the contours. The copies were printed on a rudimentary press or by application of the paper. The engravings are sometimes colored by hand. There are large compositions requiring a juxtaposition of several panels, the height of which sometimes attains one meter. Sometimes it is a group, sometimes a single figure, sometimes a succession of scenes set side by side or above each other. In the first case a crowd of figures suggestive of a miniature is represented.

The laboriously handled tool traced energetic, irregular lines devoid of grace. Series of parallel lines indicate the various shades and define the outline. Heaven and clouds, sun rays and trees, in short, the whole sur-

1 [As per errata (cat. 116, p. 204), see cat. 532, p. 62 for beginning of sentence (line 21-23) -- Analyst]

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

532

155. The Holy Family, wood-cut

532 roundings of the world in which the persons represented live, are indicated by the same awkward method. Everything is equally filled in. The forms squeeze each other and even invade the background. The horror of the vacuum of archaic art is here combined with baroque profusion. All the figures are aligned on the same plane. Hierarchic distribution according to schedule creates around the principal hero a space devoid of depth, in which, as on a stage, churches and houses, hills and plants are thronged together. An ordinary man is only half the size of a Saint. Nature is reduced to symbolic ornament, flowers such as adorn trunks, broad leaves on their stems. It is an abridged landscape. Sometimes a perspective of a sort is indicated, but the fields rise as on an arras hung on a wall or form a pedestal for the scenes represented. The characters do not live in a real world, but amidst garlands, glories, rays, cascades of stars and clouds resembling a circus of chaotic rocks. In spite of this baroque luxury, there still prevails a heaviness and hardness of expression suggestive more of the Middle Ages than the classic century.

In this framework of superimposed zones with all the attributes of ancient mysteries, in a system ruled by the old dogmas, the angels and the Madonnas once more find the atmosphere of Gothic drama. As in sculpture the artist spontaneously invokes the spirit of another age. Notwithstanding this unity of character and technique it is possible to discern several currents; a severe style, a flowery style and a sumptuous style. The severe style is evidenced especially in subjects borrowed from sculpture. An image reproducing a rustic deity remains impregnated by its coarseness, the Christ of Nazareth, erect with tied hands and an oversized head, is drawn with a few strokes only, a monumental figure placed in a niche. The etching all around intensifies its shadow and gives the body the aspect of a tree trunk. The same arrangement prevails in other scenes, all the numerous figures are placed on superimposed levels, without losing their frontal attitude. Their coarse and dense masses are pressed in a frame that seems not to have been made to their measure. The flowery style is also used in large and full compositions. Small fragile figures would not have been adequate for its vegetation. Leaves and petals are strewn upon their clothes. Uniform surfaces are replaced by a bed of flowers, a kind of luxuriant carpet. Our Lady of Loretto, decorated like a Virgin in a reliquary, is surrounded by the garland of a mystic rosary

adorned with medallions. St. John of Nepomuk seems to grow out of a 532
flower basket. Elsewhere stars resembling sunflowers dot the firmament. In this luxuriant garden the figures however maintain their robust character. This stability gives way only under the weight of the rays and folds which streak and break up the surface in all directions. The Saints both male and female, become larger and fatter. Little full cheeked angels emerge from the clouds. Clothes puff up. This heavy and awkward whirl is what may be described as baroque.

The sense of the monumental only disappears completely from sheets on which several scenes are represented; the panel is made up of several parts, each of which represents one or several independent compositions, it is a mosaic of paintings framed in a ribbon composed of foliage and flowers. The drawing becomes schematic, the descriptive element prevails, but there is no continuity in the narrative. The fragments of a film are placed side by side, sometimes without sequence. Elements of the same group are not always linked together, they form several distinct rows. As in small statuary comprizing several figures, the movements are stiff, a recumbent figure is drawn with the same outlines as an erect figure. One might think that it had been knocked down. As represented in this little world, Sacred History and sermons assume the character of rustic tales.

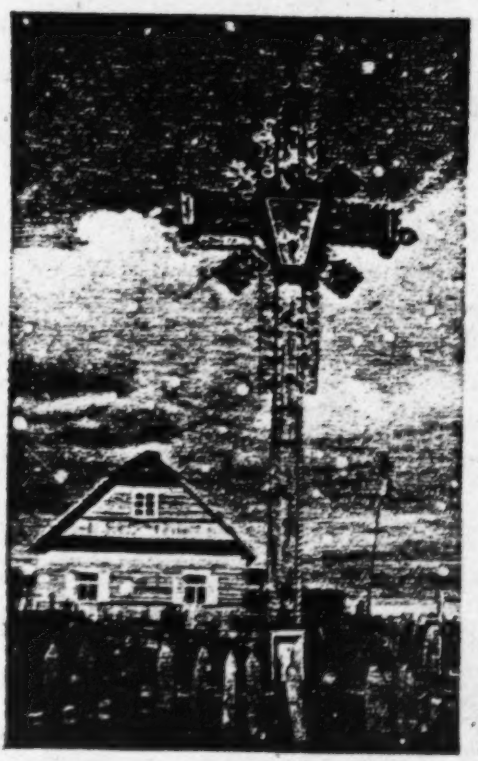
These apparently contradictory characters are sometimes present in one and the same work. The figure of St. George of 1710, the most ancient and one of the most beautiful that have come down to us, impresses both by the amplitude of its conception and by the abundance of detail. On this large sheet is seen a knight in full armour, ostrich feathers waving from his helmet, careering with his cloak flying in the wind on a pied steed with short legs awkwardly attached. He is spearing a medieval dragon, ferocious and ridiculous at the same time. All around him, in the rare empty spaces left by the main subject, between the legs of his horse and round about its tail and its head, are crowded small houses, suspended in empty space, a small queen crowned by angels and plants. Being himself of supernatural stature the Saint has to fight his way in an overcrowded world. By its theme, as well as by its execution, this engraving, in which a childish gravity is mingled with flowers and vast undulations, may be said to recapitulate and illustrate all the various aspects of the whole of Lithuanian imagery.

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

IX. PEASANT ART AND FOLKLORE. ORGANISATION OF LEISURE

532 From time immemorial, the villagers have been fond of manual work. By the roadside, religious monuments decorated with original designs may be seen, such as crosses and chapels; in the villages, wooden churches and belfries and attractive wooden buildings, with original carvings, have been erected.

[415] In the houses themselves, the equipment and the domestic utensils are also made by hand. Furniture, spindles, linen-beaters, towel-pegs, nut-crackers are characteristic objects of peasant art. The girls were always fond of spinning, weaving and [286] knitting. When they married, they brought with them from their home a generous supply of cloth, towels, table-cloths, bed-covers, gaily coloured dresses, etc. At weddings, in particular, it was the custom to make presents of belts, towels, cloth, etc.



Crucifix.

After the world war, when Lithuania became independent, the cultural level rose; the old articles of peasant art, with their primitive forms, no longer fulfilled modern requirements. The Chamber of Agriculture, in collaboration with the Union of Young Farmers' Clubs, accordingly endeavoured to encourage cottage handicrafts, adapting them to modern conditions.

A series of courses was organised for peasant craftsmen, to teach them new methods and familiarise them with modern tools, better raw materials and modern shapes (for which artists prepared designs based on the traditional peasant styles.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

The Chamber of Agriculture is conducting systematic propaganda to disseminate the new peasant art among the population; books and articles are published, talks broadcast, exhibitions organised, sample designs popularised, etc. The chief publications of the Chamber of Agriculture are the *Sodžiaus Menas* (peasant art) series, six volumes of which (5,000 copies each) have been published up to date, containing descriptions of peasant art with illustrations, and the *Sodžiaus Pramonė* (peasant industries) series, three volumes of which have appeared containing descriptions and examples of new peasant work. 532

Thanks to these measures, the wearing of the national dress and the tendency to give an original national character to house interiors has become more widespread and there has been a real revival of national peasant art.

* * *

The folklore is rich and varied. The popular songs (" Dainos ") have lost none of their freshness. It is over a century since special interest was first taken in them and steps were taken to collect them; about 150,000 variants of these popular songs have now been collected. 533

The genre most frequently found is the ballad, a simple, sincere and artless recital about a youth and a maiden; the relations between the members of the family are depicted with real delicacy and feeling — the daily joys and sorrows and conflicts of parents and children, brother and sister, husband and wife. Among the ceremonial songs, nuptial songs are very frequent. Wedding celebrations, which used to last a week, formerly followed an elaborate ceremonial, including songs, speeches, laments and dramatic dialogues. In all these songs, the difference is stressed between the life of the unmarried girl and that of the married woman, the former being described as happy and carefree, while the latter is depicted in more sombre colours. Working songs are also numerous; some are primitive, as regards both the words and the air. The songs about the rye harvest and the " harvest home " also occupy an important place. Part-songs *(sutarlinės)* are sung by two, three or four women's voices; one begins, and another joins in with the same or a related melody. This original and popular form of singing, of very ancient origin, is now dying out.

The ancient popular instrumental music, played on the " kanklės " (a kind of cither) and on the " skudučiai " (pipe), was very much on the lines of the part-singing.

The latter was accompanied by dancing. The traditional dances and games were not performed in couples but in groups, in the form of slow walks accompanied by singing but not music.

10: Baltrušaitis RB5 Lithuanians RB5
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[For additional examples of representative art, appended to the text, see category 116, pages 113-148.]

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 23

231
727

LIVESTOCK IN LITHUANIA 1913–39

YEAR	HORSES (1,000 head)	CATTLE (1,000 head)	PIGS (1,000 head)	SHEEP (1,000 head)
1913	451	918	1,138	1,152
1919	280	480	750	806
1920	335	604	1,119	894
1921	376	780	1,262	1,036
1925	497	1,339	1,488	1,455
1928 [a]	611	1,128	1,010	1,409
1930	562	1,034	1,207	1,212
1935 [b]	545	1,132	1,223	1,220
1938 [c]	558	1,193	1,249	1,241
1939	521	1,004	1,117	1,224

[a] For the period 1913–28: Kubilius, *op. cit.*, p. 86; C.S.B., 19[illegible]28, p. 58.
[b] For the years 1930 and 1935: *Lietuvos Surasymas*, 1935, pp. 40–51.
[c] C.S.B., volumes for 1938 and 1939.

which shows also that livestock breeding recovered very quickly after the World War, so that as early as 1925 the number of livestock was even greater than it had been in [439] 1913. Exports of livestock and their products constituted 26.13 percent of the total value of exports as early as 1924 and reached 31.02 percent in 1928 and 61.4 percent in 1939. It may be interesting to analyze the livestock situation according to its various important branches.

231 Horses were bred in Lithuania as far back as historians [523] can trace the Lithuanian people. That horses are beloved by Lithuanians is proved by the many folk songs about them. In the Middle Ages Lithuania needed horses for its wars and bred them in great numbers for that purpose. Some of them were even sold in foreign markets.[36]

[36] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

000 its spiritual experiences. For in this lives the nature that surrounds the people, the gray sky of the north as well as the bright sun of the south, and the consciousness of historic destiny which led a people to slavery or freedom. But the manner of these spiritual experiences is determined decisively not only by the outer circumstances of life, but just as strongly by blood and race. If the folk poetry of the Ukrainians breathes pure lyricism while that of the White Russians is permeated with epic elements; if the German folk song, as Goethe already noted, is more inclined toward the ballad, the Lithuanian, on the other hand, toward the idyl, we will have to seek these different forms of experience of the outer world not only /34/ in varying national destinies, conditions of life, and physical surroundings. We will obtain beyond these a glimpse into a racially conditioned world of experience that is not without fascination. We will only have to guard ourselves from equating the knowledge of an inner world that we thus gain with the national character that is revealed in daily external life.

• 533 The Lithuanian folk song is a child of the lonely heath, and of the great forests; it was born in small, moss-covered huts in those quiet villages that are so deeply embedded in the wide sweep of the countryside that they seem to be part of it. It grew out of the slavery into which a people sank for centuries after a brief meteoric rise, and it found its foundation in the forms of a peasant way of life that reaches into our own day, built on old traditions. Thus it became itself almost a part of the Middle Ages.

One must hear the Lithuanian folk songs sung out of doors. In their melodies lives the Lithuanian countryside with its quiet lakes and forests, where the cuckoo calls, with its hot summers, when the sickle swishes, and its foggy autumn evenings, when the shepherd children, shivering,

533 warm themselves at the brushwood fire. Perhaps the evening sadness of the countryside in which the summer is so short speaks more strongly in them than the joy of the summer; and perhaps, too, something of the melancholy diffidence of a whole people toward its unhappy fate hovers in them.

Whoever has ridden through Lithuania has probably heard the song of the reapers coming home from work. He may have stopped before lonely forest farms from which sounded in the evening the song of a daina, drawn out and melancholy. Or he may have stood at the river, across whose surface the song of the woodcutter, working by night, echoed in slow waves.

/35/ But he will not know that many of these melancholy melodies conceal texts that are anything but sad, whose inner joyfulness appears through the melody as if hidden by a veil. This is a peculiarity of the Lithuanian song that is not immediately understandable for Western European musical interpretation. A special view of this matter is presented by Vydūnas: "Also connected with what was pointed out before is the fact that Lithuanian songs carry the stamp of melancholy for many, especially for non-Lithuanians, and that this is often actually interpreted as sadness. Undeniably there are Lithuanian songs that express deep sorrow. But the generalization of this fact rests on a misunderstanding. What is described as melancholy in the folk songs signifies a certain aloneness with one's own moods, a veiling of them. For this reason the melodies move frequently between half tones and usually are in minor." (1)

[113] 1. Vydūnas, "Der Charakter der litæusichen Volksweisen," Zeitung der X. Armee, No. 511.

The old Lithuanian folk songs do not conform

•533 to the music of the West. They are unique in our time, for they rest on the diatonic scales of the Greek tonal system. (2) To be sure, the

[113] 2. Fr. Kurschat, Grammatik der littauischen Sprache (Halle, 1876), p. 448. "As far as I understand the matter, the Lithuanian songs reveal more or less Greek tonal systems. . ."

ancient character of the modes is often hidden today by the two-voiced method of singing in thirds which came from the West in the middle of the last century, but nevertheless the songs that have kept their oldest character are still sung today in one part (above all in southwestern Lithuania). The Lithuanian songs do not show the square structure (four and eight beats each time) of the German, (3) and very often there is an

[113] 3. Chr. Bartsch, Dainų Balsai, Melodien und deutsche Übersetzung litauischer Volkslieder (Heidelberg, 1886-89), 2 vols.; Vol. 1, p. 34, melody 27. (This song collection contains 392 dainos translated into German, the first stanza given also in Lithuanian.)

alternation between two, three, and five part rhythms. Especially typical is the alternation of 5/4 and 3/4 rhythm. These irregularities are, however, not arbitrary, but only prove that Lithuanian folk melodies, also in regard to rhythm, are constructed on the metrical system of the Greeks. The most loving investigator of Lithuanian folk melodies, Prof. Brazys, at the end of his work on the Singweisen der litauischen Dainos, compares an ancient Indian melody from the Artharva - /36/ Veda with a Lithuanian melody from the vicinity of Vilna that is still sung

533 today. (4) With the similarity that both melodies

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4. T. Brazys, Die Singweisen der litauischen Dainos (Stuttgart, 1918). By the same author, "Lietuvių liaudies daina vestuvėse" /Lithuanian Wedding Songs/, Tauta ir Žodis (Kaunas, 1924), Vol. II, pp. 190-238. Also by the same author, "Kaikurie lietuvių ir latvių liaudies dainų melodijų giminystės bruožai" /Some Related Traits in the Melodies of Lithuanian and Lettish Folk Songs/, Tauta ir Žodis (Kaunas, 1928), Vol. V, pp. 215-224. Also by the same author, Lietuvių tautinių dainų melodijos/Melodies of Lithuanian Folk Songs/ (Kaunas, 1927). (199 melodies.)

exhibit in their principal features, Brazys arrives at the assumption that he has found the original source of the old Lithuanian music in that of the Indians. Here again, as before with language, the idea spontaneously arises of the primitive Indo-European homeland in which the ancient Lithuanian culture is anchored. But the distance that separates the musical experience of the Lithuanian from that of the Western peoples also becomes clear. It is shown not only in the melodies of the folk songs, but also in the religious chorales. During an Easter night that I spent in a Catholic parochial church in Samogitia this came deeply into my consciousness: the little church was filled completely with people, above whom waved the banners, the kerchiefs of the women shone with a vague white, touched by the weak glow of the few lights, and through the church windows penetrated the moonlight producing a mysterious, solemn twilight. The songs themselves were filled with a repressed fervor that had an almost oppressive effect. There was at times no longer any measured sequence of notes at all. Tones disappeared,

533 jumped, blended with others, and instead of the sustained solemnity that speaks in the drawn-out textual half notes of the German chorale, for example, there resulted a whirl of sensations, an inner excitement that surged rhythmically up and down and seemed to drag everyone along with it in the same manner.

In these Easter songs, as in many old Christmas songs, the tempo leaps often in the singing from the 2/4 rhythm into 3/4 and then into 4/4. Through the unusual acceleration, which gave the melody -- for example in a Gloria that I heard -- after an initial solemnity an almost dance-like character, the climax of a joyful mood was reached. The influence of ancient folk melodies on religious music was unmistakable here. According to Hoffheinz, the same phenomenon is shown in the church music of the Lutheran Lithuanians too. (5)

[113] 5. Cf. W. Hoffheinz, Giesmų Balsai, Litauische Kirchengesänge, published by the Lithuanian Literary Society (Tilsit, 1894), Introduction: "He (the Lithuanian) leaps in his melodies, draws over the tones, and changes the rhythm . . .From where do they get these melodies? -- Who is able to discover that now? Certainly many have arisen from ancient dainos melodies." (The influence of Lithuanian folk song on church music has, as far as I know, not yet been investigated. For Germany cf. here for example the interesting investigation by Prof. Fellerer, "Der Durchbruch deutschen Musikempfindens im liturgischen Gesang des Mittelalters," Funde und Forschungen, 1938, No. 7, pp. 75-76.)

[171] /37/ With the deep religiosity of the Lithuanian people, religious songs and hymns play no less a role in their life than the folk songs.

533 Indeed among the Protestant Lithuanians at the border, among whom a peculiarly tinged puritanical way of life has been developed, the giesmė -- the religious song -- has actually replaced the daina -- the folk song. Giesmių knygos -- religious song books -- are found here in the poorest huts.

The giesmė is distinguished further from folk song in that it is always sung in parts, while the dainos themselves began as one-voiced songs. Although since the middle of the last century they have been sung in two parts, often with a leader (rinkėjas) giving rhythm and melody, they nevertheless still today bear the character of one-part songs so strongly that the modern choral arrangements of the folk songs, such as we hear for example at great song festivals, often seem to obliterate their original nature. Bartsch has already correctly noted this fact. (6) The

6. Chr. Bartsch, see above, Vol. II, pp. VII-VIII.

attempt is thus to find a special style of harmony that is suited to the nature of the old songs.

The question of rhythm that arises in connection with the question of melody has been treated by many students of the Lithuanian songs. In contrast to folk songs of other nations, the rhythm of the words sung in Lithuanian song does not coincide at all with the rhythm of the spoken words. Nesselmann shows us this in a nice example. (7) The beginning of a song: "On the bridge I

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7. G. H. Nesselmann, Dainos, Littauische Volkslieder, gesammelt, kritisch bearbeitet und metrisch übersetzt, mit einer Musikbeilage (Berlin, 1853), Introduction, p. IX. (This collection contains 410 folk songs with translations and about 60 melodies.)

533 stood, with the girl I spoke," sounds, according to the word accent: Ant tiltúžio stóvejau, su mergýte kálbejáu. Thus what Bartsch says of the melodies applies also to the texts of the Lithuanian songs, which conform so closely to the melodies that we can /38/ in no way do justice to their true rhythm with the conventional methods of measuring in dactyls, trochees, iambs, etc. It may be added that hardly any ordinary Lithuanian is able to recite to us the text of a folk song, as, for example, a song is recited in German. He lapses immediately into the rhythm of the melody or begins to stammer.

The Lithuanian folk song thus still stands at that ancient stage of development where the verbal content of a song is completely dominated by the rhythm of the melody. How the primary feature of each folk song is the melody, how this melody at first makes use of only certain natural sounds for its expression but gradually is developed in the direction of a meaningful text -- this fascinating metamorphosis is still recognized today in the Lithuanian folk song.

2. The Origin of the Dainos. The Work Song.

In his excellent Studies on the Poetry of the Dainos (8) B. Sruoga draws a picture of the

[113] 8. B. Sruoga, Dainų Poetikos Etiudai/ Studies on the Poetry of the Dainos/ (Kaunas, 1927).

origin of the Lithuanian folk song. He shows us in ancient dancing songs how originally the melody expressed the rhythm and the joy of the dance in onomatopoetic form in a series of apparently meaningless word formations:

Čiulado, čiuladyta!
Lig čiuladytela, lylio!

533 or

Saduto, ruto, lingo, tatato, tato!
Saduto, ruto, lingo, tatato, tato! (9)

[113] 9. A. R. Niemi and A. Sabaliauskas, "Lietuviu dainos ir giesmes" /Lithuanian Dainos and Giesmes/, Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Vol. VI, pp. 301 and 298 (quoted according to Sruoga, op. cit., p. 40. The collection includes song texts recorded in 1459 in northeastern Lithuania and 26 melodies) (Helsinki, 1912).

Sruoga shows further how these "meaningless" words gradually are partially developed into words with meaningful stems and finally into meaningful words, which at the next stage still /39/ form an inseparable unity with the meaningless ones. This is done partly in imitation of natural sounds:

A gosling swam across the lake,
Across the lake.
Gu, gu, gu, gu, gu, gu,
Across the lake.

The girl is dancing
Prettily kasatschok,
Cak, cak, cak, cak, cak, cak,
Prettily kasatschok. (10)

[113] 10. Antanas Juszkewicz, Lietuviszkow Dajnos, uszraszytos Welunos apigardoje /Lithuanian Dainos, Recorded in the Parish of Welunos/ (Kasan, 1882), No. 1520. (This large three-volume collection contains the texts of 1569 songs.)

Lithuanian songs are extremely rich in such words and reflect in them a whole scale of moods; thus for example the words sadutoj lingo picture

533 a high-spirited, joyful mood, and the words lilia, tutoj liliulia a passive and melancholy one. In the last stage these words of feeling, which formed the original master of the songs, are relegated into the refrain and may even be forgotten later. In recent modern songs the refrain has a visibly different significance. Yet it is important for demonstrating the historical origins of the old songs, for it reveals the driving force of the musical rhythm that conditioned the origin of the song. This rhythm itself has the most varied sources, of which we already mentioned one, the dance. Furthermore the tones of special ancient Lithuanian musical instruments, as Biržiška describes them, (11) are not without significance

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11. M. Biržiška, Dainos keliais/On the Ways of the Folk Song/ (Vilna, 1921), pp. 22-24.

for its development, as well as the tones which man took from nature which surrounded him. Thus the Lithuanian hears the song of the nightingale:

Jurgiuk!	Jurgiuk!	Jurgiuk!
Kinkyk!	Kinkyk!	Kinkyk!
Vaziuok!	Vaziuok!	Vaziuok!
Sustok!	Sustok!	Sustok!
George!	George!	George!
Hitch up!	Hitch up!	Hitch up!
Drive off!	Drive off!	Drive off!
Pull up!	Pull up!	Pull up!

/40/ Other sounds, too, of animals and birds have found their expression in human song, but the most important impetus for the origin of the songs came from human labor. In his beautiful book Arbeit und Rhythmus the German economist Bücher has unequivocally established these relat-

•533 ionships. (12) It affords a special fascination

[113] 12. K. Bücher, Arbeit und Rhythmus (Leipzig, 1902).

to pursue the lines of thought of this important scholar, who was also an artist, precisely in the case of the Lithuanian folk songs, since these still contain very original elements. Lithuanian research, too, has been stimulated by Karl Bücher to independent investigations concerning the Lithuanian working song and its development.(13

[113] 13. On the Lithuanian working song cf. B. Sruoga, op. cit., pp. 29-35; as well as the chapter "Darbo daina" (The Work Song) in Biržiška, op. cit., pp. 33-62. Also M. Biržiška, Dainų istorijos vadovėlis (A Guide to the History of the Dainos) (Kaunas, 1925), pp. 42-53.

Every primitive type of labor carries a certain rhythm within itself, whether it is connected with a pushing forward or pulling back or a raising and lowering of the arms. It is dependent on certain primitive tools which demand again and again the same motion within set intervals of time as, for example, in the use of a loom. As far as this labor does not imply any independent thinking, the worker, whether he works alone or in groups, eases his activity with a song. But, just as with the dancing songs mentioned at the beginning, at the earliest stage of development it is not a song with meaningful words that we hear, but simple, natural sounds that are suited to the rhythm of the activity and characterize the type of work onomatopoetically. Representing the rhythm of the motions which are not equal in their importance -- for example raising and lowering of the arms -- the primitive working song consists of two lines, of which the

•533 second has a lesser significance. A part of the song is now gradually filled with independent content, with words that usually characterize the movement of the work itself. The natural sounds, on the other hand, become gradually the refrain that is repeated after every line. A classic example of this transition is formed by the old weaving song with which the song collection of Niemi-Sabaliauskas begins:

/41/ I wove neatly, tatatela
A bundle at a time, tatatela
The thread fast, tatatela
A shuttle at a time, tatatela, etc.

One hears here clearly the sound of the loom, which is kept going by the weaver with her feet, while she accompanies the necessary motions of the hand with the words of the song. The refrain itself - no matter whether it now consists of onomatopoetic sounds or words -- is the really constant thing in these songs. It gains in importance where it is a matter of work that is carried out by a group of people at the same time. Here only the leader sings the text of the song, which he improvises, whereas the chorus repeats only the refrain.

While the refrain in its nature is related to the rhythm of the work, the other part of the song has the potentiality of freer development. Thus it comes that the worker, each according to his mood, puts into this part the most varied ideas and feelings, which refer not only to the work. We can observe this development in a whole series of working songs that were sung with the turning of the hand mill and that almost all begin with the same words: Malu, malu viena, pasižiūru -- diena ("I grind, grind alone, I look around me -- it is day") while the texts express the most varied feelings of the working girl. As

533 everywhere else, so also in Lithuania the change of working conditions has slowly brought about the disappearance of the ancient work songs. The abolition of compulsory service, which forced many people into common activity, the ending of the talka, the free industrial associations in the villages, and finally the replacing by improved working implements of such primitive tools as are represented, for example, by the hand mill worked in one direction. But the song that was once sung with the monotonous rhythm of the work did not disappear; it experienced only /42/ a transformation: the section in which the singer once expressed his feelings and moods could now unfold with complete freedom and became genuine folk song. This is the course of development of an uncounted series of Lithuanian songs, whose genesis would today be obscure if certain components of text and rhythm did not betray their origin. This is shown especially clearly in the beautiful song translated by Rhesa: "The Girl at the Crank," whose first stanzas show the ancient beginning of the songs sung at the hand mill:

Roar, roar
You millstones!
Methinks I did not grind alone.

Alone I ground,
Alone I sang,
Alone I turn the crank.

Why did you concern yourself,
Oh tender youth,
With me, wretched girl?

You knew well indeed,
Oh sweet boy,
That I did not sit at court:

533

Up to the knee,
Into the bog,
Up to the shoulders
Into the water . . .
Wretched my days! (14)

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14. Ludwig Rhesa, Dainos oder litthauische Volkslieder (Königsberg, 1825). New edition with some corrections by Kurschat (Berlin, 1843), No. 2. Goethe's review of the collection is in Werke (Stuttgart, 1833), Vol. 46, pp. 346-367. (The Rhesa collection contains 85 dainos with German translations. Cf. here also the Hausschatz der Volkspoesie by O. L. B. Wolff (Leipzig, 1853).

When there was no longer any direct connection between song and work, content and rhythm frequently changed, so that its origin can today no longer be recognized.

If we conceive of the idea of work in the broader sense as any human activity, we see with Biržiška (15) /43/ that all working songs can be

15. M. Biržiška, Dainos keliais, loc. cit. p. 40.

divided into two groups. One group was sung at common activities -- at flax-scutching, at hay-making, at rye-mowing, or at dancing, etc. -- the other by individuals at the hand mill, at the loom, at milking, at washing. Here belong also the sailor and shepherd songs and the cradle songs which the mothers sang as they set into rhythmic motion the wicker cradle hanging down from the ceiling:

Lylia, lylia, little rue blossom,
Lylia, lylia, little golden ring.

533 or

Čiučia liulia, my little one,
Liulia, my poor little baby. (16)

16. Ibid., p. 52.

Almost all of the individually sung songs of this type breathe a sad, yearning mood, while those sung out of doors are mostly filled with humor and joy:

Valioi, you meadows, valioi!
Valioi, you green ones, valioi!
My sickle is all of steel, valioi!
My sickle is not sharpened, valioi!
My rake is beautifully carved, valioi!
A present from my dear boy, valioi! (17)

17. Ibid., p. 57.

533 The Lithuanian dancing songs above all
535 breathe joyfulness. At another place we have already seen how originally the rhythm of the dance, lacking musical accompaniment, was produced by the dancers themselves. Today, of course, there is musical accompaniment, and to each dance belongs a series of joyful songs:

When the fox dances and the hare dances,
All animals dance,
And the deer with long horns,
He stamps up and down.
/44/ When the crow dances, the magpie dances,
All birds dance,
The crane with the long beak
Strides up and down, etc. (18)

18. Ibid., p. 47.

The old Lithuanian folk dances, which must

535 village onto the broad main road for the round dance.

The Lithuanian song dances offer the spectator a gay and colorful picture, particularly when the girls /46/ appear in their old national costume on festive occasions. The colorful bodice, the long, gay, fluttering ribbons fastened to the headdress, the shining aprons -- everything breathes joyousness and is combined with the character of the dances into a unified, beautiful picture.

533 3. Motifs and Content of the Dainos

The Lithuanian dancing songs are songs of the summer, which ring in the evenings, when outside before the village the torches blaze and the ground shakes from the rhythm of the dance. But already an examination of the old folk dances, melodies, and work songs has shown us that such primitive expressions of optimistic joy are not the really characteristic feature of Lithuanian folk poetry as a whole. In content the Lithuanian songs include probably the whole human scale of feelings, but over most of them lies a shy reserve. Even where the daina turns into a folk ballad it retains in its expression this characteristic stamp.

The Lithuanian folk ballad has not yet been subject to investigation by literary criticism. The question as to how far the epic elements which many dainos contain are formed in the manner of a ballad, i.e. dramatically, cannot be decided immediately, since the concept of the ballad itself varies. In an as yet unpublished essay "Über die litauische Volksballade," very kindly put at my disposal, Dr. J. Balys investigates the epic element in 45 dainos, which he divides into ballads of natural magic, ghost ballads, horror ballads, sentimental ballads, ballads of fate and historical sagas. As follows from the whole nature of

533 the dainos, the so-called sentimental ballads predominate; also the fate and saga ballads sppear only as a subordinate variety. Ghost and horror ballads, on the other hand, are far less common. Many of these poems are of the monologue type -- the sufferer himself relates his fate. In addition, however, we find /47/ epic elements that picture the situation and dialogues with dramatic climaxes. The connections with German poetry are minor; but the contacts with Slavic poetry are strong.

The difference between the Lithuanian folk ballad, thus outlined, and the German seems to me to lie essentially in the fact that the external plot is in no sense an end in itself, if we observe one of these poems as a whole. The mysterious, gruesome, or fateful elements (ghost, horror, and fate ballads) are indeed mentioned, but without elaboration; rather they are reflected in the moods of sorrow and pain. The reality appears as if seen from afar, and is mentioned mostly as the basis for the emotional experience which constitutes the real content of the ballad: the youth rides into battle. The song sings of the departure and the pain of those remaining behind. The boy is killed in battle. We learn nothing about his ride, nor of the details of the battle. Only the horse turns back and gives notice of his death. Or the youth is killed in battle, and the sorrow of his surviving mother, sister, and fiancee are movingly expressed in the song. From these two folk ballads Adalbert von Chamisso formed his beautiful poetic imitation "Der Sohn der Witwe." Since it is experienced completely in the Lithuanian mood and contains only few of the poet's own additions, it may find its place here as the best example of the Lithuanian folk ballad:

The swans approached with the song of war:
To horse, to horse! it resounded.

From all the farms around ride
533 The young sons to the army.

/48/ It is very bad with us,
And no one stays when one enlists.

You are going, my intended, my brother, my
son,
You are going to war, that we know.

We women wait on the soldier,
The betrothed adjusts the plume for you,

Sister leads out the horse for you,
Mother opens the farmyard gate for you.

When will you return, my intended, my
brother, my child,
When will you return? tell us quickly.

When air and water and land are free,
Then I shall delay no longer, then I shall
hurry back.

And air and water and land are free,
Why does he delay longer and not hurry back?

We women, we want to go to meet him,
We want to see him from the hill.

There the women wait and watch the valley
Along the road in the rays of the sun.

And the sun rises and sets,
No rider appears.

Now the dust rises, now comes running
toward them
A horse--no rider sits on it.

They seize it, they question it:
How is it, my horse, that you come home alone?

/Unnumbered page with illustration--Swallow Dance/

533 /49/ Evil horse, did you flee from your master?
Where was my intended, my brother, my son?

They shot him in the battle,
And made him his bed on the green meadow.

Me they let run away,
I have sorrowfully delivered the message.

Three swans approached with lamentation
Along the meadow to seek a grave.

They sat down when they saw it,
A swan at his feet, at his head, at his side.

At the head the sister, at the feet the betrothed,
At the side the mother, grown quite gray.

Oh woe, woe, we three bereaved!
Who will join in our lament?

Thereupon the sun, bowing, began:
I will join in, as well as I can.

Nine days I shall mourn in a veil of haze
And not appear on the tenth.

The mourning of the betrothed lasted three weeks,
The mourning of the sister lasted three years,

The mother kept on mourning
Until, tired out, she was herself laid in her grave. (20)*

*[See p.56, ct. 13--Analyst]

[113] 20. Adalbert von Chamisso, Werke (Berlin, 1864), 5th ed., Vol. I, pp. 164-166. (For the ending of this poem there are in Lithuanian no less than 37 variations. Cf. J. Balys, "Nuo žirgo kritęs bernelis" (The Boy Thrown from the Horse), Tautosakos Barbai, Vol. I, pp. 142-178).

•533 As here, so in all Lithuanian songs the epic element finds in the end its resolution in pure lyricism. This /50/ lyricism avoids if possible even the mention of concrete facts. Its nature is rooted in the elaboration of moods and inner experience. "Since the singers in Lithuania," says the Finnish Professor Niemi, "as in Esthonia and Ingermanland, are young girls, one could not expect that they would take a strong interest in the heroic epic, a situation quite different from that in Finnish and Russian Karelia, where the bearers of folk poetry were old men." (21) As a

[113] 21. A. Miemi, "Die Beziehungen zwischen der litauischen und der finnischen Volkspoesie," Litauische Warte, 1920, No. 1, p. 13.

matter of fact, most of the songs sung today in Lithuania are girls' songs, and this explains also the disproportionately strong predominance of love songs in Lithuanian folk poetry. One day in a Samogitian peasant family I myself had sung to me a daina, at the end of which the two daughters of the household looked at me expectantly. When I expressed praise for the melody, the older daughter, blushing, explained to me that she herself with her sister had composed the song during the past week, and had invented the melody for it. When one considers that the folk songs still originate today in Lithuania in this manner, one understands that there is a very

7 [see cat. 116, pp. 53-55 -- Analyst]

533

personal relationship between the Lithuanian and his song tradition. Even during the World War the current of songs of this song-loving people did not come to a stop, as the most recent collections prove. (22) A song that finds favor begins

[113] 22. Jonas Norkus, Didžiojo karo laiku lietuviu dainos (Songs from the period of the World War) (Kaunas, 1927).

to wander and experiences many transformations. Perhaps a few hours from its point of departure it is already sung quite differently. In songs with local coloring, therefore, we come upon the most varied names of cities and rivers. A song that originated at the border and that mentions Riga and the Düna River replaces them in its wandering to the west perhaps with Tilsit and the Memel. This is a process that one also finds in German songs, especially such as are sung by wandering artisans -- only with the difference that in Germany this development is today mostly completed, while in Lithuania it is still in full swing. As the texts of the songs are changed, so also the melodies. This goes along with the /51/ primitive nature of the folk song. Frequently in this manner even the basic idea becomes incomprehensible in the loosened context.

If we observe the content of the Lithuanian songs according to certain basic viewpoints, we realize that any division into specific groups must remain artificial, for as a matter of fact the people transform their whole life into song. Human life, however, defies any classification. Furthermore the similarity, mentioned at the beginning, of the motifs within the Aryan racial family applies especially to the content of the dainos. For that reason not everything that may be said about the content of the Lithuanian songs is typical only of Lithuanian folk poetry; however the stage of culture, the character of the people,

and the conditions of life determine basic differences in the method of their treatment.

Among the Lithuanian folk songs we find many that treat of ancient, long vanished situations. Thus many tell of the theft of brides and of the cult of the dead, of old customs today forgotten. Such songs afford us valuable knowledge concerning the temporal changes in the way of life of the people, may it be a matter of housekeeping, cultivation of the fields, preparation of paints, and other things, religious or mythical customs, of superstition, magic, or of ancient folk customs and habits at funerals and weddings. No cultural-historical presentation of Lithuania can, therefore, pass over the dainos. In the mythological songs the stars are animate, the sun appears as a mother who warms the shepherd children, the moon as a father, the stars are brothers. The god of heaven, Perkunas, throws his thunderbolts. The holy numbers three and nine play a great role. Songs that are sung at specific religious feasts, for example on St. John's Eve, also belong here; the ancient god of the fields, Kupalo, is fused into one person with this saint: Kupolau Sventas Jonas -- Kupalo, St. John. The following is an example of this group of songs:

/52/ The Lost Ring

Under the maple flows the spring
Where the sons of God
Go dancing in the moonlight
With the daughters of God.

To the spring under the maple
I went to wash myself,
As I washed my face very clean
My ring fell in.

Will then the sons of God come
With their silken nets
And fish for me my dear little ring
Out of the deep water?

• 533 There came by a young boy
High on a brown horse,
And the horse, the brown one, had
Golden horseshoes.

Come here, my maid,
Come here, you girl,
Come, let us talk fondly for a bit,
Let us dream sweet dreams,
Where the spring is deepest,
Where the love is dearest.

Alas, I cannot, youth,
Cannot, kind boy.
My mother would scold me,
The old one would scold;
I would come home late,
I would come home late. (23)

23. L. Rhesa, op. cit., No. 48.

The song reproduced here is also of interest because it contains the ring motif, a primitive wandering /53/ motif that reaches into distant antiquity and is equally loved among the ancient Greeks, among the Indians and Germans.

The motif of transformation represents a very fascinating mythical theme; one of the oldest human notions is based on the belief in transformations into trees or birds. The soul of a man continues its own life after death as a bird and sings with an infinitely sweet voice. The girl or the forsaken brother is changed into a cuckoo, a dove, or a wild gray duck and laments at the house of the parents. Then the brothers come together and ask: what bird sings to beautifully there? Mother, sister, and betrothed appear at midnight to the dead warrior, sit about him, and lament. The Lithuanian hears a cry of woe especially in the call of the cuckoo. At times, too, the cuckoo is a prophetic bird:

533 Say, little cuckoo, say
Where is our sister?

The souls of hated persons, however, are transformed into owls:

The uncle's soul, like an owl,
Sat in blindness.

Along with transformations into birds the folk song is familiar with transformations into trees. These ideas, too, are very old. They may once have grown out of the belief in the origin of people from trees; we may think, for example, of Ask and Embla, the first people of the Germanic saga.

Out of such songs speaks the close relationship of man with the nature that surrounds him, in whose rhythm these songs themselves swing along like a gentle accompanying harmony of the infinite. This stands out especially beautifully in the love /54/ songs. It is precisely these which breathe that shy restraint and tenderness of feeling which sets the Lithuanian folk song off from the songs of many other peoples. Love itself confronts us in all its primitiveness and directness, but still like a tender secret. We find no picturing of the beauty of the beloved apart from the usual epithets: the red cheeks, the blond hair, the beautiful figure, etc. Only the boy, the youth, the girl, the maid, is sung of:

As the young son rode to his maid,
The old father knew nothing of it.
But he notes it in the brown horse
And in his son's festive clothes.

"Ei, my son, you dear young boy,
Where have you been in the dark night? --
Where did you heat the dark brown horse?--
Where did you strike the horseshoe of steel?"--

•533 "Do not scold me, my dear old father,
That I now want to take home my maid.
I will get me a green carriage
And set before it a two-horse team."

I came riding home at midnight,
My old father was not yet in bed,
He opened for me himself the large gate,
And stopped the dark brown horses.

My dear old father asked me:
"Who lighted your way in the dark night?"
"Oh, two bright stars lighted my way,
The fiery eyes of my dear maid." (24)

24. Nesselmann, op. cit., No. 131.

But just these songs are accompanied by the note of yearning and sorrow which in part controls the melodies so strongly that one Lithuanian scholar /55/ comes to the conclusion: "The Lithuanian folk song is a primitive mourning, an infinite yearning, an unresolved pain with the quiet reflection of another existence." (25) There

25. B. Sruoga, op. cit., p. 9.

are always the same recurring motifs--of the boy who was killed in battle or abandoned the maid forever, of life abroad, of hard work in the house of the unloved husband, of longing for home, of the garland that was lost -- and with it the innocence of virginity:

The cuckoo calls in the linden--
My heart is troubled and sad,
My garland blows in the wind
Far over the mountains and lake.

With silken sails go
The boats out onto the sea,

• 533 My green garland
They will never bring back again.

Most of the Lithuanian wedding songs are also attuned to melancholy and longing, above all those that are sung on the mergvakaris (maiden evening), when the playmates of the bride braid her hair and decorate her for the wedding. I have treated in detail the Lithuanian wedding songs and customs in a special chapter of an earlier book on Lithuanian folklore, and gave there also a number of translations of folk songs.

Let only this much be said here, that it is precisely the group of wedding songs which as no other contains all the tones and moods that are characteristic elsewhere of Lithuanian folk song. In the Lithuanian wedding drama -- for it must so be characterized -- the party of the groom with his companions stands over against the bride and her playmates. The action itself, which extends over a number of days, with its ancient /56/ ceremonies and customs, is accompanied by the alternate songs of the two parties. "Thus the wedding itself is a contest in the most beautiful, in the most musical songs." (26) Just in these

26. M. Biržiška, Vadovėlis, op. cit. p. 55.

wedding songs, however, a sudden roguishness, a strong streak of humor, frequently breaks through and stands in strong contrast to the melancholy farewell songs of the bride. Not only the bride is mocked, not only the pirschlis, the matchmaker, who has won the girl with lies, is reprimanded in the song--the mother of the bride is mocked with special glee, and even the wedding guests have to put up with a few things:

Why does the wedding guest sigh?
The hat is not his own,
Borrow, begged,
Barked at by dogs. (27)

533 27. Niemi-Sabaliauskas, op. cit., No. 842.

Let it be added that the love songs, too, which treat of meeting and getting acquainted before the marriage, are not lacking in such primitive tones. Here the humorous songs bear frequently the character of pleasant roguishness:

Oh God, do not give me
Such a fate,
That in the same village
My boy friend grows up.

Then I would always have to
Do nothing but wash laundry
Go about every day
In a white dress.

Oh God, give me
Such a fate,
Let him live
A short distance away.

/57/ Then I will have time
To wash laundry
And go about every Sunday
In a white dress. (28)

[113] 28. Daynas Zemaycziu surynktas yr yszdutas par Symona Stanewicze (Wylniuje, 1829), pp. 12-13.

With the groups of ballads, working and dancing songs, mythological songs, love songs, wedding songs, and finally humorous songs discussed so far, we have obtained a survey, though brief, of the content and most important motifs of the Lithuanian folk songs. We have seen here almost every activity, every mood, and every process observed in nature is turned into a song,

• 538

and that correspondences to all mental processes are always found in nature. With this we confront the question of the form and artistic means of expression of the Lithuanian folk song.

4. Form and Means of Expression in the Dainos

In contrast, for example, to the folk songs of the White Russians, the Lithuanian songs are always contructed in strophes. To be sure, the regular strophic form of the recent songs often does not exist in the old dainos. There it is frequently irregular and indistinct. (29) Songs

29. In this fact lies also the reason why disagreement exists on this question in the field of Lithuanian song research itself. Thus, for example, B. Sruoga's opinion that "in the Lithuanian folk songs the strophe is, as a rule, absolutely necessary" (op. cit., p. 21) is contested by Dr. Balys and others for the older songs. (Cf. here also L. Gira, "Lietuviškos eilėdaros kūrimosi raida" (The Development of the Lithuanian Verse Form), Darbai ir Dienos, Vol. III, pp. 130-213.)

[113]

of more than one strophe predominate. The strophes themselves are put together in the most varied ways. A special recent song form, employed especially in humorous songs, is represented by the single strophe, dainuška. In addition, however, there are also very old one-verse songs, and, as we saw at the beginning, probably the oldest song form consists of a single line with a refrain:

The bee buzzes, buzzes kadijela.
Little bee, little bee, kadiju.

The difficult question of the rhythm of the Lithuanian songs has already been touched on in

connection with the melodies and the work song. Just as controversial is /58/ the question of rime. According to Bezzenberger "the genuine Lithuanian folk poetry is familiar with rime and employs it often consistently." (30) Bezzenberger

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30. Adalbert Bezzenberger, Litauische Forschungen, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Sprache und des Volkstums der Litauer (Göttingen, 1882), pp. IX-X. (One of the most valuable works of the older folklore research. It contains, among other things, 67 folk songs with a musical accompaniment, 12 folk tales, close to 100 riddles, over 100 proverbs, a large number of curses and swear words, as well as a valuable section on "superstitious and other popular ideas and customs of the Lithuanians." Written 1879-1881.)

however, does not prove his point conclusively, since the dainos cited by him do not belong to the really typical folk songs. We can, therefore, more readily say that the old dainos are always unrimed and the rime which occasionally turns up indicates a more recent stage of development (31)

31. B. Sruoga, op. cit., p. 29.

As a matter of fact, the numerous diminutive forms, which we treated in detail in the chapter on language, and which are attached to almost any word, frequently stand in such a relationship to each other that the divergent views of the investigators on this point are understandable. Whoever hears the Lithuanian songs sung, is impressed primarily by the rhythm in the alternation of long and short syllables, and he will be inclined to regard the rime as an obtrusive link that does not properly suit the delicately organized structure of the daina. The diminutives themselves, which we also meet in the older German folk songs--

533 though in far smaller number--lend to the daina the character of pleasantness and intimacy, especially since not only the principal word but also the corresponding adjective appears in the diminutive form: seselė--jaunuolėlė--"little sister, the (dear) young one." I must refer here to what was said in the first chapter concerning the diminutives and would like only to add that a translation of the dainos texts into the German language frequently comes to grief precisely on this fascinating peculiarity. A literal translation, as, for example, Schleicher attempted in 1857:

> Ei Schwester, ei Schwesterchen, Schwesterlein mein,
> Du weisst viel, was Krieg ist, das Krieglein, das Kriegchen,
> Da fliegen die Kugeln, die Kügelein, Kügelchen,

seems in German at best mawkish. And although the Lithuanian people seem more conditioned by their feelings than, for example, the Germans, one should not forget /59/ that among the countless diminutives which overgrow the dainos like a beautiful, wild flower garden, many have already become stereotyped and have thus lost their original emotional significance. This is especially clearly shown with the epithets, the ornamental adjectives. The stubborn adherence to old memories has resulted in numerous stereotyped adjectives and phrases that were again and again taken over into new songs. Sometimes one feels reminded of Homer. Almost always a breath of tenderness and infinite joy in idealizing hovers over these adjectives. Here is the urge to outgrow gray reality and to construct a more beautiful world of joy in oneself. Here speaks the joy in the flashy and ostentatious, and on the other hand the longing for the noble and good, as it

•533 moves the heart of depressed mankind. Thus the simple peasant girl becomes a tender lily, and the yoke with which she goes to the well is of silver; the stirrups of the boy gleam with gold, and the windows of the poor hut shine like diamonds. The boats sail into the sea with silken sails. The ideal beauty of the daina is nordic--it knows only blond braids of the girls. Not all these epithets, but a large part of them, have frozen into stereotyped phrases. In part they are of a tautological nature. The "young" boy who rides to the maid, the "green" rue which blooms in the garden, the "old" mother. The daina never forgets these words. In part they are also of an explanatory nature. White and green are the favorite colors; in addition shining things play a role, and thus even the gray, homely cuckoo becomes at times a shining, gaily colored bird. (32)

[113] 32. Cf. here Dowkong (Daukantas), Daynes Zemaitiû, pagal žodiû Dajninikû iszraszytas (Petropilie, 1846), pp. 8, 10: margouie gagelē and marga gegelē. This collection of "Samogitian songs, recorded in the words of the singers," is one of the most valuable older collections; it contains 118 dainos.

The joy in specific colors, for example white and green, can even lead to their being occasionally used where they do not belong. To the stereotyped old constructions belong also the doubling of infinitives and verbs--swim swim through, scold scold, fly fly. In this way an intensified /60/ action is indicated, which naturally cannot be reproduced in English words.

If we observe the artistic structure of the daina, we see first that in most of them the dialogue form predominates. The alternating song between two and three persons can actually be put down as typical. It is a genuine characteristic of the folk song (cf. the examples already given).

533 A further peculiarity of the Lithuanian folk song, which incidentally, we find also in Esthonian and Finiish songs, (33) lies in the fact that the same

33. A. Niemi, op. cit., p. 28.

idea is often treated from the standpoint of several characters who appear. Here we have the so-called repetitive songs, whose form is very simple and primitive. Typically Lithuanian are those repetitive songs that treat the theme in a parallel manner applied to the girl and the boy:

Now I will sing a song, a little song,
A youth who loves to sing,
Open the little chest of songs,
Let go the songs today.

Stone has no blood, water no wings,
The fern no blossoms,
I am a youth, I am a boy,
No maid is my own.

I shall sell the horse and the saddle,
Hire a weaver, etc.

. . .

Now I will sing a song, a little song,
A maid who loves to sing,
Open the little chest of songs,
Let go the songs today.

/61/ Stone has no blood, water no wings,
The fern no blossoms,
I am a maid, plagued by work,
No youth is my own.

I shall sell the ring and the garland,
Hire a plowman, etc. (34)

34. S. Stanewicz, op. cit., No. 1, pp. 7-8.

533 This song is especially fascinating because we recognize in it a further expressive form of the daina, the metaphor, the application of a concrete picture to the spiritual. Especially the older dainos are rich in such pictures. There is the fir tree, "the little daughter of the forest," the "golden dew" falls, the maid puts the annoying suitor's "words in her pocket," etc. It says in one song:

Where the head sank, there bloomed a rose,
Where the blood dropped, shone pearls. (35)

35. Ibid., No. XXIV, p. 54.

With this higher type of comparison that is employed here we have passed over an artistic means of expression to whose employment the daina owes part of its most beautiful effects. This is the opposition of two different motifs, of which one is taken from human life, the other from nature:

The leaves of the trees are falling,
The apples are falling,
Bitter tears are falling.

We find this so-called parallelism in the most varied applications, in simple, complex, and also in negative form:

Did the north wind storm?
The river overflow?
Did Perkunas thunder?
The lightning flash?

The north wind did not blow,
The river did not overflow,
Perkunas did not strike
Thundering with lightning.

533

/62/ Bearded men,
Men of the seas,
Climbed the bank,
Climbed up to the garden.

Trampled the rues,
Tore apart the roses,
Scattered the lilies,
Down flowed the dew. (36)

36. Cf. the Lithuanian text in Rhesa, op. cit., No. 28, p. 95.

In oppositions of this type man and his fate still form a unity with the reality of nature that surrounds him. The natural phenomen themselves catch the human life as in a mirror or are opposed to it and thus enhance the consciousness of its own fate: the cuckoo laments in the forest--the maid weeps in the klete [house], the horse of the youth neighs--the youth is full of joy, the cold wind reddens the face--the evil words of men make it still redder. These correspondences are countless. Frequently they find their resolution in direct comparison:

My sister weeps
In the colorful kletis
Just as the cuckoo
Calls in the forest.

On comparisons in Lithuanian songs taken from the realm of nature we possess a fine work by the Dutchman Dr. R. von der Meulen. (37) He

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37. Dr. R. von der Meulen, Die Naturvergleiche in den Liedern und Totenklagen der Litauer (Leiden, 1907).

shows us in an abundance of examples how to the popular poet the images of nature that surrounds

533 him become a symbol of human life and thereby obtain their real meaning in the Lithuanian folk song. Thus result thousandfold relations between fate and surroundings. They are tied to images and comparisons that often become stereotyped, just as the already mentioned ornamental adjectives. If now the idea of a specific human experience is represented each time by a specific image, the presentation of the experience itself finally becomes superfluous. But with this the daina takes the last step toward the detachment of human occurrence from reality and reaches its highest possibility of expression in pure symbolism.

/63/ As B. Sruoga, who investigated the symbolism in Lithuanian folk poetry in greatest detail, writes, (38) symbolic representation as a

[113] 38. Cf. for the following the chapter "Symbolism" in B. Sruoga, op. cit., pp. 92-115.

poetic device is known to probably all Aryan peoples. While, however, among most of the peoples this symbolism has today become faded and incomprehensible, in Lithuanian folk songs it has been preserved in all its primitive tenacity up to the present day. Its borders are fluid; i.e. one symbol may express various ideas according to the context, and on the other hand, various symbols may serve for the representation of one and the same idea. The call of the cuckoo is the symbolic expression for the weeping mother, as also for the sorrowing orphan or the ravished maid. Conversely we find as symbol for the youth the woodpecker, the falcon, the birch tree, etc. If the falcon alights on a tree, it signifies that the youth is wooing a maid. If he breaks the branches of the tree and flies away, he has dishonored the maid. Thus the tree becomes a symbol of a person, its leaves are words, the dew signifies tears. The withering tree is the symbol of dying and death,

533 the sprouting tree of the first love of a maid. A tree and under it a spring signifies mother and daughter. A great number of symbols is connected with the garland of rue and the rue itself, the magical favorite flower of the Lithuanians. The garland is the symbol of virginity; the dew that falls on the garland is an evil omen, and there remains nothing to do but to hang it on a nail or lock it up in a chest. Also a north wind (the youth) can blow up, tear off the garland, and drown it in the sea. The ring corresponds to the garland. If a maid loses her garland, her ring rusts, or it falls from her finger and is lost. In more recent songs, on the other hand, the ring has acquired its later significance as the sign of betrothal. It is noteworthy that the symbol corresponding to the garland of rue is represented for boys /64/ by the cap. It, too, becomes wet from the dew, falls in the dirt, and is lost, and the boy asks:

Oh give it, whoever has found it,
And do not put me to shame,
Nor my dear maid. (39)

39. L. Rhesa, op. cit., p. 51.

Naturally the horse, too, which plays a great role in the folk song as a loyal companion of the youth, is frequently only to be understood symbolically. If the boy has obtained his own horse, he is able to ride to the maid to court her. If the horse refuses to drink, he has not reached his beloved. If it stumbles, this is an evil omen. If the maid lets the horse graze in the rue garden, this means she is very fond of the youth, for it the horse tramples the green rue, she belongs to him. She should not feed the horse, for it may happen that she will mix her garland in with the oats. If the horse neighs outside, the maid should

533 not follow if she wants to avoid shame:

You should not go
So late before the gate,
You should not listen
When the horse neighs. . .

If, however, the maid does not obey, it can happen that soon she carries in her hands a little falcon, i.e. a child, and her brother reproaches her for having gone out, for otherwise:

You would not carry
The falcon in your hands,
You would carry only
Your golden ring. (40)

[113] 40. J. Simtakojis, Trakiečiu dzūkų dainos (Songs of the Traker Dzukes) (Shenadoah, 1899), p. XX.

It is impossible/Unnumbered page with illustration--"Kubilas," Folk Dance/ /65/ in this space to treat with even approximate completeness the abundance of living symbols which in all their simplicity constitute the most intimate charm of these songs and lead from light humor to deepest seriousness and tragedy. Their poetic value and their special meaning for the Lithuanian folk songs lies in the fact that they give the poets the possibility of rising from everyday reality into another level of experience and thereby completing the transition into that world of the ideal and beautiful in which the yearning of the Lithuanian daina finds its strongest expression. As every genuine national art, however, reaches out beyond its own country and becomes the common property of art, the Lithuanian folk song, too, has found scientific and artistic recognition outside of the boundaries set by language and culture.

000 That it was primarily German poets and scholars who concerned themselves in detail with Lithuanian folk poetry is explained on the one hand by the close relation of the two peoples, on the other hand by the influence which the romanticism of the eighteenth century exercised on German poetry. Thus one can rightly speak of a Lithuanian contribution to German spiritual life.

533 [114] 5. The Lithuanian Folk Song in German Poetry

Around the end of the seventeenth century we hear for the first time from German sources details concerning Lithuanian folk poetry. Around the year 1690 Theodor Lepner, one time pastor in Ragnit, wrote his notable little book: Der Preusche Litauer. It was dedicated to the Electoress Sophie-Charlotte and appeared in 1744 in Danzig. The book is of special cultural-historical interest because Lepner, who in general--this may be added--did not at all esteem the Lithuanians, gives a quite drastic picture of Lithuanian folk customs. [534] He writes: "They have a peculiar type of trumpet or trombone which they call truba. This is made out of fir, with a hollow at the end, fairly /66/ wide and round like a trombone, on the outside tightly wound around with birch bark, over a fathom long. Two kerdels blow on such trombones at the same time, which makes quite a noise. Otherwise they have what the Germans call pig's head (kanklis --a type of zither), strung with nine or twelve brass strings, the drum, the fife and other flutes, a fiddle, and a bass iron; this only they buy at the store, the other pieces mentioned they all make themselves. Such artists are they!

"They are also all composers who give the melodies to their songs themselves, although they have also learned some from the Germans. They are inclined by nature to singing, and are thus fine musici naturales who brought with them into the

533

world the inclination to sing; now there arises from the women and girls at their banquets such howling and humming that one must stop one's ears from it. The kerdels are not especially fond of this science, but only the women and girls, who from morning, from the second cock crow on, until it gets light, make music at the hand mill, since the humming of the mill serves them as it were as a ground bass.

"The material of their songs are love songs, but they are concerned also with such things as just happen to occur to them and stand before their eyes. A few of them also sing spiritual songs at the hand mill, which happens at their banquets in drinking bouts of men and women, concerning which Wilhelmus Martinus, onetime pastor in Mummel, reports cleverly in his Latin poem of praise concerning the Lithuanian song book, which I thus give in /English/:

Lithuanian people, you are, I think, called thus
After a field trumpet, as it is called in Greek:
Your heart burns naturally for sound, song, rime;
You drive your merry cattle, that tears itself from the stall,
Out to the pasture in singing, you shout in walking, in plowing,
/67/ With untiring voice. On your wedding day,
At baptism and other assemblies, at home and in the taverns,
You sing of all that which may be known to you."

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114 A few years after Lepner wrote his little book there appeared a book by Johann Arnold von

533 114 Brand, professor in Duisburg (died 1691): Reysen durch die Marck Brandenburg, Preussen, Churland, Liefland, Plesscovien, Gross-Naugardten, Tweerien und Moscovien. In this book, which was published in 1702 at Wesel by Heinrich Christian vor Hemin, Brand reproduces two fragments of Lithuanian folk songs.

The first fragment, which he describes as "The usual drinking song of the Lithuanians," reads (p. 107):

Let us then, y heisa viva y,
Be merry, y heisa viva y.

The second, "Lament to the Unfaithful Betrothed," reads (p. 108):

Did you not love me?
I cut with you the rye,
I raked with you the hay,
I bound with you the oats.

From that year dates the interest with which German scholars and poets devoted themselves to Lithuanian folk poetry. In 1745 Philipp Ruhig, pastor in Walterkehmen, in his Betrachtungen der litauischen Sprache, published three folk songs, of which one is found in the later collection of Daukantas while another has become known from various anthologies. Ruhig reproduces the texts of these songs solely for linguistic reasons and even apologizes to his readers for claiming their attention with such vanities.

/68/ The translations of Ruhig are interesting inasmuch as they show the abundance of diminutives, so characteristic of the Lithuanian language, although the author obviously had not yet solved the problem of their translation into the German language. Thus the first of the dainos begins with the words: 1

1 [See cat. 116, p. 77 -- Analyst]

533

Früh Morgens am Morgelein
Ging das Sonnlein auf,
Und unter dem Glasfensterlein
Sass das Mütterlein.

Ich wollt dich fragen, Töchterlein,
Wo bist du herumgegangen?
Und wo hat dein Kränzlein
Das Nebelein befallen?

etc.

The beginnings of the other two dainos are as follows: "Ich hatte ein Rösslein"--and: "Ich hab aufgesagt meinem Mütterlein schon vor der Hälfte des Sommerleins."

In spite of the translations, which are incongruous with the nature of the German language, Lessing comprehended intuitively the beauty of these Lithuanian folk songs hidden behind the veil of the un-German translations, when he wrote in 1757 in his often quoted 35th Literaturbrief: "It has not been long since I leafed through Ruhig's Lithuanian dictionary and at the end of the preliminary remarks on this language came upon a pertinent rarity that gave me infinite pleasure. Namely some Lithuanian "dainos" or songs, as they are sung there by the ordinary girls. What naive wit! What charming simplicity! One can learn from them that under every stretch of heaven poets are born, and that vivid experiences are no prerogative of cultivated peoples." How strongly Lessing experienced the poetic magic of these simple poems appears from his words: "The pious man (Ruhig) apologizes /69/ for introducing such vanities; he might have apologized to me for not introducing more of them."

The songs made a still stronger impression on Herder, who had already occupied himself with that folk poetry in Riga in his younger years.(41)In

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41. The comments of Herder concerning the Lithuanian folk song are found in the "Fragmente über die neue deutsche Literatur" and in his essay "Über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker." In a letter to Hamann of June 18, 1775 he tells the latter that he has read four beautiful Lithuanian songs by Kreutzfeld. "They should be in my folk songs, certainly; oh that he had more!" Cf. further Herder's Werke (Bong, Stuttgart), Part V, "Ideen zur Philosophie der Menschheit," Vol. II, p. 16; and the notes of Ernst Naumann to his "Litauische Volkslieder." On the translations of Kreutzfeld cf. further Müller-Blattau, Hamann und Herder in ihren Beziehungen zur Musik (Königsberg, 1931), p. 21.

his work Stimmen der Völker in Liedern in 1779 he recorded eight Lithuanian folk songs. The translation used by Herder was done by Prof. Kreutzfeld in Königsberg, who later also published under his own name two songs with German translations, "Gesang am Brautabend" and "Gesang bei der Heimführung" (Preussischer Tempel (1788), pp. 12-15). Through Herder Goethe was influenced; he has his lyric drama "Die Fischerin" begin with the third of the dainos of Ruhig, something that is not generally known:

Ich habs gesagt schon meiner Mutter,
Schon aufgesagt vor Sommers Mitte. . .

The other of the two dainos of Ruhig cited by Lessing (a daughter has accompanied her beloved) has been set to music by Schumann. (42)

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42. On the influence of the Lithuanian folk songs on Goethe cf. the excellent essay of Dr. Erich Jenisch: "Goethe und die Dainos," Ostdeutsche Monatshefte (1930), Vol. II,

113 No. 7, pp. 417-422. Also to be mentioned are Antana Domeikaitė, Die litauischen Volkslieder in der deutschen Literatur (Munich, 1928) (Dissertation); and Ignas Skrupskelis, Die Litauer in der deutschen Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts (Vienna, 1932) (Dissertation).

533 Thus Lithuanian folk song gradually gained an entrance into German literature, not, to be sure, in the translations of Ruhig but in the poetic imitations of Herder. It may be added that the ideas of the dainos reproduced by Lessing were repeatedly employed from then on among the German poets from Schiller to Baumbach. (43)

[113] 43. F. and H. Tetzner, Dainos, Litauische Volksgesänge, Reclaims Universalbibliothek, No. 3 694, p. 30. (A good historical study concerning the Lithuanian folk song with 70 rimed translations.)

The man whose work pioneered all Lithuanian studies and who also gave the German people the first collection of dainos--Ludwig Rhesa--came into contact with Goethe in the course of this development. Born in the village of Karweiten which is now in ruins, on the Nehrung of Courland, Rhesa was not only a scholar, not only professor of theology in Königsberg, but also a gifted poet. Courlandic and Lithuanian were /70/ his native languages, but he was also intimately familiar with German. We are thus indebted to him for the most beautiful translations of Lithuanian folk songs in all of German literature. Goethe himself wrote a long essay on this work, and his manuscript, which the poet sent him, is found still today in the Goethe archive in Weimar. Goethe begins his essay with the words: "Through this collection another one of my wishes has been

533 fulfilled. Herder loved the Lettish folk songs very much: in my little drama Die Fischerin several of his translations have been taken over. Moreover for several years now I have had in my possession a sizeable collection of well-translated poems, which I let sit, like so many other things, in expectation of what is happening now.

Of the Rhesa translations Goethe says that they are "estimable," and he wishes only for a different arrangement. He closes with the words: "And thus these songs are to be regarded as having proceeded directly from the people, who are much closer to nature, and thus also to poetry, than the educated world." A further discussion of the [113] Rhesa collection from the Jakob Grimm (Göttinger Anzeigen, 1826, No. 104).

After the Lithuanian folk song, favored by the current of romanticism, had penetrated German poetry in the first half of the last century, it is no wonder that the Berlin circle of poets, above all Adalbert von Chamisso, also interested themselves in the dainos. German literature is indebted to Chamisso for a number of beautiful poems which are based on Lithuanian folksongs. They originated in the years 1826-1828 and are still familiar today to every German with a literary education. From Chamisso comes also the pretty translation of the "Sparrow Hunt":

The father went hunting in the forest;
He soon saw some good game.

/71/ He took good aim, he pulled the trigger,
The sparrow fell on the soft moss.

The brothers loaded the catch on the sled,
And hauled it home and rejoiced long.

The daughters quickly stirred up the fire,
They plucked and singed it, as is proper.

533

The mother roasted and cooked it at once,
The roast was delicious and tasty and tender.

Zealously the sisters served it,
Many joyous guests came together.

They sat down at the table and sat there
firmly,
And enjoyed themselves at the hearty
feast.

They ate the sparrow at their leisure
And drank three barrels of beer with it.
(44)

44. A. V. Chamisso, op. cit., p. 138.

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Chamisso's friend, Franz von Gaudy, adapted in 1844 a Lithuanian folk saga, "Die Pestjungfrau," into the German language, and Wilhelm Jordan published in the same year his Littauische Volkslieder und Sagen, which are strongly influenced by Rhesa. A large number of Lithuanian folk songs with melodies and German translations by H. Budrius, Ed. Gisevius, and P. von Bohlen were published in the N. Pr. Prov. Blätter, appearing since 1846. Of German poets then known but today forgotten, who were inspired by the Lithuanian folk poetry, Daumer (1800-1875) and J. F. Soldat may be mentioned. Also to be mentioned is Felix Dahn, whose poem of 1870, "Die Litauer in Frankreich," breathes a genuine Lithuanian mood.

Even this short survey of the influence of Lithuanian folk poetry on German poetry shows well enough that the Lithuanian contribution to the German spiritual /72/ life of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the area of poetry is not unimportant. The first scientific-critical translation of Lithuanian folk songs in the meter

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of the original stems from Nesselman. In spite of the purely scientific purpose of his work, he also succeeded with a few poetically excellent translations (cf. on this point also the end of this chapter). The influence of the Lithuanian folk song appears also in the writings of A. K. T. Tielos: Thanatos (1905), Klänge aus Litauen (1911), Aus der Jugendzeit (1911). W. W. Ulmenried-Naujeck published Litauische Heide-Lieder und Dainos.

The World War, which brought a number of German poets in uniform into direct contact with the Lithuanian people, aroused anew the interest in the Lithuanian folk song in a number of German poets. Only Oskar Wöhrle, Herbert Eulenberg, and Richard Dehmel may be mentioned. (45) In the

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45. The translations of O. Wöhrle are printed in Das Litauenbuch, Eine Auslese aus der Zeitung der X. Armee (1918), pp. 155-159. The poetic imitations of Richard Dehmel, based on the translations of Nesselmann and not always successful, are published in Die neue Rundschau, Vol XXVIII of the Freie Bühne, No. 1, January, 1917. For Herbert Eulenberg cf. Struck und Eulenberg, Skizzen aus Litauen, Weissrussland und Kurland (1916).

German press of those years, too, the great interest which the Lithuanian folk songs found in the broadest German circles is reflected. Unfortunately most of this interest vanished just as quickly as it had sprung up. Only in the most recent time can a slight reawakening be noticed. (46)

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46. From the abundance of mostly popular literature on the Lithuanian folk song, a few essays may be mentioned which appeared

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in the periodical Das Neue Litauen in 1917-18: Tetzner, "Tolminkemer Erinnerungstage" (1917), No. 5/6. Alfred Brust, "Die litauische Kultur und der Expressionismus" (1918), No. 1. Victor Jungfer, "Die Raubehe im litauischen Volksliede" (1918), No. 15/16/ W. W. Ulmenried-Naujeck, "Zur litauischen Literatur" (1918), No. 18/19. In addition reference may be made to the same issues of the years of the Zeitung der X. Armee, published at that period, in whose literary supplement were contained a number of really valuable contributions to the research on Lithuanian folk songs and their melodies. For the most recent period cf. Möller, Das Lied der Völker (No. 13 on the Lithuanian folk song) (Leipzig, 1930); and H. Engert, Aus litauischer Dichtung, Deutsche Nachdichtungen (Kaunas, 1935), 1st. ed.; (1938), 2nd ed.

533 B. Prose Writing

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1. The Raudos (Lamentations for the Dead)

Between the daina and the prose writing of the people, as it found its expression in sagas, fairy tales, and other creations, stand the Lithuanian lamentations for the dead, or raudos. They are the oldest creations of Lithuanian folk literature that are mentioned in the chronicles. Thus /73/ Kojalowicz reports that the heroic death of those 300 Lithuanians who, in 1362, at the conquest of the fortress of Kaunas by Winrich of Kniprode, threw themselves into the flames of the burning castle was celebrated by the people in songs of sorrow (vulgaribus naeniis populus decantabat). (47) According to Strykowski a priest

47. F. and H. Tetzner, op. cit., p. 5.

sang for their dead at the funerals of princes.

533 538 764 Evidently these brief indications, to which our knowledge of the earliest period is limited, refer not to the folk song, but to the raudos, which are often mentioned also in a later period. Although each rauda has its own melody, they do not represent real songs for the dead, but have the form of a lamentation for the dead. The older raudos have no metrical character, but are in language and form rather to be compared with a type of rhythmically elevated prose. Their melodies were of sorrowful monotony. Old women sang them for remuneration at burials. Through them one wished to appease the ghosts of the dead, in whose continued existence one firmly believed, so that they would not return to the house as evil demons of [776] revenge and spread pestilence and disease. Thus these lamentations for the dead represent the superstitious result of that primitive belief in ghosts and demons which particularly illustrated the mental attitude of the Lithuanian people and still lives today in remote villages of the country

In content the raudos differ from each other only little. The good deeds of the deceased are remembered, and the sorrow at the departure of father, mother, husband, brother, or sister is expressed, often in an infinitely tender and moving manner. As Chr. Bartsch has already pointed out, there is not one among the genuinely popular raudos that would be spoken by a man for a man or even for his wife. "Everywhere it is women (and girls) who speak." The wife as such is not mentioned. (48) At times the lamentation

[113] 48. Chr. Bartsch, "Über litauische Volksliteratur," Mitteilungen der litauischen litterarischen Gesellschaft, Vol. II (1884), Tilsit, p. 100.

of the relatives and friends of the deceased, who follow the coffin, has such a staggering

●533 effect that even the priest, from inner /74/
*538 emotion and pity, is not able to complete the
764 sacred rites at the grave without tears.

Formally the more recent raudos differ from the older ones in their strophic arrangement: out of the old lamentation has grown a song with rauda motifs. In this form the raudos have been preserved till the present day in the province of Drūkija. (49) In order to give a rough idea

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49. Akiras Birzys, Lietuvos miestai ir miesteliai /Lithuania'sCities and Towns/, Vol. I, Alytaus apskritis, Dzuku krastas /The District of Alytus, the Province of the Dzulijans/ (Kaunas, 1931), p. 397. The most important collection of Lithuanian lamentations for the dead is that published bv Dr. J. Basanavičius, "Lietuvių Tauta (Vilna, 1926), Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 59-145.

of the nature of the old raudos, I reproduce below a few of these lamentations, taken from the great song collection of A. Juškevičius.

Lament for the Mother

Little mother, you who took care of me, oh my little mother; I thank your dear hands, with which you brought me up from childhood; I thank your feet, on which you carried me, your wisdom in teaching me well; I thank your little mouth, that talked sweetly with me.

Who will now talk so sweetly with me, who teach me so well? Little mother, who will protect me when I have a complaint? With whom shall I speak? The cuckoo in the forest will stop calling, but I shall never stop.

Little mother, you do not breathe; little mother you do not sigh; say but one word and com-

•533 fort my sorrowing heart. The whole night I talked
#533 to you; with my little mother I did not talk
764 (i.e. received no answer).

Oh little mother, little cherry, oh my little mother, you wanderer. Oh, my little mother makes a home of little white boards, the little windows without glass, without a door. You will not see the rising sun nor its setting.

The last time, the last little hour, we talked together. Oh, if I could awaken my little mother!

/75/ Oh, when will you come to us and when visit us? Whence shall I expect you; in which little corner shall I meet you? Little mother, day and night have I wandered; I shall never find you.

Lament for the Son

My little son, you forsaken one, my little son, my garland of rue, my little son, you little golden ring, my little son, the days of my youth!

Oh, my little son, the days of my youth I buried, oh, the days of my youth I have no more, no more, my little son.

Oh, my little son, my whole dowry, all that I have. How shall I forget you, my little son, and the days of my youth?

Oh, my little son, so short was your life--leave me still a little room.

Lament for the Father

Oh, my dear father, who had such a short life, oh, my dear father, who had such cares--you earned your home of little white boards, of gray earth your home. How hard you obtained it--will you bear the gray earth?

•533 +538 764 Oh, dear father, you who provided for me, oh dear father, you who protected me, to whom shall I bring my complaints, with whom shall I talk?

You my little father, the sun sets--I cannot converse, I cannot talk with my father.

Dear father, little father, my pride, my little father, you wanderer.

/76/ Oh my little father is still, oh my little father breathes no more, oh, my little father does not call me, he does not ask me.

Oh, my little father now has his place of rest.
You my little father, bless me.
Oh, perhaps I have bitterly displeased my father, that he no longer speaks with me.
Little father, the sun sets--oh, they lay my father inside the hill. My little father, how will you like it there?
Oh, your home is without a door, without a little glass window.
Oh, where should we seek for you, where shall we find you?
Oh, although I go over all roads and paths, through all forests, my father I shall no longer meet.
Little father, who will talk with me, who open the door for me?
Oh, little father, we will go over the roads which you travelled--there we shall cry.

Lament for the Daughter

Oh, my little daughter, my spinner, my weaver, support for my feet and hands.
What were you afraid of, the hard times or the hard work? It was not necessary to be afraid, I would have taught you; the work is not hard, even if the times are hard; everything fell on

533 your father and mother; you would not have had to
*533 worry about anything.
764 My ghostly bride, my clear ice crystal, companion of the high mountain, in which flowers will you come up, in which leaves will you turn green? When I in passing look to the side, which flowers will you make grow? How will I recognize you, in the leaves or in the flowers?

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/77/ 2. Fairy Tales and Sagas

The belief in a lasting connection of the departed souls with the living, as indicated in the raudos, deeply influenced the Lithuanian people for centuries. The strong mystical trait in the spirutual life of the Lithuanian maintained this belief the more strongly since as late as the sixteenth century Lithuania was a completely pagan country, whose superficial Christianization had scarcely touched the consciousness of the people itself. Thus, too, the abundance of superstitious motifs which we still find in Lithuania today grew in the soil of an ancient popular religion. They frequently are mixed with quite modern ideas. Their expression, however, is found in a rich world of fairy tales and sagas which only today has been partially investigated, and which in any case differs from the Western type in that it has not yet been transferred from the reality of experience to the cemetery of literary history. The abundance of fairy tales at the disposal of the Lithuanian people is so great that the existing collections can give only a weak picture of it.

Among all peoples the fairy tale stands at the beginning of every literary creation; it affords us a glimpse into the childhood years of humanity. The motifs of the fairy tales themselves wander; many of them stem from the Orient and from India (Benfey). Unfortunately the following brief characterization of the Lithuanian popular fairy tale can, because of the scope of this work,

538 524 attitude which--peculiar as it may strike the modern city dweller--we still meet in such regions of Germany as lie away from the great highways; we may think for example of the popular riddles that are still alive today in the Bavarian woods and are there given by the mother of the bride to the instructor of the bride /Brautweiser/: two long parents and many short children (a ladder). Or: there are nine maids, they all lie in a single bed, all in the middle, none at the end (a spinning wheel with nine spokes). We have here before us a stage of culture at which the peasant creates something completely out of his own mind. Thus most of what was said concerning Lithuanian proverbs and sayings applies also to the riddles. All of nature lives in them; every thing, every object is taken up, elevated into a higher sphere, and made to participate in human life. Force and boldness of comparison are often [533] surprising. Even in the dainos the pleasure of the Lithuanian in such riddles plays a part; we may think for example of the beautiful song known from Rhesa, in which the girl is sent out by her stepmother to get "winter green and summer snow." In other songs, which are composed in dialogue form, several riddles are connected with each other, whereby the question of the first strophe is followed by the solution in the second.

The following examples are taken from the collection of Krėvė-Mickevičius, who /93/ recorded them from the mouths of the people in the parishes of Alytus, Merkinė, and Kabeliai in the years 1909 to 1925. (59) [See page 105--Analyst]

113 59. V. Krėvė-Mickevičius, "Tautosakos rinkinių 1, Mislės," (Riddles), Tauta ir Zodis (Kaunas, 1928), Vol. V. The most important collection of Lithuanian popular riddles is that of K. Jurgelionis, Mislių knyga (Book of Riddles) (Chicago, 1913)(over 1,000

322 thing of their own. We find as ornaments rosettes,
531 stars, and wavy lines, interrupted and lozenge frets, also stylized plant patterns--though less often--on chests, dishes, platters, canes, etc. On spindles and distaffs, on the other hand, the favorite ornament is the circle divided into six segments, the ancient symbol of the sun, whose production presents only little difficulty and therefore is often repeated. Only on coat racks do animal forms appear, taken from nature, primarily birds. Splendidly carved towel and spoon racks, knives, forks, and spoons, shuttles and whetstone holders, boxes and caskets, even carved flasks show great technical skill and artistic manipulation. Only in rare cases does an object of household use remain without ornamentation.
[354] The old žibintuvas, the pine chip holder, an often very beautifully carved frame holding the chips that illuminated the work room, is today
• [533] found only in museums as is the kanklēs, the ancient zither-like instrument of the Lithuanians, which is also richly carved, and which today has awakened to a new life. (41) In all of these

[113] 41. On the development of the kanklēs cf. the basic work of the Swedish Professor Tobias Norlind, Bidrag Till Kantelens Historia (Särtryck ur Rig, 1923).

patterns sways an inner rhythm that attests to an absolute feeling for style. One should also never overlook the fact that these objects were created only for personal pleasure or for the pleasure of people to whom they were given--as perhaps by a youth to a maid. Thus they maintained the charm of the personal and direct and also the value of uniqueness.

/131/ In view of this joy in the ornamentation of practical objects it is almost astonishing not to find furniture decorated with carving in the

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iscussed in another place.

In addition a large number of smaller, carefully rehearsed ballets of famous masters were produced, by Rimski-Korsakov, Strauss, Adam, Schumann, Debussy, Moussorgsky, Weber, Glazunov, and others. The Lithuanian Ballet also found recognition abroad. This is proved by its guest appearances both in Monte Carlo, where ten performances took place in the Casino Opera in 1935, and in London, where the Lithuanian Ballet gave no less than 32 performances in the Alhambra Theater.

/189/ The beautiful scenery, on which a number of the best artists of the land collaborated, contributed not a little to the success of the Lithuanian ballet. Thus the Lithuanian theater in its trinity--opera, drama, and ballet--has become a cultural factor not to be underestimated, not only in the life of the city of Kaunas but in that of the whole country.

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2. The Development of Musical Life

The extraordinary rise of the Lithuanian state opera and the great interest of wide circles by which it was supported had, in the first years of statehood, an inhibiting effect on the realm of pure music insofar as the interest in choral music, as in concerts, evenings of chamber music, etc. in general, markedly decreased. This involved, however, only a transitional phenomenon, and the state theater itself, through the introduction of regular symphony concerts, was able to reawaken and enliven the weakened interest, so that today we can speak of a new upswing. Arrangements of symphony concerts at first took place through the Kaunas "Philharmonic Society," which today no longer exists, in which the artistic forces of the country were united. Later Stasys Šimkus, known as a composer and conductor, devoted his whole energy to those concerts. They awakened the interest of wider circles of music lovers, above all by engaging

533 famous foreign conductors (Couts, Cooper, Dovroven, Malko, Scherchen, Hoesslin, Poulet, etc.) and soloists--the pianists Hofmann, Rubinstein, E. Petri, Ellegard, Orlov, Ginsburg, and the violinists Hubermann, Thibaut, Oistrach, Elmann, and Cimbalist, along with many others may be mentioned. The number of concerts presented ran to 26 in the season 1935-36, to 22 in the following season.

Along with these symphony concerts, the choruses, above all, /190/ became important for the development of musical life. The first successful attempt in this area was the performance of the Mozart Requiem by the chorus of "Šiauliu Sajunga" (rifle association). After this there began a lively artistic competition. The student chorus of the "Ateitininkai" (Catholic student union) sang the Seven Last Words of Dubois and Verdi's Requiem; the chorus of the Šiauliu Sajunga soon after sang Handel's Messiah. Spiritual oratorios were produced by the chorus of the garrison church; and the rest of the choruses also, for example the university chorus, did not remain behind. The latter had great success on its tours through the Baltic countries.

874 Of greatest influence on the development of the whole musical life was the state conservatory, whose student count runs today to 220-250, and which has departments of composition, singing, piano, and all other instruments. The teaching staff--about 30-35--is in part also active in the opera and in the radio. From time to time the radio orchestra presents symphony concerts on a larger scale under the direction of native and foreign conductors.

If we want to know what has been accomplished so far in the purely creative field, it must first be remembered that the prerequisites for a modern Lithuanian artistic music, just as those for a Lithuanian artistic literature, were only given toward the end of the last century. The earliest Lithuanian composers, like Kudirka for example, the creator of the Lithuanian hymn, still had no prof-

533 essional musical training. The first composer educated in musical theory was Juozas Naujalis (1869-1934), organist at the cathedral of Kaunas, who was creatively active primarily in the area of church music, and who made a name for himself as the composer of many Catholic masses and symphon-
[874] ic works. He also stood out as a teacher, and founded the conservatory in Kaunas, at which he was active until 1928 as director and professor of organ-playing. Many of his songs were taken over by the people and are sung today as genuine folk songs. At about the same /191/ time lived Česlovas Sasnauskas (1867-1916), professor of music at the seminary for priests in St. Petersburg, of whom a large requiem and a number of smaller creations became known. Many of his choral songs became quite popular.

Nevertheless, these beginnings of Lithuanian artistic music still bear more or less provincial features, and also sometimes are strongly under Polish influence. The first to point out new paths to Lithuanian music was Mykolas Konstantinas Čiurlionis (1875-1911), whose singular artistic personality exhibited a synthesis of the pictorial and the musical. Long years of study at the conservatories of Warsaw and Leipzig gave him a broader artistic outlook than to all the others mentioned so far. Thus he went far ahead of his time, and his compositions are still fresh and alive today. With Čiurlionis Lithuanian music got out from its former seclusion, and for the first time strong Western influences made themselves felt beside the formerly dominant Eastern elements. Among the more important works of this composer are the two great symphonic creations--the symphony Miškas (The Forest), still dating from the Warsaw period, and the later Jūra (The Sea)--musical paintings of great beauty, and, in spite of various foreign influences (R. Strauss, Reger), independent in their richness of musical ideas and their colorful

533 instrumentation. Although Čiurlionis uses none of
● the motifs associated with folk music, much of the soul of his country is contained in his dreamy, mystical, and melancholy music. This also applies to his piano pieces.

Of importance for the further musical development became the spirited Stasys Šimkus, born in 1887, already discussed as a choral conductor and organizer. He wrote a large number of interesting vocal pieces and made himself a name particularly through harmonizations of Lithuanian folk songs. The /192/ choruses directed by him were received with great acclaim everywhere in the country. Šimkus received his first training at the conservatories of Warsaw and St. Petersburg. After the war he studied in Leipzig. In his most recent development the transition to modernity is clearly perceptible, and his later choral creations are characterized by complicated voicing and bold harmonization. But here we have gone ahead of the development, for between these two periods lies an important event which is also decisive for Lithuanian musical life--the first World War.

533 The World War introduced a new period of mus-
177 ical development. Only a few composers were left in the country; most of them spent the war years in the big cities of Russia. It is only natural that they brought the impressions which they had gained there back to the homeland with them after the founding of the state. Thus Lithuanian artistic music came again strongly under the influence of the East in the first years of the young state. But a change was already in preparation, a change which was conditioned by the tighter and tighter sealing-off of Russia from the Western world and which pushed the stimuli coming from the East more and more into the background. Conversely the way was gradually opened for more and more active spiritual ties between Lithuania and the West. Thereby the influence of the West, and especially of Germany,

became stronger and stronger in the realm of music. That applied only to Čiurlionis before the war--the penetration of Western elements into Lithuanian music--now became characteristic of the whole further development. Of importance were above all the influences exerted by the conservatory in Leipzig, where a number of the composers whom we are going to discuss obtained their training.

533 First to be mentioned here is Juozas Gruodis, born in 1884, a musical personality of pronounced originality. He transfers the means of expression of Western music to Lithuanian music and combines the form of the post-romantic sonata with folklore elements that he takes from Lithuanian folk music. He loves bold harmonizations /Unnumbered page with illustration--Lithuanian Landscape by Zmuidzinavičius /193/ and dramatic tensions, although a return to greater simplicity is to be noticed in his compositions of the last few years. His best works are a violin sonata, the two-act ballet Juratē and Kastytis, as well as the orchestral piece The Autumn. Besides other large orchestral creations, piano sonatas and other piano pieces as well as adaptations of folk songs should be mentioned. Gruodis is today professor of music at the conservatory, which was under his directorship from 1928-1937.

Next to him are a number of other composers who also obtained their training in Leipzig. Close to impressionism is K. Banaitis, a composer of distinctly Lithuanian character whose lyric compositions exhibit many national elements. His creations are rich in melodies and, in spite of their free form, of strong artistic compactness. Banaitis published a number of piano variations, a cello sonata, as well as songs and adaptations of folk songs. He directs the conservatory today and is also known to wider artistic circles as a music critic.

V. Bacevičius stands apart from those named above; he represents atonal expressionism and, as

533 a pianist, is particularly close to modern art. He wrote a number of larger works for the piano, a one-act ballet, as well as an opera, Vaidilutė (The Priestess), and has also made a name for himself abroad through his piano concerts. Together with him J. Kačinskas should be mentioned, who represents the athematic twelve-tone and quarter-tone system, and has also become known as a successful conductor. To the Russian school belongs the Russian Karnowitsch (Karnavičius), born in Russia, a professor at the conservatory, also a very gifted and productive composer. Among his most important creations belong two frequently performed ballets, Gražina, which takes its theme from the work by the same name by Mickiewicz, and Radvila Perkūnas, which is laid in the time of the Swedish war.

/194/ Among the younger generation, finally, two additional gifted artists may be named, Vl. Jakubėnas and A. Račiūnas, who took part in the composition class of Gruodis. Characteristic of Jakubėnas is a searching for new forms and individual expression, which led him from the impressionism of his earliest creations to a colorful modern naturalism. A strong gift for vocal music and an abundance of ideas are shown especially in his songs and arrangements of folk songs. Basically lyric, his music is enlivened by the introduction of dramatic elements. In the compositions of Račiūnas the elegiac-lyric element predominates; this is expressed especially in his First Symphony. His songs are expressive melodies, full of melancholy and longing. He became known to wide circles through his successful opera The Three Talismans, which exercises a strong suggestive power and whose colorful harmonies excellently underline the dramatic sections. Although the composer does not make use of the melodies of the folk songs, the opera contains many Lithuanian elements, especially from the old raudos. An abundance of popular melodies are found also in the ballet The Matchmaking, a creation

533 of the gifted pianist and conductor B. Dvarionas.

Our brief survey of Lithuanian artistic music is thereby ended. Within the framework of this book it can naturally raise no claim to completeness. Only the development was intended to be shown. And this development is undoubtedly interesting, for it clearly leads from East to West. If a few years ago it was almost exclusively Germany from which the new stimuli proceeded, today it is just as much the cities of Paris and Prague.

Still a second result of the development to our present time is of interest: just as in modern literature and painting, the emergence in Lithuanian music of purely Lithuanian elements and the struggle for an individual art becomes more and more distinct.

/195/ Chapter Five

113 The Artistic Literature

/Unnumbered footnote on Chapter Five/ The following more comprehensive works on the development of Lithuanian literature were used:

Mykolaitis-Putinas, Naujoji Lietuviu literatūra (The New Lithuanian Literature), Publication of the Humanistic Faculty (Kaunas, 1936), Vol. 1, 425 pp.

Zigmantas Kuzmickis, Lietuviu literatūra (Kaunas, 1933), Vol. IV, 318 pp., same author, Vol. V (Kaunas, 1934), 235 pp.

J. Gabrys, Lietuviu literaturos apžvalga (Survey of Lithuanian Literature), 2nd revised and enlarged ed. (1924).

* 538 A. The Literature of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

The spiritual assets of the Lithuanian people were, in the beginning, limited to their oral folk tradition, their dainos, fairy tales, sagas, fables, riddles, and proverbs, as we have shown in Chapter Two. Only much later do we encounter mon-

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538 Lithuanian and Polish. Valiūnas was not of the nobility, but came from a poor bourgeois family.
[533] He is the author of the famous Song of Birute (written prior to 1828), in which he describes the meeting of Prince Kestutis, who "ruled Samogitia and Lithuania," with the beautiful Biruta, whom he made his wife. This song, which he gave to Poška, became in the latter's reworking a folk song which is still sung everywhere in Lithuania today.

The writers of the Samogitian nobility--a whole series of names could be listed here--maintained a close written exchange of ideas with each other, and, according to the custom of the time, sent each other extensive literary letters. This literary movement found great support in the contemporary bishop of Samogitia, Arnulf Giedraitis (Giedroc), who was also active in a literary way and even translated Torquato Tasso into Polish and Lithuanian. Nevertheless this movement remained more or less limited to the narrow circle of the Samogitian nobility. /213/ These writers took their models from the contemporary Polish literature, and their works were only seldom known in the huts of the peasants. This applies even to Poška. In many cases they were not even printed. Of interest from a literary point of view is the fact that several of these writers, such as for example Valiūnas, wrote simultaneously in Polish and Lithuanian. Others changed over to the Lithuanian language only in their old age, like A. Klementas (1756-1823), who left behind 15,000 verses in the Samogitian dialect. Klementas in his old age translated his idyls and epigrams from Polish into Lithuanian, and stresses this change himself in a literary letter to Bishop Giedraitis in which he writes: "The youth wrote several things in the Polish language; the old man changes to the Samogitian." (18)

18. Biržiška, op. cit., p. 70.

* 538 More important from a literary point of view than Klementas appears to be Stanevičia, who as the young son of a boyar (1823-24) at the university already collaborated in the association of Samogitian youth. His philological writings--a dictionary and a grammar--have been lost, * but a number of his fables have been preserved 538 as well as a lovely collection of folk songs 533 which was put together with really artistic understanding. (19) Best known became his High

[113] 19. I have reproduced several songs from this collection in my folklore book Hinter den Seen, hinter den Wäldern (Königsberg, 1932).

Song of the Samogitians (Žemaičių šlovė - Glory of the Samogitians), in which he expresses his joy over the fact that among the Samogitian youth at the university "the honor and tongue of their fathers" had been newly awakened. "The sun has risen brilliantly," and through the world flies "a hundred-voiced cry, beating with long wings" to announce "that Lithuania's old generations have remained uninjured in the downfall." This song stirred up great enthusiasm among the romantically inclined young nobility of Samogitia. Nevertheless in judging that period it should not be forgotten that the "Samogitian movement," as it was called, had written on its banner no political, but only cultural goals, above all the cultivation of the Samogitian language, and sometimes even exhibited a local coloring. (20) /214/

[113] 20. "XIX. amž. pradžios žemaičių sąjudis ir A. Strazdas" (The Samogitian Movement at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century and A. Strazdas), by J. Petrulis, Židinys, 1933, Vol. XVIII, pp. 372-386.

* 538 On the other hand, however, such a movement could

even the bishops. The high lords did not like 538
him, for he was accustomed to saying the truth to their face, reproached them with their unjust treatment of their peasants, and spoke only Lithuanian with the latter. The /215/ priests were angry with him because of his odd interpretation of clerical freedom: he founded a family and made no secret of it. Many began to doubt whether he still had the right to be a priest, and even tried to force him to a written explanation. The people, however, the serfs, regarded him as one of their own, who had risen from their own class and was their advocate. They forgave him his weaknesses, and up to the present day he has remained unforgotten, although a hundred years have already passed since his death. This love of the people 538
was based not only on the reports of the old 533
people concerning his person[1] but also on his songs, which became popular among the people. (22) In

22. Ibid., p. 75. Žilevičius writes concerning the importance of Strazdas for the Lithuanian church songs in his essay "Aušra ir lietuviškoji muzika" (The Aušra and Lithuanian Music), Židinys, 1935, Vol. XXI, p. 286. [133]

these songs, which are still sung today, lives a whole world—the peasant, his field, his household tasks, the farmhand and the maid, the lord and the priest (he never disparages them), the travelling Jewish merchant and the beggar. Often the poet chides his peasants for their vices, their drunkenness, hypocrisy, and laziness. Thus in the center of these songs, which all exhibit characteristics of the genuine folk songs, stands man himself with his joys and sorrows, his virtues and his faults. And as in the folk songs, all the images and figures here, too, are closely interwoven with nature.

1[Antanas Strazdas, poet, see cat. 116, p. 245-46--Analyst]

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533 Together with his songs Strazdas also taught the melodies. They went from mouth to mouth and were spread at first in eastern Lithuania, later also in Samogitia and Suvlkija. Along with secular songs Strazdas wrote and composed a number of spiritual songs. How well they were received is proved by the fact that they were at various times translated into Polish and included in Polish song books. Their melodies are purely Lithuanian, folk-song-like and simple, full of melancholy and sadness. Perhaps the view is correct that only through Strazdas did purely Lithuanian melodies find their way into the Lithuanian-Catholic church music. Their texts were published in 1790 and 1814. Particularly famous became the spiritual song: "Let us Fall on Our Knees."

/216/ 2. From the Closing of the University to the Ending of Serfdom

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814 With the closing of the Lithuanian University by the Russian government in 1832 began a second period in Lithuanian literature. Poland and Lithuania were still a unit. In the Polish uprising against Russia in 1830-31 the Lithuanian nobility had taken part in the same manner as the Polish. Thus the consequences of this unsuccessful rebellion were equally disastrous for Lithuania. The closing of the university, the repressive measures against the minor nobility, the expulsion of numerous professors and students, the stopping of all cultural activity--all these measures affected Lithuania just as much as Poland. But still, the ideas born in the period of romanticism remained alive. We recognize this best in the great nine volume Polish language history of Lithuania which Theodor Norbutt published during that period (1835-1841). Sprung from an old Lithuanian boyar family--Norbutt himself called

* comical effect.
538 Valančius wrote a sequel to his Josef, which is not quite on the same level, and the Tales of Anton Tretininkas, in which a whole series of anecdotes, legends, and historical events are related.

*538 At about the same time Anton Vienažindis
533 (1841-1892) wrote his songs. In him we encounter for the first time a true poet of folk songs, who lives completely in his feelings, whose verses grew out of an inner artistic necessity, and who had at his disposal a plasticity of expression that was rare not only for that period, but also for a later one:

Songs, you--you my soul!
Braid, weave the words!
From the flight of the swallow
Take your wings!
Fly, soar, run with the wind!

The most beautiful of his songs arose out of a youthful love affair. The young poet stands before his first great inner experience as before an indescribable miracle: /Unnumbered page with illustration--Čiurlionis, Tempera Painting/

/225/ Tell me why the nightingale sings
In green bushes, at the murmuring stream,
Why the gray little bee stirs
In blossoming trees, in fragrant flowers.
Tell me how your eye sees it,
Why beauty attracts everybody.
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Tell me why from that day on
When your eye shone in beauty,
From that day on so deep into my heart
Your image alone made its mark
Tell me how your eyes see it,

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Can you comprehend it, can you understand
it?

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Oh how blessed is beauty on earth:
For you all songs and all my gifts!
And should I obtain fulfillment today,
I will as a servant have you for a queen!
Do not talk, be silent, do not speak to me--
If I am not worth your love, have pity
on me!

The love of the young poet for his neighbor's daughter, Rosa Stauskaite, led, however, to the most serious disappointment. After the second uprising her family was deported to Samara. This fact shook Vienažindis so strongly that a complete change took place in him. The spring from which he created seemed suddenly exhausted. From then on he spent his life in the priesthood, and at the same time in uninspired, prosaic work, until on August 17, 1892, highly honored by all who knew him, he closed his eyes. The poetic period of his life thus includes only the few years of his youth. But his songs, which touch the whole scale of feelings from exultant joy to deepest grief, are a memorial for him in the heart of his people, and the poet has, perhaps not quite unjustly, been compared with Béranger. As to his place within Lithuanian literature, what /226/ Tumas writes in his history of literature is applicable: "He belongs among the poets Schiller calls 'naive'; contemplation was strange to him, he did not know the literature of the world . . .But his whole life he listened to the heartbeat of the people . . . Vienažindis represents the ideal religious Lithuania. He did not exhaust the whole soul of his people, but he created out of its depths and showed it as it really is . . .How like the

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Lithuanian dainos his songs sound!" (30)

30. J. Tumas, Lietuviu literatūros draudžiamojo laiko paskaitos (Lectures on Lithuanian Literature at the Time of the Prohibition on Printing)(Kaunas, 1925), pp. 64-65.

Anton Baranauskas (1835-1902) is to be names as the last poet of this period, a bishop in the grand style, philologist, shepherd of souls, mathematician, and poet--all in one person. In his talent Baranauskas comes close to Duonelaitis. The career of the bishop recalls in many ways that of Bishop Valančius. He, too, was of peasant parentage and attended the seminary for priests as Varniai and the Clerical Academy in St. Petersburg (1858-1862), he, too, later obtained there a professorship and was finally summoned to the seminary for priests, in Kaunas, where he was active for 30 years. He died as Bishop of Seiniai.

Baranauskas began his poetic career with verses in the Polish language, but very quickly transferred to the Lithuanian language. His religious songs became familiar, especially the St. Mary songs. His most important creation, the poem The Grove of Anykščiai, was written in the years 1858-59. Here the poet lets three different ages arise before our eyes--from the old era when thick forests murmured in Anykščiai he leads us into the period of the "grove" of his youth, and in a third section he pictures the sad present, when the grove falls victim to the ax and bare hills project into the countryside. In his poetry Baranauskas gives strong poetic expression to a deep feeling for nature, and at the same time there rings in his verses his grief over the devastation of his homeland by its many oppressors. If the formative element is subordinate to the purely lyrical one,

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

The Chamber of Agriculture is conducting systematic propaganda to disseminate the new peasant art among the population; books and articles are published, talks broadcast, exhibitions organised, sample designs popularised, etc. The chief publications of the Chamber of Agriculture are the *Sodžiaus Menas* (peasant art) series, six volumes of which (5,000 copies each) have been published up to date, containing descriptions of peasant art with illustrations, and the *Sodžiaus Pramonė* (peasant industries) series, three volumes of which have appeared containing descriptions and examples of new peasant work. 532

Thanks to these measures, the wearing of the national dress and the tendency to give an original national character to house interiors has become more widespread and there has been a real revival of national peasant art.

* * *

The folklore is rich and varied. The popular songs (" Dainos ") have lost none of their freshness. It is over a century since special interest was first taken in them and steps were taken to collect them; about 150,000 variants of these popular songs have now been collected. 533

The genre most frequently found is the ballad, a simple, sincere and artless recital about a youth and a maiden; the relations between the members of the family are depicted with real delicacy and feeling — the daily joys and sorrows and conflicts of parents and children, brother and sister, husband and wife. Among the ceremonial songs, nuptial songs are very frequent. Wedding celebrations, which used to last a week, formerly followed an elaborate ceremonial, including songs, speeches, laments and dramatic dialogues. In all these songs, the difference is stressed between the life of the unmarried girl and that of the married woman, the former being described as happy and carefree, while the latter is depicted in more sombre colours. Working songs are also numerous; some are primitive, as regards both the words and the air. The songs about the rye harvest and the " harvest home " also occupy an important place. Part-songs *(sutarlinės)* are sung by two, three or four women's voices; one begins, and another joins in with the same or a related melody. This original and popular form of singing, of very ancient origin, is now dying out.

The ancient popular instrumental music, played on the " kanklės " (a kind of cither) and on the " skudučiai " (pipe), was very much on the lines of the part-singing.

The latter was accompanied by dancing. The traditional dances and games were not performed in couples but in groups, in the form of slow walks accompanied by singing but not music.

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Harvest festival.

533 A number of songs are characterised by their dramatic quality; ballads in which the love element predominates are commonly preferred to those dealing with violent and terrible happenings.

The melodies of these popular songs — except when influenced by individual art — are simple and sincere; their gaiety is subdued, their melancholy marked by tenderness. The rhythm is seldom lively and the expression of feeling is never violent. Both music and poetry reflect a peaceful state of mind.

538 There is a wealth of tales and legends influenced mainly by Eastern Europe; some contain authentic Scandinavian elements. The most popular legends are those about the dead, fairies, the devil and witches; short interpolations of song are often found.

The love of fairies and the supernatural persists, though the belief in them has died out. The number of anecdotes, proverbs and riddles found bears witness to an ingenious turn of mind and a sense of humour.

The popular games contain all the elements of natural and healthy sport, and an endeavour is now being made to adapt them to modern requirements.

[534] consisting of a pig's bladder, the long shepherd's horn.--The Lithuanian
533 is very gifted musically as well as poetically. His folk songs, the dainos, present in brief, firm trochaic measures and in soft iambs the sincere and heart-felt, vividly experienced joys and sorrows of a sensitive human soul which tends towards melancholy. These songs have frequently been translated, and they were greatly appreciated by Herder and Goethe. The latter reproduced a daina in his musical play, Die Fischerin. The tenderness and fervor of the folk poetry is repeated in
764 the appearance and the mood of the graveyards. Their silents seclusion along mountain slopes and on hilltops, their--romantically neglected --enclosures of flowers and creepers, their enormous, dark, and forcibly admonitory Golgotha crosses and moss-covered crucifixes with the instruments of torture, the sight of which and the walk through which, make them into veritable experiences. In spite of all the neglect, one is conscious here that the Lithuanian is close to his dead, even if such customs have disappeared, as still existed during the 16th century, according to which the deceased was placed fully dressed on a chair and wailing women were made to sing songs of mourning around him.

/31: Illustrations./

/32/ The Lithuanians.

II.

000 1. Lithuanian farmer. 2. Costume of the 17th century. 3. Costume of the 19th century. 4. Tub. 5. Earthenware pot. 6.-10 Pots. 11. Spoon. 12. Ladle. 13, 14. Salt grinders. 15. Pouch made of birch bark used for collecting berries. 16. Butter tub made of a hollowed-out stem. 17. Chair with a perforated back. 18. Spoons. 19. Flax-scutcher and basket made of straw-ropes used to store grain.[1]

415 It is of course impossible for the Lithuanian wood culture to
[322] remain exclusively such today. Stampers and grinders and the tankards for the ancient native barley beer are still fashioned in the completely original manner by being worked out of a solid block and hollowed out. But, however much this is true, and, however much birch bark is still used, there exists, nevertheless, home-made earthenware, next to the wood products, especially in the fringe areas. But even the

1 [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 28a--
#analyst]

000 That it was primarily German poets and scholars who concerned themselves in detail with Lithuanian folk poetry is explained on the one hand by the close relation of the two peoples, on the other hand by the influence which the romanticism of the eighteenth century exercised on German poetry. Thus one can rightly speak of a Lithuanian contribution to German spiritual life.

533 [114] 5. The Lithuanian Folk Song in German Poetry

Around the end of the seventeenth century we hear for the first time from German sources details concerning Lithuanian folk poetry. Around the year 1690 Theodor Lepner, one time pastor in Ragnit, wrote his notable little book: Der Preusche Litauer. It was dedicated to the Electoress Sophie-Charlotte and appeared in 1744 in Danzig. The book is of special cultural-historical interest because Lepner, who in general--this may be added--did not at all esteem the Lithuanians, gives a quite drastic picture of Lithuanian folk customs. [534] He writes: "They have a peculiar type of trumpet or trombone which they call truba. This is made out of fir, with a hollow at the end, fairly /66/ wide and round like a trombone, on the outside tightly wound around with birch bark, over a fathom long. Two kerdels blow on such trombones at the same time, which makes quite a noise. Otherwise they have what the Germans call pig's head (kanklis --a type of zither), strung with nine or twelve brass strings, the drum, the fife and other flutes, a fiddle, and a bass iron; this only they buy at the store, the other pieces mentioned they all make themselves. Such artists are they!

"They are also all composers who give the melodies to their songs themselves, although they have also learned some from the Germans. They are inclined by nature to singing, and are thus fine musici naturales who brought with them into the

181 They are industrious, peace-loving, and
unassuming people, described by ancient chroniclers as "rough but pious." Since time immemorial and ever spiritually attuned to nature, they have built their entire culture upon a natural basis. Like the Letts, who are related to them, they live to a great extent in a "wood age" which is very ancient but for that reason no less many-sided, skillful, and
342 sensible. The houses are made of wood; their foundation beams rest on the bare soil or on field boulders. The roof at one time probably consisted of spruce bark, as the covering sheets for the peat still do today; but now the roof is made of straw which is held on to the ridge by ridge rid
In front of the door there is usually placed a narrow porch with a gabled roof and with little benches to the right and to the left. Formerly the houses had only one room, smoking-room style, but now they usually have a tripartite division with entrance hall in the middle, and living room and bedroom to the right and the left of it. The floor consists of
352 a loam coating or of boarding. The furniture consists of wall benches, loose benches, well-carved solid chairs, a table, wall boards, and pine-
353 wood splinter holders; on the walls are hung pictures of saints, frequently portraits of the old Lithuanian rulers, and, symptomatic for the
343 great amount of emigration, photographs from America. Aside from the living quarters, granaries (klete), barns, stables, wells, and bath
515 house belong to the Lithuanian farmstead. In the bath house they bathe in steam which rises from heated stones on which the water is poured. This, incidentally, is also the way the Indians do it. The bather lies on a bench and cools and massages himself at the same time by means
412 of a cluster of birch twigs which he dips in fresh water. The hand-operated mill is a very ancient instrument. It has one stationary and
[231] one turning stone in a wooden box. Likewise ancient is the beehive made of a hollow tree stem--bee keeping is the most original native and the most highly developed form of the collecting economy, which is here, as among the Letts, universally practiced and skillfully cultivated--; ancient, too, is the zoche, the plow with the forked share, which, as late as the 16th century, was made entirely of wood, and which even today is completely wooden except for the iron shoe; just like the harrows with branches tied to them, and the snowshoes made of hollowed-
534 out oakboards tied under the foot. Ancient, also, are the musical instruments: the nine-stringed kanklys, the truba made of a birch branch cut lengthwise, hollowed out, and tied together again; the short reed pipe, the trapezoid shaped cymbal, the stringed zither made of an osier switch, played with a bow fashioned in the same way; with a resonator

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1 [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 28a-- #analyst]

533 or

Čiučia liulia, my little one,
Liulia, my poor little baby. (16)

16. Ibid., p. 52.

Almost all of the individually sung songs of this type breathe a sad, yearning mood, while those sung out of doors are mostly filled with humor and joy:

Valioi, you meadows, valioi!
Valioi, you green ones, valioi!
My sickle is all of steel, valioi!
My sickle is not sharpened, valioi!
My rake is beautifully carved, valioi!
A present from my dear boy, valioi! (17)

17. Ibid., p. 57.

533 535 The Lithuanian dancing songs above all breathe joyfulness. At another place we have already seen how originally the rhythm of the dance, lacking musical accompaniment, was produced by the dancers themselves. Today, of course, there is musical accompaniment, and to each dance belongs a series of joyful songs:

When the fox dances and the hare dances,
All animals dance,
And the deer with long horns,
He stamps up and down.
/44/ When the crow dances, the magpie dances,
All birds dance,
The crane with the long beak
Strides up and down, etc. (18)

18. Ibid., p. 47.

The old Lithuanian folk dances, which must

535 The old Lithuanian folk dances, which must be treated here, had been almost forgotten until very recently and were revived only a few years ago. They are of great interest for the understanding of a certain mental attitude. Let us take for example the old dance "blezdingēlē" /the little swallow/, a group dance in which girls and boys draw themselves up in two rows (similar to the wedge-shaped formation of wild geese), with white handkerchiefs in their hands, and imitate the flight of swallows by gentle raising and lowering of their arms (see illustration), while they step once forward and once backward, singing. We thus see an unusual grace and an astonishing sensitiveness for a folk dance; it is as if the wind were passing across a cornfield. The further figures consist in the partners going together toward the middle and the couples crawling alternately under their highly raised arms to music that becomes faster and faster. In another dance, "kepurēlē" /the little cap/, two couples stand opposite each other. They seize each other first by one hand and turn to the right; then the same movements take place to the left. At the second verse of the melody the boys take their caps off and the couples bow to each other crosswise. There follows in the same position a turning and bowing to the outside. The whole thing is repeated two or three times. A large number of the old folk dances are danced in a similarly delicate and gracious manner. A real dance of spring is the "kubilas," also illustrated, which still lives today in Suvalkija.

About a half century ago new folk dances came into fashion that express a completely different mental attitude. It was above all the "suktinis" /45/ (slow waltz), which came from the cities, passed over into the villages, and superseded many other dances. As a matter of fact, the "suktinis" is not an original folk dance, but an example of adaptation of a higher cultural good to popular use. The melody stems from an

•535 opera overture and bears a Polish-Czech stamp. The couples take hold of each other, hold their arms folded on their back, and step forward in polka tempo, until with the change of tempo a turning takes place while alternately the girls and boys, one partner or the other, whirl around backwards in a circle. The dance "noriu miego," often danced today, is also not an original Lithuanian folk dance but the arrangement of an Esthonian one. (19)

19. For the statements on the dances "suktinis" and "noriu miego" I am indebted to the chief of the folklore archives, Dr. J. Balys.

The peasant in the country knows in addition German dances. He dances for example the quadrille and also the waltz, although with a small variation. He also loves those old, characteristic round dances, which give all the dancers opportunity to be active at the same time. They are danced in every village. The Lithuanian describes his round dances not as "dances" but as "games."

There is pictured the sowing, growth, blossoming, and harvesting of the poppy, for example. Men and women dancers grasp each other by the hand in a closed circle, while the boldest and liveliest girl takes her place in the middle and gives the sign for the beginning of the round. The circle then begins a striding motion and stops at times to imitate -- always with an accompanying song -- the various motions with which the girl standing in the middle represents the growing of the poppy symbolically. The dance is called "aguonele" /little poppy plant/. Many other rounds are danced in a similar manner, relating to the animal, bird, and plant worlds. On fine summer afternoons girls and boys go outside the

535 village onto the broad main road for the round dance.

The Lithuanian song dances offer the spectator a gay and colorful picture, particularly when the girls /46/ appear in their old national costume on festive occasions. The colorful bodice, the long, gay, fluttering ribbons fastened to the headdress, the shining aprons -- everything breathes joyousness and is combined with the character of the dances into a unified, beautiful picture.

533 3. Motifs and Content of the Dainos

The Lithuanian dancing songs are songs of the summer, which ring in the evenings, when outside before the village the torches blaze and the ground shakes from the rhythm of the dance. But already an examination of the old folk dances, melodies, and work songs has shown us that such primitive expressions of optimistic joy are not the really characteristic feature of Lithuanian folk poetry as a whole. In content the Lithuanian songs include probably the whole human scale of feelings, but over most of them lies a shy reserve. Even where the daina turns into a folk ballad it retains in its expression this characteristic stamp.

The Lithuanian folk ballad has not yet been subject to investigation by literary criticism. The question as to how far the epic elements which many dainos contain are formed in the manner of a ballad, i.e. dramatically, cannot be decided immediately, since the concept of the ballad itself varies. In an as yet unpublished essay "Über die litauische Volksballade," very kindly put at my disposal, Dr. J. Balys investigates the epic element in 45 dainos, which he divides into ballads of natural magic, ghost ballads, horror ballads, sentimental ballads, ballads of fate and historical sagas. As follows from the whole nature of

*538 the novel Pirmieji metai (The First Year). In his novel in two volumes Ieškau gyvenimo draugo (I Seek a Companion through Life) Liudas Dovydėnas introduces us to the life of elementary school teachers. Another of his works from peasant life, Broliai Domeikos (The Brothers Domeika) earned for him the state prize in 1936. (13) Along with

[658] 13. The Lithuanian state, since 1935, has regularly given a prize of money for the most valuable literary work of the year: the importance of this practice should not be underestimated, since in a small nation, even under the most favorable circumstances, literary works have editions of only a few thousand copies.

those already mentioned, Inčiūra and Zobarskas are making a name for themselves among the writers of novels. A tender and subtle love story, Valentina, was published by Vaičiulaitis.

536 In comparison to the abundance of prose publications, especially of the last decades, dramatic writing has been secondary, although its traditions, too, reach back as far as the period of the prohibition on printing. Along with Fromas Gužutis (1822-1900), whose drama in five acts Ponai ir Mužikai (Lords and Peasants) is based on the relations between the nobility and the people, Petliukas and Landsbergis-Žemkalnis, with his drama Blinda, became known after 1900. The greatest success was achieved by Keturakis (pseudonym for J. Vilkutaitis) with his peasant comedy, published in 1895, Amerika Pirtyje (America in the Pirtis), which at that time went across all the amateur stages of Lithuania and has still proved to be a drawing card even today. In addition, Šiaulėniškis may be named; his drama Sparnai (Wings) is under the influence of modern symbolism.

/279/ The development of Lithuanian dramatic

536 writing could become stronger only after the repeal of the prohibition on printing. The dramatic works of Maironis and Vydūnas have already been mentioned in another place. In this context belongs also the dramatic work of Sofija Čiurlionienė-Kymantaitė. Her drama Aušros sūnus (Son of Aušra) was produced with success, and her fairy play, published in 1932, of the twelve brothers who were transformed into crows, and in which various Lithuanian fairy tale motifs are interwoven, found great approval. Finally, from an earlier period stems a number of smaller comedies which appeared in 1920 under the title Komedijos (Comedies). Čiurlionienė also made a name for herself as a prose writer. Written with refined sentiment is her novel Šventmarė, published in 1937, which presents before our eyes in plastic images the conditions in a Catholic rectory toward the end of the century. In the center of the plot stands the clergyman himself, the "Šventmarė," the "holy" bigoted Marie, and above all the girl Barbutė as typical of the young female generation of the period; she is especially well characterized, with her ardent wish to learn and educate herself.

Among the most successful dramatists of the present belongs Petras Vaičiūnas, born in 1890, whose dramas have been produced by the Kaunas state theater with great popular success. Tuščios pastangos (Vain Exertions), 1926, for example is based on the problem of the educated Lithuanian who comes from the country and who is inclined in the city to forget rapidly everything that connects him with the village. In Patriotai the author exposes the false patriotism which becomes a pretence for impure purposes. In the same way Nuodemingas angelas (The Sinful Angel), Sulaužyta priesaika (The Broken Oath), and other dramas of the same author were performed with great acclaim. It may be added that
538 Vaičiūnas also possesses a reputation as a lyricist and has become very popular through several of his poems.

poems.

536 /280/ A great artistic success has been achieved in the last years by Balys Sruoga, who has already been discussed as a lyricist, with his verse dramas Milžino paunksnej (In the Shadow of the Giant) and Baisioji naktis (The Terrible Night). The first is built around the person of the "giant," Grand Duke Vytautas, who does not make an appearance himself but determines the course of the plot through his personality; (14) the second deals with

[113] 14. The first act is printed in Horst Engert, Aus litauischer Dichtung(Kaunas, 1935), pp. 77-104 (Deutsche Nachdichtungen).

the revolution of 1905, in which it is not the revolution but the lack of understanding in wide circles of its deeper meaning and the absence of a high goal which seems terrible to the author--the night which still enveloped the people at that time. Among the dramas of the last years, the historico-biographical portrait Vincas Kudirka by Inčiura should be named. J. Petrulis achieved the greatest success with his often produced drama Prieš srovę (Against the Stream), in which the period of serfdom comes alive. Finally, the great poems of Krėvė, Šarūnas, Skirgaila, and Likimo keliais (On the Paths of Fate), which will be discussed in the next section, also have dramatic form. Enough of names!

538 In the present context we can only give a brief survey of the Lithuanian literature of the present. Thus in conclusion only two more writers will be mentioned, who seem mature and finished enough in their art to permit a judgment, and who on the other hand can be considered as typical representatives of the Lithuanian art of the present both in their subject matter and also in their treatment of the material--Mykolaitis-Putinas and Krėvė-Mickevičius--the former born in 1894, the latter twelve years

* [see pp. 302 - 303, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

538 And even now, when I quietly think of your
name,
The sun always laughs at me and the blos-
soms are fragrant.

I do not know if you were with me long:
Between two dawns the night did not get
dark.
And even now, with the glow of these dawns
The sky shines here in the evening, my
being is enkindled.

I do not know if you will return someday,
Nor how far a first joy sends forth its
light;--
But the smiling and happiness of the spring
sun entreats you
To hide from me, that you cannot do.

/283/ Wherever I go, light and blossoms are
round about,
All my thoughts are again brought into
confusion,
As once, when you joyfully flew to my
breast,--
Even if today I have only night, only
night.

536 From the lyrics of his youth Putinas went on to drama and prose. In the mystery play Nuvainikuotoji vaidilutė (The Sinful Priestess) he seeks to grasp the calling and destiny of his people; in his Valdovas he gives a drama of the warlike early history: by murdering the legitimate ruler, Krūšna, an ambitious, cruel despot, has come into power. He has the son of the murdered man educated together with his own son, Gytis. But political enemies kidnap the children, who grow up far from him and finally rise up against the despot. They are taken prisoners, and at the

7 [1894 -- Analyst]

536 meeting with Krūšna Gytis provokes him so greatly that the ruler draws his sword and fatally wounds him. Only then does Gytis confess to his father who he is, and the father recognizes his son:

> It is he . . .it is he . . .only now comes recognition,
> Oh his eyes!--what eyes--oh!
> And how he looks-- --oh--yo accursed father!
> He calls his father--yes, he calls to me.

Paternal feeling gains the upper hand in Krūšna. His kingdom and his power no longer mean anything to him. All earthly values pale before the elementary experience of this hour.

538 If Putinas had already drawn to himself the attention of wide circles through his lyrics and his dramas, with his novel in three volumes Altoriu šešelyj (In the Shadow of the Altars), published in 1933, he achieved the greatest popular success that up to that time had ever been accorded a novel in Lithuania. A lively language, which, in contrast to that of most of the other authors, was not colored by dialect and was understandable to all, as well as the novelty and boldness of the theme contributed to its success.

/284/ In the center of the plot stands the young Vasaris, destined by his parents to the priesthood, a shy and uncommunicative youth. A stranger to life and the world, born to be an artist, he experiences the contradiction between the bright and shining world for which he longs and the narrowness of the external and internal life in the seminary of the prewar period. Still fully uncertain as to his real calling, driven by consideration for his parents, whose happiness he would otherwise destroy, fired by ideals to become a brilliant leader of his people like Maironis, he takes the vows. In the second part of the book

tragedy of his fate: he is unable to realize his 538
ambitious plans and must leave them to his heir, Mindaugas; and he meets disaster in his personal fate as well, when, blinded by jealousy, he slays his noble wife Vovorē. To be sure, this family tragedy only forms a border around the basic idea of the poem--the uniting of the land of Dzūkija.

"Only one sun stands in the sky, only one ruler shall be in Dainava, or the earth will not retain me alive."

Beside Šarūnas the drawing of the other charcters in the poem pales; he himself is represented above life-size, the way the old folk sagas portray him. (20) The poem is written in

20. Cf. here Krēvē's scholarly investigations on Šarūnas, printed in Mūsų tautosaka (Our Folk Poetry), Vol. I, pp. 90-123. [113]

lyric language.

A second historical poem of Krēvē--Skir- 538
gaila (1925)--forms as to period and content of 536
ideas a sequel to the first. The drama in four acts is based on the relations of this Grand Duke to Poland and the German orders. In the center of the plot stands the daughter of the prince of Lyda, Ona Duonutē, who is loved by the German knight Keller and loves him in turn. In the second act there is a clash between Skirgaila and the knight. Skirgaila forces the princess to become his wife, and through this marriage unites her land with his. The climax of the drama is formed by the third act, in which the grand duke fights a difficult inner battle. He sees the importance of the old pagan gods and the power of the Christian God, he feels himself politically threatened by Poland as well as the orders, and he sees his marriage endangered by the love of his wife for the German knight. Finally the feeling of revenge gains the victory. In the last act

538 the conflict is resolved: the grand duke accomplishes his cruel revenge by having Keller buried alive. In the intensity of its tragedy this work achieves the power of high drama.

/294/ No less characteristic than this drama is the poem Dainavos šalies senų žmonių padavimai (Sagas of the Ancients from the Land of Dainava), written in an elevated lyric language, the introduction of which I have given in German translation in my book Hinter den Seen, hinter den Wäldern. Bilder litauischen Volkstums. Here the full romantic splendor of Krėvė's language is unfolded, and the mysterious mood of the ancient pagan land is transferred directly to the reader. This poem tells of the dreaming girls at copper gates awaiting the youths who ride up on dark brown horses with silver hoofs and golden bridles, of death in battle and mourning for the beloved. The whole mood of the idealizing dainos comes alive here.

But the Lithuanian village has still another side, and that Krėvė knew how to capture this also proves the breadth of his artistic conception. His drama Žentas (The Son-in-Law) portrays for us the results of a marriage concluded without love, only for considerations of property, and the discord in a peasant family in plastic and realistic
538 images; in the peasant tales that are collected in Volumes II and III of his works under the title Šiaudinėj pastogėj (Under the Straw Roof) he gives us analyses and pictures of conditions of the peasant life of the most recent prewar period. In their realism they actually recall at times Žemaitė, for example when the author describes a ruined village hut in "Vargingame gyvenime" (Life in Misery).

P. Lapienė very perceptively notes in one place in her analysis of the writings of Krėvė (21) that every people seen from the outside

21. In Varpas, 1932, No. 3, pp. 214-15.

192
197 uanian Psalter: "If we observe many strange words in the Lithuanian language, it will be found that it is a mixed language, stemming from other major languages, especially Greek and Latin, a fact which becomes evident for example in the proverb [53] of the Lithuanians: Dewas dawe dantes, Dewas dos ir dones; that is, 'If God has given teeth, he must also have given bread.' Whoever knows Greek or Latin will find that most of the words take their origin from these languages." (10)

10. Quoted on the basis of Bezzenberger, see footnote 13.[1]

197 We have seen[2] that Indo-European linguistic research in its further development has not confirmed this view of the old Königsberg clergyman, although it still haunted the German press during the First World War. (11) /18/ Rather, linguistic

[113] 11. Prof. Dr. Leo Brenner, "Litauer und Preussen, Stammesbrüder der Griechen," Deutsche Tageszeitung, September 12, 1917.

research has shown us that Lithuanian, together with Greek and Latin, originated in a common primitive language--Indo-European, and that the similarities of these languages are due to this fact. That these similarities are so striking, however, finds its explanation in the unusual antiquity of the Lithuanian language, which in this regard occupies a unique position among all the Indo-European languages. Schleicher already finds it remarkable that so ancient a language still exists at all. He refers to the dual and the seven Indo-European cases in Lithuanian that at times match the Sanskrit. He stresses that Lithuanian remained almost completely free of the great sound changes which the rest of the Indo-European languages underwent, and assigns to Lithuanian a similar role in the framework of the

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 17-18 -- Analyst]
2 [see cat 116, pp. 8-13 -- Analyst]

7: Jungfer RB5 Lithuanians RB5
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[For a discussion of literature in Lithuania, see category 116, pp. 83-110, and 221-341.
Pp. 83-110 include the Raudos or Lamentations for the Dead; Fairy Tales and Sagas; Proverbs and Sayings; Folk Riddles; Study of the Lithuanian Folklore.
Pp. 221-341 cover Lithuania's Artistic Literature. Pp. 221-226: The Literature of the 16th and 17th centuries. Pp. 226-234: The Beginning of Poetry in the 18th century. Pp. 234-262: The Literature of the 19th century up to the Proclamation of the Prohibition of Printing; The University of Vilna and the Period of Romanticism; From the Closing of the University to the Ending of Serfdom. Pp. 262-298: The Period of the Prohibition of Printing (1865-1904) - The Epoch of the Ausra; Prose Writing by Women at the End of the Century; Maironis and the Idealism in the Lyrics of His Time. Pp. 298-341: A Cross Section of the Most Recent Developments in Lithuanian Literature - The Period of Transition; The New Lyricism; Prose and Drama; Mykolaitis Putinas and Kreve Mickevicius.]

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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Harvest festival.

533 A number of songs are characterised by their dramatic quality; ballads in which the love element predominates are commonly preferred to those dealing with violent and terrible happenings.

The melodies of these popular songs — except when influenced by individual art — are simple and sincere; their gaiety is subdued, their melancholy marked by tenderness. The rhythm is seldom lively and the expression of feeling is never violent. Both music and poetry reflect a peaceful state of mind.

538 There is a wealth of tales and legends influenced mainly by Eastern Europe; some contain authentic Scandinavian elements. The most popular legends are those about the dead, fairies, the devil and witches; short interpolations of song are often found.

The love of fairies and the supernatural persists, though the belief in them has died out. The number of anecdotes, proverbs and riddles found bears witness to an ingenious turn of mind and a sense of humour.

The popular games contain all the elements of natural and healthy sport, and an endeavour is now being made to adapt them to modern requirements.

532 his satirical stylization of a "modern madonna," a bas-relief that shows a modern woman in a short skirt, the fashion at that time, and crossed legs, who regards her child with an expression "like a mother who does not love her child, but only tolerates it like an uninvited guest." (31)

[113] 31. Ig. Šlapelis, "Iš J. Mackevičiaus ir J. Zikaro parodos," Meno kultūra, 1928, No. 1, pp. 18-19.

532 543 Therewith the first generation of artists, whose works were represented at the first Lithuanian art exhibition in 1907, has been briefly characterized in its outstanding personalities. No less than 23 artists were represented with 242 pictures. The paintings were sent from far and wide--they came from Russia, Poland, Switzerland, Italy, Tyrol, and France--for very many of these artists lived at that time outside of the country. At the head of the art association, which in the following years sponsored a number of further exhibitions, was together with Rimša, Antanas Zmiudzinavičius, one of the most active champions of that generation of artists, who placed his organizational talents completely at the service of this idea. (32) They were joined by a third, the

[113] 32. Vydūnas, Litauen (Tilsit, 1916), p. 116.

composer and painter Mykolas Čiurlionis, an artist who, through his creations, at that time drew to himself the attention of the leading Russian artistic circles.

532 Born in 1875, the son of an organist in Druskininkai, Čiurlionis was accepted as a boy into the private orchestra of Prince Oginski in Plungė. His unusual musical talent and his likeable character caused the prince to send him to the conservatories of Warsaw and Leipzig. In 1901 we find

000will be able to judge its results.

/185/ C. Music and the Theater

1. Opera, Drama, Ballet

545 We cannot close the chapter on the spiritual culture of the city without having cast a brief glance at the Lithuanian theater, which, besides its purely artistic significance, is of great educational importance for wide circles of the people--the number of opera goers in the season 1936-37 amounted to about 68,000, while the drama showed an attendance of 80,000.

Seen historically, the forerunner of the Lithuanian theater is the Jesuit theater of the sixteenth century, as we already mentioned in connection with Kražiai. Although the language of this theater was Latin, in the intermissions monologues and dialogues were delivered by the students in the Samogitian dialect. (39) The real

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39. On the Jesuit theater cf. the detailed presentation in E. v. Ungern-Sternberg, "Aus einem erwachten Lande," Bresl. Ztg., September 24, 1923.

stimulus for the development of a folk theater, however, was provided by the dissolution of serfdom around the middle of the nineteenth century. At that time, still in the period of the prohibition on printing, when the Lithuanian movement began to stir on all sides, in all the cities where Lithuanians were present in large numbers, the institution of "Lithuanian soirées" was begun: in Palanga, Vilna, Kaunas, even in St. Petersburg, Warsaw, and many other cities. These evenings contained in their program games, dances, and songs, and also theater plays, and among the actors and directors belonged many a person who became important in the later history and political development of the country. The significance of these

"Lithuanian soirées" thus went far beyond the purpose of simple entertainment.

Nevertheless, it involved only the work of amateurs. The creation of a central Lithuanian theater that should unite all the artistic forces of the country, was an idea of the future and could only become a reality after the state had been founded. We can name two important dates here, the year 1920 as the /186/ year of foundation of the dramatic theater and the opera, and the year 1925, in which the first full-length ballet, Coppelia, was produced.

The Lithuanian opera was created almost out of nothing. Singers, choruses, orchestras, conductors, directors, as well as all the rest of the personnel did not suddenly become available, but needed a fairly long period of training. The nucleus of the new troup was formed by the famous tenor of the St. Mary Theater in Petersburg, Kipras Petrauskas, as well as M. Rakauskaitė and Ant. Sodeika, who returned from America. Other artists joined them, and thus on December 31, 1920, after the overcoming of many difficulties, Verdi's La Traviata could be performed as the first opera.

658 The Lithuanian opera and the dramatic theater which originated in the same year were founded by the Lithuanian Art Society (Lietuvių Meno Kūrėjų Draugija), and in the spring of 1922 were taken over by the state. An extraordinary development from an artistic point of view can be observed from then on. About 50 operas were performed, among them three Lithuanian: Gražina and Radvila Perkūnas by Karnavičius, and The Three Talismans by A. Račiunas. A further opera, Eglė, the Serpent Queen by M. Petrauskas, is in preparation. From the many others, only a few may be named: Verdi's La Traviata, Rigoletto, Il Trovatore, The Masked Ball, Aida; Puccini's Madame Butterfly, La Tosca, La Bohême; Gounod's Faust; Bizet's Carmen; Tschaikovsky's Eugene Onegin and Pique Dame; Wagner's Lohengrin

and Tannhäuser; d'Albert's Lowlands; Mozart's Don Giovanni; Smetana's Bartered Bride; Délibe's Lakmé; Dvořák's Undine; and many others. There are about 115-130 performances altogether in a season.

The Lithuanian opera has found acclaim outside of Lithuania also; a number of its best representatives have had successful debuts in guest roles in Milan (La Scala), Paris, Prague, Vienna, Buenos Aires, and in the Baltic capitals.

/187/ The dramatic theater came before the public even somewhat earlier than the Lithuanian opera with the presentation of Sudermann's St. John's Fire on December 19, 1920. No less than 148 different dramas have passed over the stage since then (up to the middle of February, 1938), and nothing more strongly illustrates the artistic and educational importance of the state theater than the great number of classic works which have been produced.

Among the foreign authors can be named Shakespeare with Othello, Winter's Tale, Hamlet, King Lear, and Twelfth Night. In addition, Schiller, above all, with the Räuber, Kabale und Liebe, Don Carlos, Wilhelm Tell, and Maria Stuart. Of all the translated dramas Kabale und Liebe showed the largest attendance figures. France is represented with Molière--Tartuffe, Le Malade Imaginaire, and Georges Dandin. Among the Nordic authors Ibsen reigns alone (Nordische Heerfahrt, Ghosts, Hedda Gabler, Pillars of Society). By Maeterlinck there was L'Intruse and Intérieur; by Gerhart Hauptmann Die versunkene Glocke, Hanneles Himmelfahrt, and Fuhrmann Henschel. In addition there were a great many other classic and modern authors, of whom only a few may be mentioned: Sudermann, Fulda, Hugo, Beaumarchais, Rolland, Scribe, Goldoni, Pirandello, Dickens, Jerome, Slowacki, Gogol, Tschapek, and Ostrowski.

A broader and broader area, primarily in the last few years, is being taken over by the blossom-

ing Lithuanian drama. A number of the more important authors and their works--Gužutis Keturakis, Šiaulėniškis, Maironis, Čiurlionienė, Putinas, Krėvė, Vydūnas, Sruoga, and Vaičiūnas--will receive detailed treatment in the analysis of present-day writing. Among other Lithuanian dramatists, Pivoša, Alantas, Santvaras, Cicėnas, Sakalauskas, Inčiuras, Kapnys, and Petrulis should be named. Although their names in this context can hardly be more than statistics, /188/ they are proof of the lively interest shown for the drama as a branch of the new Lithuanian literature, ever since the possibilities of performance, which earlier had existed only in the framework of the amateur theater, have opened up for every valuable work.

The travelling Lithuanian state theaters in Siauliai and Memel are products of the Kaunas state theater. But the latter theater also gives a number of guest performances every year in the larger towns of the country, where the possibilities for production exist; and these performances are very well attended.

Starting in 1925, the ballet has also come before the public with closed performances, and since then has developed into a factor in the artistic life of the country. Its development proceeded under the leadership of well-known Russian ballet masters; since 1937 it has been under Lithuanian direction. In contrast to Germany, for example, where in general only ballets inserted in operas are known, the tradition of the Russian ballet lives on in Lithuania. From the number of full-length ballets which have been performed, Swan Lake and the Nutcracker Suite of Tschaikovsky may be named; further, Délibe's already mentioned ballet Coppelia, and Sylvia; Don Quixote by Minkus; The Hunchbacked Horse by Punis; Vain Caution by Hertel; and The Fountains of Bachtschisarai by Asawjew. Lithuanian ballets were created by Dvarionas, Gruodis, and J. Karnavičius. They will be

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Discussed in another place.

In addition a large number of smaller, carefully rehearsed ballets of famous masters were produced, by Rimski-Korsakov, Strauss, Adam, Schumann Debussy, Moussorgsky, Weber, Glazunov, and others. The Lithuanian Ballet also found recognition abroad. This is proved by its guest appearances both in Monte Carlo, where ten performances took place in the Casino Opera in 1935, and in London, where the Lithuanian Ballet gave no less than 32 performances in the Alhambra Theater.

/189/ The beautiful scenery, on which a number of the best artists of the land collaborated, contributed not a little to the success of the Lithuanian ballet. Thus the Lithuanian theater in its trinity--opera, drama, and ballet--has become a cultural factor not to be underestimated, not only in the life of the city of Kaunas but in that of the whole country.

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2. The Development of Musical Life

The extraordinary rise of the Lithuanian state opera and the great interest of wide circles by which it was supported had, in the first years of statehood, an inhibiting effect on the realm of pure music insofar as the interest in choral music, as in concerts, evenings of chamber music, etc. in general, markedly decreased. This involved, however, only a transitional phenomenon, and the state theater itself, through the introduction of regular symphony concerts, was able to reawaken and enliven the weakened interest, so that today we can speak of a new upswing. Arrangements of symphony concerts at first took place through the Kaunas "Philharmonic Society," which today no longer exists, in which the artistic forces of the country were united. Later Stasys Šimkus, known as a composer and conductor, devoted his whole energy to those concerts. They awakened the interest of wider circles of music lovers, above all by engaging

497 Railroad traffic is lively: military trains pass Kaunas every few minutes. A single passenger train circulates daily between Vilnius and Kaunas, and one train operates every other day between Kaunas and Šeštokai.

499 505 Graveled highways go unrepaired, showing ever greater deterioration. Few ships and barges are seen on the Nemunas, as most of the fleet managed to escape to Denmark in 1944.

465 511 All artisans were driven into "artels": excessive taxes did the trick.

[435] Wages are low and working hours are long. Prices are twice as high as in Moscow: one week's wages is spent on a kilogram of butter. In 1945 butter was transported from Lithuania to Moscow in an "airlift operation," by planes. The Muscovites liked Lithuanian butter—and butter is still exported, depriving the Lithuanians of their diet. Numerous deductions are withheld from wages—up to one half, including "voluntary" subscriptions to state loans, etc.

In consequence of the meager pay, every worker attempts to steal whatever he can, and to sell the stolen products in the black market. Lately the bureaucracy —itself most guilty of embezzlement—began penalizing the workers with harsh penalties. Nevertheless, the practice of stealing is universal, and the Russian officials set the pace. Whenever the so-called "exemplary state farms" call for volunteers to assist in planting or harvesting—there are enough volunteers who anticipate a chance to "hook something."

The morale of factory workers is as low as that of the farmers. The living conditions steadily deteriorate. Discontent over "stakhanovite efficiency," long working hours, low pay, lack of clothing, etc. is widespread. In the early part of 1948 the regime abandoned its choicest proffer to workers—the bait of appointment [554] to managing posts. Today, there is a tendency to build up cadres of skilled specialists, a privileged caste of people in uniform—even telegraph post climbers wear uniforms. . . .

Moral Situation

000 Symbols of Russian "culture" and ways of life universally exhibited by the "masters and victors" are—violence, profanity, drunkenness, thievery, deceit and raggedness.

685 Any criminal tendencies among the natives were drastically curbed by the underground authorities. Felonies were penalized by death sentences—and the sentences were carried out. But thieving is uncontrollable in the factories and in the supply services.

273 186 The Russians and their bootlickers revel in continual drunkenness. Vodka is the universal form of bribe. Unfortunately, the brutal conditions of life affected the Lithuanians to a certain degree, too. People are tempted to forget bitter reality for a half hour at least. The resistance movement continually wages a press propaganda against alcoholism ("Don't be like a Russian!"). For strictly practical considerations of maintaining a supply service for its armed units, the resistance movement repeatedly issued orders banning home distilling and any waste of the much needed grains. The Russians, however, pursue a definite policy aimed at demoralizing the natives and weakening their moral standards. Vodka is dumped on the market in unlimited unrationed qualities. But — the Church is still permitted to preach against the evils of drunkenness.

5:Masiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

562 873 the others are mixed but in the larger schools in which parallel classes exist, separate classes for boys and girls are established.

875 [658] The extension of the network of secondary schools produced in the first years of Lithuania's independence a shortage of teachers, and educating a staff was undertaken by the State. Teachers were trained in foreign universities, and from 1922 onwards in the University of Vytautas the Great in Kaunas, as well. Most of the 1,432 teachers now employed are university graduates and possess the qualifications required by the Ministry of Education. They are classified as junior teachers, teachers, and senior teachers. The rank of junior teacher is granted to persons who have taken a university course in psychology, pedagogics, the history of pedagogics, pedology, and the methodology of their specialties, or have passed examinations in these subjects and have completed their studies in the subjects necessary for the teaching of their specialty. Junior teachers who have taught successfully not less than 2 years and have conducted two probational lessons in their specialty may be elevated by the Ministry of Education to the rank of teachers. Teachers who have taught with outstanding success for at least 5 years may be raised to senior teachers.

School Competitions

873 555 A State physical culture badge to encourage physical fitness, scout troops and circles, camps for students, and travel during the vacation period are all connected with secondary education, but perhaps the most noteworthy activity to promote all-sided scholastic progress and interscholastic cooperation is the school competitions that were organized first in 1935 and take place at the end of the school year.

In these competitions the secondary schools strive for supremacy in the reading and recitation of Lithuanian, French, and German, drawing, singing, and physical culture. In

5:Masiliunas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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each school near the close of the year, the pupils who have shown the most ability are selected from each class. The pick of these are chosen, in the course of a public performance, to represent the gymnasium in the district contest. The picked teams, usually numbering 1,000 to 1,500 students, meet on an appointed day to compete for first place in the district. From them the best readers, reciters, draughtsmen, choirs, sportsmen, etc., are selected to participate in the finals which take place most often at Kaunas. There the teams from the seven districts into which Lithuania is divided for this purpose, compete for the National first, second, and third places. On this occasion festivities on a larger scale are organized and the winners are awarded special prizes. The competitions have been found to promote a will to work among the students, and give them an opportunity to acquire a better knowledge of their country and to make useful personal contacts with their fellow students.

873

The institutions of higher education are the University of Vytautas the Great, the Veterinary Academy, State Conservatory of Music, and State Art School, all at Kaunas; Agricultural Academy at Dotnuva; and the Private Commercial Institute, Pedagogical Institute, and Music School, all at Klaipeda. They enroll approximately 4,400 students. The university began in 1579 as the High School of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, was later converted into a university, and was closed by the Russians in 1832. As early as December 5, 1918, the Lithuanian State Council passed statutes for this University of Vilnius and it was on the point of reopening in 1919, but military operations intervened and it was not definitely founded until February 16, 1922, at Kaunas. In 1930, when the five hundredth anniversary of the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Vytautas the Great, who ruled over a Lithuania that extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea, was celebrated with great pomp, the university was renamed in his honor. It is an autonomous institution the powers of which are fixed by the statutes. It is maintained by the state and is connected with the Ministry of Education. During the 16 years of its recent existence, the university has developed into an important educational center which devotes special attention to the study of the Lithuanian language and history.

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793 659 661 they discontinue holding Mass and stop the performance of other priestly duties. A number of priests were arrested and the NKVD attempted to enlist their services by threats and blackmail. Because of these methods, several priests consented—and, immediately after their release, fled abroad. Those refusing to become agents were imprisoned. Soon the number of prisoners grew as many friars, preachers and high school students heroically defended their faith.

626 527 461 The Russians initiated a campaign against religious *traditions*. They began by banning the traditional Corpus Christi processions in the streets. All Saints Day was declared to be a working day, and the authorities banned traditional services and mass visits to cemeteries on All Souls' Day. During Advent and Lent, the bolsheviks encouraged dancing, entertainment and anti-religious lectures. Good Friday and Holy Saturday, as well as the second day of Easter, were designated working days. Those failing to report for work on the second day of Easter were prosecuted. In general, at frequent intervals, ordinary Sundays were periodically declared to be working days, and Saturdays—days of rest.

876 626 The teaching of religion in schools was replaced by classes on biology and the Stalin constitution. Biological lectures popularized "Darwinism." The "science of constitution" was to popularize a "Soviet democracy" and its oft-varying shifts directed by party [883] line. In place of religious sodalities and athletic groups, the bolsheviks attempted to form *"Komsomol"* (Communist Youth) nests directed by political instructors called "Komsorg." Religious sermons were replaced by anti-religious tirades in the communist-controlled press and at mass meetings. Attendance at such mass-meetings to hear blasphemies was made compulsory.

626 661 558 Churches kept open and functioning. However, attendants at religious services were terrorized. The Party posted uniformed and non-uniformed spies at church doors to observe and list the churchgoers. Attendance in church was a sufficient reason for dismissal from higher offices.

000 The anti-religious drive, growing in tempo, began to expand. When Bishops Brizgys and Ramanauskas called on Pozdniakov, the former Soviet Minister to Lithuania and at present the Kremlin's deputy satrap, to ask for the return of the premises of the Theological Seminary, the Russian attempted to "reason" with them. Pozdniakov stated that they should have no illusions: what had been accomplished in Russia in 20 years, will be achieved in Lithuania within two to three years by experienced administrators. Why should the Seminary "delude" young men? By the time they became priests, there would be no duties to perform—in Russia the priests already have nothing to do. . . .

Lithuanian Resistance to the Anti-Religious Drive

798 771 The Lithuanians had suffered much for religion—murder, imprisonment and exile to Siberia—during

793 ing Holy Mass. With his hands tied behind his back,
661 he was pushed into an auto, driven to the railroad
798 station, and placed on board a train.

Bishop Matulionis was arrested in mid-December 1946. The old martyr bore himself with dignity and firmness. To warnings by well-wishers he replied: "I know the bolsheviks." He had ordained some divinity graduates December 9 and 12th, and appeared very weak. He was arrested a few days later for having issued a pastoral letter warning against the wiles of Komsomol.

Arrests of the clergy are more numerous after several visits to "Prime Minister" Gedvila to protest against limiting the number of divinity students to 150. The seminary's building is being requisitioned: its quarters in Marian Fathers' Charity Church are being turned over to Nurses School.

A favorite Russian method is to promote dissension. When Rev. Nagulevičius, pastor of Obeliai, was arrested, the NKDV lodged a suspended priest in the rectory. This "pastor" refused to admit the priest appointed by the bishop. The Chancellor of the diocese arrived to settle the matter, but the NKVD "pastor" refused to obey. When the Chancellor visited comrade Gailevičius, Adviser on Cult Affairs in Vilnius, the latter said: "At present the people rule. This is apparently the people's will, and we cannot help in this matter."

The NKVD is attempting to install its own "priests" and, eventually, to have a Church administration subservient to the NKVD. Thus far, only one apostate is known.

No priests are admitted to the Klaipėda-Memel District.

[794] Congregations are being evicted from their quarters although, officially, the monasteries are not banned. St. Casimir's Sisters are still in possession at Pałaislis, and the Franciscan Fathers are still left in Kretinga.

[651] Priests and Church property are heavily taxed. For instance, the Cathedral of Kaunas must pay 46,000 rubles, the Cathedral of Panevėžys 40,000, the small Church of St. Nicholas in Vilnius dating back to the 14th century, is taxed 16,000 rubles. The late Mgr. Jokubauskas, administrator of the Bishopric of Kaunas who died in February 1947, was taxed 20,000 rubles. The figures become significant when it is realized that an average laborer earns 200 rubles a month.

Sidelights of Anti-Religious Drive

659 Religious practice is permitted inside the church
626 only: Stalin's constitution grants "freedom of belief"
798 and warrants the liberty of anti-religious propaganda. No religious texts, not even prayerbooks, are permitted to be published—"paper shortage" . . . On the other hand millions of vile pamphlets are printed.

Once more, uniformed sentinels and agents in mufti are ostentatiously posted at church doors. They look over every face and scribble notes in the "blocnotes." [558] Attendance in church means dismissal from a responsible post in the government. Teachers attending religious services are denounced in the press as "persons of low morality." A high school director inquired of

5:Masiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

[563] 871 873 Instead of the second foreign language, the language of instruction and general literature are taught. There are only 23 weekly lessons in French, 12 in drawing, 25 in physical culture and pre-military training, and 9 in manual training and housekeeping for girls.

Schools Public or Private

871 658 Nineteen thousand nine hundred and thirty-nine secondary school students were attending 66 gymnasia and 34 progymnasia in 1937; in 1919 there were 5 gymnasia and 33 progymnasia with 9,213 students. These schools may be either State (public) or private. The former are founded and maintained by the State; the latter, with the permission of the Minister of Education, by corporations, ecclesiastical orders, and private individuals. All the private schools are under the control of the Ministry of Education which grants subventions toward their maintenance, sends official delegates to inspect the work carried on in them, and appoints their teachers. The students in some of the private gymnasia enjoy all the privileges extended to students in the State schools. In others they do not, and in order to acquire those rights the students must at the end of their course of study, pass examinations in the State schools or in their own schools in the presence of a delegate of the Ministry of Education. The relative numerical status of the two types of schools is:

Type	Progymnasia	Gymnasia
State	22	33
Private:		
Lithuanian	2	10
Jewish	5	14
German	4	5
Latvian	1	----------
Polish	----------	3
Russian	----------	1

● 562 873 Nine gymnasia and one progymnasium have been especially set aside for the education of girls, and eight for the education of boys. All

5:Masiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

562 873 the others are mixed but in the larger schools in which parallel classes exist, separate classes for boys and girls are established.

875 [658] The extension of the network of secondary schools produced in the first years of Lithuania's independence a shortage of teachers, and educating a staff was undertaken by the State. Teachers were trained in foreign universities, and from 1922 onwards in the University of Vytautas the Great in Kaunas, as well. Most of the 1,432 teachers now employed are university graduates and possess the qualifications required by the Ministry of Education. They are classified as junior teachers, teachers, and senior teachers. The rank of junior teacher is granted to persons who have taken a university course in psychology, pedagogics, the history of pedagogics, pedology, and the methodology of their specialties, or have passed examinations in these subjects and have completed their studies in the subjects necessary for the teaching of their specialty. Junior teachers who have taught successfully not less than 2 years and have conducted two probational lessons in their specialty may be elevated by the Ministry of Education to the rank of teachers. Teachers who have taught with outstanding success for at least 5 years may be raised to senior teachers.

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11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

VIII. THE ROLE OF LITHUANIAN WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE

Women play an important part in Lithuanian agriculture both economically and intellectually. A farm without a woman is considered as extraordinary; the first thing a young peasant does when he comes into property is to marry, and a widower soon marries again. 462

From time immemorial, the peasant woman has taken her full share of responsibility in rural work. Though not on such a big scale as at present, she always made butter and cheese, collected eggs and occasionally fattened a pig for the market and sold a few geese. The more skilled even contrived to sell a little honey, dried fruits, poppy-heads and onions, and used to take to the fair in the neighbouring town their homespun linen or cloth. The woman's modest earnings were independent of the revenue from the farm; they covered the housekeeping expenditure and enabled her to put a little aside and even to help her husband on occasion.

In a number of districts, the ancient custom still prevails whereby a girl could reject a suitor who did not promise to confer on her, as mistress of his house, the right to manage the whole financial side of the farm.

Legally, women are treated in Lithuania to-day on a footing of equality with men. They have the right to own and administer land or other immovable property whether married or not. After the parents' death, brothers and sisters inherit the land in equal shares; the widow or widower inherits 25% of the estate. No statistics are available of the number of women landowners, but they are known to be less numerous than the men. The principal reason for this is the desire to avoid breaking up estates. One very widespread custom in many districts is for the peasant to leave his land to his eldest son, requiring him at the same time to pay over to his sisters and younger brothers in cash or in stock the shares devolving on them. When a girl marries, the share accruing to her is often registered in her husband's name. Before the war, under the law of the Russian Empire, girls in the Province of Kaunas inherited only one-fourteenth of the immovable property. These various factors have all tended to reduce the area owned by women. It is among the owners of large estates that women constitute the highest percentage, but these estates are few in number. 562 428

When an agricultural census was taken in 1930, women were found to constitute 50.69% and men 49.31% of the total adult 162

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

worthy of note. The explanation is that the elder daughters have to help their mothers in the house. Moreover, there is more demand for boys on the smaller farms; an adult paid hand would cost too much. 464

The distribution of women's work according to the size of the farm is as follows: on the smaller farms — under 15 hectares — there are more adult women than men working who are members of the family; on farms ranging from 15 to 30 hectares paid labour is generally found consisting of adult women and boys, the number of women members of the family working being about the same as that of the men. The number of children working as members of the family is in inverse ratio to the size of the farm, the figures for boys declining rather more sharply than those for girls. In farms of 50 hectares, the percentage of women in receipt of wages becomes equal to the percentage of women belonging to the family, whereas in larger farms the former percentage is the greater. In farms of over 50 hectares, the proportion of women among the wage-earners declines in inverse ratio to the size of the farm. 462 464

Wage-earning female agricultural workers are recruited from among the landless proletariat, which is not very numerous in the rural districts, and more particularly from among families of small landowners and settlers. Many of them are engaged only in seasonal day-labour and live at home.

A woman's work on the farm is very varied. In addition to her usual domestic duties, she has to feed the fowls, milk and often feed the cows and work in the kitchen garden — all tasks for which men as a rule show little inclination. She has, besides, to toss the hay, load the carts, bind the sheaves, pick the flax, etc. Sugar-beet cultivation and other hoed crops require much female labour. With the modernisation of agriculture, dairying, pig-breeding and poultry are tending to constitute more important branches of agriculture, and practically the whole of the export trade in eggs, butter and bacon represents the outcome of women's work. 462

The life of the peasant woman is becoming increasingly difficult, for even though her labour raises the standard of well-being of her own family and of the country as a whole, she is gradually losing part of her economic independence. The income she derived before the war from her eggs, cheese and butter is passing out of her keeping and her husband now receives, through the intermediary of the co-operative dairies, pig-marketing boards and centres for the purchase of flax and eggs, ten times the sum she once earned, this income forming the mainstay of the whole farm budget. A thrifty hard-working housewife who has to be constantly begging her husband for money for minor household expenses is criticied for extravagance. 562

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

286 With so much other work to do, the farmer's wife has little time nowadays for spinning and weaving. This is indeed how 462 her artistic sense, cultivated for centuries, finds expression. There is a special material for every purpose and a special design for every material — for bed-linen and personal linen, pure linen weave; for towels and table linen, linen and cotton mixed, with hundreds of combinations of grey and white checks; for carpets and blankets, linen and woollen materials in brighter colours and bolder designs; for men's suits, woollen materials. The women's traditional costumes are still found in many districts, and attempts have recently been made to extend the use of national costumes in general. Every corner of Lithuania has its own traditions, designs and combinations of colours. The designs of the costumes bear witness to an original taste in art, while the choice of colours is remarkably ● 572 finely conceived. Again, a great variety of exquisite detailed designs is found in the Easter eggs. Only the son of a Lithuanian woman who had grown up in an atmosphere of mystic legends could have created the Lithuanian "Smūtkelis", the saints in the little chapels standing by the roadside, the amazing Samogitian crosses.

To recall the situation of the country before the war is to realise the importance of the humble peasant woman's rôle. During foreign domination when there were practically no books written in the national language and no Lithuanian schools, the peasant woman was the guardian of the Lithuanian language, customs and art and the inspirer of the national conscience when her sons returned home for the holidays after studying at schools which offered them only the foreign culture of the country's oppressors. The Lithuanian woman's personal beliefs and convictions revealed her integrity and sense of justice. A gentle poetry and original philosophy of life imbued the songs and tales and proverbs which she transmitted to her children. The lore she handed down to her daughters, her simple replies to their questions, reflected an exquisite beauty of character and the finest intelligence. Her bearing was marked by nobility, by a consciousness of her dignity, far above what might be regarded as corresponding to her station in life; in her relations with different classes of society, she exhibited remarkable tact and a keen sense of diplomacy.

The Lithuanian peasant woman has preserved this natural dignity notwithstanding the profound transformation of the whole life of the country. The school with its army of teachers — about 60% are women — the Lithuanian book, the national Press adapted to the requirements of the various social classes, officials and private economic and cultural activities, the agrarian reform, the breaking-up of communal lands into individual

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

farms, improved means of communication, the wireless — all 562
these factors have completely revolutionised the physiognomy of the country and the mentality of its inhabitants.

The rôle of the intellectual woman in agriculture is no less 462
important. As a member of the Chamber of Agriculture or of the many associations which aim at promoting the technical advancement of agriculture, as the owner and manager of well-run farms, she takes an active part in the solution of various problems relating to agriculture. Like men, she is found in the service of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Chamber of Agriculture. But it is in the sphere of agricultural instruction that she plays the most important part. Girls have opportunities of studying agronomic science at the Agricultural Academy at Dotnuva, and agricultural domestic economy is taught in the domestic science section of that institution. On completing their studies, they spread the knowledge they have acquired by enrolling as teachers in domestic economy and other agricultural schools; they visit the peasant women in their own homes, in their capacity as agricultural domestic advisers under the Chamber of Agriculture; they give them advice and practical instruction; they organise lectures and courses on questions of interest to farming women, competitions, excursions and local exhibitions; they run young peasants' clubs and play an important part in organisations for the education of rural youth; they contribute to the periodicals for farmers' wives and daughters — "Šcimininkė" (with about 80,000 subscribers), "Jaunasis Ūkininkas" (also with about 80,000 subscribers) and "Moteris" (15,000 subscribers). They prepare lectures, etc., for the half-hour wireless talk for countrywomen.

The recently founded Society of Lithuanian Peasant Women 562
looks after the interests of peasant women. Its object is to 575
group all Lithuanian peasant women, including those working on farms, with a view to joint economic action designed to create a new type not concerned solely with their own individual calling but prepared to interest themselves also in the well-being of the nation as a whole. The Society of Lithuanian Peasant Women has an hour's talk on the radio every Sunday, devoted exclusively to the affairs of women in rural areas.

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

693 Art. 87. The Procurator of the Lithuanian SSR is appointed by the Procurator-General of the USSR for a term of five years.

Art. 88. District and city procurators are appointed by the Procurator of the Lithuanian SSR subject to the approval of the Procurator-General of the USSR for a term of five years.

Art. 89. The organs of the Procurator's Office perform their functions independently of any local organs whatsoever, being subordinate solely to the Procurator-General of the USSR.

Chapter VIII. Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens

641 461 Art. 90. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to work, that is, the right to guaranteed employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.

The right to work is ensured by the socialist organization of the national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the elimination of the possibility of economic crises and the abolition of unemployment.

Art. 91. The citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to rest and leisure.

[466] The right to rest and leisure is ensured by the establishment of an eight-hour day for factory and office workers, the reduction of the working day to seven or six hours for arduous trades and to four hours in shops where conditions of work are particularly arduous, by the institution of annual vacations with full pay for factory and office workers, and by the provision of a wide network of sanatoria, rest homes and clubs for the accommodation of the working people.

[657] Art. 92. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or disability.

641 This right is ensured by the extensive development of social insurance of factory and office workers at state expense, free medical service for working people, and the provision of a wide network of health resorts for the use of the working people.

[871] Art. 93. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to education.

This right is ensured by universal and compulsory elementary education; by free education up to and including the seventh grade; by a system of state stipends for students of higher educational establishments who excel in their studies; by instruction in schools being conducted in the native language, and by the organization in the factories, state farms and machine and tractor stations of free vocational, technical and agronomic training for the working people.

[512] Art. 94. Women in the Lithuanian SSR are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, government, cultural, political and other public activity.

The possibility of exercising these rights is ensured by women being accorded an equal right with men to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education, by state protection of the interests of mother and child, state aid to mothers of large families and unmarried mothers, maternity leave with full pay, and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens.

[Lithuanian constitution as of April 7, 1948]

[644] Art. 103. It is the duty of every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR to safe-
[645] guard and fortify public, socialist property as the sacred and inviolable foun-
cation of the Soviet system, as the source of the wealth and might of the coun-
[401] try, as the source of the prosperity and culture of all the working people.

Persons committing offences against public, socialist property are enemies of the people.

Art. 104. Universal military service is law.

Military service in the Armed Forces of the USSR is an honourable duty of the citizens of the Lithuanian SSR.

[657] Art. 105. To defend the country is the sacred duty of every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR. Treason to the motherland - violation of the oath of allegiance, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military power of the state, espionage - is punishable with all the severity of the law as the most heinous of crimes.

Chapter IX. The Electoral System

666 Art. 106. Members of all Soviets of Working People's Deputies - of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR and of the district, city, volost, small town and apilinki Soviets of Working People's Deputies - are chosen by the electors on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

Art. 107. Elections of deputies are universal: all citizens of the Lithuanian SSR who have reached the age of eighteen, irrespective of race or nationality, sex, religion, education, domicile, social origin, property status or past activities, have the right to vote in the election of deputies and to be elected, with the exception of insane persons and persons who have been convicted by a court of law and whose sentences include deprivation of electoral rights.

[644] Every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR who has reached the age of twenty-one is eligible for election to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, irrespective of race, nationality, sex, religion, education, domicile, social origin, property status or past activities.

Art. 108. Elections of deputies are equal: each citizen has one vote; all citizens participate in elections on an equal footing.

[542] Art. 109. Women have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with men.

Art. 110. Citizens serving in the Armed Forces of the USSR have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with all other citizens.

Art. 111. Elections of deputies are direct: all Soviets of Working People's Deputies, from apilinki, volost and city Soviets of Working People's Deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR are elected by the citizens by a direct vote.

Art. 112. Voting at elections of deputies is secret.

Art. 113. Candidates are nominated by election districts.

723 "latent enemies of the people." Mobilization exercises
722 are periodically staged, to test the apparatus. Speakers addressing mass meetings denounce American and British "imperialists" and "warmongering aggressors." War morale permeates the administrative apparatus, the Party and army circles. Workers are urged to strain every effort for the "defense of the Soviet motherland" and to increase the output.

[207] Radio listening sets are still in existence. Their number is considerably smaller than before the war, inasmuch as permits are required. Such permits are given by the authorities to "loyal citizens" and every applicant would automatically place himself under suspicion. "Radio points" are installed in KP/b clubs, "Red Corners," and loudspeakers blare out the broadcasts from Vilnius and Moscow.

Nevertheless, several hundred unregistered radio receiving sets are owned illegally, and foreign broadcasts are heard.

Population and Minorities

162 Lithuania presently has roughly 2,300,000 inhabitants—a loss of 200,000 within the single year 1948. However, over 200,000 Soviet nationals—armed forces, MGB, MVD, and settlers—replaced the natives. The colonists settled where the long arm of the guerrillas cannot reach them—in large cities and in the areas where there were Russian settlements prior to 1940: in Zarasai county, and at Jonava and Kruonis. Russians are also settled in the Klaipėda District and in the western areas (Samagitia) which were largely depopulated by the retreating Germans and several "operations" of the MVD-MGB. Few Russians settled along the Polish-Lithuanian frontier and some 20,000 Lithuanians "repatriated" from Poland were moved there. East Prussia—in both the Russian and Polish-annexed sections—is settled predominantly by White-ruthenes (Byelorussians), presumably in an attempt to erect a Whiteruthenian "wedge toward the sea" which would finally cut off Lithuania from the Baltic.

Kaunas has a population of 150,000, of whom 60% are Lithuanians. Vilnius has a population of about 160,000, of whom 37% are Lithuanians, 23% are Poles, 40% are Russians and others. There is no longer a separate Polish underground since the "repatriation" of Poles.

There are practically no native Germans left, but there are thousands of German vagrants, mostly women and children who seek food and work on farms. Some Tatars, Karaims and Gypsies survived.

563 About 3,000 native Jews stayed in the country and some 15,000 other Jews arrived from Russia. The Jews settled in the cities and occupy the more important posts in the administration. Their children attend Russian schools exclusively. For these reasons, the natives distrust Jews. Even those Jews whom the Lithuanians had saved from extermination during the Nazi occupation at great personal risk, avoid helping those who aided them. In fact, when now approached for aid to save their benefactors from deportation, they complain that "food had been bad" when they were hiding on Lithuanian farms.

In Butrimonys, where some 100 Jewish families lived before the war, only several families survived. One of the surviving Jews was especially ungrateful toward the farmer who had saved him at great per-

●563 sonal risk: when the Russians arrived, the Jew informed them that a person who had secreted a Jew from the Nazis might most likely secret a "bandit" from the Russians—and the poor farmer was executed and his family exiled.

000 This reasoning seems to be generally adopted by the Russians—and no "heroics" are told them. The Russians show no excitement whatever regarding the massacres perpetrated by the Nazis. They conducted no special investigation or excavations—the Nazi practices too closely parallel those of the Soviets. .....Only in instances where they were tipped off that people had been executed clothed and unrobbed—did the Russians make excavations in quest for valuables. . . . They gathered up coins, jewelry, pulled gold from teeth, and ceremoniously reburied the skeletons.

Education

874 The University of Vilnius with medical and chemistry departments, and the University of Kaunas with
871 departments of medicine, architecture, construction, technology and chemistry, are functioning. Both universities provide compulsory instruction in "Marxism-Leninism Science" and military training. A Veterinarian Academy and the lower classes of the Agricultural Academy function at Kaunas. The Pedagoguic Institute and an Art Institute with classes in scultpure, architecture, graphics and painting are open in Vilnius. The Commercial Institute is at Klaipėda. The upper classes of the Agricultural Academy are still housed in the ruins of Dotnuva.

Eighty percent of the faculty staff and student body are Lithuanians. Deputy Rectors, in charge of "political education," are Russian MVD-men. Most of the aliens are concentrated in Vilnius. The total student body numbers about 6,000 (compared with over 2,000 university students in Western Germany).

Of secondary schools, there are about 90 gymnasia and 189 progymnasia with 65,000 students, and about 20 special schools of agriculture, orchardry, gardening, forestry, cattle breeding, bookkeeping, etc. The secondary schools follow an 8-year program—a recession to the antiquated pre-1914 system. The Russian language is taught from the third grade of grammar school. All textbooks are translations of Russian authors exclusively. Prewar textbooks are withdrawn from circulation and systematically destroyed.

186 In 1944 and 1945, the National Anthem of Lithuania was tolerated as a "national song" over the radio and at some official functions, but was banned from schools. It is still sung in some churches but is no longer heard elsewhere.

876 Since 1946, school programs were systematically
626 purged of all "western bourgeois" influence. In libraries, books of western authors were replaced by propaganda "masterpieces" of Russian literature. The Michurin theory is preached, and professors are compelled to publicly "confess" their former heresy. Every dissertation on any subject must faithfully seek some quotation from Stalin and Lenin "science" to prove the infallibility. Only students whose parents never owned more than 18 hectares of land are admitted to universities—others are "outlaws."

The universities demand that matriculating students submit loyalty certificates issued by local Party offices. The University of Kaunas still adheres to the

5:Masiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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Subjects of instruction	Hours a week by grades—							
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	Total
Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	14
Lithuanian language and general literature	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	30
French	6	6	4	3	3	3	3	28
Second foreign language (German, English, or Russian)	---	---	---	5	5	5	3	18
Latin	---	---	4	4	4	3	3	18
History	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	17
Citizenship	---	---	---	---	---	---	2	2
Elements of philosophy	---	---	---	---	---	2	2	4
Geography	---	2	2	2	2	2	---	10
Mathematics	4	3	3	3	3	3	4	23
Natural sciences	4	3	2	3	3	3	4	22
Drawing	3	2	2	2	1	2	2	14
Physical culture and premilitary training for boys	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	28
Physical culture for girls	3	3	3	2	2	2	3	18
Manual training and housekeeping for girls	1	2	2	2	2	3	---	12
Music and singing	2	2	2	2	2	---	---	10
Total for girls	32	32	32	36	36	37	35	240
Total for boys	32	31	31	36	36	36	36	238

All the subjects listed are compulsory. Pupils who do not do well in any of them are not granted the secondary school leaving certificate. In the schools of national minorities in which the language of instruction is not Lithuanian, the program is quite different.

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5:Masiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

[563] Instead of the second foreign language, the language of instruction and general literature are taught. There are only 23 weekly lessons in French, 12 in drawing, 25 in physical culture and pre-military training, and 9 in manual training and housekeeping for girls.

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Schools Public or Private

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Nineteen thousand nine hundred and thirty-nine secondary school students were attending 66 gymnasia and 34 progymnasia in 1937; in 1919 there were 5 gymnasia and 33 progymnasia with 9,213 students. These schools may be either State (public) or private. The former are founded and maintained by the State; the latter, with the permission of the Minister of Education, by corporations, ecclesiastical orders, and private individuals. All the private schools are under the control of the Ministry of Education which grants subventions toward their maintenance, sends official delegates to inspect the work carried on in them, and appoints their teachers. The students in some of the private gymnasia enjoy all the privileges extended to students in the State schools. In others they do not, and in order to acquire those rights the students must at the end of their course of study, pass examinations in the State schools or in their own schools in the presence of a delegate of the Ministry of Education. The relative numerical status of the two types of schools is:

Type	Progymnasia	Gymnasia
State	22	33
Private:		
Lithuanian	2	10
Jewish	5	14
German	4	5
Latvian	1	----------
Polish	----------	3
Russian	----------	1

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Nine gymnasia and one progymnasium have been especially set aside for the education of girls, and eight for the education of boys. All

181 that we have here a rounded-off and self-contained culture. Such a culture never originates through a random accumulation of human beings, but always through a nation. In our case this culture was a typical peasant culture.

369 A combination of the most varied historical
565 circumstances, which cannot be gone into in this
162 context, led to the result that the Lithuanian settling in villages and individual farms has
563 found his way to the city only in most recent times and is beginning to imprint his own stamp on it.

The cultural upper class which determined the face of the Lithuanian city in the past centuries has changed in the course of time. Little is known concerning the city's earliest inhabitants.(1)

[113] 1. A. Bezzenberger, "Der Werdegang des litauischen Volkes," Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 1915, Vol. XIII, No. 1, p. 26. "Cities existed only sparsely and, like Vilna, founded in 1321, has probably more foreign than Lithuanian inhabitants."

In the fourteenth century Grand Duke Gediminas summoned German artisans and tradesmen into the country. (2) There followed the Hanse, which had

[113] 2. On the history of the Hanse in Lithuania cf. Walther Stein, "Vom deutschen Kontor in Kowno," Hansische Geschichtsblätter, 1916, Vol. XXII, Nos. 1 and 2, as well as the references given there.

an office in Kaunas. About the same time the Jews made their entrance and completely changed the city picture. Confined to the border provinces by Russian legislation in later centuries they also /146/ gave their stamp to the Lithuanian provincial cities before the first World War. Accord-

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ing to Ljubawski and Lithuanian cities of the sixteenth century were already overcrowded with Jews (3)

3. Cf. on this point Ljubawski, Oblastnoe dielenie i miestnoe upravlenie Litovski-Russkago gosydarstva ko vremeni izdaniia pervago Litovskago statuta (Districting and Local Administration of the Lithuanian-Russian State at the Time of the Issuance of the First Lithuanian Statute), as well as S. A. Berschadski, Litovski evrei (The Lithuanian Jews) (1883). In recent times the history of Judaism experienced a detailed presentation in Prof. A. Janulaitis, Žydai Lietuvoje (The Jews in Lithuania) (Kaunas, 1923).

The third city element, however, the Poles--as the upper class--at first assimilated the Lithuanian country population which moved in. Even in the nineteenth century a Lithuanian upper class still could not be formed in the cities of the country, since Russian legislation forbade the Lithuanians to occupy any official positions in their own country. Thus--by the irony of history--the first nucleus of an educated Lithuanian bourgeoisie arose in the cities of inner Russia, where the prohibition did not apply. In place of its own officialdom the land received Russian officials and garrisons, whose religious edification was taken care of by the state in this Roman Catholic country with the erection of Orthodox churches.

The World War finally ended this development through the founding of the Lithuanian state. All at once there is a city class educated abroad and now back home, which, though, not numerous, includes all professions, even artists and scholars. In addition a strong immigration from the countryside set in, for suddenly numerous possibilities to make a living in the cities, in officialdom, in

369 the military, and liberal professions, opened up
162 to the younger peasant generation. An initially
565 favorable economic development encouraged this
563 influx, which again completely changed the face of the city: the city of Kaunas alone doubled its population in a few years. In all areas a lively activity is being unfolded; along with material problems intellectual ones, literature, art, music, theater, science, are suddenly factors in the life of the people.

341 Knowledge of the development sketched here*
121 is essential for the understanding of what follows. It might seem, that is, as if a presentation of the cultural elements of the Lithuanian people would have to be restricted solely to this most recent period of time, insofar as the city is concerned. /147/ The historic architecture of the city would then be excluded from our treatment, since it does not bear the stamp of the same racial type. This is perhaps also the reason why until today there is hardly a single Lithuanian presentation of the historic structures of the country.

341 Nevertheless the present work must consider the architecture of the Lithuanian city for various reasons: first of all it was the Lithuanian Grand Dukes, the high nobility, and the clergy who ordered the construction of churches and castles. Furthermore--we may think for example of classicism--the great artistic epochs are more or less international; and third, the baroque, the most important building style for Lithuania, exercised unquestionable influence on the Lithuanian folk art.

346 There are probably no foreigners visiting
177 the country to whom the great religious structures, especially in Kaunas, would not be objects of attention and deliberation. The face of these buildings is clearly turned toward the West and not toward the Russian East. From the west came the Roman-Catholic faith, proclaimed by Benedictines, Dominicans, Cistercians, and other orders in the

* [see cat. 116, pp. 162-165 -- Analyst]

The cathedral of Kaunas is also characteristic of the rest of the Russian religious structures in the country, to which specific structural regulations applied since the middle of the nineteenth century. Here we meet the main aisle, the large central dome, and the little onion-shaped towers surrounding it (Christ and the four evangelists). There also appears the compact central construction, which, for example, in the church of Ukmergē found an exceptionally good architectonic solution. In general the Russian provincial churches still preserved today, which, when constructed of wood, partially resemble the Lithuanian log churches, lose style or artistic value when built of stone. The same applies to the solitary Mohammedan mosques.(4) On the other hand, among the wooden Jewish

4. The settlement of the Tatars, who have mostly become assimilated, goes back to Vytautas. About 700 Tatars still live today in the district of Alytus. Also in Kaunas they have their own unadorned mosque.

synagogues there are some noteworthy structures, which, primarily through the broken forms in which their roofs rise like pyramids, make a singular impression. The very old synagogue of Šaukēnai may be named here. That the Jewish synagogues have taken over much ornamental decoration from the Lithuanian folk art, is clearly /149/ proved by the synagogue of Jurbarkas (Georgenburg) on the Memel.

The religious structures of Judaism can only be briefly touched upon in this context, since the Jews in Lithuania have led the life of a strictly isolated minority for centuries and have remained without influence on the cultural development of the country. The latter was exclusively controlled by that great spiritual current which the church of the West sent out over the country in an uninterrupted stream since the late Middle Ages.

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

644 652 Art. 74. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR elects a Budget Commission, which reports its conclusions on the state budget of the Lithuanian SSR to the Supreme Soviet.

Art. 75. The report on the fulfilment of the state budget of the Lithuanian SSR is approved by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR and published for general information.

631 652 Art. 76. The budgets of the district, city, volost, small town and apilinki Soviets include the revenues from the local economy, deductions from the state revenues collected within their territory and likewise receipts from local taxes and imposts in amounts fixed by the laws of the USSR and the Lithuanian SSR.

Chapter VII. The Courts and the Procurator's Office

692 Art. 77. In the Lithuanian SSR justice is administered by the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR, the District and People's Courts, the Special Courts of the USSR established by decision of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

[693] Art. 78. In all Courts cases are tried with the participation of people's assessors, except in cases specially provided for by law.

Art. 79. The Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR is the highest judicial organ of the Lithuanian SSR. The Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR is charged with the supervision of the judicial activities of all the judicial organs of the Lithuanian SSR.

[641] Art. 80. The Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR is elected by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR for a term of five years.

Art. 81. District Courts are elected by the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies for a term of five years.

Art. 82. People's Courts are elected by the citizens of the cities and volosts on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage by secret ballot for a term of three years.

695 [563] Art. 83. Judicial proceedings in the Lithuanian SSR are conducted in the Lithuanian and Russian languages, persons not knowing these languages being guaranteed the opportunity of fully acquainting themselves with the material of the case through an interpreter and likewise the right to use their own language in court.

Art. 84. In all Courts of the Lithuanian SSR cases are heard in public, unless otherwise provided for by law, and the accused is guaranteed the right to defense.

693 Art. 85. Judges are independent and subject only to the law.

Art. 86. Supreme supervisory power to ensure the strict observance of law by all Ministries and institutions subordinated to them, as well as by officials and citizens within the territory of the Lithuanian SSR generally, is exercised by the Procurator-General of the USSR directly and also through the Procurator of the Lithuanian SSR.

SU. 728 487 speaking. The Memel Statute signed by France, Britain, Italy and Japan legalized the Lithuanian *fait accompli* but stipulated that the Memel territory should enjoy internal autonomy. Russia rejected the Memel Statute and even protested against it as interfering with Lithuania's internal affairs.

In March 1939, Hitler repeated for Germany's benefit the *coup de force* of 1923, detached Memel from Lithuania and brushed aside the Memel Statute. In January 1945, the Red Army conquered the Memel area and restored it to Soviet Lithuania. The Russian conquest of Memel, which ceased, of course, to be an autonomous territory and became an integral part of the Soviet Union, finally consecrated the unity of the Njeman valley.

Li 504 563 S.U. 504 As one of the most important ports of the U.S.S.R. on the Baltic coast, Soviet Klaipeda was too important to be left in Lithuanian hands. Russian colonization began, providing staff for the extensive Klaipeda ship-repairing works and for other important enterprises. In 1947 the number of Russians in the port was large enough to warrant the opening of a permanent Russian theatre.

RUSSIAN KOENIGSBERG

Pr. 175 648 By annexing Koenigsberg, and by converting it into a purely Russian city, Soviet Russia has in the geopolitical and ethnical sense outflanked the Baltic States, and transformed them into a kind of Russian hinterland. Figuratively speaking, the whole of Soviet East Prussia constitutes a belt which cuts off the unreliable Baltic nations from the West.

The annexation of north-eastern East Prussia, with Koenigsberg as administrative centre, is a great historical triumph for Russian policy. This former German province had played a conspicuous part in Russian military history: it had been the battleground of four consecutive wars which Russia had waged against a western enemy; the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), the Napoleonic Wars and the First and Second World Wars. The idea of permanently attaching East Prussia to the Russian Empire is not new to Russia's ruling circles. It had been suggested during the Seven Years' War when the troops of Czarina Elizabeth occupied East Prussia, but only the Soviet Union possessed enough dynamic strength to put the annexation of that territory into effect.

Pr. 727 648 S.U. 175 177 The Soviet writer, Vyacheslav Shishkov, in his great historical novel *Yemelyan Pugachov* evoked the memory of the first Russian occupation of Koenigsberg. Although the novel was written at the height of the Russian-German conflict, Shishkov described the harmonious relations which had prevailed between Russians and East Prussians at the time of the Seven Years' War. When occupying Koenigsberg, said Shishkov, 'Russian progressive officers were interested in everything that was use-

[cf. cat. 116, pp. 104-118, R1 Sov. Un., 21: Kolarz -- Analyst]

3: Washington & Macgowan G-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RB1 Baltic Countries
Lithuania: KB5

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under the law. To protect old craftsmen of minority nationalities who might find it difficult to pass the required examinations, especially in the Lithuanian language, the Registrar may permit persons with good qualifications, who have engaged in their craft for more than 5 years, to continue their work if there is a labor shortage in their respective trades. Such persons are to be included in a special list filed in the Registrar's office, and they will retain their titles if they continue their work during an additional 10 years to the satisfaction of the Registrar.

The law applies to approximately 23,000 skilled workers in Lithuania.

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3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 3

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OCCUPATIONS

OCCUPATION	NUMBER	PERCENT
Agriculture	1,129,870	76.71
Industry and handicraft	94,731	6.43
Transportation and communication	15,585	1.06
Commerce and credit	37,268	2.53
Civil service and professionals	47,408	3.22
Other occupations	148,083	10.05

From the figures in these tables, it can be seen that Lithuania has comparatively small minorities and is predominantly an agricultural country, with more than 76 percent of the population engaged in farming. The percentage of minorities may have been increased somewhat by the changing conditions. The percentage of Jews, no doubt, has risen with the return of Vilnius, which has a large Jewish population. The total percentage of Poles and White Russians will also be somewhat higher than it was when these figures were compiled.

The figures of the German minority, of course, have been completely altered since 1939. After Klaipeda Territory was seized by Germany the percentage of Germans in Lithuania amounted to not more than one and one-half percent of the entire population. With the subsequent repatriation of all Germans from Lithuania in 1941, this minority has wholly disappeared.

• 565 Lithuania has no distinctive social classes. Peasants reestablished Lithuania in 1918, and the sons of peasants were running the state affairs until Soviet Russia's occupation on June 15, 1940.

181 that we have here a rounded-off and self-contained culture. Such a culture never originates through a random accumulation of human beings, but always through a nation. In our case this culture was a typical peasant culture.

369 A combination of the most varied historical
965 circumstances, which cannot be gone into in this
162 context, led to the result that the Lithuanian
563 settling in villages and individual farms has found his way to the city only in most recent times and is beginning to imprint his own stamp on it.

The cultural upper class which determined the face of the Lithuanian city in the past centuries has changed in the course of time. Little is known concerning the city's earliest inhabitants.(1)

[113] 1. A. Bezzenberger, "Der Werdegang des litauischen Volkes," Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 1915, Vol. XIII, No. 1, p. 26. "Cities existed only sparsely and, like Vilna, founded in 1321, has probably more foreign than Lithuanian inhabitants."

In the fourteenth century Grand Duke Gedirinas summoned German artisans and tradesmen into the country. (2) There followed the Hanse, which had

[113] 2. On the history of the Hanse in Lithuania cf. Walther Stein, "Vom deutschen Kontor in Kowno," Hansische Geschichtsblätter, 1916, Vol. XXII, Nos. 1 and 2, as well as the references given there.

an office in Kaunas. About the same time the Jews made their entrance and completely changed the city picture. Confined to the border provinces by Russian legislation in later centuries they also /146/ gave their stamp to the Lithuanian provincial cities before the first World War. Accord-

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ing to Ljubawski and Lithuanian cities of the sixteenth century were already overcrowded with Jews (3)

3. Cf. on this point Ljubawski, Oblastnoe dielenie i miestnoe upravlenie Litovski-Russkago gosydarstva ko vremeni izdaniia pervago Litovskago statuta (Districting and Local Administration of the Lithuanian-Russian State at the Time of the Issuance of the First Lithuanian Statute), as well as S. A. Berschadski, Litovski evrei (The Lithuanian Jews) (1883). In recent times the history of Judaism experienced a detailed presentation in Prof. A. Janulaitis, Žydai Lietuvoje (The Jews in Lithuania) (Kaunas, 1923).

The third city element, however, the Poles--as the upper class--at first assimilated the Lithuanian country population which moved in. Even in the nineteenth century a Lithuanian upper class still could not be formed in the cities of the country, since Russian legislation forbade the Lithuanians to occupy any official positions in their own country. Thus--by the irony of history--the first nucleus of an educated Lithuanian bourgeoisie arose in the cities of inner Russia, where the prohibition did not apply. In place of its own officialdom the land received Russian officials and garrisons, whose religious edification was taken care of by the state in this Roman Catholic country with the erection of Orthodox churches.

The World War finally ended this development through the founding of the Lithuanian state. All at once there is a city class educated abroad and now back home, which, though, not numerous, includes all professions, even artists and scholars. In addition a strong immigration from the countryside set in, for suddenly numerous possibilities to make a living in the cities, in officialdom, in

369 the military, and liberal professions, opened up
162 to the younger peasant generation. An initially
•565 favorable economic development encouraged this
563 influx, which again completely changed the face of the city: the city of Kaunas alone doubled its population in a few years. In all areas a lively activity is being unfolded; along with material problems intellectual ones, literature, art, music, theater, science, are suddenly factors in the life of the people.

341 Knowledge of the development sketched here*
121 is essential for the understanding of what follows. It might seem, that is, as if a presentation of the cultural elements of the Lithuanian people would have to be restricted solely to this most recent period of time, insofar as the city is concerned. /147/ The historic architecture of the city would then be excluded from our treatment, since it does not bear the stamp of the same racial type. This is perhaps also the reason why until today there is hardly a single Lithuanian presentation of the historic structures of the country.

341 Nevertheless the present work must consider the architecture of the Lithuanian city for various reasons: first of all it was the Lithuanian Grand Dukes, the high nobility, and the clergy who ordered the construction of churches and castles. Furthermore--we may think for example of classicism--the great artistic epochs are more or less international; and third, the baroque, the most important building style for Lithuania, exercised unquestionable influence on the Lithuanian folk art.

346 There are probably no foreigners visiting
177 the country to whom the great religious structures, especially in Kaunas, would not be objects of attention and deliberation. The face of these buildings is clearly turned toward the West and not toward the Russian East. From the west came the Roman-Catholic faith, proclaimed by Benedictines, Dominicans, Cistercians, and other orders in the

* [see cat. 116, pp. 162-165 -- Analyst]

7. Jungfer-189 S-4,5(no date)1938 RB5LithuaniansRB5

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We thereby have arrived in the midst of modernity,* which has brought with it a complete revolution of all living conditions through the powerful events of the first World War and the re-establishment of the Lithuanian state. This regrouping has also taken place in the area of social organization: if originally there existed only two large classes--nobility and peasantry--along with which the working class gained a certain importance in the countryside only, a new group, an urban middle class, now began to crystalize. How great a significance the urban middle class can have for the unfolding of the cultural forces of a people, the architecture of the East in general is the most telling example. In contrast to Western countries, which, along with public and religious buildings, exhibit a compact group of artistically valuable bourgeois houses, this architecture is completely lacking in Lithuania. The simple, half rural city dweller built his house through centuries either in a completely unartistic brick style--the undecorated, single-storied brick houses were almost typical of the nucleus, inhabited principally by Jews, of the small Lithuanian provincial cities--or he stuck to the familiar wood structure. The latter was transferred to the city almost unchanged and is characteristic primarily of the outer sectors not only of the small towns, but also of the larger cities. "The persistence of tradition is quite surprising. The people proper has remained untouched by all the changes of the 'great architecture,' let the foreign immigrants, let the church and nobility build as they wanted."(27

[113] 27. Prof. P. Weber, Wilna, Eine vergessene Kunststätte (Vilna, 1917), p. 118.

/166/ The new urban middle class, which after the first World War became the bearer of the concept of the state and of cultural progress, substantially

* [19th century modernity -- Analyst]

342 changed the external appearance of the cities of
369 the country in a few years, especially since state
[565] and communes provided the outer frame for the new bourgeois houses by asphalting on a large scale and by creating green parks. One sees this most clearly in Kaunas. Apart from the actual center, the single dwelling predominates, although, with the relatively small amount of space available in the inner sectors, it was in many cases the row house which was called for. The growth of the city, which took place at an almost American tempo, the unusual housing shortage, and the independence of the builders led in the first years to an unorganic development. In this the artistic architecture found at first no place, since the first and most necessary goal was only to create four walls and a roof over the heads of the rapidly growing population of the city. Even the building with wood was hard hit by these necessities of life, for in most cases it was no longer the comfortable forms of the roomy farmhouse which were transferred to the city, but there arose sober, quadrangular, tin-roofed wooden houses consisting of a first and second story, unattractively set in bare courtyards--houses made for profit, where even the presence of a little garden or a few blossoming shrubs constituted an exception. Along with those styleless, boxlike buildings of wood or stone, however, very recently, after the most pressing necessities of life had been satisfied, various attempts have been made to solve the housing problem according to the artistic model of the West, primarily in smaller private houses and villas in the style of the country house. The development here is still fully in foux, so that a final judgment would be premature, especially since the building activity has not come to a standstill, in spite of the difficult economic situation and the great crisis which began in 1931.

/167/ In the sphere of public building, too,

*538 and the spirit of romanticism. We find here a close relationship with all the efforts which originated in the newly founded University of Vilna. First of all, we want to give a brief survey of the social structure of the country and the extent which the unchecked, progressive Polonization of the upper class had reached at that time.

C. The Literature of the Nineteenth Century up to the Proclamation of the Prohibition on Printing

1. The University of Vilna and the Period of Romanticism

565 The class structure of Lithuania around the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries can be outlined in a few words. We find two large classes of society: a landowning nobility--as opposed to a peasantry of serfs--between the two there was a very thin layer of free urban burghers, who, however, played a role only in the capital. The small citizenry of the rest of the small cities--even Kaunas had only about 3,000 inhabitants around 1800--offered a racially varied picture and can /206/ in no way be compared as a cultural factor with the compact German or French bourgeoisie of that period.

[177] The Lithuanian nobility--aside from Samogitia, where free Lithuanian landownership had been maintained--was almost completely Polonized, as was the upper class in the cities. Whoever rose from the peasantry thereby stepped almost automatically out of his own nationality and was assimilated to the Polish culture.

565 177 Through the third Polish partitioning of 1795, along with the largest part of Russian Poland the area of the present Lithuanian state, with the exception of a section of Suvalkija, had also fallen to Russia. The common oppression to which Lithuanians and Poles were subjected under the same foreign rule had a more uniting than separating effect, especially since both peoples also belonged to the

565 same Roman Catholic faith. Thus the national opp-
177 osition in the relations between Lithuania and Poland was not yet felt as such, while the social opposition came unusually strongly to the fore. In his informative book on the early history of Lithuania, Dr. Puzinas portrays the Polish influence in Lithuania at the beginning of the nineteenth century in the following words: "Polish influence is everywhere widespread. The educated class, consisting of scholars, clergymen, higher and lower officials, as well as landowners, is extensively Polonized, although in part of Lithuanian origin. In the cities, on the estates, and in the houses of the clergy the Polish spirit is cultivated and the Polish language dominates. Polish influence already is beginning even to penetrate into the people. But here it cannot take root; the inborn nationality is proving itself stronger. The people in Samogitia, i.e. in the north of the national area put up the strongest resistance; here, turning its back upon the influences of Poland, even the nobility still speaks Lithuanian. At the beginning of the nineteenth century this develops into a lively reaction against the Polish spirit." (10)

[113] 10. Dr. J. Puzinas, Vorgeschichtsforschung und Nationalbewusstsein in Litauen (Kaunas, 1935), p. 11.

/207/ In order to gain historical perspect-
814 ive for the period which follows, we must remember above all the far-reaching intellectual stimulus which proceeded from Bodmer, Herder, and the Grimms, and which everywhere directed attention to the mother tongue, the indigenousness, the antiquity, and the childhood years of peoples. The spiritual life of Lithuania and the University of Vilna came in this period completely under the domination of these romantic ideas, which prepared the soil for

177 From the attitude of this poet* we clearly recognize that up to the middle of the last century there could be no talk of a political opposition between Lithuanians and Poles. Poland still regarded this country as its original property, its history as its own; and up to the present day something /211/ of the romantic way of looking at things at that period has remained in many Poles.

•565 Certainly, as we shall later show, the aboli-
*538 tion of serfdom first signaled the inner break with Polish culture. This had to occur at the moment when the possibility was given to the Lithuanian peasant of rising into that educated class which determines the cultural development of a people. Nevertheless--and this is the further significance of romanticism for Lithuania--there arose in that period, along with poets of the Polish language, those who, although of boyar lineage, spoke to the people in their own language. That the first writers of this trend came from the minor nobility of Samogitia, will be understandable from what was said at the beginning. In contrast to eastern Lithuania, where it was primarily the high nobility which possessed latifundia, in Samogitia the minor Lithuanian nobility was able to maintain itself. Here, as a result, the relations between nobility and peasantry were also closer, which again reflected back on the language. Thus Dionysius Poška (1757-1832), a Lithuanian boyar, was the first to write poems in the Samogitian dia-
* lect, based on historical events in the history of
538 his people. Poška's life itself is highly characteristic of the romantic feeling of that period. He was a zealous collector of antiquities that had to do with the early history of Lithuania. At his order a gigantic oak in his park was felled, sawed up, hollowed out, and each section set up by itself. In these little houses, which he had fitted out with windows and doors, he placed his collections and also his workroom. The oak had at its base a cir-

*[Mickiewicz -- Analyst]

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538 Anykščiai, although the latter was written in the High Lithuanian dialect. In addition there were translations from foreign literatures, e.g. parts of Milton's Paradise Lost and other works.

/228/ D. The Period of the Prohibition on Printing (1865-1904)

1. The Epoch of Aušra

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178 At the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century occurred two political events which had a basic effect on the further social, national, and thereby also literary development of Lithuania. In the year 1861 the end of serfdom in the government of Kowno was decreed by Alexander II. The peasants were freed of all villeinage and services and now sat as free men on free soil and land. The liberation of the peasants effected a far-reaching social differentiation: until now social rise from the class of serfs was possible only in individual cases, specifically where the landlord accidentally became aware of a special talent and was inclined to foster it. This rise itself, however, was limited at best to an education for the priesthood. The entrance into a higher class, which, as we have shown before, was almost completely under the influence of Polish culture and language, led in most cases to the result that the few who rose in this way from the peasantry became strangers to their own people and language and felt themselves as belonging to the class of Polish "lords." Only at the moment when the whole peasantry became free, when possibilities for advancement were created not only for individuals but for all the people, could a Lithuanian educated class be established. Again, only this class could become the bearer of the new Lithuanian idea as well as all the intellectual and artistic efforts connected with it which from now on could be developed on a broader base. Besides the former Polish educated class a Lithuanian class made its appearance.

The Polish uprising, which took place in the

•565 178 year 1863 and also flared up at individual spots in Lithuania, led at first to a certain favoring of the Lithuanians above the Poles /229/ by the Russian government. Thus the Lithuanians were granted a gymnasium in Marijampolē and a teacher's seminary in Veveriai. Also, with the ending of serfdom, which took place in 1863 under the imprint of the revolution, the peasants were spared the ransom. A series of favorable circumstances, the natural condition of the soil, the application of the Code of Napoleon, the removal of the mixed field system and the vicinity of East Prussia led to the further result that in the following decades the material, and thereby also the spiritual, development of the peasantry in Suvalkija progressed faster than in the remaining sections of Lithuania. A prosperous peasantry arose here, from whose sons the nucleus of the new Lithuanian educated class was developed. The Russian government, striving to suppress the Polish influence which had shown itself in the revolution of 1863, granted the Lithuanian school graduates scholarships to attend the universities of St. Petersburg and Moscow, in order to Russify them there, but in any case to remove them from Polish influence. But the development could no longer be held back, the Russification miscarried, and from among the graduates of this gymnasium went forth the first leaders who fought for the right of the people to
[195] their own cultural development. The predominant position which the area of Suvalkija assumed in this intellectual development--for at first it was only a development--is also illuminated by the fact that the Suvalkijan dialect was made the basis of the literary language which was now gradually formed. What Marijampolē was for the south, Mitau later became for the north, since here too, as a result of the special privileges of the Baltic Germans, the Lithuanian element found a place for independent development.

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Among the young Lithuanian intelligentsia there arose very quickly a differentiation between those who obtained a religious education and those who turned to the secular sciences. Both groups, however, found themselves together in the cultural battle which was now breaking out against the Russification plans of the Czarist government. Then /230/ the latter took a step which had never happened before in the history of peoples by proclaiming, on August 6, 1865, that six governments of western Russia were forbidden to print writings in Latin letters. If this decree, which was not repealed until April 24, 1904, was aimed above all at the Polish literature, it also had at first the effect of a death blow on the further development of the young Lithuanian literature. It soon became evident that it was impossible to use the Russian alphabet for the Lithuanian language, and thus this prohibition was equivalent to a prohibition of all Lithuanian literature, including the religious, which tended to arouse special bitterness in this Roman-Catholic country. In order completely to paralyze the development of a Lithuanian educated class and therewith the awakening of an independent national consciousness, there followed a second prohibition according to which Lithuanians in their home provinces could not obtain any posts in the Russian government service. Thus the lay intelligentsia which was now arising, insofar as it turned to government service, was removed into the interior of Russia. A knowledge of these circumstances is a basic condition for the understanding of the further development of Lithuanian literature, for it is now clear why the further intellectual and literary development was carried forward from now on by forces that started their activities outside the political borders of the country. In addition it explains why, in this struggle for existence, whose center of gravity lay from now on on the

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538 we see him as a young vicar in the company of other clergymen, who are all drawn with sharp strokes. There is the priest Platūnas, who lives only for his husbandry; Stripaitis, who is completely immersed in the Lithuanian cooperative movement; the idealist Ramutis; and many others. But Vasaris begins to feel ever more strongly that he lacks the calling for his profession. He fashions his life more freely, his thinking changes above all through his love for the wife of Baron Rainakis, the patron lord of his church. Then the World War overtakes him. He sets out for St. Petersburg to study at the Clerical Academy there. Once more he turns around in his wagon toward the village. He hears a thundering crash and sees the tower of his church fall, blown up by the Russians at the approach of the German troops.

It was like a blow that Vasaris felt in his breast. The tower to which the duties of the priesthood, care, and sorrow had bound him was in ruins. It seemed to him that not only the tower had fallen apart, but that with it fell apart many beautiful dreams and ideals of his youth, which had once led him to this place.

In the last part of the novel Vasaris returns to his homeland in the year 1924. Completely alienated from his profession, he lives for his artistic work.

/285/ According to the author's own confession, two problems made him write this novel--the relation of the priesthood to artistic work and the problem of the ex-priest who turns to a
538 secular activity. It should be remembered in
793 this connection that according to Russian law
565 no Lithuanian could occupy an official position
[463] in his home province, which left only the few free professions, and the priesthood for advancement from the peasant class. Thus the majority of the creative intelligentsia of the country was found among the priests to the time of

*538 793 [565]

the first World War. As a consequence, even after the founding of the state the Lithuanian clergy played a decisive role in many high state offices. From this results the extraordinary significance of this class at that time and also the breadth of the artistic theme, measured by Lithuanian standards, which Putinas treats in his novel. Concerning the Lithuanian clergyman the author writes in his preface:

> "The Lithuanian clergyman was both farmer and member of a cooperative, financier, politician, diplomat, minister, physican, and--God knows what else. He agitated at public meetings--even today he takes part in the internal deliberations of the political parties. The Lithuanian clergyman was a literary man as well--sometimes a story teller, but more frequently a poet . . .The Lithuanian clergyman, very often forced into the seminary, sometimes also enrolled out of a misunderstanding, attracted by foreign ideals, gathered within himself the most varied gifts and talents . . . and again and again one or another gifted Lithuanian priest feels the necessity to give up the priesthood . . . Here lies a whole series of sociological, religious, and psychological problems."

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It is only understandable that the appearance of such a realistic and at the same time artistically fashioned work would lead to lively controversies (16) which /286/ concerned less the

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16. Cf. for example Grinius, "Putino Altoriu šešelyj" (Putinas, In the Shadow of the Altars), Židinys, 1933, Vol. XVII, pp. 46-53 (on the first two volumes). Further: K. Korsakas, Kritika (Criticism), the chapter "Kunigas Liudas Vasaris literatūr-

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

farms, improved means of communication, the wireless — all 562
these factors have completely revolutionised the physiognomy of the country and the mentality of its inhabitants.

The rôle of the intellectual woman in agriculture is no less 462
important. As a member of the Chamber of Agriculture or of the many associations which aim at promoting the technical advancement of agriculture, as the owner and manager of well-run farms, she takes an active part in the solution of various problems relating to agriculture. Like men, she is found in the service of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Chamber of Agriculture. But it is in the sphere of agricultural instruction that she plays the most important part. Girls have opportunities of studying agronomic science at the Agricultural Academy at Dotnuva, and agricultural domestic economy is taught in the domestic science section of that institution. On completing their studies, they spread the knowledge they have acquired by enrolling as teachers in domestic economy and other agricultural schools; they visit the peasant women in their own homes, in their capacity as agricultural domestic advisers under the Chamber of Agriculture; they give them advice and practical instruction; they organise lectures and courses on questions of interest to farming women, competitions, excursions and local exhibitions; they run young peasants' clubs and play an important part in organisations for the education of rural youth; they contribute to the periodicals for farmers' wives and daughters — "Šcimininkė" (with about 80,000 subscribers), "Jaunasis Ūkininkas" (also with about 80,000 subscribers) and "Moteris" (15,000 subscribers). They prepare lectures, etc., for the half-hour wireless talk for countrywomen.

The recently founded Society of Lithuanian Peasant Women 562
looks after the interests of peasant women. Its object is to 575
group all Lithuanian peasant women, including those working on farms, with a view to joint economic action designed to create a new type not concerned solely with their own individual calling but prepared to interest themselves also in the well-being of the nation as a whole. The Society of Lithuanian Peasant Women has an hour's talk on the radio every Sunday, devoted exclusively to the affairs of women in rural areas.

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

641 Art. 95. Equality of rights of citizens of the Lithuanian SSR, irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, government, cultural, political and other public activity, is an indefeasible law.

Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or, conversely, the establishment of any direct or indirect privileges for, citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, is punishable by law.

[659] Art. 96. In order to ensure the citizens freedom of conscience, the church in the Lithuanian SSR is separated from the state, and the school from the church. Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognised for all citizens.

Art. 97. In conformity with the interests of the working people, and in order to strengthen the socialist system, the citizens of the Lithuanian SSR are guaranteed by law:

a) freedom of speech;
b) freedom of press;
c) freedom of assembly, including the holding of mass meetings;
d) freedom of street processions and demonstrations.

These civil rights are ensured by placing at the disposal of the working people and their organizations printing presses, stocks of paper, public buildings, the streets, communications facilities and other material requisites for the exercise of these rights.

[575] Art. 98. In conformity with the interests of the working people, and in order to develop the organizational initiative and political activity of the masses of the people, citizens of the Lithuanian SSR are guaranteed the right to unite in public organizations: trade unions, cooperative societies, youth organizations, sport and defence organizations, cultural, technical and scientific societies; and the most active and politically-conscious citizens in the ranks of the working class and other sections of the working people unite in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), which is the vanguard of the working people in their struggle to strengthen and develop the socialist system and is the leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and state.

Art. 99. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR are guaranteed inviolability of the person. No person may be placed under arrest except by decision of a court or with the sanction of a procurator.

Art. 100. The inviolability of the homes of citizens and privacy of correspondence are protected by law.

Art. 101. The Lithuanian SSR affords the right of asylum to foreign citizens persecuted for defending the interests of the working people, or for scientific activities, or for struggling for national liberation.

Art. 102. It is the duty of every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR to abide by the Constitution of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, to observe the laws, to maintain labour discipline, honestly to perform public duties, and to respect the rules of socialist intercourse.

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

XII. RURAL PLANNING

491 Before the war, only rudimentary means of communication existed. During the hostilities, transport conditions became even worse : the main roads were broken up and the by-roads suffered serious damage. When Lithuania became independent, all the existing roads had to be rebuilt and new means of communication to be provided. Between 1918 and 1937, over 1,000 kilometres of main roads were repaired and over 200 kilometres built. In 1937, there were 1,950 kilometres of main roads. Adding by-roads of the first category (4,365 kilometres) and of the second category (9,300 kilometres), there is a total of 15,000 kilometres of roads — that is, roughly 270 kilometres per 1,000 square kilometres and 60 kilometres per 10,000 inhabitants. The farmer, in addition to the main roads and the by-roads of the first and second categories, can use the by-roads of the third category, connecting villages and isolated farms, so that he usually has adequate means of communication and can always take his produce to the nearest markets. Motor-bus services (a means of communication which is rapidly spreading) make travelling fairly easy. The Government proposes to build 700 kilometres of main roads in the next ten years and to develop and improve the system of by-roads.

621 As regards other questions connected with rural planning, it may be noted that the villages are divided up into separate isolated farms (see II), and that, in four or five years time, built-up villages areas will have ceased to exist. Agriculturists who have left their villages to take up farming on these separate undertakings have to dig wells, but this does not, as a rule, present great difficulties, as drinking-water is found nearly 377 everywhere. Electrification has only just started : at present, regional electric power stations are being set up (the source of energy being peat), and the construction of a large central hydro-electric power station is under consideration. It is possible that the problem of the electrification of the countryside may become a matter of pressing concern in the near future : the drawbacks attaching to the system of scattered and isolated farms will then become apparent.

369 For these isolated farms, the school and church, representing the economic and ideological aspects of organised farming interests, serve as cultural and social centres. Together with the Press and the wireless, they correct such dangers as isolated members of the rural community might otherwise be exposed to from a cultural and social point of view.

1. A land reform program divided former common pasture land into separate farms.

659 798 schools. Teachers who openly attended churches were summarily dismissed.

In spite of all these restrictions and threats, churches are well attended, especially in rural areas. Churchgoers are mostly women and people not connected with government offices and concerns, less dependent on the bureaucracy. Intellectuals and officials travel to distant places where they are not known personally to attend Mass or for confession. Rural churches, further from cities or where only small MGB-MVD garrisons are stationed, draw the largest attendance.

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Religious processions on streets were not banned officially but few people dared to show themselves publicly and face the jeers of the armed blaspheming Russians and a few native traitors. The clergy discouraged public processions exposing the faithful to unnecessary persecution.

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Marriages are registered by local Executive Committees. Those who so desire may go through a religious ceremony but a religious ceremony is not recognized by the authorities. Marriages contracted prior to the Russian invasion were not questioned, however.

Several small Protestant congregations are still in existence in the Klaipėda District, but most of the Protestant churches were shut down and converted to other use for lack of communicants. The Calvinist churches of Biržai and Prienai were turned into military horse stables. Protestants are more or less tolerated, because the Protestant Church offers no problem to the occupant.

The pre-war Russian settlers, natives of Lithuania, regularly attend the MVD-dominated Orthodox churches. The new settlers go to churches occasionally out of curiosity.

Since the end of 1947, persons exhibiting religious icons and crucifixes in their homes came under persecution. Religious pictures and statuettes found in homes by the armed searching parties infuriate the Russians and their stooges. Religious objects are smashed, bayoneted, spat upon and trampled by the puny "masters of the world" raging against their Creator.

Living quarters of the pastors—"cult servants"—were requisitioned by the housing authorities and a small nook was assigned to priests. Churches are assessed with exorbitant taxes. Complaints are answered: "If you can't meet state obligations—close up shop." The faithful exerted every effort to contribute the necessary funds and in most cases the tax levies were met. Thereupon the Russians demanded lists of contributors. The pastors answered that they did not list plate contributors—and were arrested and threatened with prosecution for "failure to account from public funds." A number of churches were unable to meet the levies, as all of the people are burdened with excessive taxes, requisitions and perennial "voluntarily assumed contributions to the state" imposed by the armed militiamen.

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000 It is not known whether, since comrade Gailevičius claimed all churches as "cultural monuments" subject to his custody, churches would be taxed—that is, churches left "operating."

A church is the only place where a tortured people could find spiritual solace and escape from the blaring loudspeakers and mad ravings of the Russian oppressor.

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

631 Art. 57. The executive and administrative organ of the Soviet of Working
[623] People's Deputies in small localities is the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman and the Secretary elected by the Soviet of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 58. The Executive Committees of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies exercise guidance in cultural, political and economic affairs within their territory on the basis of decisions taken by the corresponding Soviets of Working People's Deputies and superior state organs.

Art. 59. Sessions of district Soviets of Working People's Deputies are convened by their Executive Committees not less than four times a year.

Art. 60. Sessions of volost Soviets of Working People's Deputies are convened by their respective Executive Committees not less than six times a year.

[623] Art. 61. Sessions of Soviets of Working People's Deputies of cities, small towns and apilinki are convened by their respective executive organs not less than once a month.

Art. 62. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies each elect a Chairman and a Secretary for the duration of their sessions to conduct the sittings of the sessions.

Art. 63. The executive organs of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies are directly accountable both to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies which elected them and to the executive organs of the respective superior Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 64. The superior Executive Committees of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies have the right to annul decisions and orders of inferior Executive Committees and to suspend decisions and orders of inferior Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 65. The superior Soviets of Working People's Deputies have the right to annul decisions and orders of inferior Soviets of Working People's Deputies and of their Executive Committees.

632 Art. 66. The district Soviets of Working People's Deputies set up the following Departments of their Executive Committees:

- a Department of Roads
- a Department of Public Health
- a Department of the Municipal Economy
- a Department of Cultural and Educational Work
- a Department of Public Education
- a General Department
- a Department of Agriculture
- a Department of Social Maintenance
- a Department of Trade
- a Department of Finance
- a Planning Commission
- a Cadres Sector

under the Chairman of the Executive Committees. In addition, in accordance with the specific features of the economy of the district, the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies may set up other Departments or Administrations subject to confirmation by the corresponding Ministries.

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712 If these officers speak the truth the Soviet Army
723 seems to place many hopes in the "first line of rocket artillery" resting on bases in Finland, Karelia and Estonian islands, a part of the "Leningrad Offensive Area." Lithuania and East Prussia serve as "the second line and the security zone of the connecting road junctions."

In addition to elaborate installations on the Estonian islands and the tip of Kurneme, fortifications are constructed along the line running from the port of Liepaja in Latvia, through Mažeikiai, along the upper Venta river, down the banks of the Dubysa southward to the Nemunas river, and up the Nemunas to the stronghold of Gardinas-Grodno. Ramifications of that underground fortified line give an impression of two fortified belts, with extended strong points at intervals. Underground fuel oil dumps, and steel and concrete munitions dumps are constructed. The fortified points are circled by medium sized airfields cleverly masked as "pastures" or "planted fields." Subterranean fuel dumps, more or less 3 meters deep, radiate 2 to 10 km. from such airfields. However, some of these dumps are intended for fuel other than gasoline. Inasmuch as these "magazines" lie near the main communication arteries, it is supposed that these dumps are intended for the long range rocket artillery—a weapon well developed by the Soviets. The sites are closely guarded by MVD garrisons, and labor crews are isolated from the natives. The work was done by military engineer units and labor gangs brought from Russia.

717 A larger airfield is located near Šiauliai. About 30 twin-motored fighter planes of new production are stationed there, in addition to more than a dozen old-type 2-U machines and several long range (up to 2,200
707 km.) bombers of new type. This is said to be the training base of the "Northern Front," where exercises for offensive action against Western Germany, the British Isles and Scandinavia are staged. An auxiliary base was constructed nearby in 1948.

000 Since July 1948, large MVD-MGB units, hospital trains and cavalry brigades were concentrated around Baranowicze and southward to Lviv, and additional air squadrons flew toward Pomerania. Simultaneously, large troop movements by railroad were observed toward Königsberg, and munitions trains rolled westward day and night for several weeks. It seemed that the Russians were expecting hostilities over Berlin and were moving reinforcements and supplies to Germany, and concentrating repression forces for another wave of mass deportations from Lithuania, in accordance with the orders of the Politburo relayed by MGB Abakumov.

Part of these troops were later diverted to Lithuania. A state of insurrection was deliberately provoked in connection with forcible collectivization, and an "operation" of deportations was effected.

Repression Forces

625 The MVD forces stationed permanently in Lithuania number at least 30,000 men, mainly infantry and motorized units. A MVD school is operated on Duonelaitis Street in Kaunas, where MVD officer candidates are trained.

The MGB forces number about 40,000 men, of whom 10% are Lithuanians. A MGB officers school

625 operates on the Gediminas Street in Vilnius, and nearly 30% of its cadets are Lithuanians. Small tank and reconnaissance planes are at the disposal of the MVD and MGB forces.

The People's Militia is part of the MVD, and most of the Lithuanian personnel is found there. The *"Istrebiteli"* ("Exterminators") are a part of the MGB. The "Istrebiteli" were devised in the spring of 1945 to combat "political bandits." Guerrilla activities were widespread at the time, and the Russians attempted to enlist about 30 native "Istrebiteli" in each township. All sorts of inducements and privileges were offered, including exemption from draft. Native Russians, gypsies and Polish-speaking city vagrants enlisted, as well as some Lithuanian youths anxious to escape the draft. The guerrillas, through the underground press and through their relatives, waged a very strenuous campaign against the "Istrebiteli." Recruits were ambushed and killed. Their ranks were depleted in skirmishes, when untrained raw recruits faced the veteran guerrillas. After each skirmish, the guerrillas circulated mimeographed appeals to "brothers," urging the "Stribs" to abandon the enemy and either join the guerrilla forces or seek a legal status somewhere in the country, rather than aid the oppressor in destroying their own people. This campaign was successful: few Lithuanians enlisted and the recruits deserted.

725 The Russians used the "Stribs" in collecting com-
625 pulsory grain quotas and taxes, and these functions made them universally hated. The inhabitants slyly derided the "Stribs" and *"Stribikauliai"* (deformed hips), etc., just as they referred to the "great" comrade Suslov as *"Sušlava"* (trash sweepings). The "Stribs," receiving weapons but no uniforms nor food from the government, followed the example of the Russian tutors and engaged in wholesale robberies, murders and thefts. Farmers in no way connected with the resistance defended themselves with axes and scythes.

Such "living standards" rapidly depleted the once formidable force. In most places, only 2 or 3 "Stribs" survived in individual townships. These were finally incorporated in the uniformed MGB units. Township contingents were complemented by Russian aliens, a dozen to several dozen men in each township. Reserve units of the "Stribs" are stationed in county seats. These "operational MGB aktivs" roam the countryside night and day. They search homes, collect taxes, grain quotas, seek the hiding places of the guerrillas, detain people, and shoot suspects on sight—capital punishment was "abolished" in Russia. . . .

Frontier Corps units are stationed along the heavily guarded and fortified Polish frontier, and on the seacoast. MVD railroad units guard railroad stations and depots and check passengers' papers on trains. Combined MGB-MVD patrols (jeeps, armored cars, armored motorcycles, and tanks) control the main highways, especially at night.

War Psychosis

723 Preparations for war are in evidence everywhere.
722 New airfields are constructed, old fields are expanded and modernized. Armored units, air squadrons and artillery are constantly in transit. Closely guarded military trains travel by night. The populace is kept in a state of nervous war tension—probably to provoke

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

[625] Art. 67. The all-Union Ministries, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Lithuanian SSR and the Ministry of State Security of the Lithuanian SSR set up
632 their Administrations under the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies in accordance with the conditions of the district and on the basis of the laws of the USSR and of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 68. The Departments and Administrations of the Executive Committees of the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Ministries of the Lithuanian SSR.

633 Art. 69. The city Soviets of Working People's Deputies set up the following Departments of their Executive Committees:

- a Department of Public Health
- a Department of the Municipal Economy
- a Department of Cultural and Educational Work
- a Department of Public Education
- a General Department
- a Department of Social Maintenance
- a Department of Trade
- a Department of Finance
- a Planning Commission
- a Cadres Sector

under the Chairman of the Executive Committee and, in addition, in accordance with the specific features of the city's industry and its suburban and municipal economy,

- a Department of Local Industry and
- a Department of Agriculture.

Art. 70. The Departments of the Executive Committees of the city Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the respective city Soviets of Working People's Deputies and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Departments of the Executive Committees of the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 71. The Departments of the Executive Committees of the Vilnius, Kaunas, Klaipeda, Shyaulyai and Panevezhis city Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of these cities and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Ministry of the Lithuanian SSR directly.

631 Art. 72. On the expiration of the terms of office of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, their executive and administrative organs retain their powers until the newly elected Soviets shall have formed new executive and administrative organs.

Chapter VI. The Budget of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic

648 Art. 73. The state budget of the Lithuanian SSR is drawn up by the Council
652 of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR and submitted by it to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR for its approval.

[645] Upon its approval by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR the state budget of the Lithuanian SSR is published for general information.

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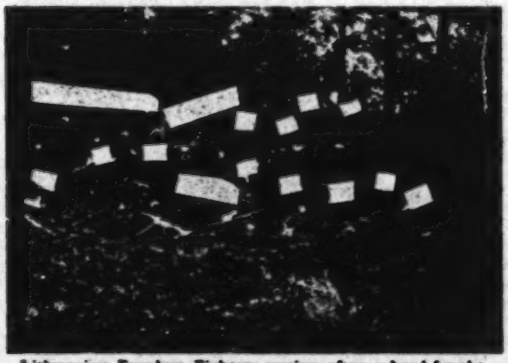

Lithuanian Freedom Fighters resting after a hard-fought battle—in Samagitia.

Religious Practices

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Since the fall of 1947, the Russians abandoned tolerance of the strictly religious functions of the faithful—adults attending church and receiving sacraments. The radio, press and tens of thousands of professional agitators are engaged in blasphemous atheistic propaganda aimed at discrediting the religion as "outdated witchcraft and prejudice" and attributing "fascist conspiracy" to the Vatican. This meant that the first attempt to create a "national Church" by subverting clergy and imposing "dvadsatkas" failed. But the effort was not abandoned.

Vatican, British and American broadcasts are heard—and the more important developments are relayed to the population by the clandestine press. Needless to say that the Lithuanians, facing daily the official attack on their Church and their Catholicism, are very saddened and embittered by the complete silence abroad over the martyrdom of Lithuania—compared with the publicity given the staged trials of various Church dignitaries in the satellite countries. They especially resent the omission of Lithuania from among the Catholic nations listed in foreign broadcasts as victimized by Soviet armed atheism.

All monasteries are shut down and friars-nuns dispersed. Catechetic instruction is banned from schools, the armed forces and from private tutoring within a family circle. In 1946 the Bishops had requested the authorities to permit catechetic instruction of school-age children in church structures but the authorities refused. The parents themselves presently prepare their children for the first communion.

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Church-goers are watched by MVD agents conspicuously posted near church doorways, and they are shadowed and questioned. Arrests were repeatedly made inside churches by armed cap-wearing MVD gangsters who loudly profane the churches. All state employees—and all people are state employees with the exception of the "kulaks" or independent smallholders refusing to go into "artels"—receive strict warnings to stop attending religious services ("witchcraft sessions"), or their conduct will be construed as a "demonstration of disloyalty to the existing order."

Students developed a spontaneous custom: on the way to schools they stop in a church to pray. The authorities strive to eradicate this custom by summoning their parents and threatening to expel children from

563 sonal risk: when the Russians arrived, the Jew informed them that a person who had secreted a Jew from the Nazis might most likely secret a "bandit" from the Russians—and the poor farmer was executed and his family exiled.

000 This reasoning seems to be generally adopted by the Russians—and no "heroics" are told them. The Russians show no excitement whatever regarding the massacres perpetrated by the Nazis. They conducted no special investigation or excavations—the Nazi practices too closely parallel those of the Soviets. ..... Only in instances where they were tipped off that people had been executed clothed and unrobbed—did the Russians make excavations in quest for valuables. . . . They gathered up coins, jewelry, pulled gold from teeth, and ceremoniously reburied the skeletons.

Education

874 The University of Vilnius with medical and chemistry departments, and the University of Kaunas with
871 departments of medicine, architecture, construction, technology and chemistry, are functioning. Both universities provide compulsory instruction in "Marxism-Leninism Science" and military training. A Veterinarian Academy and the lower classes of the Agricultural Academy function at Kaunas. The Pedagoguic Institute and an Art Institute with classes in scultpure, architecture, graphics and painting are open in Vilnius. The Commercial Institute is at Klaipéda. The upper classes of the Agricultural Academy are still housed in the ruins of Dotnuva.

Eighty percent of the faculty staff and student body are Lithuanians. Deputy Rectors, in charge of "political education," are Russian MVD-men. Most of the aliens are concentrated in Vilnius. The total student body numbers about 6,000 (compared with over 2,000 university students in Western Germany).

Of secondary schools, there are about 90 gymnasia and 189 progymnasia with 65,000 students, and about 20 special schools of agriculture, orchardry, gardening, forestry, cattle breeding, bookkeeping, etc. The secondary schools follow an 8-year program—a recession to the antiquated pre-1914 system. The Russian language is taught from the third grade of grammar school. All textbooks are translations of Russian authors exclusively. Prewar textbooks are withdrawn from circulation and systematically destroyed.

186 In 1944 and 1945, the National Anthem of Lithuania was tolerated as a "national song" over the radio and at some official functions, but was banned from schools. It is still sung in some churches but is no longer heard elsewhere.

876 Since 1946, school programs were systematically
626 purged of all "western bourgeois" influence. In libraries, books of western authors were replaced by propaganda "masterpieces" of Russian literature. The Michurin theory is preached, and professors are compelled to publicly "confess" their former heresy. Every dissertation on any subject must faithfully seek some quotation from Stalin and Lenin "science" to prove the infallibility. Only students whose parents never owned more than 18 hectares of land are admitted to universities—others are "outlaws."

The universities demand that matriculating students submit loyalty certificates issued by local Party offices. The University of Kaunas still adheres to the

1:Anonymous U-3 (no date)1949 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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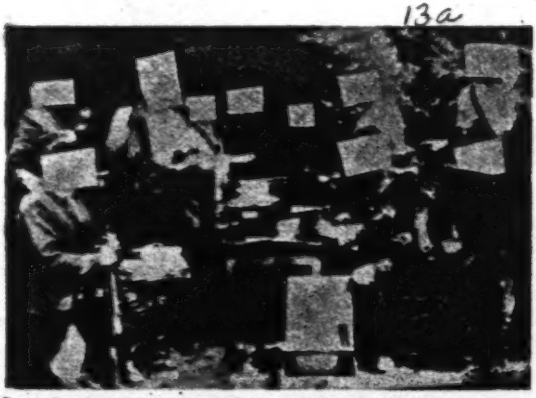

Press Section, Baltic Area of the Lithuanian Liberation Army. An underground newspaper in the process of printing in a forest.

876 626 Lithuanian language, but in Vilnius classes are bilingual. Technological training is favored from the top, and students themselves elect such classes for practical reasons. The Marxist-Leninist "science" is obligatory. Nevertheless, of 2,000 students of the University of Kaunas, only 13 were members of the Komsomol in the school year 1947-48.

883 665 The Komsomol (Communist Youth organization) —just vegetates: there are few Lithuanian recruits. These are found in the cities only. The Komsomol had enjoyed some success during the early days of the second occupation as a "security measure." However, when the authorities began employing the Komsomol personnel for repression, espionage, grain collection supervision, etc., the ranks dwindled. The *Komsorgs* (Komsomol organizers) are pressuring students to join the Komsomol and school directors second the efforts, but there is practically no response: in schools of 500 pupils, only a dozen or so, mostly children of non-Lithuanian race, belong to the Komsomol.

Membership in the "Pioneers"—the parody of boy scouting—is not obligatory but school authorities warn the parents to enroll their children.

In Kindergartens, communist and anti-religious propaganda is forced on little children, and teachers slyly attempt to enlist the little ones as informers on their parents and friends.

Forcible Collectivization and Duplicity

423 Unbelievable official duplicity is practiced by the Kremlin. Thus, *Izvestiya*, the official organ of the Soviet Government, in the issue No. 172 of 22 July 1948 wrote:

"The Agrarian Reform has been consummated in Lithuania. 92,000 former smallholders and the landless have received gratuitously FOR ALL TIME 659,000 hectares of land, tens of thousands horses and cows, over 100,000 houses and other farm structures.

"Prior to the completion of harvesting, over 250 kolkhozes were found in the country."

The final phrase presaged the forcible drive against the "smallholders and the landless" from whom land was seized and redistributed in order to provide statistical data to show a great Soviet "achievement," prior to driving the expropriated "recipients of the land FOR ALL TIME" into the kolkhozes. And yet,

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423 so many solemn assurances had been made on the highest authority that there would be no collectivization. . . .

The Russians well realize that collectivization means a decrease of production and a lowering of living standards. But the Soviet regime—materialistic in all its aspects—does not concern itself with materialistic calculations in its drive for forcible collectization: collectivization is a part of the "ideological drive." That is, a part of perfecting the POLICE REGIME.

There were no "estate owners" or "peasants" in Lithuania: Lithuanian agriculturists were all dignified and self-respecting medium and small FARMERS, HUSBANDMEN, who produced enough to maintain comfortable living standards, provided gradual accumulation of farming machinery, earned income enabling them to send their children to universities. They entered specialized fields of production—dairying, cattle breeding, sugar beet production, fowl raising, pig breeding, etc. Lithuanian agricultural economy enabled the country to export annually increasing quantities of the highest grade butter, eggs, cheese, hams, bacon, canned meat, frozen meats, flax, bristles, casings, lard, etc. The farmers lived in isolated homesteads, rather than in Russian-type clustered villages. They enjoyed privacy in their homes surrounded by orchards and flower gardens and crosses.

But, from the Soviet point of view, individual farming tends to maintain "rugged individualism," independent thinking, self-reliance, self-respect, dislike of a police interference. Production by independent farmers cannot be controlled by the most precisely calculated estimates—and the Russians are thinking in terms of simple grain production, rather than specialized varieties of agriculture. Russian officials can never be certain whether the last ounce had been squeezed from an independent farmer.

And a farmer living in his isolated homestead escapes the continual surveillance of the MVD network of spies! Walking off to his orchard, garden or grove, he could maintain liaison with the "people's enemies" and "political bandits"—and every independent-thinking Lithuanian is either a "political bandit" or a "people's enemy" in the Soviet mentality. He could supply the "bandits" with food or clothing, or shelter them at night. This is the most "criminal" aspect of individual farming.

474 In the kolkhoz—it is quite different.

626 Hundreds of families are herded into a closely guarded enclosure where each person is assigned so much "living space" and has no choice in selecting either the "breathing space" or room mates. A few dozen armed MVD troops guard the huge estate bared of all tree vegetation. There is no chance for "hoarding" or secreting a part of the production which is checked in the field by Party officials. No one can enter or leave unnoticed and unquestioned. Every fifth person is an agent informer of the MVD. No one can leave at night or maintain any contacts unsurveyed by the MVD. Everyone can be depended upon to report dutifully for casting his or her ballot at periodic "elections." No one owns any property, except the few pieces of furniture, bedding and personal rags. No one can read the clandestine press unobserved by the agents. No one can own a radio set or listen to clandestine broadcasts. There are "red corners" supplied with ample official propaganda literature and a radio

474 626 tuned to either Vilnius or Moscow broadcasts deemed proper by the authorities—and loudspeakers are installed so that no one can escape hearing such news. And there is no church or chapel—no one can leave to attend religious services.

In fact, the kolkhoz is a CONCENTRATION CAMP OF STATE SERFS. The Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union published a decree on 7 July 1948: "No one may leave the kolkhoz or any section thereof without permission of the authorities." The serfs must produce their quotas of work—or face a trial for "sabotage."

The *Izvestiya* article of 22 July 1948 was preceded by a boast of comrade Sniečkus, First Secretary of the LKP/b CK: "659,000 ha. of land were seized from estate owners and redistributed to smallholders and the landless." The gratuitious gift of land "for all time" of 15% of all cultivated land area of the country was coupled with a boast of comrade Sniečkus: 900 farms in Šiauliai county were merged into 32 "co-operative artels."

Soon after the gift of land "for all time," the Riga radio broadcast on 30 August: "Sooner or later, *all* of the farmers of Latvia *must* go into kolkhozes." This tune was immediately echoed in the press of Lithuania: those refusing to go into "co-operative artels" were branded "state traitors." . . .

Collectivization Procedure

474 Prior to 1948, there were 20 kolkhozes established in the depopulated and Russian-resettled District of Klaipėda and areas of Vilnius vacated by repatriates to Poland. Thereafter, the first kolkhozes were established among Russian Old Believer sectarians in the northeast. The first kolkhoz near Utena, in a purely Lithuanian community invaded by Russian settlers, was destroyed by the guerrillas. The serfs scattered.

In the spring of 1948, the collectivization drive was pushed.

[234] It began with the dairying farmers. Thus, the Party organ *Tiesa* announced in its issue of 11 May:

"Formerly, milk delivery quotas were fixed according to the number of cows owned by the farms. Now, milk delivery quotas are assessed according to the ratio of general land area under cultivation. The new system aims at inducing the farmers to develop the cattle industry. Furthermore, this decree is directed against the sabotage by the kulaks who falsify the actual number of cows held by them.

"On the other hand, peasants of the kolkhozes are relieved from any compulsory milk deliveries this year. Collective farms deliver milk from every hectare of land under cultivation—25 kilograms per hectare. Nevertheless, 50% reduction is granted for the years 1948 and 1949."

In the issue of 19 September 1948 comrade Sniečkus announced:

"The urgent desire of farmers to go into collective farms gained during the past spring and summer."

He cited 32 kolkhozes in Šiauliai county and new kolkhozes at Sasnava, Liūbavas and Kalvarija. At the same time he threatened a "relentless drive against kulak saboteurs" failing to meet compulsory grain and produce quotas. Numerous instances of prosecution and "loss of freedom" were cited.

793 they discontinue holding Mass and stop the performance of other priestly duties. A number of priests were
659 arrested and the NKVD attempted to enlist their ser-
661 vices by threats and blackmail. Because of these methods, several priests consented—and, immediately after their release, fled abroad. Those refusing to become agents were imprisoned. Soon the number of prisoners grew as many friars, preachers and high school students heroically defended their faith.

626 The Russians initiated a campaign against religious
527 *traditions*. They began by banning the traditional
461 Corpus Christi processions in the streets. All Saints Day was declared to be a working day, and the authorities banned traditional services and mass visits to cemeteries on All Souls' Day. During Advent and Lent, the bolsheviks encouraged dancing, entertainment and anti-religious lectures. Good Friday and Holy Saturday, as well as the second day of Easter, were designated working days. Those failing to report for work on the second day of Easter were prosecuted. In general, at frequent intervals, ordinary Sundays were periodically declared to be working days, and Saturdays—days of rest.

876 The teaching of religion in schools was replaced by
626 classes on biology and the Stalin constitution. Biological lectures popularized "Darwinism." The "science of constitution" was to popularize a "Soviet democracy" and its oft-varying shifts directed by party
[883] line. In place of religious sodalities and athletic groups, the bolsheviks attempted to form *"Komsomol"* (Communist Youth) nests directed by political instructors called "Komsorg." Religious sermons were replaced by anti-religious tirades in the communist-controlled press and at mass meetings. Attendance at such mass-meetings to hear blasphemies was made compulsory.

626 Churches kept open and functioning. However, at-
661 tendants at religious services were terrorized. The
558 Party posted uniformed and non-uniformed spies at church doors to observe and list the churchgoers. Attendance in church was a sufficient reason for dismissal from higher offices.

000 The anti-religious drive, growing in tempo, began to expand. When Bishops Brizgys and Ramanauskas called on Pozdniakov, the former Soviet Minister to Lithuania and at present the Kremlin's depuy satrap, to ask for the return of the premises of the Theological Seminary, the Russian attempted to "reason" with them. Pozdniakov stated that they should have no illusions: what had been accomplished in Russia in 20 years, will be achieved in Lithuania within two to three years by experienced administrators. Why should the Seminary "delude" young men? By the time they became priests, there would be no duties to perform—in Russia the priests already have nothing to do. . . .

Lithuanian Resistance to the Anti-Religious Drive

798 The Lithuanians had suffered much for religion—
771 murder, imprisonment and exile to Siberia—during

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of laymen active in Catholic Action were either murdered or exiled to Siberia. 40,000 Lithuanians were deported to Russia during that one lone year, and at least two-thirds of the number were Catholic Action members.

The Second Russian Occupation

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As far back as 1942, Comrade Vyshynsky, Deputy Commissar of Foreign Affairs and Liquidator of the Democratic Latvian State, admitted to a foreign statesman that bolshevik tactics in the Baltic States were based on an erroneous policy: the method of violence and compulsion had been a mistake.

In July 1944, the Russians again invaded the Baltic States. However, there was no change in their policy or methods regarding religion: they permitted no Catholic organizations, press or instruction of religion in schools.

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The Salesian monastery at Skirsnemunė was encircled by the Red Army and all physically able friars were drafted into the Red Army.

Soon thereafter, the tactics regarding the clergy wavered. Soviet overlords attempted to maintain, to some extent, the propaganda thesis regarding the alleged existence of "freedom of religion" in the Soviet Union. Only one Catholic Seminary, of the former four, was left in Lithuania, but divinity students, as other university students, were exempt from military duty. The number of divinity students was sharply limited to 150—for a Catholic nation of three million —instead of the previous 850.

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This measure represented a lull in the anti-religious drive: religion was to be eliminated by other means, by mass deportations of the faithful and their replacement by Communist Russians, so that, in the words of comrade Pozdniakov, the priests would find no employment for their vocation, no audience to listen to them. By effecting the primary aim of the Soviet regime—the liquidation of the Lithuanian people—the secondary aim, that of abolishing religion, would be simultaneously achieved. This explains the change in tactics, not the basic aim.

Furthermore, the new "party line" sought not merely to leave the clergy untouched, but to use them for political interests of bolshevism, as is done in Russia with the Orthodox clergy. In 1946 the NKVD encountered great difficulty with armed Lithuanian guerrilla operations. The NKVD decided to use the bishops and clergy to break the fighters' will to wage war. The Ministry of Interior (NKVD-MVD) demanded that the bishops publish pastoral letters and in sermons condemn the armed resistance and urge an end to it.

The alien regime attempted to attain two purposes: to enlist the clergy's aid to further its plans, and to drive a wedge between the clergy and the fighting nation. However, the plan was too obviously underlined with "red" threads, and the bishops declined to do the NKVD bidding. When the NKVD threatened with repressions, one bishop frankly told the satraps: "It is all the same to me whether I live five more years or less—I shall not soil the authority of the Church."

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ing Holy Mass. With his hands tied behind his back, he was pushed into an auto, driven to the railroad station, and placed on board a train.

Bishop Matulionis was arrested in mid-December 1946. The old martyr bore himself with dignity and firmness. To warnings by well-wishers he replied: "I know the bolsheviks." He had ordained some divinity graduates December 9 and 12th, and appeared very weak. He was arrested a few days later for having issued a pastoral letter warning against the wiles of Komsomol.

Arrests of the clergy are more numerous after several visits to "Prime Minister" Gedvila to protest against limiting the number of divinity students to 150. The seminary's building is being requisitioned: its quarters in Marian Fathers' Charity Church are being turned over to Nurses School.

A favorite Russian method is to promote dissension. When Rev. Nagulevičius, pastor of Obeliai, was arrested, the NKDV lodged a suspended priest in the rectory. This "pastor" refused to admit the priest appointed by the bishop. The Chancellor of the diocese arrived to settle the matter, but the NKVD "pastor" refused to obey. When the Chancellor visited comrade Gailevičius, Adviser on Cult Affairs in Vilnius, the latter said: "At present the people rule. This is apparently the people's will, and we cannot help in this matter."

The NKVD is attempting to install its own "priests" and, eventually, to have a Church administration subservient to the NKVD. Thus far, only one apostate is known.

No priests are admitted to the Klaipėda-Memel District.

[794] Congregations are being evicted from their quarters although, officially, the monasteries are not banned. St. Casimir's Sisters are still in possession at Pažaislis, and the Franciscan Fathers are still left in Kretinga.

[651] Priests and Church property are heavily taxed. For instance, the Cathedral of Kaunas must pay 46,000 rubles, the Cathedral of Panevėžys 40,000, the small Church of St. Nicholas in Vilnius dating back to the 14th century, is taxed 16,000 rubles. The late Mgr. Jokubauskas, administrator of the Bishopric of Kaunas who died in February 1947, was taxed 20,000 rubles. The figures become significant when it is realized that an average laborer earns 200 rubles a month.

Sidelights of Anti-Religious Drive

659 626 798

Religious practice is permitted inside the church only: Stalin's constitution grants "freedom of belief" and warrants the liberty of anti-religious propaganda. No religious texts, not even prayerbooks, are permitted to be published—"paper shortage" . . . On the other hand millions of vile pamphlets are printed.

Once more, uniformed sentinels and agents in mufti are ostentatiously posted at church doors. They look over every face and scribble notes in the "blocnotes." [558] Attendance in church means dismissal from a responsible post in the government. Teachers attending religious services are denounced in the press as "persons of low morality." A high school director inquired of

133 Neringa* presents a remarkable natural wonder. It is a long strip of earth stretching several tens of kilometers to the south, separating the Baltic Sea from Kurshiu Marios (Courland Spit). It is covered in places by young woodland or low pines, and in some places magnificent sand dunes rise, which around the hamlet of Nida are the highest in Europe. Lithuania's largest river is the Nemunas (Neman). It is navigable from the Alytus. Its most important tributaries inside Lithuania are the Neris (which in turn has its tributaries Shventoiya* and Nevezys), and also the Dubysa and the Sheshupe.

The lowest parts of Lithuania are swampy. There are especially many swamps in the Siauliai area and to the west from the middle of the Nemunas.

137 Wooded surface comprised before the Second World War, 19 percent of the whole Republic. About two-thirds of the woods are coniferous, and about one-third is deciduous. Among the coniferous varieties fir trees and pines predominate. Among the deciduous varieties the ash, the birch, the aspen, and, less often, the alder and oak predominate. The meadows are covered with dense, mellow grass. The natural pastures, and also fodder grass, are the basis for the development of animal husbandry.

132 Owing to the proximity of the sea, the climate is damp and mild. There are no severe winters and no dry winds. The average annual temperature is from plus 6.5° to 7° C.; the average temperature in /5/ January is from minus 2.5° to minus 4.7°; in July it is from plus 17° to 18.6°.

162 The population of Soviet Lithuania (according to the statistics of 1940) is 3,150,000. The bulk of the population consists of Lithuanians (80 per cent). In addition there are Russians, Poles, White Russians, Jews, and Latvians.

● 631 Administratively Soviet Lithuania is divided into 41 uyezds, 320 volosts, and 2,774 apilinks (selsoviets).

361 The capital of the Republic is Vilnius. The city of Vilnius was founded in the tenth century and has been the capital since 1323. It is situated at the junction of the rivers Vilnele (Vileika) and Neris, on the shores of both rivers.

The largest cities of the Republic are Kaunas, Klaipeda, Siauliai, Paniveshis.

135 In the Republic there are rich resources in water power, of peat and mineral construction material.

[Lithuanian Constitution 25 of April 7, 1948]

642 Art. 14. The Lithuanian SSR consists of the districts of Alitus, Anikshchyai, Birzhai, Varena, Vilkaviskis, Vilnyus, Zarasai, Ionishkis, Kaishyadoris, Kaunas, Kedainyai, Kelmena, Klaipeda, Krotinga, Kupishkis, Kurshonai, Lazdiyai, Mazheikyai, Mariyampolo, Pagegyai, Pnevezhis, Pasvalis, Plunge, Prenai, Radvilishkis, Rasteinyai, Rokishkis, Tourage, Telshai, Traknai, Ukmerge, Utyana, Shakyai, Shvenchonis, Shilute, Shyaulyai, Yurbarkas; and of the cities of Vilnius, Kaunas, Klaipeda, Shyaulyai and Panevezhis which do not form part of districts.

Art. 15. The Lithuanian SSR reserves the right freely to secede from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Art. 16. The territory of the Lithuanian SSR may not be altered without its consent.

[20] Art. 16a. The Lithuanian SSR has its own Republican military formations.

[648] Art. 16b. The Lithuanian SSR has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states and to conclude agreements and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives with them.

Art. 17. The laws of the USSR are binding within the territory of the Lithuanian SSR.

[649] Art. 18. Every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR is a citizen of the USSR. Citizens of all other Union Republics enjoy on the territory of the Lithuanian SSR equal rights with citizens of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 19. The jurisdiction of the Lithuanian SSR, as represented by its higher organs of state power and organs of state administration, embraces:

a) Adoption of the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR and control over its observance;

b) Establishment of the administrative-territorial divisions of the Lithuanian SSR and of the boundaries of districts and volosts;

c) Legislation of the Lithuanian SSR;

d) Maintenance of public order and safeguarding the rights of citizens;

e) Approval of the national-economic plan of the Lithuanian SSR;

f) Approval of the state budget of the Lithuanian SSR and of the report on its fulfilment;

g) Determination of state and local taxes, imposts and non-tax revenues in conformity with the laws of the USSR, as well as direction of the fulfilment of local budgets;

h) Direction of insurance and savings;

i) Administration of the banks, industrial, agricultural and trading enterprises and organizations subordinate to the Republic, as well as direction of local industry;

j) Control and superintendence of the condition and administration of enterprises subordinate to the Union;

k) Establishment of the procedure governing the use of land, mineral wealth, forests and waters;

l) Direction of dwelling-houses and the municipal economy, dwelling house construction and the modernization of cities and other inhabited places;

m) Road Building; direction of local transport and communications;

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

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The Ministry of the Building Materials Industry
The Ministry of the Fish Industry
The Ministry of Agriculture
The Ministry of State Farms
The Ministry of Trade
The Ministry of Finance
The Ministry of Justice;

The following Ministries of the Lithuanian SSR are Republican:

The Ministry of the Municipal Economy
The Ministry of Local Industry
The Ministry of Construction
The Ministry of Education
The Ministry of Social Maintenance.

Art. 49. Each Union-Republican Ministry of the Lithuanian SSR directs the branch of state administration of the Lithuanian SSR entrusted to it, with the exception of only a limited number of enterprises, according to a list confirmed by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and is subordinate both to the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR and the corresponding Union-Republican Ministry of the USSR.

Art. 50. Each Republican Ministry of the Lithuanian SSR directs the branch of state administration entrusted to it and is directly subordinate to the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 51. The Government of the Lithuanian SSR or a Minister of the Lithuanian SSR to whom a question of a member of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR is addressed must give a verbal or written reply in the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR within a period not exceeding three days.

Chapter V. The Local Organs of State Power

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Art. 52. The organs of state power in districts, cities, volosts, small towns and apilinki are the Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 53. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies of districts, cities, volosts, small towns and apilinki are elected by the working people of the respective districts, cities, volosts, small towns and apilinki for a term of two years.

Art. 54. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies of districts, cities, volosts, small towns and apilinki direct cultural, political and economic affairs on their territory, draw up the local budgets, direct the work of the organs of administration subordinate to them, ensure the maintenance of public order, assist in strengthening the defensive capacity of the country and ensure the observance of the laws and the protection of the rights of citizens.

Art. 55. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies adopt decisions and issue orders within the limits of the powers vested in them by the laws of the USSR and the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 56. The executive and administrative organ of the Soviet of Working People's Deputies of districts, cities, volosts, small towns and apilinki is the Executive Committee elected by it, consisting of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman a Secretary and members.

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

631 Art. 57. The executive and administrative organ of the Soviet of Working
[623] People's Deputies in small localities is the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman and the Secretary elected by the Soviet of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 58. The Executive Committees of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies exercise guidance in cultural, political and economic affairs within their territory on the basis of decisions taken by the corresponding Soviets of Working People's Deputies and superior state organs.

Art. 59. Sessions of district Soviets of Working People's Deputies are convened by their Executive Committees not less than four times a year.

Art. 60. Sessions of volost Soviets of Working People's Deputies are convened by their respective Executive Committees not less than six times a year.

[623] Art. 61. Sessions of Soviets of Working People's Deputies of cities, small towns and apilinki are convened by their respective executive organs not less than once a month.

Art. 62. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies each elect a Chairman and a Secretary for the duration of their sessions to conduct the sittings of the sessions.

Art. 63. The executive organs of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies are directly accountable both to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies which elected them and to the executive organs of the respective superior Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 64. The superior Executive Committees of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies have the right to annul decisions and orders of inferior Executive Committees and to suspend decisions and orders of inferior Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 65. The superior Soviets of Working People's Deputies have the right to annul decisions and orders of inferior Soviets of Working People's Deputies and of their Executive Committees.

632 Art. 66. The district Soviets of Working People's Deputies set up the following Departments of their Executive Committees:

- a Department of Roads
- a Department of Public Health
- a Department of the Municipal Economy
- a Department of Cultural and Educational Work
- a Department of Public Education
- a General Department
- a Department of Agriculture
- a Department of Social Maintenance
- a Department of Trade
- a Department of Finance
- a Planning Commission
- a Cadres Sector

under the Chairman of the Executive Committees. In addition, in accordance with the specific features of the economy of the district, the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies may set up other Departments or Administrations subject to confirmation by the corresponding Ministries.

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

[625] Art. 67. The all-Union Ministries, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Lithuanian SSR and the Ministry of State Security of the Lithuanian SSR set up
632 their Administrations under the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies in accordance with the conditions of the district and on the basis of the laws of the USSR and of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 68. The Departments and Administrations of the Executive Committees of the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Ministries of the Lithuanian SSR.

633 Art. 69. The city Soviets of Working People's Deputies set up the following Departments of their Executive Committees:

- a Department of Public Health
- a Department of the Municipal Economy
- a Department of Cultural and Educational Work
- a Department of Public Education
- a General Department
- a Department of Social Maintenance
- a Department of Trade
- a Department of Finance
- a Planning Commission
- a Cadres Sector

under the Chairman of the Executive Committee and, in addition, in accordance with the specific features of the city's industry and its suburban and municipal economy,

- a Department of Local Industry and
- a Department of Agriculture.

Art. 70. The Departments of the Executive Committees of the city Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the respective city Soviets of Working People's Deputies and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Departments of the Executive Committees of the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 71. The Departments of the Executive Committees of the Vilnius, Kaunas, Klaipeda, Shyaulyai and Panevezhis city Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of these cities and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Ministry of the Lithuanian SSR directly.

● 631 Art. 72. On the expiration of the terms of office of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, their executive and administrative organs retain their powers until the newly elected Soviets shall have formed new executive and administrative organs.

Chapter VI. The Budget of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic

64 Art. 73. The state budget of the Lithuanian SSR is drawn up by the Council
652 of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR and submitted by it to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR for its approval.

[645] Upon its approval by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR the state budget of the Lithuanian SSR is published for general information.

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

646 Art. 74. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR elects a Budget Commission,
652 which reports its conclusions on the state budget of the Lithuanian SSR to the Supreme Soviet.

Art. 75. The report on the fulfilment of the state budget of the Lithuanian SSR is approved by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR and published for general information.

631 Art. 76. The budgets of the district, city, volost, small town and apilinki
652 Soviets include the revenues from the local economy, deductions from the state revenues collected within their territory and likewise receipts from local taxes and imports in amounts fixed by the laws of the USSR and the Lithuanian SSR.

Chapter VII. The Courts and the Procurator's Office

692 Art. 77. In the Lithuanian SSR justice is administered by the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR, the District and People's Courts, the Special Courts of the USSR established by decision of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

[693] Art. 78. In all Courts cases are tried with the participation of people's assessors, except in cases specially provided for by law.

Art. 79. The Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR is the highest judicial organ of the Lithuanian SSR. The Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR is charged with the supervision of the judicial activities of all the judicial organs of the Lithuanian SSR.

[694] Art. 80. The Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR is elected by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR for a term of five years.

Art. 81. District Courts are elected by the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies for a term of five years.

Art. 82. People's Courts are elected by the citizens of the cities and volosts on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage by secret ballot for a term of three years.

695 Art. 83. Judicial proceedings in the Lithuanian SSR are conducted in the
[563] Lithuanian and Russian languages, persons not knowing these languages being guaranteed the opportunity of fully acquainting themselves with the material of the case through an interpreter and likewise the right to use their own language in court.

Art. 84. In all Courts of the Lithuanian SSR cases are heard in public, unless otherwise provided for by law, and the accused is guaranteed the right to defence.

693 Art. 85. Judges are independent and subject only to the law.

Art. 86. Supreme supervisory power to ensure the strict observance of law by all Ministries and institutions subordinated to them, as well as by officials and citizens within the territory of the Lithuanian SSR generally, is exercised by the Procurator-General of the USSR directly and also through the Procurator of the Lithuanian SSR.

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- a Department of Trade
- a Department of Finance
- a Planning Commission
- a Cadres Sector

under the Chairman of the Executive Committees. In addition, in accordance with the specific features of the economy of the district, the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies may set up other Departments or Administrations subject to confirmation by the corresponding Ministries.

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

[625] Art. 67. The all-Union Ministries, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Lithuanian SSR and the Ministry of State Security of the Lithuanian SSR set up their Administrations under the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies in accordance with the conditions of the district and on the basis of the laws of the USSR and of the Lithuanian SSR.

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under the Chairman of the Executive Committee and, in addition, in accordance with the specific features of the city's industry and its suburban and municipal economy,

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- a Department of Agriculture.

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12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

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c) Legislation of the Lithuanian SSR;

d) Maintenance of public order and safeguarding the rights of citizens;

e) Approval of the national-economic plan of the Lithuanian SSR;

f) Approval of the state budget of the Lithuanian SSR and of the report on its fulfilment;

g) Determination of state and local taxes, imposts and non-tax revenues in conformity with the laws of the USSR, as well as direction of the fulfilment of local budgets;

h) Direction of insurance and savings;

i) Administration of the banks, industrial, agricultural and trading enterprises and organizations subordinate to the Republic, as well as direction of local industry;

j) Control and superintendence of the condition and administration of enterprises subordinate to the Union;

k) Establishment of the procedure governing the use of land, mineral wealth, forests and waters;

l) Direction of dwelling-houses and the municipal economy, dwelling house construction and the modernization of cities and other inhabited places;

m) Road Building; direction of local transport and communications;

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

693 Art. 87. The Procurator of the Lithuanian SSR is appointed by the Procurator-General of the USSR for a term of five years.

Art. 88. District and city procurators are appointed by the Procurator of the Lithuanian SSR subject to the approval of the Procurator-General of the USSR for a term of five years.

Art. 89. The organs of the Procurator's Office perform their functions independently of any local organs whatsoever, being subordinate solely to the Procurator-General of the USSR.

Chapter VIII. Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens

641 461 Art. 90. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to work, that is, the right to guaranteed employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.

The right to work is ensured by the socialist organization of the national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the elimination of the possibility of economic crises and the abolition of unemployment.

Art. 91. The citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to rest and leisure.

[466] The right to rest and leisure is ensured by the establishment of an eight-hour day for factory and office workers, the reduction of the working day to seven or six hours for arduous trades and to four hours in shops where conditions of work are particularly arduous, by the institution of annual vacations with full pay for factory and office workers, and by the provision of a wide network of sanatoria, rest homes and clubs for the accommodation of the working people.

[65] 641 Art. 92. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or disability.

This right is ensured by the extensive development of social insurance of factory and office workers at state expense, free medical service for working people, and the provision of a wide network of health resorts for the use of the working people.

[671] Art. 93. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to education.

This right is ensured by universal and compulsory elementary education; by free education up to and including the seventh grade; by a system of state stipends for students of higher educational establishments who excel in their studies; by instruction in schools being conducted in the native language, and by the organization in the factories, state farms and machine and tractor stations of free vocational, technical and agronomic training for the working people.

[512] Art. 94. Women in the Lithuanian SSR are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, government, cultural, political and other public activity.

The possibility of exercising these rights is ensured by women being accorded an equal right with men to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education, by state protection of the interests of mother and child, state aid to mothers of large families and unmarried mothers, maternity leave with full pay, and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens.

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

● 641 Art. 95. Equality of rights of citizens of the Lithuanian SSR, irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, government, cultural, political and other public activity, is an indefeasible law.

Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or, conversely, the establishment of any direct or indirect privileges for, citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, is punishable by law.

[659] Art. 96. In order to ensure the citizens freedom of conscience, the church in the Lithuanian SSR is separated from the state, and the school from the church. Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognised for all citizens.

Art. 97. In conformity with the interests of the working people, and in order to strengthen the socialist system, the citizens of the Lithuanian SSR are guaranteed by law:

a) freedom of speech;
b) freedom of press;
c) freedom of assembly, including the holding of mass meetings;
d) freedom of street processions and demonstrations.

These civil rights are ensured by placing at the disposal of the working people and their organizations printing presses, stocks of paper, public buildings, the streets, communications facilities and other material requisites for the exercise of these rights.

[575] Art. 98. In conformity with the interests of the working people, and in order to develop the organizational initiative and political activity of the masses of the people, citizens of the Lithuanian SSR are guaranteed the right to unite in public organizations: trade unions, cooperative societies, youth organizations, sport and defence organizations, cultural, technical and scientific societies; and the most active and politically-conscious citizens in the ranks of the working class and other sections of the working people unite in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), which is the vanguard of the working people in their struggle to strengthen and develop the socialist system and is the leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and state.

Art. 99. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR are guaranteed inviolability of the person. No person may be placed under arrest except by decision of a court or with the sanction of a procurator.

Art. 100. The inviolability of the homes of citizens and privacy of correspondence are protected by law.

Art. 101. The Lithuanian SSR affords the right of asylum to foreign citizens persecuted for defending the interests of the working people, or for scientific activities, or for struggling for national liberation.

Art. 102. It is the duty of every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR to abide by the Constitution of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, to observe the laws, to maintain labour discipline, honestly to perform public duties, and to respect the rules of socialist intercourse.

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

[64] Art. 103. It is the duty of every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR to safe-
[665] guard and fortify public, socialist property as the sacred and inviolable foun-
dation of the Soviet system, as the source of the wealth and might of the coun-
[421] try, as the source of the prosperity and culture of all the working people.

Persons committing offences against public, socialist property are enemies of the people.

Art. 104. Universal military service is law.

Military service in the Armed Forces of the USSR is an honourable duty of the citizens of the Lithuanian SSR.

[667] Art. 105. To defend the country is the sacred duty of every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR. Treason to the motherland - violation of the oath of allegiance, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military power of the state, espionage - is punishable with all the severity of the law as the most heinous of crimes.

Chapter IX. The Electoral System

666 Art. 106. Members of all Soviets of Working People's Deputies - of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR and of the district, city, volost, small town and apilinki Soviets of Working People's Deputies - are chosen by the electors on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

Art. 107. Elections of deputies are universal: all citizens of the Lithuanian SSR who have reached the age of eighteen, irrespective of race or nationality, sex, religion, education, domicile, social origin, property status or past activities, have the right to vote in the election of deputies and to be elected, with the exception of insane persons and persons who have been convicted by a court of law and whose sentences include deprivation of electoral rights.

[64] Every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR who has reached the age of twenty-one is eligible for election to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, irrespective of race, nationality, sex, religion, education, domicile, social origin, property status or past activities.

Art. 108. Elections of deputies are equal: each citizen has one vote; all citizens participate in elections on an equal footing.

[562] Art. 109. Women have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with men.

Art. 110. Citizens serving in the Armed Forces of the USSR have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with all other citizens.

Art. 111. Elections of deputies are direct: all Soviets of Working People's Deputies, from apilinki, volost and city Soviets of Working People's Deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR are elected by the citizens by a direct vote.

Art. 112. Voting at elections of deputies is secret.

Art. 113. Candidates are nominated by election districts.

113, 642 RB5 Lithuania

[For comparisons of the Constitution of the Lithuania Soviet Socialist Republic of August 25, 1940 as amended through April 7, 1948 with other constitutions of the Soviet Union, see 70: American Russian Institute, R1 Soviet Union, category 116.]

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Appendix A

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE [1]

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648

The Council of Lithuania in its meeting on February 16, 1918, voted unanimously to address the governments of Russia, Germany, and other states with the following declaration:

The Council of Lithuania, sole representative of the Lithuanian people, in conformity with the recognized right to national self-determination, and in accordance with the resolution of the Lithuanian Conference held in Vilnius from September 18 to 23, 1917, hereby proclaims the restitution of the independent State of Lithuania, founded on democratic principles, with Vilnius as its capital, and declares the rupture of all ties which formerly bound this State to other nations.

The Council of Lithuania also declares that the foundation of the Lithuanian State and relations with other countries will be finally normalized by a Seimas (parliament), elected in a democratic way by the people of Lithuania.

The Council of Lithuania in informing [the nations addressed] to this effect kindly requests recognition of the independent State of Lithuania.

Vilnius, February 16, 1918 *Signed:*

L. Banaitis	P. Klimas	K. Saulys
Dr. J. Basanavicius	Donatas Malinauskas	J. Sernas
M. Birziska	Vl. Mironas	A. Smetona
K. Bizauskas	S. Narutavicius	J. Smilgevicius
P. Dovydaitis	Alfonsas Petrulis	J. Staugaitis
S. Kairys	Dr. J. Saulys	A. Stulginskis
J. Vailokaitis	J. Vileisis	

[1] Author's translation from the original Lithuanian.

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3: Simutis 5-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

175 Her greatest disaster came in 1795 when, together with Poland, she was partitioned between Russia and Prussia. The greater part of ethnographic Lithuania was given to Russia and the lesser part, to Prussia.

Even though the Lithuanian-Polish state collapsed, the Lithuanian nation continued to exist, although it was badly impaired and its size diminished by more than two thirds.

642 Lithuanians were under the stern rule of Czarist Russia
648 for 123 years until, on the 16th of February, 1918, the National Council in Vilnius (Vilna) declared Lithuania an independent state, with ancient Vilnius as its capital.[7] On July 12, 1920, during the war between the Soviets and the Poles, Lithuania signed in Moscow with the Soviet government a peace treaty by which the city of Vilnius with the region about it was assigned to Lithuania.[8]

726 But the old Polish scheme began to manifest itself again.
648 After defeating the Soviet troops near Warsaw, the Poles appeared on the southern Lithuanian frontier and precipitated fighting with the Lithuanians. Finding the going more difficult than they expected, the Poles started negotiations which were carried on under the supervision of the League of Nations and resulted in the conclusion of the Treaty of Suvalkai[9] on October 7, 1920.[10] Two days later, however, the special Polish army, commanded by General Zeligowski, took the Lithuanians completely by surprise and occupied the city of Vilnius and the Vilnius region, comprising almost one
648 third of ethnographic Lithuania. This treacherous act re-

[7] See Appendix A for the text of the Declaration of Independence.

[8] Pranas Dailide, *Lietuvos Sutartys su Svetimomis Valstybemis*, Uzsienio Reikalu Ministerijos leidinys, Tomas I, 1919–29. Recueil des traites conclus par la Lithuanie avec les pays étrangers, Publie par le Ministère des Affaires Étrangeres. I (1919–29), 30–52. See Appendix B for the extract from the text of the peace treaty with Russia.

[9] Dailide, *op. cit.*, pp. 58–61.

[10] See Appendix C for the text of the Treaty of Suvalkai.

12: American Russian Institute RB5 Lithuania RB5
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[For the complete text of the Constitution of the Lithuania Soviet Socialist Republic of August 25, 1940 as amended through April 7, 1948, see category 116, entire source.]

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

C O N S T I T U T I O N

(Fundamental Law)

of the

LITHUANIAN

SOVIET SOCIALIST

REPUBLIC

of August 25, 1940

As amended through April 7, 1948

Chapter I. The Social Structure

642 Art. 1. The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic is a socialist state of workers and peasants.

Art. 2. The political foundation of the Lithuanian SSR is the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, firmly established as a result of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and the capitalists and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Art. 3. All power in the Lithuanian SSR belongs to the working people of town and country as represented by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

471 Art. 4. The economic foundation of the Lithuanian SSR is the socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production, firmly established as the result of the liquidation of the capitalist system of economy, the abolition of private ownership of the instruments and means of production in large industrial enterprises, and the nationalization of such enterprises, banks, transport and means of communication with a view to the complete abolition of the exploitation of man by man and the construction of a socialist system of society.

421 Art. 5. Socialist property in the Lithuanian SSR exists either in the form of state property (belonging to the whole people) or in the form of co-operative property.

Art. 6. The land, its mineral wealth, waters, forests, mills, factories, mines, rail, water and air transport, banks, communications, large state-organised agricultural enterprises (state farms, machine and tractor stations and the like), as well as municipal enterprises and large dwelling houses in the cities and industrial localities, are state property, that is, belong to the whole people.

474 Art. 7. The common enterprises of co-operative organizations, with their
421 livestock and implements, the products of co-operative organizations, as well as their common buildings, constitute the common, socialist property of the co-operative organizations.

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

472 Art. 8. Alongside the socialist system of economy in the Lithuanian SSR the law permits the small private economy of individual peasants, artisans and handicraftsmen and small private industrial and trading enterprises.

423 Art. 9. The land occupied by peasant holdings as provided by law is secured for their use free of charge and for an unlimited time.

421 Art. 10. The personal property right of citizens in their incomes and savings from work, in their dwelling houses and subsidiary home enterprises, in articles of domestic economy and use and articles of personal use and convenience, as well as the right of citizens to inherit personal property, is protected by law.

471 185 Art. 11. The economic life of the Lithuanian SSR is determined and directed by the state national-economic plan, with the aim of increasing the public wealth, of steadily raising the material and cultural standards of the working people, of consolidating the independence of the USSR and strengthening its defensive capacity.

461 Art. 12. Work in the Lithuanian SSR is a duty and a matter of honour for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat."

The principle applied in the Lithuanian SSR is that of socialism: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

Chapter II. The State Structure

642 Art. 13. For the purpose of mutual assistance among the Union Republics along economic and political lines, as well as along the line of defence, the Lithuanian SSR voluntarily united with the other equal Soviet Socialist Republics, namely:

The Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic,
The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kirghis Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic and
The Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic

in a federal state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Proceeding from the aforesaid, the Lithuanian SSR ceases to the USSR, as represented by its higher organs of state power and organs of state administration, the rights defined in Art. 14 of the Constitution of the USSR.

Outside of the spheres set forth in Art. 14 of the Constitution of the USSR, the Lithuanian SSR exercises state authority independently, retaining its sovereign rights in full.

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

642 Art. 14. The Lithuanian SSR consists of the districts of Alitus, Anikshchyai, Birshai, Varena, Vilkaviskis; Vilnyus, Zarasai, Ionishkis, Kaishyadoris, Kaunas, Kedainyai, Kelmna, Klaipeda, Krotinga, Kupishkis, Kurshenai, Lazdiyai, Mazheikyai, Mariyampole, Pagégyai, Pnevezhis, Pasvalis, Plunge, Pronai, Radvilishkis, Rasteinyai, Rokishkis, Taurage, Telshai, Trakai, Ukmerge, Utyana, Shakyai, Shvenchonis, Shilute, Shyaulyai, Yurbarkas; and of the cities of Vilnius, Kaunas, Klaipeda, Shyaulyai and Panevezhis which do not form part of districts.

Art. 15. The Lithuanian SSR reserves the right freely to secede from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Art. 16. The territory of the Lithuanian SSR may not be altered without its consent.

[701] Art. 16a. The Lithuanian SSR has its own Republican military formations.

[648] Art. 16b. The Lithuanian SSR has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states and to conclude agreements and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives with them.

Art. 17. The laws of the USSR are binding within the territory of the Lithuanian SSR.

[644] Art. 18. Every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR is a citizen of the USSR. Citizens of all other Union Republics enjoy on the territory of the Lithuanian SSR equal rights with citizens of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 19. The jurisdiction of the Lithuanian SSR, as represented by its higher organs of state power and organs of state administration, embraces:

a) Adoption of the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR and control over its observance;

b) Establishment of the administrative-territorial divisions of the Lithuanian SSR and of the boundaries of districts and volosts;

c) Legislation of the Lithuanian SSR;

d) Maintenance of public order and safeguarding the rights of citizens;

e) Approval of the national-economic plan of the Lithuanian SSR;

f) Approval of the state budget of the Lithuanian SSR and of the report on its fulfilment;

g) Determination of state and local taxes, imposts and non-tax revenues in conformity with the laws of the USSR, as well as direction of the fulfilment of local budgets;

h) Direction of insurance and savings;

i) Administration of the banks, industrial, agricultural and trading enterprises and organizations subordinate to the Republic, as well as direction of local industry;

j) Control and superintendence of the condition and administration of enterprises subordinate to the Union;

k) Establishment of the procedure governing the use of land, mineral wealth, forests and waters;

l) Direction of dwelling-houses and the municipal economy, dwelling house construction and the modernization of cities and other inhabited places;

m) Road Building; direction of local transport and communications;

[Lithuanian constitution as of April 7, 1948]

n) Labor legislation; legislation concerning marriage and the family;

642 o) Direction of public health;

p) Direction of social maintenance;

q) Direction of elementary, secondary and higher education;

r) Direction of the cultural, educational and scientific organizations and institutions of the Lithuanian SSR, and administration of the cultural, educational and scientific organizations and institutions of all-Republican importance;

s) Direction and organization of physical culture and sports;

t) Organization of the judicial organs of the Lithuanian SSR;

u) Granting the rights of citizenship of the Lithuanian SSR;

v) Amnesty and pardon of citizens convicted by judicial organs of the Lithuanian SSR;

w) Establishment of the representation of the Lithuanian SSR in international relations;

x) Organization of the military formations of the Lithuanian SSR.

Chapter III. The Higher Organs of State Power of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic

644 Art. 20. The highest organ of state power in the Lithuanian SSR is the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 21. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR is elected for a term of four years by the citizens of the Lithuanian SSR voting by election districts on the basis of one deputy for every 15,000 of the population.

Art. 22. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR exercises all rights vested in the Lithuanian SSR in accordance with articles 13 and 19 of the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR, in so far as they do not by virtue of the Constitution, come within the jurisdiction of organs of the Lithuanian SSR that are accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, that is, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR, and the Ministries of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 23. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR is the sole legislative organ of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 24. A law is considered adopted if passed by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR by a simple majority vote.

645 Art. 25. Laws passed by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR are published in the Lithuanian and Russian languages over the signatures of the President and Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 26. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR elects a Chairman of the Supreme Soviet and two Vice-Chairmen.

Art. 27. The Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR presides at the sittings of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR and has charge of the conduct of its business and proceedings.

643 646 Art. 28. Sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR twice a year.

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 3, 1948]

666 The right to nominate candidates is secured to public organizations and societies of the working people: Communist Party organizations, trade unions, cooperatives, youth organizations and cultural societies.

Art. 114. It is the duty of every deputy to report to his electors on his work and on the work of his Soviet of Working People's Deputies, and he may be recalled at any time upon decision of a majority of the electors in the manner established by law.

Art. 115. Elections to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of the Lithuanian SSR are held by election districts on the bases of representation fixed by the Ordinance Concerning Elections to Soviets of Working People's Deputies of the Lithuanian SSR.

Chapter X. Arms, Flag, Capital

18 Art. 116. The state arms of the Lithuanian SSR are a sickle and hammer of gold on a white background in the rays of the rising sun surrounded by ears of grain and oak leaves and with inscriptions in the Lithuanian and Russian languages: "Workers of All Countries, Unite!"

In the upper part of the arms is a five-pointed star and in the lower part, the letters "LTSR".

Art. 117. The state flag of the Lithuanian SSR is of red cloth with a gold sickle and hammer and the gold letters "Lietuvos TSR" in the upper corner near the staff. The ratio of width to length is 1:2.

Art. 118. The capital of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic is the City of Vilnius.

Chapter XI. Procedure for Amending the Constitution

642 Art. 119. The Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR may be amended only by
C46 decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR adopted by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes of the Supreme Soviet.

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000 Note: The Russian text from which this translation was made was a typed copy authenticated on June 24, 1948 by Mr. S. Pupeikis, Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

[Lithuanian constitution as of April 7, 1948]

642 n) Labor legislation; legislation concerning marriage and the family;

o) Direction of public health;

p) Direction of social maintenance;

q) Direction of elementary, secondary and higher education;

r) Direction of the cultural, educational and scientific organizations and institutions of the Lithuanian SSR, and administration of the cultural, educational and scientific organizations and institutions of all-Republican importance;

s) Direction and organization of physical culture and sports;

t) Organization of the judicial organs of the Lithuanian SSR;

u) Granting the rights of citizenship of the Lithuanian SSR;

v) Amnesty and pardon of citizens convicted by judicial organs of the Lithuanian SSR;

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643 646 Art. 28. Sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR twice a year.

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

643 644 Extraordinary sessions are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR at its discretion or on the demand of one-third of the deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 29. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR elects the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, consisting of a President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary of the Presidium and eleven members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 30. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR is accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR for all its activities.

643 Art. 31. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR:

a) Convenes the sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR;

b) Issues decrees;

c) Gives interpretations of the laws of the Lithuanian SSR in operation;

d) Conducts nation-wide polls (referendums);

645 e) Annuls decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR, and likewise decisions and orders of the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies, if they do not conform to law;

f) In the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, relieves and appoints Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR, on the recommendation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR, subject to subsequent confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR;

g) Confers titles of honour of the Lithuanian SSR;

h) Exercises the right of pardoning citizens convicted by judicial organs of the Lithuanian SSR;

i) Appoints and recalls diplomatic representatives of the Lithuanian SSR to foreign states;

j) Receives the letters of credence and recall of diplomatic representatives accredited to it by foreign states.

646 Art. 32. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR elects a Credentials Committee to verify the credentials of the members of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

On the report of the Credentials Committee, the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR decides whether to recognize the credentials of deputies or to annul their election.

Art. 33. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, when it deems necessary, appoints commissions of investigation and audit in any matter.

It is the duty of all institutions and officials to comply with the demands of such commissions and to submit to them all necessary materials and documents.

Art. 34. A member of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR may not be prosecuted or arrested without the consent of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, or, when the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR is not in session, without the consent of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

643 Art. 35. On the expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR
644 orders new elections to be held within a period not exceeding two months from the date of expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 36. On the expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR retains its powers until the newly-elected Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR shall have formed a new Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 37. The newly-elected Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR is convened by the outgoing Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR not later than three months after the elections.

645 Art. 38. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR appoints the Government
[644] of the Lithuanian SSR, namely, the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR.

Chapter IV. The Organs of State Administration of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic

Art. 39. The highest executive and administrative organ of state power of the Lithuanian SSR is the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 40. The Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR is responsible and accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, or, in the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 41. The Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR issues decisions and orders on the basis and in pursuance of the laws in operation of the USSR and the Lithuanian SSR, and of the decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and verifies their execution.

Art. 42. Decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR are binding throughout the territory of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 43. The Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR:

a) Coordinates and directs the work of Republican and Union-Republican Ministries of the Lithuanian SSR and of other institutions under its jurisdiction; coordinates and directs the work of the authorised representatives of all-Union Ministries;

b) Prepares the national-economic plan of the Lithuanian SSR, transmits it to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR for its approval and adopts measures to carry it out;

c) Prepares the state budget of the Lithuanian SSR and draws up the local budgets of the Lithuanian SSR; transmits the state budget to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR for its approval and adopts measures for the fulfilment of the state and local budgets of the Lithuanian SSR;

d) Adopts measures for the maintenance of public order, for the protection of the interests of the state, and for the safeguarding of the rights of citizens;

661 MVD employee and he became engaged to her. The engagement party was attended by several dozen top
668 officials, including Chairman of the County Executive Committee, the Prosecutor, the Komsomol Chairman, MVD officials, etc. At an opportune moment, the lone guerrilla liquidated the entire group of Soviet satraps, with the exception of the guest musician. Similar incidents occurred elsewhere, and the Russians now avoid gathering in such groups, unless under strong escort.

Desecration of patriots' corpses continues. Bodies are dumped in market places. Crosses and Lithuanian insignia are cut on the bodies by bayonets and scythes, rosaries "rein" the mouths, eyes are gouged, sexual organs mutilated. Bodies lie in decomposed state for weeks, as the Russians kick and spit on the bodies, dance around them, etc.

Banditry by Russian troops and militia is restrained by the guerrilla units protecting the inhabitants. For over a year Russian bandit gangs of army deserters posed a serious problem but these were eventually destroyed by the guerrillas.

The resistance movement embraces the entire country, although degree of organization differs from place to place. The Russian campaign for a memorial thanking Stalin for the "liberation" failed miserably. Lately, however, to minimize the reprisals, the underground instructed people to report to polling places and to pay lip service to "father of nations," "the great teacher and leader, protector of the working people of the world, Stalin The Sun."

668 Liaison with the underground forces in the neighboring countries is rendered difficult by the extreme nationalism of the Poles and Whiteruthenians. Collaboration is limited to specific objectives, such as assistance for passage of envoys. The underground in Poland is not unified, and there had been cases of betrayal by rival factions. Excellent contact is maintained with the Latvians and Ukrainians. Overtures from "Russian underground sources" were deliberately ignored as too risky—the Russians are so thoroughly cowed by three decades of terror and informer network that no Russian is deemed reliable.

Administration

● 645 The "boss" of the country is a satrap of the Kremlin—comrade *Shcherbakov,* titled All-Union Communist Party's/bolshevik Plenipotentiary for Lithuania.

In addition to comrade Justas "President" Paleckis, Chairman of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, the Council of Ministers is made up of the following nominal heads:

Prime Minister—Mečys Gedvila (Lithuanian);

Deputy Premiers—First Deputy Pisaryov, Second Deputy Sokolov, Third Deputy Mamayev (all 3 Russians);

Council's Secretary—S. Pupeikis (Lithuanian);

Minister of Food Industry—K. Andrijaitis (Lithuanian);

Minister of Local Industry—S. Shkodin (Russian);

Minister of Fishing Industry—Andrei Zasypkin (Russian) was summarily dismissed "for inefficiency" 3 February 1949 and replaced by an unknown, "V. Mickevičius";

645

Minister of Cattle Industry—V. Augustinaitis (a Russian alien of distant Lithuanian ancestry);

Minister of Construction Materials Industry—M. Lyubimtsev (Russian);

Minister of Meat and Dairy Industry—J. Čygas (Lithuanian);

Minister of Forestry Industry—Ponomarev (Russian);

Minister of Heavy Industry—Teodin (Russian);

Minister of Agriculture—V. Vildžiūnas (Lithuanian);

Minister of Communal Economy—A. Sveschov (Russian);

Minister of Social Security—J. Stimburys (Lithuanian);

Minister of Health Protection—S. Banaitis (Lithuanian);

Minister of National Feeding—Laurinaitis (Lithuanian);

Minister of the Interior (MVD)—General Bartašiūnas (Russian under an alias);

Minister of State Security (MGB)—D. Yefimov (Russian);

Minister of Technical Cultures—V. Aleknavičius (Lithuanian);

Minister of Commerce—A. Ivalkevičius (Lithuanian);

Minister of Education—Vladas Niunka (Lithuanian, replaced J. Žiugžda);

Minister of Finance—A. Drobnys (Lithuanian);

Minister of Foreign Affairs—Ignas Galka on 27 January 1949 replaced Povilas Ratomskis (Lithuanian);

Chairman of State Planning Commission—Šumauskas (Lithuanian);

First Secretary of the Communist Party/bolshevik of Lithuania—Antanas Sniečkus (all other secretaries are Russians).

Comrade Suslov was promoted to a post in Moscow. Wherever "Ministers" are Lithuanians, the entire business is transacted by their Russian "Deputies." Proceedings of the "Cabinet" are conducted in Russian exclusively, but decrees of the "Party and Government" are published in two languages.

Regardless of the "Constitutional Amendments" of 1944 authorizing "Union Republics" to form national ministries of armed forces and foreign affairs—there is no national Soviet Lithuanian army and no ministry of war. A ministry of foreign affairs exists on paper as a propaganda measure: the policy is transacted by Moscow and the ministry of the Lithuanian SSR is lodged in two rooms adjoining the MVD headquarters. The "minister" Ratomskis, a former clerk of the Soviet Consulate General in New York, was assisted by several Russian clerks. Žiugžda, son of the former education minister, formally trained in Moscow for a diplomatic post in Washington, still walks the streets of Kaunas.

In the upper posts of the administration, the Lithuanians occupy roughly 30%. In the lower posts, the ratio is roughly 50/50. In the cities, Russians and Jews predominate; in rural areas—Lithuanians. In the MVD, the upper personnel is exclusively Russian, in the lower echelons there are natives and interpreters. In the MGB service, the natives make up 10%.

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

643 Extraordinary sessions are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet
644 of the Lithuanian SSR at its discretion or on the demand of one-third of the deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 29. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR elects the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, consisting of a President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary of the Presidium and eleven members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 30. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR is accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR for all its activities.

643 Art. 31. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR:

a) Convenes the sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR;

b) Issues decrees;

c) Gives interpretations of the laws of the Lithuanian SSR in operation;

d) Conducts nation-wide polls (referendums);

e) Annuls decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR, and likewise decisions and orders of the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies, if they do not conform to law;

643

f) In the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, releases and appoints Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR, on the recommendation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR, subject to subsequent confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR;

g) Confers titles of honour of the Lithuanian SSR;

h) Exercises the right of pardoning citizens convicted by judicial organs of the Lithuanian SSR;

i) Appoints and recalls diplomatic representatives of the Lithuanian SSR to foreign states;

j) Receives the letters of credence and recall of diplomatic representatives accredited to it by foreign states.

646 Art. 32. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR elects a Credentials Committee to verify the credentials of the members of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

On the report of the Credentials Committee, the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR decides whether to recognize the credentials of deputies or to annul their election.

Art. 33. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, when it deems necessary, appoints commissions of investigation and audit in any matter.

It is the duty of all institutions and officials to comply with the demands of such commissions and to submit to them all necessary materials and documents.

Art. 34. A member of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR may not be prosecuted or arrested without the consent of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, or, when the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR is not in session, without the consent of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

643 Art. 35. On the expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of
644 the Lithuanian SSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR orders new elections to be held within a period not exceeding two months from the date of expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 36. On the expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR retains its powers until the newly-elected Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR shall have formed a new Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 37. The newly-elected Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR is convened by the outgoing Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR not later than three months after the elections.

645 [644] Art. 38. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR appoints the Government of the Lithuanian SSR, namely, the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR.

Chapter IV. The Organs of State Administration of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic

Art. 39. The highest executive and administrative organ of state power of the Lithuanian SSR is the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 40. The Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR is responsible and accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, or, in the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 41. The Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR issues decisions and orders on the basis and in pursuance of the laws in operation of the USSR and the Lithuanian SSR, and of the decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and verifies their execution.

Art. 42. Decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR are binding throughout the territory of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 43. The Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR:

a) Coordinates and directs the work of Republican and Union-Republican Ministries of the Lithuanian SSR and of other institutions under its jurisdiction; coordinates and directs the work of the authorised representatives of all-Union Ministries;

b) Prepares the national-economic plan of the Lithuanian SSR, transmits it to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR for its approval and adopts measures to carry it out;

c) Prepares the state budget of the Lithuanian SSR and draws up the local budgets of the Lithuanian SSR; transmits the state budget to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR for its approval and adopts measures for the fulfilment of the state and local budgets of the Lithuanian SSR;

d) Adopts measures for the maintenance of public order, for the protection of the interests of the state, and for the safeguarding of the rights of citizens;

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

645

e) Directs and verifies the work of the Executive Committees of the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies;

f) Sets up, whenever necessary, special Committees and Central Administrations under the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR for economic and cultural affairs;

g) Exercises guidance in the sphere of the relations of the Lithuanian SSR with foreign states, on the basis of the general procedure established by the USSR governing the relations of Union Republics with foreign states;

h) Directs the organization of the military formations of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 44. The Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR has the right to annul orders and instructions of the Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR, decisions and orders of Executive Committees of district and city Soviets of Working People's Deputies and likewise to suspend decisions and orders of district and city Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 45. The Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR is appointed by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR and consists of:

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR;

The Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR;

The Chairman of the State Planning Commission of the Lithuanian SSR;

The Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR;

The Chief of the Arts Administration;

The Chairman of the Committee on Cultural and Educational Institutions.

Art. 46. The Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR direct the branches of state administration which come within the jurisdiction of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 47. The Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR, within the limits of the jurisdiction of their respective Ministries, issue orders and instructions on the basis and in pursuance of the laws in operation of the USSR and the Lithuanian SSR, of the decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR and of the orders and instructions of the Union-Republican Ministries of the USSR, and verify their execution.

Art. 48. The Ministries of the Lithuanian SSR are either Union-Republican or Republican Ministries.

The following Ministries of the Lithuanian SSR are Union-Republican:

The Ministry of Internal Affairs
The Ministry of the Armed Forces
The Ministry of State Security
The Ministry of State Control
The Ministry of Public Health
The Ministry of Foreign Affairs
The Ministry of Cinematography
The Ministry of Light Industry
The Ministry of the Timber Industry
The Ministry of Forestry
The Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry
The Ministry of the Food Industry

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

645

The Ministry of the Building Materials Industry
The Ministry of the Fish Industry
The Ministry of Agriculture
The Ministry of State Farms
The Ministry of Trade
The Ministry of Finance
The Ministry of Justice;

The following Ministries of the Lithuanian SSR are Republicans:
The Ministry of the Municipal Economy
The Ministry of Local Industry
The Ministry of Construction
The Ministry of Education
The Ministry of Social Maintenance.

Art. 49. Each Union-Republican Ministry of the Lithuanian SSR directs the branch of state administration of the Lithuanian SSR entrusted to it, with the exception of only a limited number of enterprises, according to a list confirmed by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and is subordinate both to the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR and the corresponding Union-Republican Ministry of the USSR.

Art. 50. Each Republican Ministry of the Lithuanian SSR directs the branch of state administration entrusted to it and is directly subordinate to the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 51. The Government of the Lithuanian SSR or a Minister of the Lithuanian SSR to whom a question of a member of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR is addressed must give a verbal or written reply in the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR within a period not exceeding three days.

Chapter V. The Local Organs of State Power

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Art. 52. The organs of state power in districts, cities, volosts, small towns and apilinki are the Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 53. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies of districts, cities, volosts, small towns and apilinki are elected by the working people of the respective districts, cities, volosts, small towns and apilinki for a term of two years.

Art. 54. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies of districts, cities, volosts, small towns and apilinki direct cultural, political and economic affairs on their territory, draw up the local budgets, direct the work of the organs of administration subordinate to them, ensure the maintenance of public order, assist in strengthening the defensive capacity of the country and ensure the observance of the laws and the protection of the rights of citizens.

Art. 55. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies adopt decisions and issue orders within the limits of the powers vested in them by the laws of the USSR and the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 56. The executive and administrative organ of the Soviet of Working People's Deputies of districts, cities, volosts, small towns and apilinki is the Executive Committee elected by it, consisting of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman a Secretary and members.

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

[625] Art. 67. The all-Union Ministries, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Lithuanian SSR and the Ministry of State Security of the Lithuanian SSR set up 632 their Administrations under the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies in accordance with the conditions of the district and on the basis of the laws of the USSR and of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 68. The Departments and Administrations of the Executive Committees of the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Ministries of the Lithuanian SSR.

633 Art. 69. The city Soviets of Working People's Deputies set up the following Departments of their Executive Committees:

- a Department of Public Health
- a Department of the Municipal Economy
- a Department of Cultural and Educational Work
- a Department of Public Education
- a General Department
- a Department of Social Maintenance
- a Department of Trade
- a Department of Finance
- a Planning Commission
- a Cadres Sector

under the Chairman of the Executive Committee and, in addition, in accordance with the specific features of the city's industry and its suburban and municipal economy,

- a Department of Local Industry and
- a Department of Agriculture.

Art. 70. The Departments of the Executive Committees of the city Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the respective city Soviets of Working People's Deputies and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Departments of the Executive Committees of the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 71. The Departments of the Executive Committees of the Vilnius, Kaunas, Klaipeda, Shyaulyai and Panevezhis city Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of these cities and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Ministry of the Lithuanian SSR directly.

631 Art. 72. On the expiration of the terms of office of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, their executive and administrative organs retain their powers until the newly elected Soviets shall have formed new executive and administrative organs.

Chapter VI. The Budget of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic

648 Art. 73. The state budget of the Lithuanian SSR is drawn up by the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR and submitted by it to the Supreme Soviet of 652 the Lithuanian SSR for its approval.

[645] Upon its approval by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR the state budget of the Lithuanian SSR is published for general information.

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

[Lithuanian constitution as of April 7, 1948]

n) Labor legislation; legislation concerning marriage and the family;

o) Direction of public health;

p) Direction of social maintenance;

q) Direction of elementary, secondary and higher education;

r) Direction of the cultural, educational and scientific organizations and institutions of the Lithuanian SSR, and administration of the cultural, educational and scientific organizations and institutions of all-Republican importance;

s) Direction and organization of physical culture and sports;

t) Organization of the judicial organs of the Lithuanian SSR;

u) Granting the rights of citizenship of the Lithuanian SSR;

v) Amnesty and pardon of citizens convicted by judicial organs of the Lithuanian SSR;

w) Establishment of the representation of the Lithuanian SSR in international relations;

x) Organization of the military formations of the Lithuanian SSR.

Chapter III. The Higher Organs of State Power of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic

Art. 20. The highest organ of state power in the Lithuanian SSR is the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 21. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR is elected for a term of four years by the citizens of the Lithuanian SSR voting by election districts on the basis of one deputy for every 15,000 of the population.

Art. 22. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR exercises all rights vested in the Lithuanian SSR in accordance with articles 13 and 19 of the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR, in so far as they do not by virtue of the Constitution, come within the jurisdiction of organs of the Lithuanian SSR that are accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, that is, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR, and the Ministries of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 23. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR is the sole legislative organ of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 24. A law is considered adopted if passed by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR by a simple majority vote.

Art. 25. Laws passed by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR are published in the Lithuanian and Russian languages over the signatures of the President and Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 26. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR elects a Chairman of the Supreme Soviet and two Vice-Chairmen.

Art. 27. The Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR presides at the sittings of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR and has charge of the conduct of its business and proceedings.

Art. 28. Sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR twice a year.

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

643 644 Extraordinary sessions are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR at its discretion or on the demand of one-third of the deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 29. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR elects the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, consisting of a President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary of the Presidium and eleven members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 30. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR is accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR for all its activities.

643 Art. 31. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR:

a) Convenes the sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR;

b) Issues decrees;

c) Gives interpretations of the laws of the Lithuanian SSR in operation;

d) Conducts nation-wide polls (referendums);

645 e) Annuls decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR, and likewise decisions and orders of the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies, if they do not conform to law;

f) In the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, releases and appoints Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR, on the recommendation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR, subject to subsequent confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR;

g) Confers titles of honour of the Lithuanian SSR;

h) Exercises the right of pardoning citizens convicted by judicial organs of the Lithuanian SSR;

i) Appoints and recalls diplomatic representatives of the Lithuanian SSR to foreign states;

j) Receives the letters of credence and recall of diplomatic representatives accredited to it by foreign states.

646 Art. 32. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR elects a Credentials Committee to verify the credentials of the members of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

On the report of the Credentials Committee, the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR decides whether to recognize the credentials of deputies or to annul their election.

Art. 33. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, when it deems necessary, appoints commissions of investigation and audit in any matter.

It is the duty of all institutions and officials to comply with the demands of such commissions and to submit to them all necessary materials and documents.

Art. 34. A member of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR may not be prosecuted or arrested without the consent of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, or, when the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR is not in session, without the consent of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

643 Art. 35. On the expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of
644 the Lithuanian SSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR orders new elections to be held within a period not exceeding two months from the date of expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

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Art. 37. The newly-elected Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR is convened by the outgoing Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR not later than three months after the elections.

645 Art. 38. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR appoints the Government
[646] of the Lithuanian SSR, namely, the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR.

Chapter IV. The Organs of State Administration of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic

Art. 39. The highest executive and administrative organ of state power of the Lithuanian SSR is the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 40. The Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR is responsible and accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, or, in the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 41. The Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR issues decisions and orders on the basis and in pursuance of the laws in operation of the USSR and the Lithuanian SSR, and of the decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and verifies their execution.

Art. 42. Decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR are binding throughout the territory of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 43. The Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR:

a) Coordinates and directs the work of Republican and Union-Republican Ministries of the Lithuanian SSR and of other institutions under its jurisdiction; coordinates and directs the work of the authorized representatives of all-Union Ministries;

b) Prepares the national-economic plan of the Lithuanian SSR, transmits it to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR for its approval and adopts measures to carry it out;

c) Prepares the state budget of the Lithuanian SSR and draws up the local budgets of the Lithuanian SSR; transmits the state budget to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR for its approval and adopts measures for the fulfilment of the state and local budgets of the Lithuanian SSR;

d) Adopts measures for the maintenance of public order, for the protection of the interests of the state, and for the safeguarding of the rights of citizens;

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

[625] Art. 67. The all-Union Ministries, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the
632 Lithuanian SSR and the Ministry of State Security of the Lithuanian SSR set up their Administrations under the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies in accordance with the conditions of the district and on the basis of the laws of the USSR and of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 68. The Departments and Administrations of the Executive Committees of the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Ministries of the Lithuanian SSR.

633 Art. 69. The city Soviets of Working People's Deputies set up the following Departments of their Executive Committees:

- a Department of Public Health
- a Department of the Municipal Economy
- a Department of Cultural and Educational Work
- a Department of Public Education
- a General Department
- a Department of Social Maintenance
- a Department of Trade
- a Department of Finance
- a Planning Commission
- a Cadres Sector

under the Chairman of the Executive Committee and, in addition, in accordance with the specific features of the city's industry and its suburban and municipal economy,

- a Department of Local Industry and
- a Department of Agriculture.

Art. 70. The Departments of the Executive Committees of the city Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the respective city Soviets of Working People's Deputies and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Departments of the Executive Committees of the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 71. The Departments of the Executive Committees of the Vilnius, Kaunas, Klaipeda, Shyaulyai and Panevezhis city Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of these cities and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Ministry of the Lithuanian SSR directly.

631 Art. 72. On the expiration of the terms of office of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, their executive and administrative organs retain their powers until the newly elected Soviets shall have formed new executive and administrative organs.

Chapter VI. The Budget of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic

64 Art. 73. The state budget of the Lithuanian SSR is drawn up by the Council
652 of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR and submitted by it to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR for its approval.

[645] Upon its approval by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR the state budget of the Lithuanian SSR is published for general information.

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

646 Art. 74. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR elects a Budget Commission,
652 which reports its conclusions on the state budget of the Lithuanian SSR to the Supreme Soviet.

Art. 75. The report on the fulfilment of the state budget of the Lithuanian SSR is approved by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR and published for general information.

631 Art. 76. The budgets of the district, city, volost, small town and apilinki
652 Soviets include the revenues from the local economy, deductions from the state revenues collected within their territory and likewise receipts from local taxes and imposts in amounts fixed by the laws of the USSR and the Lithuanian SSR.

Chapter VII. The Courts and the Procurator's Office

692 Art. 77. In the Lithuanian SSR justice is administered by the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR, the District and People's Courts, the Special Courts of the USSR established by decision of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

[693] Art. 78. In all Courts cases are tried with the participation of people's assessors, except in cases specially provided for by law.

Art. 79. The Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR is the highest judicial organ of the Lithuanian SSR. The Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR is charged with the supervision of the judicial activities of all the judicial organs of the Lithuanian SSR.

[646] Art. 80. The Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR is elected by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR for a term of five years.

Art. 81. District Courts are elected by the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies for a term of five years.

Art. 82. People's Courts are elected by the citizens of the cities and volosts on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage by secret ballot for a term of three years.

695 Art. 83. Judicial proceedings in the Lithuanian SSR are conducted in the
[565] Lithuanian and Russian languages, persons not knowing these languages being guaranteed the opportunity of fully acquainting themselves with the material of the case through an interpreter and likewise the right to use their own language in court.

Art. 84. In all Courts of the Lithuanian SSR cases are heard in public, unless otherwise provided for by law, and the accused is guaranteed the right to defence.

693 Art. 85. Judges are independent and subject only to the law.

Art. 86. Supreme supervisory power to ensure the strict observance of law by all Ministries and institutions subordinated to them, as well as by officials and citizens within the territory of the Lithuanian SSR generally, is exercised by the Procurator-General of the USSR directly and also through the Procurator of the Lithuanian SSR.

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

666 The right to nominate candidates is secured to public organizations and societies of the working people: Communist Party organizations, trade unions, cooperatives, youth organizations and cultural societies.

Art. 114. It is the duty of every deputy to report to his electors on his work and on the work of his Soviet of Working People's Deputies, and he may be recalled at any time upon decision of a majority of the electors in the manner established by law.

Art. 115. Elections to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of the Lithuanian SSR are held by election districts on the bases of representation fixed by the Ordinance Concerning Elections to Soviets of Working People's Deputies of the Lithuanian SSR.

Chapter X. Arms, Flag, Capital

18 Art. 116. The state arms of the Lithuanian SSR are a sickle and hammer of gold on a white background in the rays of the rising sun surrounded by ears of grain and oak leaves and with inscriptions in the Lithuanian and Russian languages: "Workers of All Countries, Unite!"

In the upper part of the arms is a five-pointed star and in the lower part, the letters "LTSR".

Art. 117. The state flag of the Lithuanian SSR is of red cloth with a gold sickle and hammer and the gold letters "Lietuvos TSR" in the upper corner near the staff. The ratio of width to length is 1:2.

Art. 118. The capital of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic is the City of Vilnius.

Chapter XI. Procedure for Amending the Constitution

642 Art. 119. The Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR may be amended only by
(46 decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR adopted by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes of the Supreme Soviet.

000 Note: The Russian text from which this translation was made was a typed copy authenticated on June 24, 1948 by Mr. S. Pupeikis, Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

474 ganization for the distribution of goods in markets and will abolish speculation among certain merchants who raise the prices spuriously by storing goods and not releasing them to the markets.[17]

It must be remembered that this opinion was expressed shortly after the war, when the great shortage of goods was felt everywhere.

474 In addition, a special Department of Coöperation was
647 created as part of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. Although the government encouraged coöperation, it did not interfere with sound private initiative, particularly in later years, when the post-war conditions were more settled. In 1920 the Department of Coöperation was abolished because coöperation in Lithuania became so strong that it no longer required any special attention from the government.

474 Before Soviet occupation in 1940 most of the coöperative
651 establishments enjoyed tax exemption privileges. According to the Commerce, Industry, Credit, and Trade Profit Taxation Law,[18] the following coöperative establishments were to be free from profit taxes:

1. Consumers' coöperative societies whose capital did not exceed 50,000 litas.
2. All credit and agricultural coöperative societies.
3. All kinds of coöperative unions.
4. All those coöperative societies which did business exclusively among their members, even though their capital was in excess of 50,000 litas.

Undoubtedly those exceptions placed coöperative establishments in a somewhat privileged position in the competitive field as compared with private enterprises.

[17] Salcius, *op. cit.*, p. 203.
[18] V.Z., Nr. 168.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 9

474

SALES OF THE COÖPERATIVE SOCIETIES

(In Thousands of Litas)

YEAR	LIETUKIS	TRADE COÖPERATIVES	PIENOCENTRAS [a]	TOTAL
1928	12,129	23,520	13,662	49,311
1929	29,393	52,255	25,999	108,647
1930	23,117	44,992	43,854	111,963
1931	36,743	44,950	46,102	127,795
1932	28,853	37,314	45,182	111,349
1933	32,063	37,534	36,163	105,760
1934	32,617	37,342	36,329	111,288
1935	60,530	46,427	42,438	149,395
1936	73,715	55,560	55,897	185,172
1937	72,360	65,046	65,730	205,599
1938	113,909	95,165	76,920	283,884
1939	138,911	114,285	67,745	320,941

[a] Reference on Pienocentras is given in Section 3 below, on production coöperative societies.

[47] the initiator of coöperative dairies and creameries, which later developed into a separate Central Union of Dairy Coöperative Societies of Lithuania, the Pienocentras.

[64] After Soviet Russian occupation Lietukis[1] was made a government agency with all its branches and continued to function until the German invasion. The Germans in turn took control of Lietukis with all its property, and the German Economic Command (Wirtschaftskommando) issued an order on August 23, 1941, to all the branches of Lietukis, as well as to the agricultural and consumers' coöperative societies, to submit reports on fabrics and other merchandise in its possession and at the same time forbade selling any of the merchandise. It would appear that all the merchandise was confiscated by the Germans.

1 [i.e. The Central Union of Agricultural Coöperative Societies --- Analyst]

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

milk suppliers as against 101,348 in 1938 and 69,741 in 1934. 474

Pienocentras with all its departments continued to function throughout the Soviet Russian occupation, although it was transformed into a government agency. In June, 1941, when the Soviet Russian occupation was replaced by the German occupation, Pienocentras[1] came under the control of the German Economic Command (Wirtschaftskommando), also as government agency. In September, 1941, German Commissar for Lithuania von Renteln issued an order granting monopoly to Pienocentras in the business of dairy products and at the same time forbidding anybody to trade in milk products. Since Pienocentras has a wide organization throughout Lithuania, it is very convenient for the Germans in their control of milk production and in their efforts to extract from Lithuania a maximum of milk products. Of course no statistical data is available for Pienocentras's economic activities during the periods of German and Russian occupation. 234 [647]

Deserving of mention in this group is a local grocery trade coöperative society in Kaunas called Parama which owns and operates thirty modern grocery stores, as well as the largest and most modern bakery in Lithuania, with an annual production valued at about six million litas. Its fate under the German occupation is similar to that of Pienocentras. 474 444

4 and 5. Insurance and nonclassified coöperatives.—These two groups are of minor importance in the economic life of Lithuania. Insurance, still undeveloped there, is one of the fields open for coöperation in the future. In 1938 there were two insurance coöperative societies with 7,486 members. Insurance premiums collected in 1938 amounted to 355,495 litas, which, compared with the development of other co- 474 432

[1] [i.e. Central Union of Dairy Cooperative Societies of Lithuania --- Analyst]

4: Kubliteky G-4, 5 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

651 individuals residing in the rural parts of the country is slightly higher, due to the lower standard of living.

745 An employees' sickness-insurance fund was created in 1928 to provide for medical treatment, especially of the poorer classes. Membership in this organization is compulsory for all workers and employees, except farm laborers and State employees. Monthly contributions, equal in amount, are made by both the employer and the employee, according to wage classes, of which there are six. For wage class I (daily wage, 4 lits; weekly wage, 24 lits; and monthly wage, 100 lits) the monthly payment to the sick fund is 5.40 lits. The payments for each wage class are progressively higher, until for class VI (daily wage, 12.01 lits and over; weekly wage, 73 lits and over; and monthly wage, 301 lits and over) the payment to the sick fund is 21.60 lits. The maximum benefit allowed ranges from 3 lits for wage class I to 14 lits for wage class VI.

An additional amount (10 percent of the monthly payments made to the sick fund) is contributed in equal shares by the employer and the employee to the Labor Chamber.

647 All State employees contribute 6 percent of their wages to a pension fund. Furthermore, from 4.5 percent to 18.73 percent of the wages of a married State employee are deducted for the special fund created to balance the budget, the deduction of a single employee varing between 11.7 percent to 24.53 percent. These deductions apply to State employees residing in Kaunas, Klaipeda, the Klaipeda Territory, and abroad. The deductions made from wages of State employees residing in the rural parts of the country vary from 9.5 percent to 23.73 percent for married, and from 15.3 percent to 29.53 percent for single persons. These rates became effective on April 1, 1937.

651 Tax deductions from wages amount to 10 percent; however, a certain amount is exempt from taxation. In the case of a single worker the exemption applies to all wages under 36.50 lits per week. Ten percent of the amount exceeding 36.50 lits per week is subject to taxation and is determined in accordance with the family status of the worker. The result of this, in practice, is that married workers with one child do not pay taxes.

456 Contributions for social, sickness, accident, old-age, and disability insurance amount in all to 9 percent, 4½ percent of which are paid by the employer and the remaining 4½ percent by the worker.

5:Masiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

First Law

671 The first law on elementary education was
872 passed in 1922 making the Lithuanian primary
875 school of four grades and requiring all children of both sexes between the ages of 7 and 13 to attend it. The general administrative organization was based on the principle of decentralization which granted wide powers to the local authorities and to the children's parents. However, this experience soon showed that under such a system the qualifications of the
[647] teachers left much to be desired. For this reason the law of 1922 was amended in 1925 and the appointment of teachers, their transfer from one school to another, and certain other matters were centered in the Ministry of Education. In the same year the school curricula were drawn up and officially approved. The schools were run under this law up to 1936 when a new elementary school law
[186] was promulgated which declares that the purpose of the elementary school is to provide primary education for the youth of Lithuania, foster their spiritual and physical growth, and teach them to love, cherish, and sacrifice themselves for Lithuania.

872 The present elementary school has six grades. The first four, obligatory for children between 7 and 13, form the first degree of study. The last two, for children 14 and 15 years old, form the second degree which is optional as yet because not enough schools are available. The increase in them began only in 1933. The elementary school subjects of instruction are: Religion taught by clergymen of the various denominations and compulsory for all children, Lithuanian as the language of instruction, arithmetic, knowledge of environment, history, geography,
872 natural history, art, manual arts, music and
186 singing, and physical training. In an ele-
191 mentary school district where the number of children of non-Lithuanian parentage exceeds

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

III. SOIL IMPROVEMENT AND AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS

641 The Ministry of Agriculture controls the organisation for the encouragement of technical progress in agriculture, the aim
242 of which is to improve the conditions of existence of the
433 agricultural classes. The Ministry is responsible for carrying out agrarian reform and agricultural improvements, schools of agriculture, the organisation and improvement of veterinary work and supervision of the export of agricultural produce, etc.

In addition to the Ministry, the Chamber of Agriculture (founded in 1927) is also active in agricultural development. It is in charge of all the forms of agricultural training not under the authority of the Ministry, including the agricultural intelligence service; it supervises and co-ordinates the activities of the stock-breeders' associations, the flax-growers' association, the sugar-beet-growers' association and other similar organisations; it also subsidises various agricultural organisations and individual agriculturists with a view to the promotion or improvement of some particular branch of agriculture, and organises agricultural shows, etc.

474 Working in conjunction with the Ministry of Agriculture are various central organisations concerned with the processing
242 of agricultural produce, and its marketing abroad and at home,
433 and with supplying to agriculturists all such goods as they may require. These organisations are: "Lietuvos Žemės Ūkio Kooperatyvų Sąjunga" ("Lithuanian Union of Agricultural Co-operative Societies"), abbreviated to "Lietūkis", "Centralinė Lietuvos Pieno Perdirbimo Bendrovių Sąjunga" ("Lithuanian Central Union of Dairymen's Co-operative Societies"), abbreviated to "Pienocentras", and the "Maistas" and "Lietuvos Cukrus" joint-stock companies.

The chief measures taken with a view to the improvement of agricultural production are the consolidation of holdings (see above), land drainage, the development of agricultural training (see under V) and agricultural research.

312 Systematic work on the drainage of agricultural land could not be begun until 1921. The Ministry of Agriculture is proceeding with the regularisation of the beds of streams and the cutting of dykes which enable agriculturists to drain water-logged land completely by means of open ditches or drainage pipes. The total area of the land drained by means of dykes from 1921 to 1937 (inclusive) is approximately 416,000 hectares, or more than 10% of all the land used for agricultural purposes.

3: Washington & Macgowan G-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RB1 Baltic Countries
Letts RB4
Lithuanians RB-

LABOR CONDITIONS IN THE BALTIC STATES

000 MORE strict control of workers is indicated by laws recently enacted in Latvia and Lithuania.

Forced Labor Service in Latvia [1]

Le 466 [462]

The Latvian Government issued a law on May 31, 1940 providing for forced labor service in Latvia. All able-bodied citizens of both sexes from 16 to 60 years of age must participate "with all their bodily and intellectual abilities" in raising and promoting the defensive and economic strength of the State when called upon by the latter for any service.

Le 647 466

On June 7, 1940, a supplementary law was enacted providing that in the future all applicants for vacancies at public offices must prove that they have worked in agriculture for not less than 3 months within the preceding 3 years. Furthermore, all persons who have entered public service within the last 5 years and who, by October 1, 1941, are unable to show at least 3 months' work in agriculture are to be dismissed from service.

Registry of Skilled Workers in Lithuania [2]

Li 464

A law was passed on June 1, 1940, providing for registration of the skilled workers in Lithuania employed by shops and factories and those working independently, either as master craftsmen or craftsmen's helpers. All are to be required to pass an examination on their knowledge of and skill in their respective trades.

Li 464 647 466

There is to be appointed a Craftsmen's Registrar who will supervise individual craftsmen and workshops. Under penalty of a fine up to 500 lits,[3] these must supply the Registrar with information required

[1] Report of S. Walter Washington, American consul at Riga.
[2] Report of Basil F. Macgowan, American vice consul at Kaunas.
[3] Lit=about 17 cents.

p 591

3: Washington & Macgowan G-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RB1 Baltic Countries
Lithuanians RB5

[563]
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under the law. To protect old craftsmen of minority nationalities who might find it difficult to pass the required examinations, especially in the Lithuanian language, the Registrar may permit persons with good qualifications, who have engaged in their craft for more than 5 years, to continue their work if there is a labor shortage in their respective trades. Such persons are to be included in a special list filed in the Registrar's office, and they will retain their titles if they continue their work during an additional 10 years to the satisfaction of the Registrar.

The law applies to approximately 23,000 skilled workers in Lithuania.

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3: Simutis 5-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

175 Her greatest disaster came in 1795 when, together with Poland, she was partitioned between Russia and Prussia. The greater part of ethnographic Lithuania was given to Russia and the lesser part, to Prussia.

Even though the Lithuanian-Polish state collapsed, the Lithuanian nation continued to exist, although it was badly impaired and its size diminished by more than two thirds.

642 Lithuanians were under the stern rule of Czarist Russia
648 for 123 years until, on the 16th of February, 1918, the National Council in Vilnius (Vilna) declared Lithuania an independent state, with ancient Vilnius as its capital.[7] On July 12, 1920, during the war between the Soviets and the Poles, Lithuania signed in Moscow with the Soviet government a peace treaty by which the city of Vilnius with the region about it was assigned to Lithuania.[8]

726 But the old Polish scheme began to manifest itself again.
648 After defeating the Soviet troops near Warsaw, the Poles appeared on the southern Lithuanian frontier and precipitated fighting with the Lithuanians. Finding the going more difficult than they expected, the Poles started negotiations which were carried on under the supervision of the League of Nations and resulted in the conclusion of the Treaty of Suvalkai[9] on October 7, 1920.[10] Two days later, however, the special Polish army, commanded by General Zeligowski, took the Lithuanians completely by surprise and occupied the city of Vilnius and the Vilnius region, comprising almost one
648 third of ethnographic Lithuania. This treacherous act re-

[7] See Appendix A for the text of the Declaration of Independence.

[8] Pranas Dailide, *Lietuvos Sutartys su Svetimomis Valstybemis*, Uzsieniu Reikalu Ministerijos leidinys, Tomas I, 1919–29. Recueil des traites conclus par la Lithuanie avec les pays étrangers, Publie par le Ministère des Affaires Étrangeres. I (1919–29), 30–52. See Appendix B for the extract from the text of the peace treaty with Russia.

[9] Dailide, *op. cit.*, pp. 58–61.

[10] See Appendix C for the text of the Treaty of Suvalkai.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RBS Lithuanians RBS

ceived well-merited censure from the League of Nations. Léon Bourgeois, then president of the League, officially referred to this occupation, verbally and in writing to Paderewski, Polish delegate to the League, as "a violation of the undertakings given to the Council."[11] But neither then nor throughout the subsequent years of their country's independent existence did the Polish government once attempt to adjust the grave injustice committed against its neighbor in violation of its own treaty.[12] Instead, the Polish government sought to legalize its *fait accompli* by local elections. In regard to this measure, Hymans, then spokesman for the League of Nations, at the seventh sitting of the Council at Brussels, said:

> In the opinion of the Council, the plebiscite should be taken in conditions of absolute freedom. It should be sincerely and quickly done. But this has become impossible on account of the *coup de force* of General Zeligowski. The League of Nations did not desire a camouflaged plebiscite or the maintenance of these troups in the Vilna region.[13]

But the Polish government managed the elections for the so-called *Vilna Seim* (diet), whose delegates voted an act of incorporation of the Vilnius region into the Polish state. The Council of the League of Nations, however, in its resolutions of January 13, 1922, refused to recognize the legality of the elections conducted under these unfair conditions.[14]

On March 15, 1923, the Conference of Ambassadors put into effect a decision handing over to Poland Vilnius and

[11] *The Vilna Question; Opinion of MM. A. De Lapradelle, Louis le Fur, and Andrew N. Mandelstam concerning the Binding Force of the Decision of Conference of Ambassadors of March 15, 1923.* Authorized Translation from the Original Texts, London, 1929, p. 15.

[12] Lithuanian Information Bureau, *The Vilna Problem*, London, 1922, p. 16. (Hereafter referred to as L.I.B.)

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 24–25.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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adjoining districts. This decision, which was met by vehement protests on the part of Lithuania to the League of Nations, was never recognized by the Lithuanian government. According to such an authority on international law as André Mandelstam, the Lithuanian government is not bound by the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors. In his opinion, "The Government of the Lithuanian Republic is not bound, either in law or equity, by the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors of March 15, 1923, regarding the Polish-Lithuanian frontiers." [15]

Thus the Vilnius incident was the first failure of the League of Nations to exact respect for its authority from a recalcitrant member (Poland). This example, which was later followed by other states, poisoned international relations, in the course of years reduced the authority of the League of Nations to the lowest ebb, and finally resulted in the League's complete inability to solve international disputes.

Lithuania, in protest, broke off diplomatic, consular, political, and economic relations with Poland. On March 17, 1938, when the lawlessness in international relations in Europe was nearing a peak, the Polish government, with tacit German consent, delivered to Lithuania an ultimatum, which was backed by the massing of troops on the "demarcation line." [16] Lithuania had no choice but to accept the ultimatum, and relations were restored at least nominally between the two countries. At that time Germany and Poland were on the friendliest terms. Despite Poland's hostile attitude toward Lithuania, the latter kept the most friendly

[15] *The Vilna Question*, p. 91.

[16] See Appendix D for the text of the ultimatum. The "demarcation line" was claimed by the Poles as the legal boundary between Lithuania and Poland but was never recognized by the Lithuanians.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

neutrality toward Poland in the hour of distress during the German-Polish war.

On March 22, 1939, Germany, under the threat of invasion, forced Lithuania to surrender Klaipeda. After Poland collapsed in September, 1939, Soviet Russia seized Vilnius and, according to the Mutual Assistance Pact of October 10, 1939,[17] returned it to Lithuania together with 2,569 square miles of territory. On June 15, 1940, Soviet Russia, subsequent to its ultimatum, invaded and occupied Lithuania. Almost exactly a year later, on June 23, 1941, the Lithuanians seized an opportunity to start a violent uprising against the Russians, but already the Germans were pouring in from the south and west. They overran Lithuania, dispersed the newly organized Lithuanian government, and started a new period of oppression, Nazi style.

THE POPULATION PATTERN

The Lithuanians were famous from ancient times for their physical health, strength, and vitality. Even today there is still a substantial percentage of elderly persons who have never taken medicine and have never been seriously ill. In general, Lithuanians are farm-loving people, industrious and peaceful. Being great individualists, the Lithuanians prefer to live on farms because it keeps them close to nature and at the same time affords every man a greater chance of being "his own boss." The cities of Lithuania are therefore inhabited by minorities, mostly Jews. Even in present-day Lithuania, the towns do not show the real character of the nation, as the influx from the farms to the cities has never been strong enough to change the political, economic, and social conditions that have existed for several centuries.

[17] See Appendix E for the text.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

THE LAND AND ITS RESOURCES

Lithuania is situated on the southeastern shore of the Baltic Sea between 53°35′ and 56°27′ north latitude and between 20°57.5′ and east longitude. The two other Baltic states, Latvia and Estonia, are farther north. 131

The surface of Lithuania is for the most part level, with none of her hills measuring more than 767 feet (234 meters) above sea level. In size, the nation has less than six percent of the territory of Europe, its area being 21,489 square miles. This figure, however, does not include all the territory of ethnographic Lithuania, which is about 33,937 square miles, divided as follows: [133]

	SQ. MI.	SQ. KM.
Lithuania Major	20,389	52,820
Klaipeda (Memel) Territory	1,100	2,850
Lithuania up to March 22, 1939	21,489	55,670
Vilnius Region according to the Peace Treaty of July 12, 1920, with Russia	12,448	32,250
TOTAL	33,937	87,920

According to the Mutual Assistance Treaty between Lithuania and Soviet Russia, concluded October 10, 1939, part of the Vilnius region, about 2,569 square miles (6,656 square kilometers), was returned to Lithuania. However, all figures of economic activity used in this monograph refer to the territory of 21,489 square miles (55,670 square kilometers) that was under the sovereignty of Lithuania from January, 1923, to March 22, 1939. 648 131

Lithuania uses a larger percentage of its land for intensive agricultural purposes than its neighboring Baltic states. This may be seen from the comparative figures given in Table 4. 311

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

436 twenty-first as great. In January, 1919, the rate of exchange was 8.27 marks to the dollar, while one year later, in February, 1920, it was 98.994 marks, and in the beginning of 1922, 200 marks. On October 1, 1922, the day redemption of the *Obost* marks commenced, one dollar equaled 1,650 marks; on October 2, 1,815 marks. Russian rubles were redeemed on October 1, 1922, at 0.004 litas.[4]

453 A special law for the establishment of Lietuvos Bankas (the Bank of Lithuania) was passed on August 11, 1922.[5] The financial basis of the bank is 12,000,000 litas capital stock consisting of 120,000 shares of 100 litas par value [656] each. Although Lietuvos Bankas, before Soviet occupation, was a private enterprise in its organization, it was under government control and the general director was appointed by the president of the republic upon recommendation of the Council of Ministers. The Law of Establishment of the Lietuvos Bankas grants a special concession to permit the issuance of notes for twenty years, which period may be prolonged by law.

436 With the first issue of litas notes on October 1, 1922, the 652 redemption of the *Obost* marks at the market exchange rate 648 was begun. The Russian rubles at that time were almost worthless, and the value of *Obost* marks was just a fraction of the original value. This caused a great loss to the population of Lithuania, wiping out everybody's savings and creating generally chaotic credit conditions. There is no question but that Germany was responsible for the inflation and loss in the value of *Obost* marks and that Lithuania had the right to demand reparations. Negotiations for that purpose were

[4] Kazys Sruoga, *Die Wirtschaft der Republik Litauen und ihre Notenemission*, Kaunas, 1930, pp. 15–18.

[5] *Lietuvos Bankas, First Decade, 1922–1932*, Kaunas, 1932, pp. 10–14; *V.Z. Nr. 199, par. 1347.*

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

started in March, 1922, in Kaunas. Reparation was sought for the compulsory introduction of *Obost* marks and the use of issuance rights from August, 1916, until November, 1919, when the German army finally withdrew. The loss to Lithuania was estimated at 5,383 million marks, which sum was demanded by the Lithuanian delegation. Due to the fact that the Germans refused to recognize these demands, negotiations were discontinued. They were resumed in Berlin in May, 1923.[6] These negotiations resulted in a treaty concluded on May 31, 1923, of which the first paragraph says: "Both contracting parties agree not to raise any claims against each other, originating from events of the World War."[7]

After three months of operation of Lietuvos Bankas—that is, on December 31, 1922—there were 30.38 million litas in circulation. The coverage in gold of the notes in circulation accounted for 50 percent and that in gold and foreign exchange for 109.1 percent. The amount of litas in circulation grew, while the coverage in gold decreased somewhat, but it was never less than the one-third prescribed by law. Thus on December 31, 1923, there were 60.07 million litas in circulation; in 1924, 92.98; in 1925, 81.92; in 1926, 86.79; and in 1927, 96.61.[8]

The issue activities of Lietuvos Bankas in later years are indicated by Table 48. At the end of 1938 the notes in circulation amounted to 141.70 million litas, exceeding the previous all-time high of 1930, while in April, 1939, it reached 181.65 millions, a new all-time peak. The coverage in gold

[6] A. Moravskis, *Lietuvos Finansai, Pinigai, kreditas ir bankai* Lietuvoje pries kara ir dabar, II dalis. (The Finance of Lithuania: Money, Credit and Banking in Lithuania before the War and at Present. Part II), Kaunas, 1925, pp. 33–35.

[7] Dailide, *op. cit.*, p. 199; *V.Z. Nr. 173, par. 1197.*

[8] *Lietuvos Bankas Bulletin*, Feb. 19, 1932, p. 18.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

and dairying. Furthermore, her war-torn industry has been reconstructed to suit her own particular needs. 178

Her foreign trade has been showing almost continuous expansion. Her increased production, as well as consuming power, bespeak an attendant higher standard of living. All these facts certainly justify Lithuania's participation in the family of nations and her existence as a separate independent economic entity.

The future course of Lithuania's economic development cannot be predicted because of the series of political crises of 1939, 1940, and 1941. On March 22, 1939, Lithuania was forced to agree to the cession of Klaipeda to Germany. Though Lithuania was given a so-called "free zone," the effect was as of being forced to gasp for air with someone else's lungs. Through this cession Lithuania not only lost 703,741 acres of territory (5.1 percent of her total area) but was deprived of 13 percent of her industry, with 26 percent of her wage earners. The total industrial production of Klaipeda territory in 1937 amounted to 116 million litas, or 30.7 percent of Lithuania's total production. 648

Before Lithuania had time to adjust her national economy to the new conditions, the war broke out between Germany on the one side and Poland and the Allies on the other. This upset the normal economic life even more. The immediate result of the war was the partition of Poland between Germany and, as a silent partner, Soviet Russia. This was soon followed by the signing of mutual assistance pacts between Soviet Russia on the one side and Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania on the other. Baltic states actually had no other choice than to sign on the dotted line.

Lithuania signed her pact on October 10, 1939, thereby regaining Vilnius, with 2,569 square miles of territory and

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

648 about 457,500 inhabitants, although according to the Peace Treaty between Lithuania and Soviet Russia of July 12, 1920, Lithuania should have regained 12,448 square miles. Lithuania's industry was partly compensated for the loss of Klaipeda. But the industry in the Vilnius territory is not nearly as developed as that in the Klaipeda region. According to the approximate statistics there are in that part of the Vilnius territory which was returned to Lithuania 159 industrial establishments with 5,900 employees. Also, the agricultural standard in this region is substantially below that in other sections of Lithuania. As a step toward improving agricultural and social conditions, the government of Lithuania was about to put into effect its land reform act of 1922, but the Soviet occupation in June, 1940, interrupted this work.

725 The next blow to the country's fortunes came as a result of the sudden outbreak of war between Germany and Soviet Russia on June 22, 1941. On the following day, Lithuanian patriots arose in rebellion against Bolshevik terrorism and the institution of mass deportations of Lithuanians to Siberia; they were successful enough to drive the Bolsheviks from Kaunas, Vilnius, and other Lithuanian cities. The Lithuanians set up at once a provisional government. But soon the Germans, in pursuit of the retreating Red Army, overran all of Lithuania, dissolved the Lithuanian government, and by autocratic decrees began to shape their economy more to the Nazi-prescribed pattern of "the new order."

000 As the year 1941 drew to a close, all freedom of action in Lithuania—political, social, and economic—was still suspended. The nation is fully conscious that her future holds another struggle for independence and for a new reconstruction. Lithuania, like many other small nations through-

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Appendix A

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE [1]

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The Council of Lithuania in its meeting on February 16, 1918, voted unanimously to address the governments of Russia, Germany, and other states with the following declaration:

The Council of Lithuania, sole representative of the Lithuanian people, in conformity with the recognized right to national self-determination, and in accordance with the resolution of the Lithuanian Conference held in Vilnius from September 18 to 23, 1917, hereby proclaims the restitution of the independent State of Lithuania, founded on democratic principles, with Vilnius as its capital, and declares the rupture of all ties which formerly bound this State to other nations.

The Council of Lithuania also declares that the foundation of the Lithuanian State and relations with other countries will be finally normalized by a Seimas (parliament), elected in a democratic way by the people of Lithuania.

The Council of Lithuania in informing [the nations addressed] to this effect kindly requests recognition of the independent State of Lithuania.

Vilnius, February 16, 1918 *Signed:*

L. Banaitis	P. Klimas	K. Saulys
Dr. J. Basanavicius	Donatas Malinauskas	J. Sernas
M. Birziska	Vl. Mironas	A. Smetona
K. Bizauskas	S. Narutavicius	J. Smilgevicius
P. Dovydaitis	Alfonsas Petrulis	J. Staugaitis
S. Kairys	Dr. J. Saulys	A. Stulginskis
J. Vailokaitis	J. Vileisis	

[1] Author's translation from the original Lithuanian.

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3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Appendix B

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EXTRACT FROM THE PEACE TREATY WITH RUSSIA

Lithuania on the one part and Russia on the other being determined to base their future mutual relations on justice and right, which would grant to both countries and their peoples the benefits of earnest and peaceful neighborly relations, have to this end decided to start negotiations and have appointed as their delegates:

For the Democratic Republic of Lithuania:

TOMAS NARUSEVICIUS
PETRAS KLIMAS
SIMONAS ROZENBAUMAS
JUOZAS VAILOKAITIS
VYTAUTAS RACKAUSKAS

And for the Federated States of the Soviet Socialist Republics of Russia:

ADOLF ABRAMOVICH IOFFE
ULIAN USEFOVICH MARCHLEVSKI
LEONID LEONIDOVICH BOBLENSKI

The said delegates, having submitted their credentials to one another and found them in good form and order, have agreed on the following:

ARTICLE I

Pursuant to the declaration made by the Federated States of the Soviet Socialist Republics of Russia to the effect that all peoples have the right to self-determination until they become

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

completely separated from the state of which they are a part, Russia without any prejudice recognizes the self-rule and independence of the State of Lithuania with all the juridical consequences resulting from such recognition and for all time renounces with good will all the sovereignty rights of Russia, which it has had in regard to the Lithuanian nation or territory. 648 128

The fact that Lithuania ever was under Russian sovereignty does not place the Lithuanian people and the nation or territory under any obligations to Russia.

NOTE: This treaty, consisting of nineteen paragraphs, was signed in Moscow on July 12, 1920, and ratified on August 6, 1920, and it became effective on October 14, 1920.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Appendix C

LITHUANIAN-POLISH PACT

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Agreement between Lithuania and Poland with Regard to the Establishment of a Provisional Modus Vivendi Pending a Definite Settlement of Relations between the Two States, Signed at Suvalkai, October 7, 1920 [1]

The Delegation of the Government of Lithuania, composed of:

(1) Representatives of the Lithuanian High Command, Lieutenant General Maksimas Katche, and Commander Aleksandras Sumskis,

(2) Representatives of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Messrs. Bronius Balutis, Voldemaras Carneckis, and Mykolas Birziska,

and the Delegation of the Government of Poland, composed of:

(1) Representative of the Polish High Command, Colonel Mieczyslaw Mackiewicz,

(2) Representative of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Juljusz Lukasiewicz,

met at the Conference held at Suvalkai from September 30 to October 7, 1920, and, after presenting their credentials, which were found to be in good and due form, concluded the following Agreement:

ARTICLE I: THE LINE OF DEMARCATION

(a) A line of demarcation, which in no way prejudices the territorial claims of the two Contracting Parties, shall be fixed and shall be marked by the following points:

[1] Translation from the Lithuanian by the author.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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From the frontier of East Prussia to the confluence of the Juodoji Ancia (Tcharna-Hantcha) with the Nemunas (Niemen) river, i. e., the line fixed by the decision of the Supreme Council on December 8, 1919; thence along the Nemunas river to the mouth of the Grave river; then up the course of the Grave to the point at which it is crossed by the road Merkyne-Ratnycia (Noretch-Rotnitsa); thence in a straight line to the confluence of the Skruoblis with the Merkys river (Meretchanka); thence along the Merkys to the mouth of the Dereznica (Derechnitsa), leaving the village of Salavarciai (Solovertsy) on the Lithuanian side and the village of Male Dubno on the Polish side; thence along the Dereznica (Derechnitsa) to the spot where it is crossed by the Vilnius-Varena (Vilna-Orany) railway, about two kilometers northeast of Varena station; thence along the road through Bartoliai-Kuciai (Bartole-Kucie), Naujadvaris (Nowy-Dvor), Eisiske (Eishishki), Paditve (Podsitwa), Gorodonka, and the station of Bastunai (Bastuny), leaving this road and the Bastunai station in the hands of the Polish authorities.

(b) When hostilities between the Polish and Lithuanian troops have ceased, in conformity with Article 2 of the present Agreement, the line defined above may not under any pretext be crossed by the troops of the two Contracting Parties. Nevertheless, the existence of this line shall not prevent the farmers from cultivating their fields situated on either side of it.

(c) The marking out on the ground of the line of demarcation in those parts of the territory of the former Government of Suvalkai, which are referred to in the decision of the Supreme Council of December 8, 1919, shall be entrusted to the Commission of Control of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 2: CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES

(a) The two Contracting Parties, confirming and completing the Agreements for the cessation of hostilities between the Polish and Lithuanian armies, which have been accepted during the present Conference, and which have only a provisional character and relate only to certain places, undertake to cease hostilities throughout the entire length of the line of demarcation described

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

648 in Article 1, paragraph (a) of the present Agreement from the
728 frontier of East Prussia to the meridian of Paturciai (Paturse), about nine kilometers southeast of Eisiske.

(b) After the withdrawal of the Soviet troops to the east of the Vilnius-Lyda railway, military operations between the Polish and Lithuanian troops shall cease on the sector of the line of demarcation between the meridian of the village of Paturciai and the station of Bastunai inclusively.

(c) As regards the cessation of hostilities and the establishment of a line of demarcation between the Lithuanian and Polish troops in the region to the east of the meridian of the station of Bastunai, these questions shall be settled by a special agreement when the Soviet troops have been withdrawn from that region. In case of failure to arrive at such an agreement, the two Contracting Parties reserve the right to appeal to the League of Nations for a solution of these questions.

ARTICLE 3: THE STATION OF VARENA

(a) The Polish authorities undertake to allow Lithuanian trains (except troop trains and trains conveying war material) to pass in either direction between Alytus and Vilnius and to afford to Lithuanian trains at Varena station all assistance and technical facilities for free movement in either direction.

(b) As an exception, the Polish Government consents to allow trains conveying troops and war materials proceeding from Alytus to pass freely through Varena station, provided that the total number of such trains does not exceed seven, that not more than two trains pass in one day, and that they pass through Varena station between seven and seventeen o'clock [Polish time].

(c) The supervision of the execution of the provisions contained in paragraphs (a) and (b) of the present Article shall be entrusted to the Commission of Control of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 4: EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS

The two Contracting Parties declare that they mutually agree

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

in principle to exchange all prisoners taken by either Contracting Party. The order and date of exchange shall be decided by separate agreement. 648 728

ARTICLE 5: DURATION OF AGREEMENT, ETC.

The present Agreement shall come into force at noon on October 10, 1920. This date, however, shall not affect the cessation of hostilities where this has actually taken place. The Agreement shall remain in force until all territorial disputes between Poles and Lithuanians have been finally settled.

In drawing up the present Agreement the two Contracting Parties have used the German General Staff Map, scale 1 : 100,000.

The present Agreement is done in duplicate in the Lithuanian and Polish languages, and signed at Suvalkai, on October 7, 1920.

For the Lithuanian Delegation:

LIEUTENANT GENERAL M. KATCHE
BRONIUS BALUTIS
VOLDEMARAS CARNECKIS
MYKOLAS BIRZIŠKA
MAJOR ALEKSANDRAS SUMSKIS

For the Polish Delegation:

COLONEL M. MACKIEWICZ
J. LUKASIEWICZ

3! Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RBS Lithuanians RBS

Appendix D

648

THE POLISH ULTIMATUM TO LITHUANIA, MARCH, 1939[1]

On the 17th of March, 1938, at 9 P. M. the Lithuanian Minister in Tallinn received through the Polish Minister of that capital the following ultimatum:

By order of my Government I have the honour to communicate to Your Excellency the following:

1. The proposal of the Lithuanian Government of the 14th instant cannot be accepted because it does not give sufficient guarantees regarding security on the frontier, particularly in view of the negative results of all previous attempts at negotiations between Poland and Lithuania.

2. In view of this, the Polish Government declare that they consider that the sole solution which corresponds to the gravity of this situation is that of immediately establishing normal diplomatic relations, without any preliminary conditions whatsoever, this being the only way to regulate questions of neighborly relations of all governments truly animated by the will to avoid incidents dangerous to peace.

3. The Polish Government gives the Lithuanian Government forty-eight hours from the time of the delivery of this note to accept this proposal by communicating that they agree to accredit diplomatic representatives at Kaunas and at Warsaw not later than the 31st of March of this year. Up to that date all conversations of technical or other character between the Polish and Lithuanian Governments must be carried on by their envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary at Tallinn.

[1] Author's translation from the French.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

648

The exchange of the notes herewith included regarding the establishment of diplomatic relations must take place before the expiration of the above-mentioned delay of forty-eight hours between the Ministers of Poland and Lithuania at Tallinn.

4. The above-mentioned proposal cannot be the object of a discussion either as regards contents or form—it is a proposition *ne varietur*.

Failure to reply or the proposal of any supplements or reservations whatever will be considered by the Polish Government as a refusal. In this negative case the Polish Government will guarantee the just interests of their State by measures of their own.

ANNEX TO THE NOTE [2]

Excellency, by order of my Government I have the honour to communicate the information that the Lithuanian Government have decided beginning from today to establish normal diplomatic relations between Lithuania and Poland and to this end establish a Legation at Warsaw. The duly accredited Lithuanian Minister will deliver his credentials at Warsaw by 31st March of the present year, at the latest.

The Lithuanian Government for their part guarantee to the Polish Legation at Kaunas the conditions for normal functioning and to this purpose will guarantee, beginning with the 31st of March of the present year, the possibility of direct communication by land, water, air, post, telegraph, and telephone between this Legation and the Polish Government.

[2] This Annex to the Note was signed upon instructions from the Lithuanian Government by the Lithuanian minister at Tallinn, Bronius Dailide, and delivered at the Polish Legation in Tallinn on March 19, 1938, at twelve noon, as demanded.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Appendix E

LITHUANIAN-RUSSIAN PACT FOR MUTUAL ASSISTANCE[1]

A treaty on the transfer of the city of Vilnius (Vilna) and the Vilnius region to the Republic of Lithuania and on mutual assistance between Lithuania and the USSR:

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LITHUANIA on the one side and the SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR on the other side;

For the purpose of developing the friendly relations established by the peace treaty of July 12, 1920, and based on the recognition of an independent state existence and nonintervention in the internal affairs of the other party;

Recognizing that the peace treaty of July 12, 1920, and the pact on nonaggression and peaceful settlement of conflicts of September 28, 1926, continue to form a firm basis for their mutual relations and undertakings;

Convinced that a definition of the exact conditions insuring mutual security and a just settlement of the questions of State appurtenance of the city of Vilnius and the Vilnius region, unlawfully wrested from Lithuania by Poland, meet the interests of both contracting parties;

Found it necessary to conclude the following treaty on the transfer of the city of Vilnius and the Vilnius region to the Republic of Lithuania and on mutual assistance between the Soviet Union and Lithuania and appointed for this purpose their authorized representatives:

For the President of the Republic of Lithuania: Juozas Urbsys, Minister of Foreign Affairs; for the Presidium of the

[1] Author's translation from the Lithuanian.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Supreme Soviet of the USSR: Vyacheslaff Molotoff, Chairman of the Council of the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs; 648

And these authorized representatives, on mutual presentation of their credentials, found in due form and good order, agreed on the following:

ARTICLE I

For the purpose of consolidation of friendly relations between Lithuania and the Soviet Union, the city of Vilnius and the Vilnius region are transferred by the Soviet Union to the Republic of Lithuania and included in the territory of the Lithuanian State, the boundary between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Lithuania being established in accordance with a map appended hereto, which boundary shall be specified in more detail in a supplementary protocol.

ARTICLE II

The Republic of Lithuania and the Soviet Union undertake to render each other every assistance, including military, in event of aggression or menace of aggression against Lithuania as well as in event of aggression or menace of aggression against the Soviet Union over Lithuanian territory on the part of any European power.

ARTICLE III

The Soviet Union undertakes to render the Lithuanian army assistance in armaments and other military equipment on favorable terms.

ARTICLE IV

The Republic of Lithuania and the Soviet Union undertake jointly to effect protection of the state boundaries of Lithuania, for which purpose the Soviet Union receives the right to maintain at its own expense, at points in the Republic of Lithuania established by mutual agreement, Soviet land and air armed

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

642 forces of strictly limited strength. The exact location of these troops and the boundaries within which they may be quartered, their strength at each particular point, and also all other economic and administrative questions, questions of jurisdiction, and other questions arising in connection with the presence of Soviet armed forces on Lithuanian territory under the present treaty shall be regulated by special agreements. The sites and buildings necessary for this purpose shall be allotted by the Lithuanian Government on lease terms at a reasonable price.

ARTICLE V

In the event of menace of aggression against Lithuania or against the USSR over Lithuanian territory, the two contracting parties shall immediately discuss the resulting situation and take all measures found necessary by mutual agreement to secure the inviolability of the territories of the contracting parties.

ARTICLE VI

The two contracting parties undertake not to conclude any alliances or participate in any coalition directed against either of the contracting parties.

ARTICLE VII

Fulfillment of this treaty shall not affect in any way the sovereign rights of the contracting parties, in particular their state organization, economic and social systems, military measures, and generally the principle of nonintervention in internal affairs. The locations of the Soviet land and air armed forces (in Article III of this treaty) under all circumstances remain a component part of the territory of the Republic of Lithuania.

ARTICLE VIII

The term of validity of this treaty in regard to the undertakings for mutual assistance between the Republic of Lithuania and the USSR (Articles II and VII) is for fifteen years and

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

unless one of the contracting parties finds it necessary to denounce the provisions of this treaty established for a specified term of one year prior to expiration of that term, these provisions shall automatically continue to be valid for the next ten years. 648

ARTICLE IX

This treaty comes into force upon exchange of instruments of ratification. Exchange of these instruments shall take place in Kaunas within six days from the day of signature of this treaty. This treaty is made in two originals, in the Lithuanian and the Russian language, at Moscow, October 10, 1939.

JUOZAS URBSYS
VYACHESLAFF MOLOTOFF

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

A. FOREIGN TRADE

1. Politico-Commercial Review.

651 The general tariff regulations are embodied in the Customs Law of July 19, 1924 (Government Gazette No. 164/1, No. 1153), and the Customs duties in the Customs Tariff of April 3, 1925 (Government Gazette 187/1269); the latter especially has been supplemented and amended by numerous later laws.

[648] On the basis of the decision of the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the three Baltic States to accept the draft of a uniform Customs Tariff elaborated and recommended by a League of Nations Commission, for the purpose of unifying the Customs nomenclature in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, a new Customs Tariff will shortly also be introduced in Lithuania. The preliminary work is already in progress, and a new Lithuanian Customs Tariff will at latest at the beginning of 1940 come into force.

The Lithuanian Customs Tariff recognizes only specific rates, i. e. the duty is levied on the weight of the goods; only for leather footwear and dressed furs is a limited minimum ad valorem duty provided.

Besides the ordinary Customs Tariff, there are also extraordinary Customs rates, which are increased by 200% and are applied to goods from countries with which Lithuania has no commercial treaties.

With the exception of a few articles (untempered iron, round timber, raw wool, raw cotton, artificial fertilizers, agricultural machinery) all goods are subject to duty.

The Customs returns form an important source of State finance, and their share in the total revenues of the Treasury

457 before the introduction of the licence system in Lithuania, we had only two active and fourteen passive trade-balances with sixteen countries to which accrued approximately 85% of our foreign trade turnover. Thanks to the licence system, already in 1937 eight balances became active. This therefore shows us that the licence system successfully fulfils its purpose. The statistical data in regard thereto are later cited.

Later than elsewhere, for the first time at the end of 1935, likewise with a view to adaptation to the restrictions in force in most neighbouring countries, exchange control was introduced in Lithuania. The Regulations concerning this matter are contained in the Law on Transactions in Foreign Currency of October 1, 1935 (Government Gazette, 501/3480) and in the Decree regarding operations with foreign currency of November 14, 1935 (Government Gazette, 509/3537).

In connexion with exchange control, Lithuania has concluded special clearing agreements with several countries where currency business is also State controlled. Through the Lietuvos Bankas (Bank of Lithuania) accounting accounts are conducted to-day with Germany, Finland, Greece, Italy, Latvia, and Hungary.

● 648 439 With all the more important trade clients Lithuania has concluded politico-commercial agreements. The following list comprises a comparison of all the ratified and at present valid commercial agreements of Lithuania with 21 States:

List of the existing Valid Commercial Agreements of Lithuania with other Countries.

1. Belgium - Luxemburg:

(a) Provisional Commercial Agreement of August 16, 1928 (Government Gazette, 289/1897).

(b) Arrangement on the application of the foreign Commercial Agreement also to the Belgian Congo and the Belgian mandated territory of Ruanda-Urundi, of February 10, 1936, ratified on February 29, 1936 (Government Gazette, 524/3636).

2. Brazil:

Provisional Commercial Agreement of September 28, 1937 (Government Gazette, 599/4198).

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

3. Denmark and Iceland:

648
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(a) Commercial and Navigation Treaty with Denmark of March 21, 1930, ratified on March 14, 1931 (Gevornment Gazette, 352/2405).

(b) Commercial and Navigation Treaty with Iceland, of March 21, 1930, ratified on March 14, 1931 (Government Gazette, 352/2406).

4. Germany:

(a) Commercial and Navigation Treaty of October 30, 1928, ratified on February 12, 1929 (Government Gazette, 295/1951).

(b) Goods Agreement of August 5, 1936.

(c) Accounting Agreement of August 5, 1936 (both published in Government Gazette, 552/3839).

(d) Agreement on small frontier communication of August 5, 1936 (Government Gazette, 552/3840); all three Agreements ratified on August 21, 1936.

(e) Arrangement on the extension of the duration of validity of the Economic Agreement of August 5, 1936, signed on June 19, 1937, ratified on August 2, 1937 (Government Gazette, 584/4061).

(f) Arrangement on the extension of the duration of validity of the Economic Agreement of August 5, 1936, signed on June 25, 1938, ratified on July 30, 1938 (Government Gazette, 617/4366).

5. Estonia:

Commercial Agreement of January 13, 1934, ratified on April 22, 1934 (Government Gazette, 443/3101).

6. Finland:

(a) Provisional Commercial Agreement of October 6, 1928, in force since October 15, 1928 (Government Gazette, 289/1898).

(b) Agreement on the extension of the most-favoured-nation treatment of June 21, 1932, in force since October 1, 1932 (Government Gazette, 398/2731).

(c) Clearing Agreement of April 12, 1938, ratified on May 31, 1938 (Government Gazette, 611/4303).

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

7. **France:**

148
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(a) Modus Vivendi of July 18, 1928, in force since August 15, 1928 (Government Gazette, 283/1810).

(b) Appended Agreement to Modus Vivendi of April 9, 1932, ratified on June 28, 1932 (Government Gazette, 387/2661).

(c) Extension of Modus Vivendi to the French colonies and protectorates, of September 21, 1935 (Government Gazette, 511/3543).

8. **Great Britain:**

(a) Commercial Agreement of May 6, 1922, in force since May 6, 1922, together with Exchange of Notes on its application to the British colonies and protectorates, of April 24 and September 29, 1923, in force since September 29, 1923, ratified on March 24, 1926 (Government Gazette, 231/1497).

(b) Exchange of Notes on the application of the above Commercial Agreement to Canada, of July 17 and August 31, 1928, in force since September 15, 1928 (Government Gazette, 283/1811).

(c) Exchange of Notes on the application of the foregoing Commercial Agreement to India, Ireland, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and Tasmania, of December 11 and 12, 1928, („Lietuvos sutartys su svetimomis valstybėmis" — Treaties of Lithuania with foreign States) — International Treaties, No. 95).

(d) Commercial Treaty of June 6, 1934, ratified on July 17, 1934 (Government Gazette, 454/3162).

(e) Exchange of Notes of February 6, 1935, on the rectification of the Customs duties on oranges in the Commercial Treaty of June 6, 1934 (Government Gazette, 482/3372).

9. **Holland:**

Commercial Agreement of June 10, 1924, ratified on March 24, 1926 (Government Gazette, 231/1503).

10. **Italy:**

Commercial Agreement of September 17, 1927, ratified on January 17, 1928 (Government Gazette, 270/1746).

81 Anonymous U-4,5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

11. **Japan:**

Commercial and Navigation Treaty of May 2, 1930, ratified on June 9, 1931 (Government Gazette, 371/2537). 648 439

12. **Latvia:**

(a) Commercial Treaty of April 10, 1935, ratified on April 13, 1935 (Government Gazette, 481/3367).

(b) Clearing Agreement of April 10, 1935, ratified on April 13, 1935 (Government Gazette, 481/3368).

(c) Appended Arrangement to the Clearing Agreement of November 30, 1936, ratified on December 14, 1936 (Government Gazette, 562/3898).

13. **Norway:**

Commercial and Navigation Treaty of December 21, 1923, ratified on July 31, 1924 (Government Gazette, 172/1195).

14. **Portugal:**

Commercial Agreement of April 12, 1932, ratified on May 11, 1932 (Government Gazette, 384/2648).

15. **Rumania:**

Commercial Agreement of March 28, 1931, ratified on June 9, 1931 (Government Gazette, 362/2473).

16. **Sweden:**

(a) Commercial Agreement of February 17, 1924, ratified on March 24, 1926 (Government Gazette, 231/1505).

(b) Arrangement on Certificates of Origin, of July 1, 1937, in force since August 1, 1937 (Government Gazette, 587/4093).

17. **Switzerland and Lichtenstein:**

(a) Provisional Commercial Agreement of October 28, 1922 and

(b) Exchange of Notes on its application to Lichtenstein, of March 15, 1925, ratified on March 24, 1926 (Government Gazette, 231/1506).

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18. **Czecho-Slovakia:**

Commercial Agreement of April 27, 1923, ratified on October 26, 1923 (Government Gazette, 144/1030).

19. **Hungary:**

(a) Commercial and Navigation Treaty of May 16, 1929, ratified on November 12, 1929 (Government Gazette, 314/2118).

(b) Accounting Agreement of November 12, 1937, ratified on December 30, 1937 (Government Gazette, 597/4170).

20. **U. S. S. R.:**

(a) Arrangement on the reciprocal granting of most-favoured-nation treatment, of September 24, 1928 (Government Gazette, 285/1848).

(b) Protocol and Exchange of Notes on the legal status of commercial representatives of the U. S. S. R. in Lithuania and on the reciprocal transit communication of August 29, 1931, ratified on September 20, 1931 (Government Gazette, 306/2499).

21. **United States of America:**

Commercial Agreement of December 23, 1925, ratified on March 24, 1926, in force since July 10, 1926 (Government Gazette, 231/1496).

Trade negotiations are at present proceeding with several other nations, including Turkey, the Argentine, and latterly with Poland.

As regards the contents of the above enumerated agreements, it should be noted that they all without exception contain the most-favoured-nation clause. Nevertheless the most-favoured-nation treatment which, on the part of Lithuania, is assured to the other countries, does not extend to the concessions which Lithuania grants to both the other Baltic States, i. e. Latvia and Estonia.

[651] Reduced treaty Customs duties have been arranged only with Latvia, Estonia, France, and Great Britain.

The overwhelming majority of the commercial agreements quoted in the above list were concluded during the last ten years. An impetus to accelerated conclusion of commercial

agreements with Lithuania was imparted by the introduction of the Extraordinary Tariff through the Law of September 24, 1928 (Government Gazette, 284/1828), whereby goods from non-treaty countries are subject to a double duty on import into Lithuania. Through the later Law of December 22, 1931, (Government Gazette, 372/2544) this Tariff was raised to 300% of the ordinary Customs levies. In connexion therewith an important rôle in the imposition of import duties is played by certificates-of-origin, which must prove that the goods proceed from a country to which the increased duties are not applied. Certificates-of-origin are recognized as legally correct if they are drawn up by the Lithuanian diplomatic and consular representatives abroad or by the chambers of commerce, chambers of agriculture and custom-houses of the country of origin. With Estonia, Italy, Latvia, Sweden and the U. S. S. R. special arrangements on this subject have been effected as the result of which certificates-of-origin drafted by other public bodies are recognized as valid. In lieu of certificates-of-origin, other documents (invoices, bills-of-lading, &c.) may also be submitted, which, however, must be legalized by the Lithuanian representation abroad. Legalization is also required for all certificates-origin which are drawn up in respect of goods intended for re-export, originating from third countries, with the exception of Germany, where certification may be effected through chambers of commerce and agriculture or through a custom-house.

For mail parcels no certificates-of-origin are demanded, if the article is sent direct from the country of origin.

Besides the above enumerated commercial agreements, Lithuania has concluded special compensation arrangements with various countries, including Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Switzerland, and the U. S. S. R. These are renewed annually, and the scope of reciprocal goods traffic and the import quotas respectively determined.

In the goods agreement with Germany the creation of an arrangement unknown in erstwhile politico-commercial practice, i. e. a mixed economic commission, has been provided for, which is to superintend the development of goods traffic at periodical conferences. This new arrangement appears to have justified itself.

of the native population and the progressive consolidation of 652
our economic independence.

The following table shows the position of the foreign and 652
domestic debts on December 31, 1937 (in 1 000 litas): 457
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I. Foreign Debts.

Debts to the U. S. A.	44 222.5
Debts to Great Britain	1 161.8
Liberty Loan	3 675.5
Match Monopoly Loan	25 738.9
Debts for the Administration of the Memel Territory	1 232.5
Debts For Public Works	2 507.8
Total:	78 539.0

II. Domestic Debts. 652

4½% Domestic Loan of 1935	16 195.0
4½% Domestic Loan of 1936	15 000.0
Treasury Bills of 1937	3 029.5
State Debt Debentures	57.9
Debts for War Charges	1 620.4
Debts for Public Works	4 192.6
Total:	40 095.4
Total Public Debt	118 634.4

Our State Debts can be divided into two categories: 652

(a) Debts from the time of the struggle for freedom and 648
the first years of independent Lithuania; this period terminated 457
approximately in 1923;

(b) Debts of a later period, which were contracted solely for the purpose of economic reconstruction.

To the former group belong:

1. The debt to the United States, which originated from 1919 and was contracted for various medicaments, clothing,

652 648 457

and foodstuffs obtained from the American military camps in France and from the American Relief Administration. The residue of the debt was fixed by the Treaty of 1924 at 60 000 000 litas ($ 6 000 000).

2. The debt to Great Britain of 1920 for war material deliveries to the amount of 7 300 000 litas (£ 150 000).

3. The Liberty Loan was realized between 1919 and 1925 in America from the local Lithuanians for the purposes of organization of defence of Lithuania and for goods purchases, to the amount of 18 500 000 litas ($ 1 850 000).

4. The debt to the Allied Powers for the administrative costs of the Memel Territory was consolidated in 1930 for 9 100 000 litas, of which 8 900 000 pertained to France and 200 000 litas to Great Britain.

652

5. The promissory-notes of the State Treasury, which between 1921 and 1923 were issued to the amount of 36 600 000 Ost mark.

6. The so-called War Money Charges Certificates, a sort of extraordinary tax, which in the first years of Lithuanian independence were obtained from the urban population and all commercial and industrial undertakings. These tax certificates are redeemed according to a specified plan at 50% of the face value.

Of the above-mentioned debts belonging to the category of the liberation period there remains at present still unredeemed a total of 50 700 000 litas.

Of the second group, that is of the loans that were utilized for economic investment, the following are noteworthy:

(a) The Match Monopoly Loan, which was contracted in 1930 in Sweden for the transfer of the Match Monopoly to the Swedish Joint-stock Match Manufacturing Company, to the amount of 60 000 000 litas ($ 6 000 000), of which, however, only 45 000 000 litas ($ 4 500 000) was realized, and

(b) The debts for public works which were incurred for the construction of the Telšiai - Kretinga Railway, to the amount of 15 700 000 litas; for the expansion of Memel port, to the amount of 4 200 000 litas; and for the erection of two bridges in Kaunas, to the amount of 1 700 000 litas;

(c) The two domestic loans, viz., of 18 000 000 litas in 1935 and of 15 000 000 litas in 1936.

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

[42] [83] Art. 14. The Lithuanian SSR consists of the districts of Alitus, Anikshchyai, Birshai, Varena, Vilkaviskis, Vilnyus, Zarasai, Ionishkis, Kaishyadoris, Kaunas, Kedainyai, Kelnena, Klaipeda, Krotinga, Kupishkis, Kurshonai, Lazdiyai, Mosheikyai, Mariyampolo, Pagégyai, Panevezhis, Pasvalis, Plunge, Pronai, Radvilishkis, Rastinyai, Rokishkis, Taurago, Telshai, Trakai, Ukmerge, Utyana, Shakyai, Shvenchonis, Shilute, Shyaulyai, Yurbarkas; and of the cities of Vilnius, Kaunas, Klaipeda, Shyaulyai and Panevezhis which do not form part of districts.

Art. 15. The Lithuanian SSR reserves the right freely to secede from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Art. 16. The territory of the Lithuanian SSR may not be altered without its consent.

[20] Art. 16a. The Lithuanian SSR has its own Republican military formations.

[48] Art. 16b. The Lithuanian SSR has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states and to conclude agreements and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives with them.

Art. 17. The laws of the USSR are binding within the territory of the Lithuanian SSR.

[84] Art. 18. Every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR is a citizen of the USSR. Citizens of all other Union Republics enjoy on the territory of the Lithuanian SSR equal rights with citizens of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 19. The jurisdiction of the Lithuanian SSR, as represented by its higher organs of state power and organs of state administration, embraces:

a) Adoption of the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR and control over its observance;

b) Establishment of the administrative-territorial divisions of the Lithuanian SSR and of the boundaries of districts and volosts;

c) Legislation of the Lithuanian SSR;

d) Maintenance of public order and safeguarding the rights of citizens;

e) Approval of the national-economic plan of the Lithuanian SSR;

f) Approval of the state budget of the Lithuanian SSR and of the report on its fulfilment;

g) Determination of state and local taxes, imposts and non-tax revenues in conformity with the laws of the USSR, as well as direction of the fulfilment of local budgets;

h) Direction of insurance and savings;

i) Administration of the banks, industrial, agricultural and trading enterprises and organizations subordinate to the Republic, as well as direction of local industry;

j) Control and superintendence of the condition and administration of enterprises subordinate to the Union;

k) Establishment of the procedure governing the use of land, mineral wealth, forests and waters;

l) Direction of dwelling-houses and the municipal economy, dwelling house construction and the modernization of cities and other inhabited places;

m) Road Building; direction of local transport and communications;

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union
Letts RB4
Lithuanians RB5

Le 665

cultural life. The lack of communist intellectuals made itself felt not only in the narrow sphere of university life from which professors imbued with 'bourgeois anti-scientific ideas' could not be ousted quickly enough, but it also put a brake on 're-education' in the Soviet sense of the masses of the Latvian people.[38]

LITHUANIA: BOTH ALLY AND VICTIM

Li. 648 [181]

In terms of geography the Soviet Baltic Republics are not fully identical with the 'bourgeois' Baltic States. Both Estonia and Latvia have each lost to the R.S.F.S.R. border territories of about 800 square miles. Soviet Lithuania, however, has added to her pre-September 1939 territory 3,200 square miles in the east and more than 1,000 square miles in the south.

This difference in treatment seems clearly to indicate that the U.S.S.R. considered Lithuania useful from the point of view of Soviet foreign policy, whereas Estonia and Latvia were from the Soviet Russian standpoint no more than internal problems of the Soviet Union.

Furthermore, her geographical position made Lithuania much more valuable to Russia than Estonia and Latvia. Lithuania had common frontiers with two big European nations, Poland and Germany. Russia had thus an obvious interest in using Lithuania against both of them as a pawn in the diplomatic and military game.

This is why relations between Russia and Lithuania during the inter-war period were on a different footing from Russian-Latvian or Russian-Estonian relations. In Soviet eyes Lithuania was an oppressed nation deserving sympathy ever since Poland had wrested from her the city of Vilnius (Vilna in Russian, Wilno in Polish) by a *coup de force* in November 1920. This feeling was but little affected by the fact that the country was ruled most of the time by right-wing régimes which oppressed the local communists.

A Comintern appeal to the world proletariat, issued in 1928 in defence of Lithuanian independence, was perhaps the most striking evidence of the special position which Lithuania occupied among the Baltic States with regard to her relations with Russia. The appeal in question, adopted by the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern, referred to the hostile intentions which the Polish Marshal Pilsudsky never ceased to harbour against the small Lithuanian State and called upon the workers of Poland, Britain, France and Germany to give unrestricted support to the Lithuanian workers and peasants.

Li. 648 361

The Soviet Government always considered that Vilna should belong to Lithuania, it being her historical capital, even though the Lithuanians formed only a tiny percentage of its population. When Russia and Lithuania concluded the peace treaty of September 28th, 1920, the

[Cf. cat. 116, p. 116, R1 Sov. Union, 21: Kolarz -- Analyst]

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Lithuanians RBS

Soviet Government allocated to Lithuania the city and district of Vilna, and thereafter the Russian attitude never wavered in its opposition to the Polish annexation of the Vilna area. Li. 648 361

Lithuania also never recognized the loss of her capital and gratefully acknowledged the Soviet attitude in a question in which the entire Lithuanian national prestige was engaged. Lithuania therefore refused to join any anti-Soviet coalition. As early as 1923 she reacted favourably to a Russian offer of a guarantee pact, and in 1926 the Soviet-Lithuanian Guarantee Treaty was signed, the first to be concluded by Russia with one of her western neighbours. In October 1939, Russia having, in co-operation with Germany, liquidated the Polish Republic, handed over to Lithuania the long-coveted Vilna district. According to Polish statistics the territory which had been added to the Lithuanian Republic had over 500,000 inhabitants, of whom 11·3 per cent were Lithuanians, 3·3 per cent Jews, 2·5 per cent Byelorussians and 69·2 per cent Poles. In the town of Vilna itself at the time of the Polish census in 1931, only 1 per cent of all inhabitants gave Lithuanian as their mother tongue; and even as late as 1943 Lithuanians accounted for only 21·7 per cent of Vilna's population. By giving Vilna to Lithuania the Soviet Government made a present which cost them nothing. Indeed, Vilna turned out to be a present given by Russia to Russia. Nine months after the incorporation of Vilna into Lithuania the Soviet Union not only recovered that city but annexed the whole of Lithuania through its transformation into a Soviet Republic. A popular Lithuanian saying gives the whole situation in a nut-shell:'Vilnius is ours, but Lithuania is Russia's'. Li. [162]

Not only the Soviet occupation as such but also the shifting of the capital from Kaunas (Kovno) to Vilna, is detrimental to the interests of the Lithuanian people. While Kaunas, the emergency capital of the inter-war period, was located in the very centre of the Lithuanian 'living-space', Vilna is situated at the ethnical border between Lithuanians and Byelorussians, and is thus strongly exposed to Slav influence. Li. 361 177 36

From the Russian point of view Lithuanian national aspirations not only represented a useful pretext for pressing Poland back to the west, but they also helped towards the establishment of the 'unity of the Njeman valley'. The Njeman – called Memel by the Germans and Nemunas by the Lithuanians – has its source in Byelorussia and is an important means of communication for the Russian timber export trade. Up to 1945 Russia had never controlled the entire course of the river. In Czarist times the mouth of the Njeman was in German hands. In the inter-war period its middle course belonged to Poland, while its mouth had a dramatic history. In January 1923 Lithuania occupied the river mouth together with the port and district of Memel (Klaipeda in Lithuanian), a territory with 150,000 inhabitants, most of them German- SU 728 487

659 schools. Teachers who openly attended churches were
798 summarily dismissed.

[771] In spite of all these restrictions and threats, churches are well attended, especially in rural areas. Churchgoers are mostly women and people not connected with government offices and concerns, less dependent on the bureaucracy. Intellectuals and officials travel to distant places where they are not known personally to attend Mass or for confession. Rural churches, further from cities or where only small MGB-MVD garrisons are stationed, draw the largest attendance.

Religious processions on streets were not banned officially but few people dared to show themselves publicly and face the jeers of the armed blaspheming Russians and a few native traitors. The clergy discouraged public processions exposing the faithful to unnecessary persecution.

[585] Marriages are registered by local Executive Committees. Those who so desire may go through a religious ceremony but a religious ceremony is not recognized by the authorities. Marriages contracted prior to the Russian invasion were not questioned, however.

Several small Protestant congregations are still in existence in the Klaipėda District, but most of the Protestant churches were shut down and converted to other use for lack of communicants. The Calvinist churches of Biržai and Prienai were turned into military horse stables. Protestants are more or less tolerated, because the Protestant Church offers no problem to the occupant.

The pre-war Russian settlers, natives of Lithuania, regularly attend the MVD-dominated Orthodox churches. The new settlers go to churches occasionally out of curiosity.

Since the end of 1947, persons exhibiting religious icons and crucifixes in their homes came under persecution. Religious pictures and statuettes found in homes by the armed searching parties infuriate the Russians and their stooges. Religious objects are smashed, bayoneted, spat upon and trampled by the puny "masters of the world" raging against their Creator.

[65] Living quarters of the pastors—"cult servants"—were requisitioned by the housing authorities and a small nook was assigned to priests. Churches are assessed with exorbitant taxes. Complaints are answered: "If you can't meet state obligations—close up shop." The faithful exerted every effort to contribute the necessary funds and in most cases the tax levies were met. Thereupon the Russians demanded lists of contributors. The pastors answered that they did not list plate contributors—and were arrested and threatened with prosecution for "failure to account from public funds." A number of churches were unable to meet the levies, as all of the people are burdened with excessive taxes, requisitions and perennial "voluntarily assumed contributions to the state" imposed by the armed militiamen.

000 It is not known whether, since comrade Gailevičius claimed all churches as "cultural monuments" subject to his custody, churches would be taxed—that is, churches left "operating."

A church is the only place where a tortured people could find spiritual solace and escape from the blaring loudspeakers and mad ravings of the Russian oppressor.

Mockery by Soviet Embassy in Washington

000 The *USSR Information Bulletin* of the Soviet Embassy in Washington in its issue of 25 February 1949 carries a questionable "Interview with Catholic Priest." Father "Kasimir Kulakas, Dean of the Trakai diocese," was said to have been interviewed by one Josas Bulota (should be Juozas Bulota).

This tendentious compilation of lies was obviously written by a Russian ignorant of Catholic terminology and the geography of Lithuania.

It begins with the statement that in the "diocese" of the Rev. Kulakas the parishioners "attend services in 11 Catholic churches." In 1940, the Lithuanian section of the Archdiocese of Vilnius, embracing Trakai, had 185 Catholic churches, plus 7 of the Eastern rite.

The claim that "religion is not taught in the schools, but priests may give religious teaching to children outside school" is far from the truth, as the situation in the Vilnius Archdiocese (lately administered by the Rev. Kačergis) does not differ from that in any other part of the country—as told in the preceding columns.

The alleged "interview" attributes to the Rev. Kulakas a vague statement that "the number of priests in my diocese in proportion to the number of parishioners, is sufficient—they are no fewer than in pre-Soviet times."—With more than one-third of the Catholic population of the Vilnius diocese deported and all the priests of Polish nationality repatriated to Poland—the Russians would make us believe that there "are no fewer than in pre-Soviet times" and that the number of priests is "sufficient," for the time being, 794 in the view of the MVD. . . . There had been 192 parish churches and 312 priests in the Archdiocese of Vilnius in 1940—compared with the 11 churches indicated by the Soviet Embassy in February 1949. . . .

The statement that "a total of 150 clergymen is studying at Kaunas Theological Seminary at present" —is sheer fiction, as the seminary was forcibly shut down in 1948. The professors enumerated in the article—are all in prisons or in Siberia since 1947.

"Priests in Soviet Lithuania pay an income tax on the same conditions as the members of the professions, such as doctors, artists and lawyers. No one may tax a priest more than the law provides."—But there are no free professions under the Soviet rule! Doctors and artists are on state payrolls, and former lawyers are cutting timber in Siberia or digging mines in the Arctic, inasmuch as the MVD provides its own "investigators" from six-month classes where no legal training is ● 651 given. Churches are taxed 40,000 to 160,000 rubles—while workers earn not more than 450 rubles monthly. . . . As for the Soviet "law"—Soviet officials follow the Mandarine rule: the sky is the limit—and Stalin lives far away. . . .

"The clergy can be prosecuted for anti-State activities under the laws that apply to all other citizens, but there has never been an instance in which a priest was prosecuted for his profession, nor for carrying out his duties as his calling requires." — But no statistics were given pertinent to prosecution "for anti-State activities" as of to date. Numerous NKVD files brought out by a number of Lithuanian Catholic priests imprisoned and tortured for nothing but their priesthood—are now available in the United States. . . .

6a

[423] tens and personal property owned by institutions and organizations of a religious character were sequestered. 798 In nationalizing land, parishes were given only 3 hec- 661 tares—although other landlords retained 30 hectares. Buildings owned by parishes and bishoprics, including episcopal residences and seminaries, libraries, printing shops, printed stocks of books were confiscated. Denominational grammar schools, high schools, orphanages, kindergartens and hospitals were converted into state institutions. The stocks of missals, hymnals, prayer-books, rosaries, religious pictures, and other religious articles found stored in book shops and retail stores were desecrated or destroyed.

793 The Soviets considered the clergy a separate "caste," antagonistic to the proletariat and, therefore, to be 651 eliminated. The clergy as well as independent farmers 661 (called '*kulaks*'), were oppressed economically; priests and "cult servants" were heavily taxed. For instance, a tolerated "proletarian" with a monthly income of 200 rubles paid 30 rubles monthly for living space assigned to him, while "cult servants" of the same income class paid 220 rubles monthly, and those with incomes of 350 rubles paid 388 rubles.

651 The Communist Party proposed to levy excessive license fees on churches, similar to motion picture 665 house and cabaret assessments. The taxes depended on 661 the size of the church. Such taxes were already imposed in the sections of Poland annexed to Russia—20,000 to 50,000 rubles. A commissar explained the policy to a pastor of a Lithuanian parish in eastern Lithuania which was annexed by Russia in 1939: "If you can't pay—close down your shop." Consequently, the churches were to be closed by degrees for nonpayment of taxes.

798 The Party also passed a decision to convert the cen- 665 trally located Garrison Church of Kaunas into a "Rev- 661 olutionary Museum." The Museum of Church Art was liquidated and its exhibits, the antique vestments, were used by Red Army troopers to polish their boots.

All that was public anti-religious action. The other phase, shrouded in secrecy, was directed against individual members of the clergy.

The Party instructed its agents to disrupt the internal discipline of churchmen, to enlist agent-informers among the clergymen, to antagonize priests against each other or to compromise them. NKGB Major Gladkov issued a secret directive dated 21 October 1940, directed to all county security chiefs, to institute unbroken surveillance of priests, church employees, friars and nuns, and to enlist students of upper classes for espionage on the private lives of the clergymen. "Remember that some of the priests are not provided for materially and are wavering in their ideological outlook." The secret order of 21 January 1941 directed particular attention to individual discontent and antagonism among members of religious organizations: advantage should be taken of such incidents to disrupt the organizations.

793 After digesting the reports of weakness exhibited by 657 some individual priests, People's Commissar of Jus- 651 tice, Pranas Pakarklis, a native traitor, offered attractive offices to a number of priests, on condition that

2:Anonymous U-. (no date)1947 RB5 Lithuanians

793 ing Holy Mass. With his hands tied behind his back,
651 he was pushed into an auto, driven to the railroad
798 station, and placed on board a train.

Bishop Matulionis was arrested in mid-December 1946. The old martyr bore himself with dignity and firmness. To warnings by well-wishers he replied: "I know the bolsheviks." He had ordained some divinity graduates December 9 and 12th, and appeared very weak. He was arrested a few days later for having issued a pastoral letter warning against the wiles of Komsomol.

Arrests of the clergy are more numerous after several visits to "Prime Minister" Gedvila to protest against limiting the number of divinity students to 150. The seminary's building is being requisitioned: its quarters in Marian Fathers' Charity Church are being turned over to Nurses School.

A favorite Russian method is to promote dissension. When Rev. Naguleviĉius, pastor of Obeliai, was arrested, the NKDV lodged a suspended priest in the rectory. This "pastor" refused to admit the priest appointed by the bishop. The Chancellor of the diocese arrived to settle the matter, but the NKVD "pastor" refused to obey. When the Chancellor visited comrade Gailevičius, Adviser on Cult Affairs in Vilnius, the latter said: "At present the people rule. This is apparently the people's will, and we cannot help in this matter."

The NKVD is attempting to install its own "priests" and, eventually, to have a Church administration subservient to the NKVD. Thus far, only one apostate is known.

No priests are admitted to the Klaipėda-Memel District.

[794] Congregations are being evicted from their quarters although, officially, the monasteries are not banned. St. Casimir's Sisters are still in possession at Pažaislis, and the Franciscan Fathers are still left in Kretinga.

● [651] Priests and Church property are heavily taxed. For instance, the Cathedral of Kaunas must pay 46,000 rubles, the Cathedral of Panevėžys 40,000, the small Church of St. Nicholas in Vilnius dating back to the 14th century, is taxed 16,000 rubles. The late Mgr. Jokubauskas, administrator of the Bishopric of Kaunas who died in February 1947, was taxed 20,000 rubles. The figures become significant when it is realized that an average laborer earns 200 rubles a month.

Sidelights of Anti-Religious Drive

659 Religious practice is permitted inside the church
626 only: Stalin's constitution grants "freedom of belief"
798 and warrants the liberty of anti-religious propaganda. No religious texts, not even prayerbooks, are permitted to be published—"paper shortage" . . . On the other hand millions of vile pamphlets are printed.

Once more, uniformed sentinels and agents in mufti are ostentatiously posted at church doors. They look over every face and scribble notes in the "blocnotes."
[558] Attendance in church means dismissal from a responsible post in the government. Teachers attending religious services are denounced in the press as "persons of low morality." A high school director inquired of

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Though wheat is mankind's most 243
popular cereal food, rye is the first choice in Lithuania. Only 311
about 8 percent of all the arable land is utilized for wheat, while 19 percent of the land is devoted to the growing of rye. Another of the world's largest crops—corn (maize)—is not grown in Lithuania. The same is true of rice. The more popular grain crops, besides rye, are oats, barley, and wheat. Most favored of root crops in Lithuania are the potato and 244
various species of root vegetables. The sugar beet, entirely unknown before the World War, is now quite popular and is grown in sufficient quantities to supply three sugar refineries. Of the fibers, flax is the only one that is widely grown. 248
Hemp is also produced, but in small quantities and only for the consumption of farmers themselves, who use the fiber for ropes and the seeds for several kinds of food.

Another important branch of the agriculture of Lithuania 232
is livestock breeding, which has been vastly improved and extended since the World War.

Economic reconstruction after the World War was not as 433
general among agricultural countries as it might at first ap- 241
pear. Timoshenko points out several unfavorable factors.[5] 651
First of all, the prices of agricultural commodities began to decline early in the period of prosperity. This affected the purchasing power of agricultural and raw-material producing countries. Another adverse factor was the reëstablishment of a system of agricultural protection in the industrial countries of Europe. Cereal production was given less tariff protection during the earlier post-war period than before the war. In some countries of central Europe, including Germany, tariff protection of grain products was completely discontinued during the first post-war years.

[5] Vladimir P. Timoshenko, *World Agriculture and Depression*, Michigan Business Studies, Vol. V, No. 5, University of Michigan, 1933, pp. 541–663.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

extent that these farmers produced various kinds of agri- 241
cultural products, they usually concentrated more specially 423
on one branch of farming, such as dairying or grain raising. 656
About 100,000 farms belonged to this group.

Farms exceeding 70 acres belonged to the third group and stood highest in independent Lithuania from the point of view of the quality and quantity of their products. There were about 27,000 farms in this group. It was mainly this and the second group which supplied the bulk of agricultural products for export. It was also this third group and to a degree the second which first felt the ruin of Sovietization. Most of the farms in the third group were reduced to not more than 74 acres so that the farming inventory and buildings were not suitable to the smaller parcels of land. A substantial part of them was converted into government farms (*sovkhoz*). At the same time pressure was put on the second [651] ●
group by imposing exorbitant taxes in order to make it disintegrate as rapidly as possible.

Taking into consideration the area of land utilized by 241
each group, it might be deduced that in normal times the 433
first group produced 20 percent of the entire amount sold on the market, while the second and third groups produced the remaining 80 percent, or 40 percent each. From this it would appear that the capacity of agricultural production in Lithuania during the Soviet Russian occupation dropped at least 40 percent.

When the Germans occupied Lithuania in June, 1941, they 423
found the Bolshevik-introduced system convenient to some extent for the expropriation of the country economically. They restored the system of private ownership, but had not returned, up to the end of 1941, farms to the original owners. Even those farmers who were left managers of their small

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

474 ganization for the distribution of goods in markets and will abolish speculation among certain merchants who raise the prices spuriously by storing goods and not releasing them to the markets.[17]

It must be remembered that this opinion was expressed shortly after the war, when the great shortage of goods was felt everywhere.

474 In addition, a special Department of Coöperation was
647 created as part of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. Although the government encouraged coöperation, it did not interfere with sound private initiative, particularly in later years, when the post-war conditions were more settled. In 1920 the Department of Coöperation was abolished because coöperation in Lithuania became so strong that it no longer required any special attention from the government.

474 Before Soviet occupation in 1940 most of the coöperative
651 establishments enjoyed tax exemption privileges. According to the Commerce, Industry, Credit, and Trade Profit Taxation Law,[18] the following coöperative establishments were to be free from profit taxes:

1. Consumers' coöperative societies whose capital did not exceed 50,000 litas.
2. All credit and agricultural coöperative societies.
3. All kinds of coöperative unions.
4. All those coöperative societies which did business exclusively among their members, even though their capital was in excess of 50,000 litas.

Undoubtedly those exceptions placed coöperative establishments in a somewhat privileged position in the competitive field as compared with private enterprises.

[17] Salcius, *op. cit.*, p. 203.
[18] V.Z., Nr. 168.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

438 in 1921, 4,011; in 1922, 4,933; in 1923, 5,402; in 1924, 5,-
433 419; in 1925, 5,941; in 1926, 5,164; in 1927, 5,437; in 1928, 5,742; in 1929, 6,010; in 1930, 5,842; in 1931, 5,796; in 1932, 5,735; in 1933, 5,451; in 1934, 5,710; in 1935, 12,-067; in 1936, 14,750; in 1937, 15,214; in 1938, 15,717; and in 1939, 16,131.[3]

[651] The sudden rise of the number of industrial establishments registered in 1935 and the subsequent years is the result of the extension of the License Tax in that year to even the smallest establishments. The new ruling required that a license be taken out even by concerns with only a single employee. Thus the figures of 1935 and later are not wholly comparable with the previous ones; nevertheless they reflect [463] the rise of industry in Lithuania. A more detailed picture of the development of industry may be obtained from Table 32, which shows that the largest number, over 20 percent, of wage earners are employed in the textile industry. The food and luxury goods industries, which in 1937 held third position with 5,195 employees, advanced to second place in 1938, with 6,150 workers. The third place in 1938 was held by the timber industry, with 4,852 workers, having enjoyed during the previous year an all-time peak in its record of employment. Fourth place, according to the number of workers employed, belongs to the clay products and stone industry; after it come the metals and machinery industry and the clothing and footwear industry.

When the value of industrial production is taken into consideration we get a very different picture of the situation, with the food and luxury industry in first place, accounting for over 41 percent of the total value of the industrial production of Lithuania. Next follow the textile

[3] C.S.B., 1938 and 1939, p. 186 and p. 194 respectively.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

438 industry with 14.9 percent, the timber industry—9.1 per-
433 cent, and the paper and printing industry—8.4 percent. These facts may be clearly seen from Table 33, which shows

TABLE 33

AGGREGATE VALUE OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION OF LITHUANIA 1937–39

(In Thousands of Litas)

INDUSTRY	1937	1938	1939
Peat-cutting	1,277	1,873	2,932
Stone, clay products, etc.	7,012	9,097	9,389
Metals and machinery	19,298	24,661	23,378
Chemicals	13,939	16,529	20,734
Leather and fur	17,245	16,684	14,306
Textiles	35,656	40,331	40,331
Timber	15,847	16,865	14,341
Paper and printing	17,807	17,543	17,630
Food and luxury goods	151,569	175,470	223,424
Clothing and footwear	20,762	23,658	26,696
Electrical works	10,672	11,738	12,588
TOTAL	311,084	354,449	405,749

that the value of total production in 1939 was 405,749,000 litas against 354,449,000 litas in 1938 and 311,084,000 litas in 1937.

The growth of the industrial production of Lithuania was not even impaired by the world depression of 1929. While world production in 1931 and 1932 had fallen to the lowest ebb, production in Lithuania showed further expansion. Several reasons may be given in explanation of this phenomenon.

438
651 First, Lithuania exercises a specific customs duties system, which is an advantage to home industry during a period of

3' Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 34

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION INDEX OF LITHUANIA AND THE WORLD 1929–39 438 433

YEAR	PRODUCTION OF LITHUANIA [a]	WORLD PRODUCTION [b]
1929	100	100
1930	108.3	88.3
1931	140.7	74.8
1932	153.7	63.0
1933	([d])	71.3
1934	166.5	77.0
1935	185.9	85.4
1936	244.2	95.5
1937	272.0	102.5
1938	309.4	125.8 [c]
1939	354.2	128.7

[a] *Report*, p. 20.
[b] League of Nations, *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, Geneva, June, 1938.
[c] *Ibid.*, *Statistical Year-Book 1939–40.*
[d] Figure not available.

falling prices in the world market, especially when the duties are high as compared with the prices of commodities. Customs duties do not fall in proportion to the fall of prices in the world market, as would be the case under the ad valorem duties system. Thus, home industry benefited from the fall of raw-material prices and was able to supply the home market with cheaper commodities than could be offered by the foreign producers for whose products the customs duties were not lowered to suit the decreased prices. This is proved even by the great decrease in the value of imports, which in 1935 amounted to only 128,597,000 litas, as against 142,176,200 litas in 1933 and 312,415,200 in 1930. 438 651

Second, it is to be noted that the index of industrial pro- 000

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RBS Lithuanians RBS

152 considerable, the 1938 figures being more than double those of 1923.[10]

152 The greater part of government income is received from
151 indirect taxes, comprising excises, state monopolies, and customs duties. This group in 1936 yielded 22.59 percent of the total revenue; in 1937, 25.74 percent; and in 1938, 24.24 percent. Next in importance is the yield of government enterprises, comprising the revenue from post, telegraph, telephone, railways, and mixed enterprises in which the government has interest. Revenue from this group in 1936 accounted for 16.04 percent; in 1937, 15.60 percent; and in 1938, 14.76 percent. The third source of income according to percentage of the total revenue, is direct taxation, which in 1938 accounted for 14.38 percent.

152 In expenditures, the highest percentage goes to the Ministry of Defence, which in 1938 accounted for 23.24 percent of the total expenses. Second place falls to the Ministry of Communication, which in 1938 used 19.79 percent of total expenditures. Third place is held by the Ministry of Education, with 16.01 percent. Then follow the Ministry of Agriculture with 13.86 percent, the Ministry of Finance with 11.30 percent, and the Ministry of Interior with 8.70 percent.[11]

PUBLIC DEBT

The public debt of Lithuania is comparatively small; it is less than that of either of the other Baltic states, amounting at the end of 1937 to 47 litas per capita, while Latvia's was 80 litas and Estonia's 180 litas per capita.[12]

The debts of Lithuania may be divided into two groups:

[10] *Lietuvos Banko Biuletenis No. 46*, Kaunas, 1939, p. 8.
[11] C.S.B., 1938, pp. 315–19.
[12] Report of C.C.I.C., *Ten Years of Lithuanian Economy*, 1938, p. 146.

4: Kublitzky G-4, 5 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Station masters—Con.	*Lits per month*	Baggage agents:	*Lits per month*
Third class	380.00	First class	300.00
Fourth class	340.00	Second class	280.00
Fifth class	300.00	Third class	240.00
Signalmen	200.00	Unskilled workers	[1] 4.50–6.00

[1] Per day

465

Monthly wages paid to Kaunas municipal autobus employees are given below. Wages in the Provinces are 10 to 15 percent lower.

	Lits per month
Drivers	250.00–270.00
Conductors	210.00–230.00
Mechanics:	
First class	300.00
Second class	260.00
Third class	200.00

The figures below show the wages per hour of specified classes of skilled workmen in the building trades throughout Lithuania:

	Lits per hour
Bricklayers, first class	1.50
Bricklayers, second class	1.40
Electricians, ironmongers, and carpenters	1.60–1.70

An unskilled male laborer receives from 5.00 lits to 6.00 lits per day and a female laborer, from 3.00 lits to 4.00 lits per day. [462]

The following wages and salaries are paid to skilled workers in the printing and publishing trades:

	Lits per month		*Lits per day*
Linotypists	350–550	Mechanics	9
Engravers	350	Stereotypists	9
Assistant engravers	300	Stone polishers	5
Managers, printing room	275	Bookbinders	5
Compositors	250		

Payment for overtime in general amounts to not less than 25 percent of the basic daily wages, provided the rate has not been set forth in the agreement concluded between the employer and employees.

No allowances for dependents or payments in kind are made in Lithuania, except in the case of farm labor. Free housing is given sometimes to watchmen and to one or two skilled indispensable workmen in industrial enterprises. Every laborer after having worked 1 year under agreement is entitled to 12 days' holiday with pay. [466]

In conformity with an amendment to the income-tax law enacted October 9, 1935, a tax on earnings has to be paid by all persons except State employees. This tax varies from 2.00 lits for workmen, either single or married, earning from 101 lits to 130 lits per month, to 53.40 lits for single workers earning from 591 lits to 600 lits. The rates are considerably lower for married persons with a family, the reduction from the single rate amounting to as high as 50 percent where the family consists of 7 or more persons. The income tax for 651

4: Kubiliusky G-4, 5 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

651 individuals residing in the rural parts of the country is slightly higher, due to the lower standard of living.

745 An employees' sickness-insurance fund was created in 1928 to provide for medical treatment, especially of the poorer classes. Membership in this organization is compulsory for all workers and employees, except farm laborers and State employees. Monthly contributions, equal in amount, are made by both the employer and the employee, according to wage classes, of which there are six. For wage class I (daily wage, 4 lits; weekly wage, 24 lits; and monthly wage, 100 lits) the monthly payment to the sick fund is 5.40 lits. The payments for each wage class are progressively higher, until for class VI (daily wage, 12.01 lits and over; weekly wage, 73 lits and over; and monthly wage, 301 lits and over) the payment to the sick fund is 21.60 lits. The maximum benefit allowed ranges from 3 lits for wage class I to 14 lits for wage class VI.

An additional amount (10 percent of the monthly payments made to the sick fund) is contributed in equal shares by the employer and the employee to the Labor Chamber.

647 All State employees contribute 6 percent of their wages to a pension fund. Furthermore, from 4.5 percent to 18.73 percent of the wages of a married State employee are deducted for the special fund created to balance the budget, the deduction of a single employee varing between 11.7 percent to 24.53 percent. These deductions apply to State employees residing in Kaunas, Klaipeda, the Klaipeda Territory, and abroad. The deductions made from wages of State employees residing in the rural parts of the country vary from 9.5 percent to 23.73 percent for married, and from 15.3 percent to 29.53 percent for single persons. These rates became effective on April 1, 1937.

651 Tax deductions from wages amount to 10 percent; however, a certain amount is exempt from taxation. In the case of a single worker the exemption applies to all wages under 36.50 lits per week. Ten percent of the amount exceeding 36.50 lits per week is subject to taxation and is determined in accordance with the family status of the worker. The result of this, in practice, is that married workers with one child do not pay taxes.

456 Contributions for social, sickness, accident, old-age, and disability insurance amount in all to 9 percent, 4½ percent of which are paid by the employer and the remaining 4½ percent by the worker.

From this comparison it can be seen that the machine- 248
manufactured flax to-day constitutes only a small part of the 433
total exported quantity, i. e. that flax manufactured by the farmers forms the greatest portion. Nevertheless the industrial production shows a relatively more stable course (with the exception of 1934) than the rural supply.

The production of the textile industry proper has since 1931 288
on an average quadrupled. A much more powerful development 433
therein is shown by silk-weaving, which in 1937 produced in round figures twenty times as many silk fabrics as in 1931, owing to the fact that it forms the youngest branch of our textile industry and was founded exactly in 1931.

The growth of the textile industry was undoubtedly pro- 439
moted by the tariff policy (increase of the Customs duty on 651
cotton fabrics in October, 1931, and again in April, 1932, on woollen and cotton fabrics) as also by the licence system (the import of woollen fabrics has been subject to licence since the introduction of the licence system, i. e. since December, 1932; that of cotton and silk yarns since August, 1934). This found expression in the sharp decline in 1932 of the imports of ready-made fabrics by half in round figures of the earlier imported quantity. The textile industry undoubtedly represents, concurrently with the production of knitted goods, the Lithuanian industrial branch best protected by tariff policy, which also explains its rapid growth and the concentration of large-scale undertakings in this branch. Notwithstanding this indisputable fact, it must none the less be recognized that, on the one hand, tariff protection is not equally apportioned (thus, for example, the duties on silk fabrics actually on an average amount to approximately 200% **ad valorem**; on cotton fabrics over 60%; and on linen fabrics only 25%), and that, on the other hand, the high duties on yarns (especially on artificial silk yarn) partially equalize the advantage of the high duties on ready-made fabrics.

3. The Timber Industry

To the timber industry, which may be designated the third 313
most important industrial branch of Lithuania, accrued in 1937 433
16.9% of all the workers employed in the medium and wholesale manufacturing industry; 10.5% of the engine horse-power;

295 439 [651] The development of the woven goods and footwear industry was successfully promoted by the tariff policy, i. e. especially by the Laws of October 1931 and August 1934. The woven goods production to-day entirely covers the demand of the home market, and on that account also the imports of foreign goods, which in 1928 still represented 173.3 tons, by 1937 had sunk to only 7.3 tons. The imports of leather footwear, thanks to the consolidation of native production, have also declined, although not by a long way to the same extent. in 1928, they amounted to 36.1 tons; in 1937, on the other hand, to 19.4 tons.

4. The Metal and Machinery Industry.

392 433 [464] The number of workers employed in the metal and machinery industry in 1937 amounted to 2 792 or 8.8% of all the industrial workers of Lithuania. Its share in relation to the total of the engine horse-power amounted to 3.7%; its share in relation to the gross production value to 5.2%; and in relation to the net production value to 6.4%. This industrial branch was in the pre-war Lithuania more highly developed than to-day. In 1913, in the present political territory of Lithuania approximately 4 000 workers were employed in the metal industry. The diminution of the scope of production is due to the curtailment of the outlet for export goods. Nevertheless, during the last two years one can again discern a rapid development tempo

The comparative figures on the changes in structure since 1927 are shown as follows:

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	94	1 895	95	1 863	3 134	103	2 792	4 677
Including.								
Metal Industry	11	547	20	665	2 781	32	1 190	4 271
Machinery Industry and Means of Transport Production	16	528	19	722		14	1 059	
Mechanical Workshops and Sheet Metal Supply	62	772	51	422	353	46	414	406
Electro-Technical Concerns	5	48	5	34		10	109	

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

A. FOREIGN TRADE

1. Politico-Commercial Review.

651 The general tariff regulations are embodied in the Customs Law of July 19, 1924 (Government Gazette No. 164/1, No. 1153), and the Customs duties in the Customs Tariff of April 3, 1925 (Government Gazette 187/1269); the latter especially has been supplemented and amended by numerous later laws.

[648] On the basis of the decision of the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the three Baltic States to accept the draft of a uniform Customs Tariff elaborated and recommended by a League of Nations Commission, for the purpose of unifying the Customs nomenclature in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, a new Customs Tariff will shortly also be introduced in Lithuania. The preliminary work is already in progress, and a new Lithuanian Customs Tariff will at latest at the beginning of 1940 come into force.

The Lithuanian Customs Tariff recognizes only specific rates, i. e. the duty is levied on the weight of the goods; only for leather footwear and dressed furs is a limited minimum ad valorem duty provided.

Besides the ordinary Customs Tariff, there are also extraordinary Customs rates, which are increased by 200% and are applied to goods from countries with which Lithuania has no commercial treaties.

With the exception of a few articles (untempered iron, round timber, raw wool, raw cotton, artificial fertilizers, agricultural machinery) all goods are subject to duty.

The Customs returns form an important source of State finance, and their share in the total revenues of the Treasury

651 amounts on an average to 18—19%, whereas all direct taxes, which are paid by commercial undertakings, i. e. the Patent and Profit Taxes altogether attain scarcely more than 2% of the State revenue.

Through this connexion is explained also the finance-customs character of the levies of the Lithuanian Tariff. The majority of the numerous increases of duties, which during the crisis years, chiefly 1931—1934, were enforced, pursued manifestly the object of making good the falling-off in Customs receipts caused by the decrease in imports. Whereas in 1928 the Customs yield represented 20% of the value of the total imports, in recent years it has reached nearly 32%, which was occasioned alike by the decline of prices (under duties on weight the real value of the duty rises when the price of the goods declines) and the raising of the levies.

Among the more important tariff increases with a protectionist tendency during the last ten years should be mentioned:

(a) Increase of duties on leather footwear, cotton fabrics, and knitted goods - the last-named almost doubled - on October 14, 1931 (Government Gazette 365/2487);

(b) Increase of duties on wool and cotton fabrics, on April 11, 1932 (Government Gazette, 385/2654);

(c) Increase of duties on rubber footwear and paper, on May 29, 1933 (Government Gazette, 414/2863);

(d) Increase of duties on paper and knitted goods, on August 14, 1934 (Government Gazette, 453/3160).

The above-mentioned tariff increases pursued chiefly the aim of affording protection to the young home industrial branches of textiles, paper, and rubber wares, which, as is shown further on, has manifested itself in the reduction of the imports of the corresponding articles.

In connexion with the present-day economic upward trend, which has set in especially since 1936 in Lithuania, a tendency to alleviate many rigours of the Customs burden has latterly become noteworthy. To this sphere belong the two following Customs measures:

(a) The lessening, introduced in the interests of the motorization of the country, of the Customs duties on motor-cars, parts and tyres thereof, and duty-free admission of chassis, as from January 28, 1937 (Government Gazette, 566/3926);

(b) Introduction of reduced seasonal duties on tropical fruits for the period from January 1 to June 1, on November 30, 1937 (Government Gazette, 592/4130). 651

Concurrently with the import duties, on many goods that are subject to export control, in case they are exported not in the prescribed packing or do not conform to the contemplated standard of quality, the export duties are raised and their export is not permitted respectively. The sole object of these measures is to support the fulfilment of standardization and to improve the quality of our export goods. Subject to export control are: Butter, eggs, meat, seeds, potatoes, apples, flax, linseed, casings, bristles, and crayfish. 439 651

At the end of 1932, Lithuania was also obliged, in the wake of the import restrictions imposed by other countries, to place her imports under State control. This was effected through the Law of December 22, 1932 (Government Gazette, 401/2751) on the introduction of a licence system, first of all only for the import of 11 articles, i. e. sugar, salt, phosphates, iron, steel, tin, coal, cement, cotton threads and yarn, paper, cardboard, and woollen fabrics. This list of goods subject to licence was appreciably extended by later laws, chiefly by the Law of August 4, 1934 (Government Gazette, 453/3161), whereby the number of articles was increased to 46 and among them knitted goods and cotton fabrics were included; by the Law of February 6, 1935 (Government Gazette, 468/3282), and by the Law of February 15, 1936 (Government Gazette, 523/3631), so that to-day of the 216 articles of the Customs Tariff 134, but actually approximately 85% of the effective imports are subject to licence. 651 439

The introduction of the licence system in Lithuania had in view not by any means the stifling of import; it resulted rather only from regard to the structure of the trade-balance. Before the last economic crisis, i. e. at the time when world trade was still not subject to any import and currency restrictions, the question of trade-balances with individual countries played no great rôle because it was easily possible by means of an export surplus achieved with certain countries to equalize an import surplus recorded in trade with others. Ever since, however, foreign trade began to develop chiefly along compensation and accounting lines, the transference of balances has encountered difficulties. Thus in 1932, viz., the last year 457

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18. **Czecho-Slovakia:**

Commercial Agreement of April 27, 1923, ratified on October 26, 1923 (Government Gazette, 144/1030).

19. **Hungary:**

(a) Commercial and Navigation Treaty of May 16, 1929, ratified on November 12, 1929 (Government Gazette, 314/2118).

(b) Accounting Agreement of November 12, 1937, ratified on December 30, 1937 (Government Gazette, 597/4170).

20. **U. S. S. R.:**

(a) Arrangement on the reciprocal granting of most-favoured-nation treatment, of September 24, 1928 (Government Gazette, 285/1848).

(b) Protocol and Exchange of Notes on the legal status of commercial representatives of the U. S. S. R. in Lithuania and on the reciprocal transit communication of August 29, 1931, ratified on September 20, 1931 (Government Gazette, 306/2499).

21. **United States of America:**

Commercial Agreement of December 23, 1925, ratified on March 24, 1926, in force since July 10, 1926 (Government Gazette, 231/1496).

Trade negotiations are at present proceeding with several other nations, including Turkey, the Argentine, and latterly with Poland.

As regards the contents of the above enumerated agreements, it should be noted that they all without exception contain the most-favoured-nation clause. Nevertheless the most-favoured-nation treatment which, on the part of Lithuania, is assured to the other countries, does not extend to the concessions which Lithuania grants to both the other Baltic States, i. e. Latvia and Estonia.

[651] Reduced treaty Customs duties have been arranged only with Latvia, Estonia, France, and Great Britain.

The overwhelming majority of the commercial agreements quoted in the above list were concluded during the last ten years. An impetus to accelerated conclusion of commercial

1932	21 505	149	3 248	13 096	4 441	571	16 493	473
1933	20 793	127	2 894	12 482	4 828	462	15 503	
1934	20 177	115	2 629	12 106	4 851	476	14 830	
1935	21 981	110	2 567	11 478	5 745	2 081	14 145	
1936	23 313	105	2 537	11 770	6 497	2 404	14 412	
1937	24 380	120	2 552	12 445	6 793	2 470	15 117	

The figures contained in the first column show for 1937 an appreciably increased total of undertakings in comparison with 1931, but we see that the principal growth, i. e. more than 3 000 concerns, ensued in the years 1935 and 1936. As is known, the Patent Tax for both industry and trade was considerably increased in 1935, the result being that many small traders, who had until then been exempt from the Patent Tax, since 1935 have had to take out a trade licence of the IV. or V. class. This supplementary tax naturally resulted in 1935 and to a great extent also in 1936 in a considerable increase of the total of the trade licences taken out, and solely this circumstance explains the statistical growth of the total figures of commercial undertakings in 1937 over the position of 1931. The figures classified according to corporations show this clearly; only the IV. and V. corporations affected by the supplementary tax since 1935 have appreciably surpassed the level of 1931. [651]

Only the figures concerning the three first corporations afford comparable quantities and only these may therefore be adduced for a description of the contingent development of our home trade. The relevant figures in the last column of the foregoing table show us that the total number of commercial concerns steadily grew until 1931, but from 1932 to 1935 decreased by approximately one-fifth, and during the last two years, especially 1937, has again slightly risen. Although during the period of revival approximately 1 000 new undertakings were promoted, the position of 1927 could not once be reached in 1937; in comparison with 1931 the recession amounted to 13.1%.

The above cited figures relate to all commercial trade-licences, also therefore to the hotel business, credit and insurance companies, &c. It is therefore advisable to examine the statistics on the inner structure of commercial concerns, from which the following data emerge:

rative societies (which, however, in the first place reflect only the constantly growing rôle of the cooperatives in our economic life and therefore do not permit any conclusions on the turnover of the total home-trade) and, finally, the results of an inquiry organized by our Chamber of Commerce. 473 438

In the tax statistics contingent postponements during separate years are expressed only in a distorted form, because the tax receipts of each single year, besides the taxes assessed on the basis of the turnover in the previous year, contain also arrears from earlier years. Naturally, therefore, the contingent position of the payment year, and not the assessment year, is conclusive for the payment receipts. Bearing in mind the foregoing objections, the tax statistics none the less provide a certain guide and afford us, in the absence of other sources, a summary over a larger series of years. 651 473

According to the reports of the State Control, the tax receipts (without the Memel Territory) from trade from 1930—1936, were as follows (in 1 000 litas):

Year	Total	Patent Tax	Profit Tax
1930	8 182.7	2 458.3	5 724.4
1931	8 231.1	2 250.9	5 980.2
1932	7 901.5	2 306.4	5 595.1
1933	7 027.7	1 894.6	5 133.1
1934	6 357.9	2 014.7	4 343.2
1935	6 662.1	2 026.2	4 635.9
1936	6 852.3	1 997.9	4 854.4

The second column respecting the Patent Tax once more confirms the accuracy of the deductions of the former section in regard to the reduction in the number of undertakings of wholesale and large-scale retail trade, and shows that even the extension of tax liability to hitherto tax-free small enterprises in 1935 could not compensate for the decline in the Patent Tax returns.

The third column respecting the Profit Tax, for the reasons above discussed, may only with reserve be regarded as a substitute reflecting the trade turnover. Nevertheless, for the purpose of comparison of the development tendencies of trade and industry, it can, in the first place, be contrasted with the analogous data on the industry tax receipts; the accuracy of the

651 comparison cannot be doubted because equivalent factors are
473 involved. This contrast furnishes the following result:

Profit Tax in 1 000 litas	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
Industry	2 640.6	2 743.3	2 217.5	2 606.7	2 373.3	2 463.2	3 177.2
Trade	5 724.4	5 980.2	5 595.1	5 133.1	4 343.2	4 635.9	4 854.4

On the basis of the foregoing comparative figures, we may reckon that in comparison with 1930 the taxation capacity of industry in 1936 increased by 20%, whereas simultaneously the Profit Tax returns of trade receded by 15%.

This comparison fully illustrates that the position of trade
439 is much more unfavourable than that of industry, which is
473 chiefly due to three factors:

1. The large share of foreign trade in the total goods turnover (direct export and import can be estimated at approximately 40%, and by adding the turnover between wholesale and retail trade the share exceeds 60%) renders our trade to a greater degree dependent upon the fluctuations of the world trend than is the case with our youthful industry, which works chiefly for the home market.

2. For the same reasons, in the sphere of trade, in connexion with the international shrinkage of import, quotas and compensation agreements, private initiative seems far more hampered than in relation to industry.

3. The vigorous growth of the cooperatives, whose object is as far as possible to eliminate intermediate trade, was bound in the nature of things to aggravate the position of private trade in corresponding branches and thereby force down the total turnover amount.

We shall, it is true, in the further course of our deductions see that the decrease in the trade turnover is only an **ad valorem** one, and that its quantitative scope has even increased. This fact, however, in no way prejudices the validity of what has already been stated, because the proportion between the comparative taxation figures relating to trade and industry is not displaced thereby but remains identical.

651 In view of the fact that in crisis years, when the amount
439 of the trade turnover sinks, tax assessments for budgetary
473 reasons as a rule are imposed too high, this circumstance must be taken into consideration for the purpose of the index calcu-

lation of the trade turnover on the basis of the tax statistics, 651
and an appropriate clarification effected. 439

To reinforce this assertion we compare first of all the per- 473
centage development of the Profit Tax receipts from 1930—1936 (the tax is valid at times for the preceding year) with the index already calculated in the previous chapter of the **ad valorem** development of our foreign trade turnover from 1929—1935. We obtain in this manner the two following sets of figures:

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935
Foreign Trade Turnover..	100.0	101.5	86.6	55.9	47.5	44.9	44.1
Trade Turnover on the basis of tax receipts	100.0	105.5	97.7	89.7	75.9	80.9	84.8

One must bear in mind that the home-trade turnover, [438]
especially in respect of commodities of fixed demand (chiefly foodstuffs) which constitute the relatively most important item of the turnover, is far less subject to trend fluctuations than foreign trade. The growth of domestic industrial production must likewise extend the scope of the home-trade turnover. On the other hand, however, one may not forget that the retrogression of our foreign trade turnover is in the first instance due to the fall of prices, and that its quantitative scope, as has been demonstrated in a previous chapter, even in the crisis years remained above the level of 1929. The fall of prices has approximately in the same manner affected the foreign and home-trade turnovers. If therefore the tax receipts correctly reflected the trade turnover, then this would mean, in consideration of the high percentage share of foreign trade, that the home-trade in inland goods already in 1935 had attained a turnover which, in comparison with 1929, was **ad valorem** one and a half times, and quantitatively three times larger, which, it goes without saying, cannot correspond to reality.

On the basis of reliable estimates, the turnover assessments 651
of the Tax Inspectorate in the crisis years, in relation to the 438
firms with non-public accounting, were fixed too high. Since on the firms with public accounting, for which the tax is assessed according to the actual turnover, approximately one-fifth of the Profit Tax total devolves, the figures for the total receipts since 1932 have had to be cut down a quarter in round figures in order to depict the real total turnover.

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The tax statistics at our disposal relate to the turnover from 1929—1935. According to our estimates the trade turnover in 1936 in comparison with the preceding year rose by 25% and in 1937 by 15%. After the above discussed correction has been made we get the following index figures of the **ad valorem** development of our total trade turnover:

1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
100	106	98	67	57	61	64	80	92

The above index being based upon estimates cannot lay claim to a hundred per cent accuracy, but its final figures are nevertheless assessed rather too high than too low. To its plausibility **inter alia** testifies the circumstance that it corresponds approximately to the average of the indices of the foreign trade turnover and of the industrial production, taking into consideration the price changes that have ensued since 1929.

The **ad valorem** recession of the goods turnover sums is not, it goes without saying, synonymous with the quantitative recession. The quantitative scope of our goods turnover has, on the contrary, appreciably increased, as the following volume index, calculated on the strength of the price-index of Lietuvos Bankas, shows:

1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
100	122	132	109	105	117	139	174	174

The last index group demonstrates the considerable increase of domestic consumption. Since the volume index of the foreign trade turnover for 1937, calculated in the previous chapter, amounts to only 139.3, this means, if we estimate the share of foreign trade at 40%, that the home trade in domestic commodities has almost doubled from 1929 to 1937, wherein both the rise of home industrial production and the improvement of the standard of living are revealed.

Expressed in absolute figures, according to our estimate, the total trade turnover in the past year (1937) may have reached 900 000 000 litas. The turnover of the Memel Territory is not included in this sum because data are lacking for an estimate in this connexion.

Goods Transport of the Most Important Railway Stations (in 1 000 tons).

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	1929	1931	1935	1936	1937
Memel	473.1	611.5	795.3	831.6	823.3
Kaunas	419.2	492.3	401.8	452.3	513.8
Obeliai	425.4	611.8	260.8	224.9	213.8
Joniškis	149.7	116.6	152.5	139.9	213.0
Pagėgiai	594.5	435.4	119.8	119.4	218.3
Virbalis	274.5	212.6	45.4	69.5	88.7

The recession of the goods turnover of both Lithuanian-German frontier stations, Pagėgiai and Virbalis, in 1935 and 1936, reflects first of all the shrinkage shown in the previous chapter of our foreign trade communication with Germany. Since the normalization of Lithuanian-German commercial relations a revival tendency in the turnover was observable in 1937. Above all, however, we see in the foregoing table the tremendous advance of transport to and from Memel, which is due to the ever-increasing importance of that port in our economic life. The importance of our new line of communication, Telšiai - Kretinga, which was opened in 1932, has already been pointed out. The building of this line, as also the [651] introduction of the reduced goods transport tariff in traffic to and from the port of Memel, whereby a more favourable differential rate was granted, has to a great extent contributed to the increase of railway goods transport via Memel during recent years.

The decline of goods transport via Obeliai, the Lithuanian-Latvian frontier station, over which formerly goods transit between Germany and Russia developed, is to be ascribed to the suspension of transit from Germany via Lithuania since 1931.

2. Memel Port Traffic.

The importance of the port of Memel for Lithuania's 504
economic life appears from the fact that, according to the data of the Customs Statistics, in 1937 via Memel 75.5% of our export trade and 68.2% of our import trade were conveyed.

652 We can determine the structure of the State revenue and
651 the not entirely uniform development of its separate categories on the strength of the following table:

The Structure and Development of the State Revenue from 1928 to 1937 (Million Litas).

	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
1. **Direct Taxes**	35.2	37.8	41.8	42.6	39.1	40.4	39.2	38.5	44.1	48.7
including:										
(a) Land Tax	16.9	18.1	19.6	19.1	17.1	18.6	18.5	18.2	17.9	18.1
(b) Urban Real Estate Tax	5.0	5.0	6.1	6.7	6.9	6.9	6.5	7.0	8.1	8.6
(c) Patent and Profit Tax (Trade & Industry Tax) ..	9.7	10.1	11.2	11.3	10.5	9.9	9.0	9.5	10.5	13.1
(d) Labour Profit Tax	....	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.8	1.6	2.5	3.2	4.7	5.6
2. **Indirect Taxes**	120.5	122.6	134.8	138.5	110.8	94.2	98.5	91.6	98.4	120.0
including:										
(a) Excise	18.2	19.3	17.7	20.6	20.6	20.1	19.5	24.1	19.0	29.6
(b) Monopolies	44.0	41.7	42.4	42.4	32.8	28.1	26.0	25.6	30.0	35.1
(c) Customs Duties ..	58.3	61.5	74.7	75.5	57.4	46.1	53.0	41.9	49.4	55.3
3. **Dues**	9.6	20.8	20.6	20.1	18.3	17.8	17.1	17.0	19.2	22.1
4. **State Undertakings**	53.9	64.0	60.4	68.0	50.8	46.0	46.3	45.4	48.6	51.5
5. **Properties & Capital**	37.6	36.3	33.1	31.0	22.0	22.2	24.5	17.6	26.5	33.7
6. **Other Ordinary Revenue**	21.8	14.5	11.3	11.7	11.1	7.9	10.2	8.7	9.1	9.4
7. **Extraordinary Revenue**	41.2	42.5	45.7	28.3	39.9	28.4	28.6	61.0	56.9	44.5

Direct taxes play a relatively small rôle in our Budget, since their share in 1937 amounted to only 14.8% of all State revenue. The principal items consist of indirect taxes and the income from State undertakings. Nevertheless both the share of direct taxes and their relation to indirect taxes are constantly increasing, which proves that our taxation system is ever more and more emancipating itself from the tradition of earlier Russian financial methods and approaching the West European system. The ratio of direct to indirect taxes in the old Russian Empire amounted to 10:59; in independent Lithuania, on the contrary, in 1928 it was already 10:34, and in 1937 only 10:25. In Great Britain the ratio of direct to indirect taxes is only 10:9. Also the share of the total yield of direct taxes in the State revenue has risen during these years: in 1928 it amounted to 11.0%, and in 1937 already to 14.8%.

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The development of receipts from direct taxation is less dependent upon the contingent economic position than, for example, the yield of the State Monopolies. This rigidity is in the first place due to the fact that the Land Tax constitutes the principal item, which is assessed not according to the yield but the number of acres; therefore the fluctuations of the Land Tax receipts, which clearly appear from the table, are to be ascribed to the circumstance that in years of a favourable trend generally taxes are paid more punctually than during a crisis. The Land Tax payments reached their peak in 1930; but the year 1932 first brought about a considerable recession. Following the nadir reached in 1935, the receipts during both last years have again improved, but still remain below the level of 1933 and 1934.

The series of the Urban Real Estate Tax affords an interesting study; its almost uninterrupted upward curve reflects the intensive building activity which during the last two years has greatly increased. The series of the Patent and Profit Tax, which is collected from commercial and industrial undertakings, is wholly adjusted to the course of the economic trend. In the chapter on Home Trade, it has already been demonstrated that the rise of payments in 1937 over the position of 1931 pertains solely to the share of industry, because the yield from trade taxes still remains below the level of 1931.

The increase of the total amount of direct taxes during recent years and therewith also the improvement of their share to a great extent depend upon the introduction of the Labour Profit Tax in 1932, which until that year, known under the style of the Personal Earnings Tax, had been collected merely to a restricted degree, i. e. only from commercial employees. The increase of revenue from 1933 to 1936 is explained by the repeated raising of taxation and the reduction of the cost of living minimum in 1935. The advance in 1937 reflects, on the other hand, the amelioration of the economic situation and particularly the growth of the number of workers and employees.

Indirect taxes constitute the most important item of revenue; they are, it goes without saying, highly dependent upon contingent fluctuations. Their absolute peak level was

reached in 1931, in which year their percentage share was also the highest, viz., 40.7%. The recession in the crisis period was most marked in 1935, i. e. in comparison with 1931 by 46 900 000 litas or a third in round figures. The last two years, but especially 1937, brought about a recovery by 28 400 000 litas. The share in the total revenue that year amounted to 36.4%. 651 652

Among indirect taxes the Customs duties are the most productive. In 1937 they alone defrayed 17.4% of all State disbursements. The strikingly sharp decline of Customs receipts in the crisis years (in 1935 by 44.5% in comparison with 1931) and the relatively low present position, notwithstandig the advance during the last two years, are not due to the quantitative curtailment of import (it has, on the contrary, grown) but to the change in their structure. To-day more raw materials are imported, and fewer luxury articles, which naturally are subject to higher duties.

The receipts of the State Monopolies (Spirit, Matches, and Playing Cards) reflect very faithfully on the whole the development of the purchasing power of the population, but their estimate nevertheless necessitates consideration of the circumstance that the price of spirit during the period under review, in sympathy with the course of other commodity prices, decreased. Although therefore the total receipts of the Monopolies in 1937 stand below the level of the years 1930—1931, the actual sales of whisky through the Monopoly retail establishments in 1937 were 121 000 litres or 2.3% higher than in 1931. The recovery of the losses of the crisis period followed only during the last two years, in which the sales in comparison with 1935 grew by 1 275 217 litres or 31.1%, which characterizes the development tempo of the present-day advance. 652 655

The figure sequence of the excise receipts is, from the contingent standpoint, largely upset by the circumstance that in 1932, as the consumption of excisable goods began to decline in consequence of the outbreak of the crisis, the domestic production of sugar set in, whereby the decreases of excise dues from beer, tobacco, &c., were more or less equalized. The fluctuations in the receipts of the last three years are explained by the fact that in 1935 a portion of the sugar 652

11 League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RBG Lithuanians RBG

473 known as "Lietuvos Cukrus" was founded (the shareholders being the State and sugar-beet-growers), and this centralises all sugar manufacture.

439 To improve the quality of agricultural produce for export, the Government controls the export of meat (since 1925), butter (since 1927), eggs (since 1927), linseed (since 1925) and flax (since 1926, the control having been further tightened up in 1934). The centralisation of exports of agricultural produce greatly facilitates export control and increases its efficacy.

435 At the time of the fall in the prices of agricultural produce on foreign markets, the Government, to stimulate supplies for export, fixed minimum prices for the pigs bought by the "Maistas" company, the milk supplied to the dairymen's co-operative societies and cream-separating centres (all the dairymen's co-operative societies in the country are affiliated to the "Pienocentras"), the eggs bought by the "Pienocentras" and the cereals bought by the "Lietūkis". In this way, agricultural prices have been maintained with the co-operation of the three central organisations.

651 Various measures have been adopted with a view to the reduction of costs of production. As long ago as 1933, the rate of interest on mortgage loans was lowered; the total of the land taxes payable by agriculturists during the years 1935 and 1936 was reduced by 10%. Agriculturists leaving their villages and settling on self-contained undertakings are exempt from Government land taxes for a period of one year (this privilege is enjoyed by all agriculturists who have taken over separate undertakings since 1932). Agriculturists who, having taken over separate undertakings since 1932, are obliged to change their place of residence (and such is the case with more than half of those concerned) receive from the Ministry of Agriculture a stated
435 quantity of wood at 20% of the normal sale price. Under the price-control system introduced in 1935, maximum prices have been fixed for chemical fertilisers, bran, feeding-cakes, petroleum and certain other articles which are of particular importance to agriculture. For the 1938 autumn sowings, the Government (in conjunction with the "Lietūkis") has reduced the price of chemical fertilisers by itself paying the cost of railway transport.

000 In conclusion, it may be said that, in spite of the agricultural depression which made its appearance some five or six years ago and which has not yet entirely ceased, the Lithuanian agriculturist is at present in a better position than he was before the war; he is better fed and better clothed and has more money to spare for his cultural needs.[1]

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[1] A detailed description of the progress made in this sphere and of the activities of the institutions and organisations for the promotion of agriculture is to be found in the work entitled *Agriculture in Lithuania*, by Professor J. Krikščiūnas, published by the Chamber of Agriculture, Kaunas, 1938.

795 Russia. *Only one Bishop*—Paltarokas—was known to be *alive in* 1948, and no information regarding his present fate is available. Administrators who succeeded the martyred Bishops likewise "vanish" in MVD trucks soon after their appointment.

The official Registers of the Church, cited by the Rev. Dr. Kazys Gečys in his "Catholic Lithuania" (*Katalikiškoji Lietuva*, Chicago 1946) gave the following statistics for the year 1940:

Diocese	Deaneries	Priests	Byzantine Rite Priests	Divinity Students	Monastic Orders: Priests	Friars	Nuns	Parishioners
Vilnius	16	307	5	169	62	184	384	877,838
Kaunas	10	289	2	152				500,000
Kaišiadorys	9	163						220,200
Panevėžys	10	235						418,950
Telšiai	12	237		83	90	387	579	385,872
Klaipėda Prelacy		11						22,150
Vilkaviškis	12	245		62				351,405
Total	69	1,487	7	470	152	571	963	2,776,422

The total number of clergy, including those of the Byzantine rite, was 1646. One priest was available to minister 1688 souls. The 1586 members of monastic congregations, included the Franciscan, Jesuit, Salesian, Dominican and Marian Orders, and several exclusively Lithuanian Orders.

794 The same author provided the following statistics regarding the number of churches as of 1940.

Diocese	Arch-Cathedral Basilicas	Cathedral Basilicas	Cathedrals	Parish Churches	Filial Churches	Non-Parochial Churches	Chapels
Vilnius		1		185 +Byz. 7	17	34	110
Kaunas	1			91	31	34	84
Kaišiadorys			1	65	2		12
Panevėžys			1	90	27	7	82
Telšiai			1	111	16	14	32
Klaipėda Prelacy				5		2	
Vilkaviškis			1	95	5		10
Total	1	1	4	670 +Byz. 7	98	91	330

A total of 1202 churches, embracing 681 parishes. Each church served 2310 souls.

In addition to the Roman Catholic community, Lithuania had 51 churches and chapels with 18 pastors of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, 12 Calvinist (Evangelical Reformed Church) parishes with 7 pastors, 3217 independent sectarians (mostly ex-Lutherans), five Tatar Mohammedan congregations (at Vilnius, 40-Tatars, Kaunas, Reižiai and Vinkšniukai), and two Karaim congregations. Statistics are not available regarding Jewish religious communities.

652 For services rendered in keeping birth, matrimonial and burial records, the state budget of Lithuania for 1939 appropriated the following sums in Litas (1 Litas equaled $0.10 in gold or $0.16⅔ depreciated):

3a

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Roman Catholic Church	Lt.	1,383,278
Israelite Congregation	"	105,500
Evangelical Lutheran Church	"	88,000
Evangelical Reformed Church	"	26,560
Greek Orthodox Church	"	60,360
Old Believers Congregation	"	31,920
Mohammedan Congregation	"	2,400
Karaim Congregation	"	400
Total	Lt.	1,691,718

($169,171.80 gold or $281,483.86 current exchange rate)

794 Comparison of the situation of the Catholic Church in 1940 with that shown in a *Tass* bulletin of April 1947 and the information provided by the Lithuanian underground resistance movement as of 1948, tells a very eloquent story:

	1940	*Tass* 1947	1948
Archbishops and Bishops	14	2	1
Clergy	1,646	1,332	400
Monastic Order members	1,586	0	0
Churches	1,202	711	ca. 600 most of survivors
Parishioners	2,776,422	"thousands"	0
Theological Seminaries	4	1	0
Catholic Faculty in Univ.	1	0	0
State assistance	Lt. 1,383,278	0	Ruinous Taxes millions of rubles
Church Taxation	0	?	0
Divinity Students	470	ca. 150	0
Killed or exiled clergymen	0	(silence)	75%
Catholic press 1935: number	52	(silence)	0
circulation	7,050,200	(silence)	0
Religious-philosophy books	209	(silence)	0
Sodality-Fraternity Members	800,000	(silence)	0

Naturally, the underground data does not disclose clandestine catechetic instruction by clergymen and laymen, and the secret religious press. Religious books and articles bring highest prices in the black market. All of the Catholic scientific, educational, social, athletic, labor, economic, publishing and charitable institutions, academies, schools, libraries, kindergartens, associations, sodalities, etc., were closed and their property was confiscated by the Russians.

Attempts to Create a "National MVD Church"

795 The Russian Orthodox Church is, to all intents and purposes, a branch of the secret political police—the MVD and MGB. This Church is the only religious organization tolerated in Russia, allotted newsprint and printing facilities, and sponsored by Soviet agents in the annexed and satellite countries. "Archbishop" Sergius had been sent to Lithuania in 1940 to subvert the Greek Orthodox Church of the country. This notorious personality ultimately became an agent of the Gestapo and was liquidated by the Gestapo just before the second Russian invasion. The remaining Russian Orthodox clergymen are docile and loyal servants of the MVD-MGB, inspired in part by a Russian nationalism. The few Orthodox people of Lithuania have no respect for them.

When the Protestants practically disappeared from Lithuania and the few thousand native Jews remaining in the country (some 3,000 plus about 15,000 imported Russian aliens of Jewish race) enlisted in the Soviet service, the only religious opposition is the Roman Catholic Church—which consists of at least 90%

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

seized by the government in 1861 and 1863 are to receive 671
priority over all others. Each head of a family may receive not 423
more than 49.4 acres (20 hectares). Land is also to be distributed to public schools, schools of agriculture, and other in- [657]
stitutions of learning and culture as well as to hospitals, sanatoriums, asylums, and other social and public organizations.

The land is divided into four classes, graded according to 423
the fertility of the soil. The new owners have to pay equal annual installments for their land for thirty-six years. The rate to be paid varies from 180 to 252 litas per hectare (2.471 acres) for first-class land, depending on its location; 90 to 126 litas for second-class; 36 to 54 litas for third-class, and 18 to 27 litas for fourth-class. No interest accumulates on the unpaid balance except on due shares which are not paid in the time prescribed.[13]

The only recipients of land exempted from all payments [729]
are volunteer soldiers in the Lithuanian war for independence and their families.

Former owners of the lands taken for land reform pur- 423
poses were entitled to compensation. Payment was to be 425
made with government bonds bearing three percent interest 652
and redeemable at any time not later than thirty-six years from the date of issue. Paragraph 58 of the Land Reform Law prescribes that the compensation for the land shall be a fair price based on valuations existing in the period between 1910 and 1914. As the Land Reform Law was passed on April 3, 1922, when *Obost* marks [14] were in circulation, the compensation was to be paid in this currency. (One Russian ruble was made equal to two *Obost* marks.) Paragraph 59 provides that the highest amount paid may not exceed

[13] Salkauskas, *op. cit.*, pp. 325–32.
[14] See, p. 102 below, section on Finance.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

423 480 marks per hectare. Because the mark fell in value, the
425 reward was comparatively small when translated into litas.
[252] It is estimated that the total amount paid by the government for expropriated land up to 1935 was 40 million litas.

In accordance with this law, the land transfer up to the end of 1939 involved 1,774,099 acres (717,968 hectares), of which a substantial part was handed over for cultural and other public uses, being given for schools, cemeteries, municipalities, public playgrounds, and so on.

TABLE 6

THE LAND INVOLVED FOR REDISTRIBUTION BETWEEN 1919 AND 1939

	ACRES
I. Land distributed for permanent ownership	
1. To private schools, organizations, asylums, etc.	2,291
2. To parish churches	3,981
3. For cemeteries	1,003
4. To employees and laborers for homes	8,110
5. To new settlers	893,392
6. Added to small farms	222,951
TOTAL	1,131,728
II. Land distributed for temporary use	
1. To public schools and other governmental institutions	86,070
2. To municipalities and their institutions (hospitals, asylums, public parks, etc.)	6,158
3. To private persons and organizations	26,539
4. For community pastures	72,170
TOTAL	190,937
III. For miscellaneous uses	451,434
GRAND TOTAL OF LAND AFFECTED BY THE LAND REFORM ACT	1,774,099

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Chapter IV

FOREIGN TRADE

The customs boundaries and customs tariffs of Lithuania were established in May, 1919, from which time the statistics on foreign trade were compiled. But up to 1923 these statistics were such that the figures are not exactly comparable with those of the later years. The unstable German *Obost* and *Reichsmark* currency, which circulated in Lithuania up to the end of 1922 when the Lithuanian litas currency was introduced, may be regarded among the chief causes for this situation. 439 652

It will be noted from Table 39 that the value of foreign trade increased until 1930 when it reached an all-time high of 333,739,000 litas in exports and 312,415,000 in imports. If the year 1923 is taken as a base, with the index number 100 for imports and exports, the index number for exports of 1930 is 227 and for imports 199. 439

From 1930 foreign trade decreased, the lowest point for exports being reached in 1934 with the index number 100, and for imports in 1935, with the index number at 82. Full revival of foreign trade began in 1936 when the index number for exports was 130 and for imports 100. In 1938 it rose as high as 159 for exports and 143 for imports.

In analyzing these figures it must be recalled that the litas currency of Lithuania held its original gold parity and there was no devaluation up to the Soviet invasion in 1940. [652]

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Russian rubles put into circulation by Darlehnkasse Ost. But on March 30, 1917, this promise was retracted and redemption by German marks was promised at the rate of two marks for one ruble.[3] 453 436

After the declaration of independence, February 16, 1918, because of unsettled conditions Lithuania was unable quickly to introduce her own bank notes. The Provisional Government signed with the Darlehnkasse Ost an agreement by which the notes were to remain in circulation until a Lithuanian bank of issue could be organized. The sums in circulation at that time, as estimated by Professor Rimka, are shown in Table 47. 436 [652]

TABLE 47

GERMAN OBOST NOTES IN CIRCULATION
1917–22

YEAR	NOTES IN CIRCULATION (*Millions of Obost marks*)	VALUE IN LITAS [a] (*Millions*)
1917	125.75	186.77
1918 (March 31)	165.65	327.30
1918 (Dec. 31)	290.90	363.62
1920 (July)	546.80	138.50
1921 (July)	779.80	101.70
1922 (July)	2,000.00	63.00
1922 (Sept.)	3,500.00	17.00

[a] One litas equals 0.150462 grams fine gold.

It may be observed that the number of notes in circulation increased very rapidly while their value in litas decreased. In September, 1922, the total of notes in circulation was more than ten times greater than on December 31, 1918, while at the same time their value in litas was only one

[3] *Ibid.*

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

436 twenty-first as great. In January, 1919, the rate of exchange was 8.27 marks to the dollar, while one year later, in February, 1920, it was 98.994 marks, and in the beginning of 1922, 200 marks. On October 1, 1922, the day redemption of the *Obost* marks commenced, one dollar equaled 1,650 marks; on October 2, 1,815 marks. Russian rubles were redeemed on October 1, 1922, at 0.004 litas.[4]

453 A special law for the establishment of Lietuvos Bankas (the Bank of Lithuania) was passed on August 11, 1922.[5] The financial basis of the bank is 12,000,000 litas capital stock consisting of 120,000 shares of 100 litas par value [656] each. Although Lietuvos Bankas, before Soviet occupation, was a private enterprise in its organization, it was under government control and the general director was appointed by the president of the republic upon recommendation of the Council of Ministers. The Law of Establishment of the Lietuvos Bankas grants a special concession to permit the issuance of notes for twenty years, which period may be prolonged by law.

436 With the first issue of litas notes on October 1, 1922, the 652 redemption of the *Obost* marks at the market exchange rate 648 was begun. The Russian rubles at that time were almost worthless, and the value of *Obost* marks was just a fraction of the original value. This caused a great loss to the population of Lithuania, wiping out everybody's savings and creating generally chaotic credit conditions. There is no question but that Germany was responsible for the inflation and loss in the value of *Obost* marks and that Lithuania had the right to demand reparations. Negotiations for that purpose were

[4] Kazys Sruoga, *Die Wirtschaft der Republik Litauen und ihre Notenemission*, Kaunas, 1930, pp. 15–18.

[5] *Lietuvos Bankas, First Decade, 1922–1932*, Kaunas, 1932, pp. 10–14; *V.Z. Nr. 199, par. 1347.*

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

started in March, 1922, in Kaunas. Reparation was sought for the compulsory introduction of *Obost* marks and the use of issuance rights from August, 1916, until November, 1919, when the German army finally withdrew. The loss to Lithuania was estimated at 5,383 million marks, which sum was demanded by the Lithuanian delegation. Due to the fact that the Germans refused to recognize these demands, negotiations were discontinued. They were resumed in Berlin in May, 1923.[6] These negotiations resulted in a treaty concluded on May 31, 1923, of which the first paragraph says: "Both contracting parties agree not to raise any claims against each other, originating from events of the World War."[7]

After three months of operation of Lietuvos Bankas—that is, on December 31, 1922—there were 30.38 million litas in circulation. The coverage in gold of the notes in circulation accounted for 50 percent and that in gold and foreign exchange for 109.1 percent. The amount of litas in circulation grew, while the coverage in gold decreased somewhat, but it was never less than the one-third prescribed by law. Thus on December 31, 1923, there were 60.07 million litas in circulation; in 1924, 92.98; in 1925, 81.92; in 1926, 86.79; and in 1927, 96.61.[8]

The issue activities of Lietuvos Bankas in later years are indicated by Table 48. At the end of 1938 the notes in circulation amounted to 141.70 million litas, exceeding the previous all-time high of 1930, while in April, 1939, it reached 181.65 millions, a new all-time peak. The coverage in gold

[6] A. Moravskis, *Lietuvos Finansai, Pinigai, kreditas ir bankai* Lietuvoje pries kara ir dabar, II dalis. (The Finance of Lithuania: Money, Credit and Banking in Lithuania before the War and at Present. Part II), Kaunas, 1925, pp. 33–35.

[7] Dailide, *op. cit.*, p. 199; *V.Z. Nr. 173, par. 1197.*

[8] *Lietuvos Bankas Bulletin*, Feb. 19, 1932, p. 18.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

The litas was never devalued, and it held its original gold parity until Soviet occupation on June 15, 1940. Shortly after occupation the financial structure of Lithuania was destroyed entirely. The litas was substituted by the ruble. All savings accounts over 1,000 litas (approximately $165.00) were confiscated. Though the purchasing value of the Soviet ruble was much less than that of the litas, nevertheless the litas officially was rated at 90 kopeks (a kopek equals one-hundredth of a ruble). The Germans who replaced the Russians set the official exchange rate at 50 pfennigs, or half a German mark, to a ruble.

STATE FINANCE

The state finance and the economic policy of the republic of Lithuania were guided by the minister of finance. In 1923, the first year for which statistics are available, the revenue amounted to 166.30 million litas against expenditures of 166 million litas.[9] The following year's revenue increased to 235.79 million litas and expenditures to 232.32, leaving a favorable balance of 3.47 million litas. The highest balance was gained in 1929 when the revenues of 293.79 million litas exceeded expenditures by 26.10 million litas. But in 1931 and 1932 expenditures exceeded revenue. In 1931 the total income amounted to 315.09 million litas, expenditures were 335.30 million litas, and the deficit was thus 20.21 million litas. In 1932 the deficit was somewhat smaller: 12.40 million litas. The budget of 1938 was practically balanced, the revenue amounting to 366.48 million litas, while the expenditures totaled 366.49 million litas. In 1939 revenues amounted to 361.78 and expenditures to 356.54 million litas. The growth of the budget during the years of independence was

[9] C.S.B., volume for 1927.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

652 considerable, the 1938 figures being more than double those of 1923.[10]

652 The greater part of government income is received from
651 indirect taxes, comprising excises, state monopolies, and customs duties. This group in 1936 yielded 22.59 percent of the total revenue; in 1937, 25.74 percent; and in 1938, 24.24 percent. Next in importance is the yield of government enterprises, comprising the revenue from post, telegraph, telephone, railways, and mixed enterprises in which the government has interest. Revenue from this group in 1936 accounted for 16.04 percent; in 1937, 15.60 percent; and in 1938, 14.76 percent. The third source of income according to percentage of the total revenue, is direct taxation, which in 1938 accounted for 14.38 percent.

652 In expenditures, the highest percentage goes to the Ministry of Defence, which in 1938 accounted for 23.24 percent of the total expenses. Second place falls to the Ministry of Communication, which in 1938 used 19.79 percent of total expenditures. Third place is held by the Ministry of Education, with 16.01 percent. Then follow the Ministry of Agriculture with 13.86 percent, the Ministry of Finance with 11.30 percent, and the Ministry of Interior with 8.70 percent.[11]

PUBLIC DEBT

The public debt of Lithuania is comparatively small; it is less than that of either of the other Baltic states, amounting at the end of 1937 to 47 litas per capita, while Latvia's was 80 litas and Estonia's 180 litas per capita.[12]

The debts of Lithuania may be divided into two groups:

[10] *Lietuvos Banko Biuletenis No. 46*, Kaunas, 1939, p. 8.
[11] C.S.B., 1938, pp. 315–19.
[12] Report of C.C.I.C., *Ten Years of Lithuanian Economy*, 1938, p. 146.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

The debts of Lithuania may be divided into two groups 652 45%

(1) debts which originated in the period 1918–22 during the struggle for reëstablishment of the nation's independence and (2) subsequent debts contracted for reconstruction purposes. The debt to the United States for various medicaments, clothing, and foodstuffs obtained from the American military camps in France and from the American Relief Administration belongs in the first group. According to the agreement of September 22, 1924, with the United States, the principal was $4,981,628.03 and accrued interest of 4¼ percent from June 30, 1919, until June 15, 1924, amounted to $1,049,918.94, so that the total debt was $6,031,546.97. Of this amount, $1,546.97 was paid on September 22, 1924, and the remainder, $6,030,000, was to be funded into bonds bearing 3 percent interest until June 15, 1934, and 3⅓ percent after that date until the whole sum was paid. The principal was to be paid in the course of 62 years in fixed amounts each year. Thus, the first amount, $30,000, was due on June 15, 1925, and the last, $227,000, was to fall due on June 15, 1986.[13]

According to the estimate of Moulton,[14] Lithuania, up to June 30, 1931, had paid $1,128,600. The latest payments made by Lithuania to the United States were token payments in the sums of $10,000 on June 15, and $7,000 on December 15, 1933, but after the passage of the Johnson Act Lithuania made no further payments. On May 5, 1934, Attorney General Cummings of the United States pointed out that Lithuania was one among the six foreign governments[15] indebted to the United States government which was not in default under the terms of the Johnson Act, because she

[13] Dailide, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

[14] Harold G. Moulton and Leo Pasvolsky, *War Debts and World Prosperity*, Washington, D.C., 1932, p. 293.

[15] Finland, Great Britain, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Latvia, and Lithuania.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

L52 had made token payments as evidence of good faith in con-
457 nection with her debt installments.[16]

According to later interpretations of the Johnson Act, however, the State Department on May 10, 1934, informed European debtor governments that while token payments

TABLE 49

FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC DEBTS OF LITHUANIA AT THE END OF 1939

	LITAS
A. FOREIGN DEBTS	
Debts to the U.S.A.	38,661,000 [a]
Debts to Great Britain	718,200 [b]
Liberty Loan	2,939,700
Match Monopoly Loan	25,193,500 [c]
Debts for public works	359,500
Short-term loans	1,043,400
TOTAL	68,915,300
B. DOMESTIC DEBTS	
4½% Domestic Loan of 1935	12,260,400
4½% Domestic Loan of 1936	11,893,600
Treasury Bills of 1937	2,138,300
4½% Domestic Loan of 1939	4,439,000
Vilnius Loan of 1939	15,420,500
Debentures of war collections	16,400
Debts for public works	4,063,000
TOTAL	65,231,200
TOTAL PUBLIC DEBT	134,146,500

[a] Total debts to the United States: 41,600,700 litas or $6,864,801.
[b] Total debts to Great Britain: 1,456,700 litas or £50,849.
[c] $4,157,350.

[16] *New York Times*, May 6, 1934.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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would be acceptable on June 15 when the following installments on the war debts were to have been due, such payments would not serve to free them of being considered in default within the meaning of the Johnson Act.[17] Pressed by adverse economic conditions prevailing in that year, Lithuania was unable to meet her obligation and thus was classified "in default." It must be remembered, however, that exports of Lithuania in that year were the smallest since 1923 and the economic depression in general was at its worst.

Another sum in this group is the debt of 1920 to Great Britain for war material deliveries to the amount of 7,300,000 litas (£150,000). The total debts originating in the period of the struggle for independence amount to 50,700,000 litas.

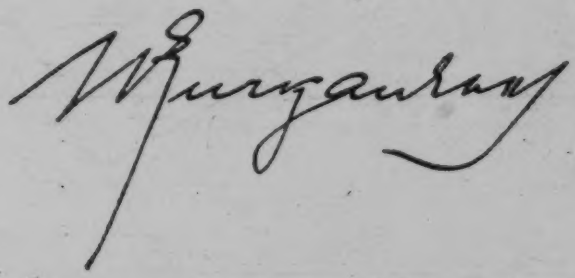
In the group of debts for reconstruction the greatest item is the Match Monopoly Loan of $4,500,000, which was contracted in 1930 in Sweden for the transfer of the match monopoly to the Swedish Match Manufacturing Company.

[17] *New York Times*, May 11, 1934.

small distributing trade enterprises are holding their own and increasing. 431

More favourable development is shown by finance and credit conditions; the equilibrium of the State finances and a sound currency and credit policy form the basis on which the superstructure of economy can be reared. 652

The fact that the economic crisis, notwithstanding its protracted duration, was relatively easily overcome, after which a vigorous advance again set in, is to a great extent to be entered to the credit of the economic policy of the Government, which by means of the regulation of export, the support of production of agricultural supplies, the financing of new industrial promotions, and the regulation of prices has ameliorated the effects of the world crisis and furthered a healthy private initiative in the interests of the total political economy. 000



President of the Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Crafts.

1931	69	89 794	32 433	473
1932	76	90 874	32 547	
1933	84	98 675	34 733	
1934	83	105 979	43 274	
1935	84	105 465	45 207	
1936	85	107 372	44 881	
1937	88	110 883	47 969	

On the strength of these data we may conclude that the financing of industry in the form of share-capital concurrently with the development of wholesale manufacture in Lithuania is constantly growing; it amounts to approximately a third of all capital invested in industry. The number of industrial concerns, which are organized as joint-stock companies, has risen by 57.1% during ten years, from 1928 to 1937, and the total amount of the share-capital by 60.6% in the same period.

The share of foreign capital amounts to 43.3% and is chiefly invested in electricity works, the paper industry, and the chemical industry. The largest portion thereof, i. e. 18 200 000 litas or 35% pertains to-day to Belgium; 12 100 000 litas or 23% to Germany; 6 200 000 litas or 11% to Sweden; and 5 500 000 or 10% to Holland.

Approximately 15 000 000 litas represents the investments 652 ● of the Lithuanian Government, of which the sum of 7 000 000 litas pertains to the „Maistas" Company and 2 700 000 litas to „Lietuvos Cukrus".

The share of Lithuanian private capital in the total share- 454 capital invested in industry amounts therefore to 45%.

The distribution of industrial joint-stock companies accord- 473 ing to individual branches and its development during recent years may be seen from Table No. 2.

Thus in 1937 the relatively largest part of the total share-capital pertained to the foodstuffs and luxury goods industry, which possessed 21 undertakings with 27 900 000 litas capital. Among these were 4 mills, 3 chocolate factories, 1 company for sugar production („Lietuvos Cukrus"), 2 undertakings of the meat industry, 3 spirit distilleries, and 4 beer breweries. The number of undertakings has been stationary since 1933; also the capital during the last five years shows only small fluctuations, but in comparison with 1928 it has risen by 66%.

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

1. The State Budget.

652 Our State Budget is based upon the fundamental principle that expenditure must conform to revenue. Actually since 1924 in the financial history of independent Lithuania, it has always been possible not only to defray all ordinary expenditure from current receipts, but even to realize a surplus. The State loans have been incurred without exception solely for the defrayal of extraordinary outlays, chiefly for the purpose of valuable investments.

The contrast between revenue and expenditure during the last ten years is shown in the following table (in million litas):

	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Revenue	319.8	338.5	347.7	340.1	292.0	256.9	264.4	279.9	302.8	329.9
Expenditure	280.5	269.9	320.6	335.3	278.2	249.7	251.8	276.9	287.7	318.2
Surplus	+39.3	+68.6	+27.1	+4.8	+13.8	+7.2	+12.6	+3.0	+15.1	+11.7

The Budget figures cited above faithfully reflect the contingent course of our economy; 1930 was the record year for revenue, while the recession in 1931, amounting to only 2.2%, was due solely to the lower figure of extraordinary receipts, as will be clear from the subsequent table. Expenditure also reached its peak in 1931, and on that account, that year, in harmony with other important economic curves also from the standpoint of the finances, must be regarded as the high trend year before the crisis. Like the employment of industry, both the Budget series also reached their lowest level in 1933, and the years 1934 and 1935 were signalized by a slight improvement. Both last years show a rapid advance, without, however, again attaining the record figures of 1931, which is explained by the erstwhile serious recession.

●652 We can determine the structure of the State revenue and
651 the not entirely uniform development of its separate categories on the strength of the following table:

The Structure and Development of the State Revenue from 1928 to 1937 (Million Litas).

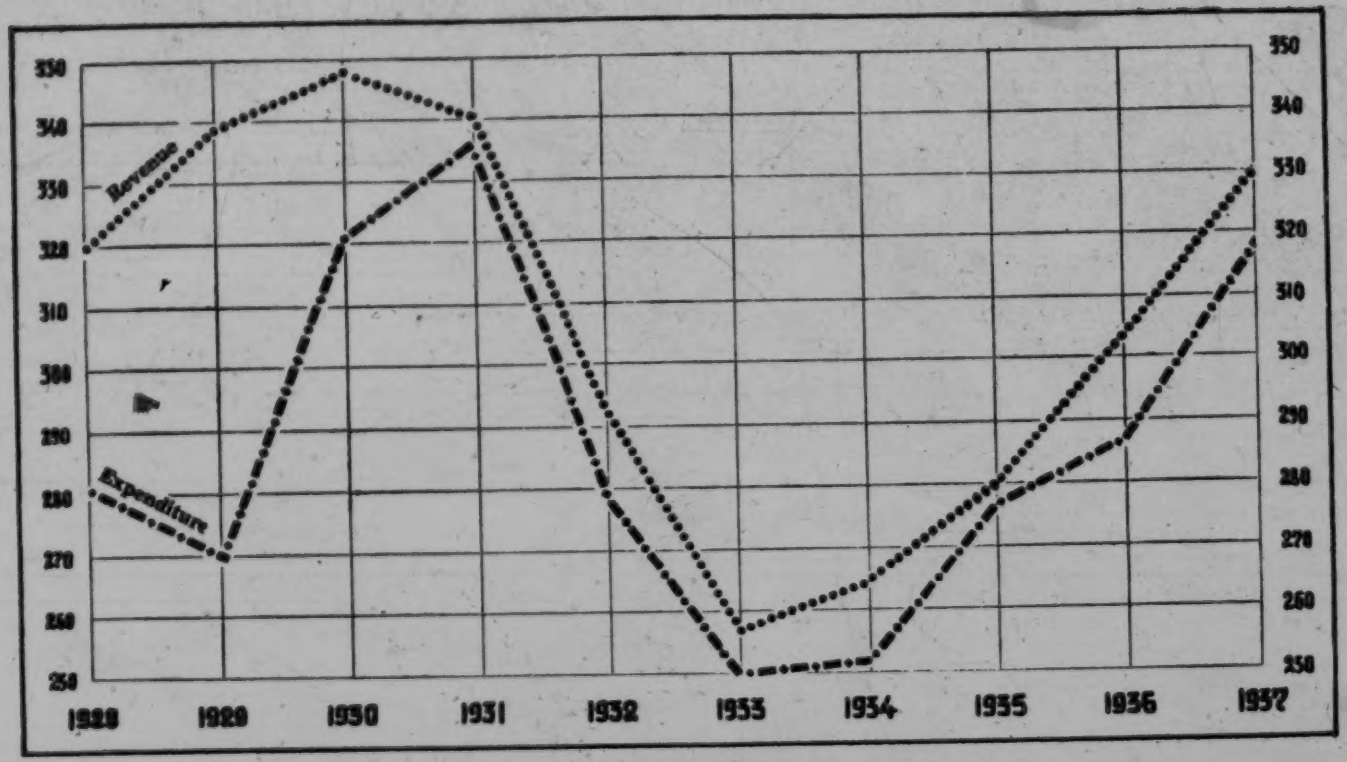
	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
1. **Direct Taxes**	35.2	37.8	41.8	42.6	39.1	40.4	39.2	38.5	44.1	48.7
including:										
(a) Land Tax	16.9	18.1	19.6	19.1	17.1	18.6	18.5	16.2	17.9	18.1
(b) Urban Real Estate Tax	5.0	5.0	6.1	6.7	6.9	6.9	6.5	7.0	8.1	8.6
(c) Patent and Profit Tax (Trade & Industry Tax) ..	9.7	10.1	11.2	11.3	10.5	9.9	9.0	9.5	10.5	13.1
(d) Labour Profit Tax	....	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.8	1.6	2.5	3.2	4.7	5.6
2. **Indirect Taxes**	120.5	122.6	134.8	138.5	110.8	94.2	98.5	91.6	98.4	120.0
including:										
(a) Excise	18.2	19.3	17.7	20.6	20.6	20.1	19.5	24.1	19.0	29.6
(b) Monopolies	44.0	41.7	42.4	42.4	32.8	28.1	26.0	25.6	30.0	35.1
(c) Customs Duties ..	58.3	61.5	74.7	75.5	57.4	46.1	53.0	41.9	49.4	55.3
3. **Dues**	9.6	20.8	20.6	20.1	18.3	17.8	17.1	17.0	19.2	22.1
4. **State Undertakings**	53.9	64.0	60.4	68.0	50.8	46.0	46.3	45.4	48.6	51.5
5. **Properties & Capital**	37.6	36.3	33.1	31.0	22.0	22.2	24.5	17.6	26.5	33.7
6. **Other Ordinary Revenue**	21.8	14.5	11.3	11.7	11.1	7.9	10.2	8.7	9.1	9.4
7. **Extraordinary Revenue**	41.2	42.5	45.7	28.3	39.9	28.4	28.6	61.0	56.9	44.5

Direct taxes play a relatively small rôle in our Budget, since their share in 1937 amounted to only 14.8% of all State revenue. The principal items consist of indirect taxes and the income from State undertakings. Nevertheless both the share of direct taxes and their relation to indirect taxes are constantly increasing, which proves that our taxation system is ever more and more emancipating itself from the tradition of earlier Russian financial methods and approaching the West European system. The ratio of direct to indirect taxes in the old Russian Empire amounted to 10:59; in independent Lithuania, on the contrary, in 1928 it was already 10:34, and in 1937 only 10:25. In Great Britain the ratio of direct to indirect taxes is only 10:9. Also the share of the total yield of direct taxes in the State revenue has risen during these years: in 1928 it amounted to 11.0%, and in 1937 already to 14.8%.

● 652

Diagram No. 6.

State Revenue and Expenditure in Million Litas.



6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

651 The development of receipts from direct taxation is less
652 dependent upon the contingent economic position than, for example, the yield of the State Monopolies. This rigidity is in the first place due to the fact that the Land Tax constitutes the principal item, which is assessed not according to the yield but the number of acres; therefore the fluctuations of the Land Tax receipts, which clearly appear from the table, are to be ascribed to the circumstance that in years of a favourable trend generally taxes are paid more punctually than during a crisis. The Land Tax payments reached their peak in 1930; but the year 1932 first brought about a considerable recession. Following the nadir reached in 1935, the receipts during both last years have again improved, but still remain below the level of 1933 and 1934.

The series of the Urban Real Estate Tax affords an interesting study; its almost uninterrupted upward curve reflects the intensive building activity which during the last two years has greatly increased. The series of the Patent and Profit Tax, which is collected from commercial and industrial undertakings, is wholly adjusted to the course of the economic trend. In the chapter on Home Trade, it has already been demonstrated that the rise of payments in 1937 over the position of 1931 pertains solely to the share of industry, because the yield from trade taxes still remains below the level of 1931.

The increase of the total amount of direct taxes during recent years and therewith also the improvement of their share to a great extent depend upon the introduction of the Labour Profit Tax in 1932, which until that year, known under the style of the Personal Earnings Tax, had been collected merely to a restricted degree, i. e. only from commercial employees. The increase of revenue from 1933 to 1936 is explained by the repeated raising of taxation and the reduction of the cost of living minimum in 1935. The advance in 1937 reflects, on the other hand, the amelioration of the economic situation and particularly the growth of the number of workers and employees.

Indirect taxes constitute the most important item of revenue; they are, it goes without saying, highly dependent upon contingent fluctuations. Their absolute peak level was

reached in 1931, in which year their percentage share was also the highest, viz., 40.7%. The recession in the crisis period was most marked in 1935, i. e. in comparison with 1931 by 46 900 000 litas or a third in round figures. The last two years, but especially 1937, brought about a recovery by 28 400 000 litas. The share in the total revenue that year amounted to 36.4%. 651 652

Among indirect taxes the Customs duties are the most productive. In 1937 they alone defrayed 17.4% of all State disbursements. The strikingly sharp decline of Customs receipts in the crisis years (in 1935 by 44.5% in comparison with 1931) and the relatively low present position, notwithstandig the advance during the last two years, are not due to the quantitative curtailment of import (it has, on the contrary, grown) but to the change in their structure. To-day more raw materials are imported, and fewer luxury articles, which naturally are subject to higher duties.

The receipts of the State Monopolies (Spirit, Matches, and Playing Cards) reflect very faithfully on the whole the development of the purchasing power of the population, but their estimate nevertheless necessitates consideration of the circumstance that the price of spirit during the period under review, in sympathy with the course of other commodity prices, decreased. Although therefore the total receipts of the Monopolies in 1937 stand below the level of the years 1930—1931, the actual sales of whisky through the Monopoly retail establishments in 1937 were 121 000 litres or 2.3% higher than in 1931. The recovery of the losses of the crisis period followed only during the last two years, in which the sales in comparison with 1935 grew by 1 275 217 litres or 31.1%, which characterizes the development tempo of the present-day advance. 652 655

The figure sequence of the excise receipts is, from the contingent standpoint, largely upset by the circumstance that in 1932, as the consumption of excisable goods began to decline in consequence of the outbreak of the crisis, the domestic production of sugar set in, whereby the decreases of excise dues from beer, tobacco, &c., were more or less equalized. The fluctuations in the receipts of the last three years are explained by the fact that in 1935 a portion of the sugar 652

652 excise for the following year was paid in advance and in 1937 the residue for the expired year was paid in retrospect.

[655] The third important group of State revenue consists of the income from State undertakings, such as the railways, posts, telegraphs, and telephones.

Their percentage share in the total amount of State revenue in 1931, i. e. before the crisis period, represented 19.9%; in 1937 it amounted to only 15.6%. This group shows the sharpest decline of receipts, which has been caused chiefly by the sinking of railway earnings since 1932, and was partly elicited by the recession of goods transit.

The income from State Properties is regulated in the first place by timber sales from the State forests and is therefore dependent upon the movement of timber prices. In 1937 it overtook the pre-crisis level, which, however, was attained, in addition to the price trend, through more intensive timber felling.

The extraordinary revenue is composed chiefly of the carrying-over of the previous years' surplus and of the salary deductions for State officials introduced since 1932 for the crisis period. The latter item during the last three years amounted to approximately 24 000 000 litas. In 1935 and 1936 also the taking up of State debts to the amount of 18 000 000 litas and 15 000 000 litas respectively figures in this group; furthermore in 1936 the revenue from the Coinage Fund to the amount of 17 000 000 litas. The percentage share of extraordinary revenue, which in 1931 amounted to merely 8.3%, rose in 1935 to 21.8% and in 1937 again declined to 13.5%.

State Expenditure from 1928—1937 (in million Litas).

	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
State Council	4.2	4.0	4.8	5.5	4.4	4.7	4.8	4.8	5.2	5.9
Ministry for National Defence .	49.1	49.3	55.9	55.5	46.4	38.9	49.9	65.5	76.8	81.4
Ministry of Agriculture	44.8	35.0	41.6	63.7	50.7	38.0	42.2	46.5	44.9	36.2
Ministry of Finance	49.1	46.9	58.8	46.4	31.9	25.7	23.7	30.0	26.1	34.5
Ministry of Communications ..	59.0	60.4	71.4	72.2	62.9	54.0	51.5	51.2	51.8	63.7

Ministry of Home Affairs	23.3	24.3	26.6	28.1	25.2	24.6	25.0	24.9	26.1	29.8	652
Ministry for Foreign Affairs ..	4.5	4.4	5.7	6.3	5.1	4.6	3.9	4.5	4.8	5.6	
Ministry of Education	35.3	34.3	43.3	45.6	40.4	38.6	39.5	38.0	39.5	47.6	
Ministry of Justice	9.8	9.9	11.2	10.7	10.0	9.4	10.2	10.4	11.3	12.4	
State Control	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.1	1.1	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.1	

The structure of State expenditure and its development since 1928 are show in the foregoing table. We see therefrom that until 1934 the Ministry of Communications held the first place in State outlays; then disbursements for purposes of national defence have advanced to the top in the last three years. The high share of expenses for purposes of communication - this amounted in 1931 to 21.5% and in 1937 to 20.0% - is to be ascribed to the heavy investment costs of the expansion of the railway network, road building, and expansion of Memel port.

Then follow outlays for agriculture. Their share reached 654
its peak level in 1931, viz., 19.0%, and then declined to 15.6% 652
in 1936 and 11.4% in 1937. Their high share in the pre-crisis period is due to prolific reclamation works. During the crisis approximately half the disbursements devolved upon relief measures for the purpose of improving the prices of grain and other agricultural products, about which we have already spoken more in detail in the chapter on the Home Trade (section on Development of Prices). With the amelioration of the economic situation, the subventions naturally decreased, which explains the reduction of the percentage share of 1937.

The expenditure of the Ministry of Education also 652
represents a considerable proportion of the total. In 1937 both actually and in percentage it reached its peak level and exceeded the pre-crisis position. Its share in 1937 amounted to 15% in round figures against 13.6% in 1931.

The outlays of the Ministry of Finance during the last six years show a lower level than from 1928—1931; this is chiefly the result of the changes in the development of credit operations.

The remaining expenditures (State Council, Ministries of Home and Foreign Affairs, Justice, and State Control), in view of their State political character, are far more stable and therefore show no considerable variations.

2. State Debts.

652 Public debts play no weighty rôle in Lithuanian State finances. At the end of 1937 they amounted to 47 litas **per capita** of the population, whereas in Latvia the proportion is 80 litas and in Estonia 180 litas **per capita.**

The development of the debt position and its structure are clear from the following table: —

Year	Foreign Debts	Domestic Debts	Total
	in Million Litas		
1927	80.6	1.0	81.6
1928	86.7	1.0	87.7
1929	85.3	0.9	86.2
1930	108.3	0.8	109.1
1931	136.6	2.5	139.1
1932	150.5	2.5	153.0
1933	114.8	1.7	116.5
1934	90.1	1.7	91.8
1935	82.1	19.7	101.8
1936	81.1	35.9	117.0
1937	78.5	40.1	118.6

The most distinctive characteristic of the variations in the structure of our public indebtedness disclosed by the foregoing table is the decline in the total amount of the foreign debts and the taking up for the first time of more domestic debts during the last three years, whereby the relation of foreign and domestic indebtedness has been displaced. The foreign debts, which in 1932 reached their peak level - they then amounted to 98.4% of the total public debt - have since then receded by half, i. e. 72 000 000 litas, and since in the interim the sum of 37 600 000 litas domestic debt has been taken up, the share of foreign debt has decreased to 66.2%. A larger portion of the decline of foreign obligations is of course explained by the depreciation of the American dollar, because most foreign debts were contracted in dollars; nevertheless the redemption payments actually disbursed from 1933—1937 amount to the considerable sum of 26 800 000 litas. This structural development of our State Debt reflects the growth of the capital energy

of the native population and the progressive consolidation of our economic independence. 652

The following table shows the position of the foreign and domestic debts on December 31, 1937 (in 1 000 litas): 652 457 648

I. Foreign Debts.

Debts to the U. S. A.	44 222.5
Debts to Great Britain	1 161.8
Liberty Loan	3 675.5
Match Monopoly Loan	25 738.9
Debts for the Administration of the Memel Territory	1 232.5
Debts For Public Works	2 507.8
Total:	78 539.0

II. Domestic Debts. 652

4½% Domestic Loan of 1935	16 195.0
4½% Domestic Loan of 1936	15 000.0
Treasury Bills of 1937	3 029.5
State Debt Debentures	57.9
Debts for War Charges	1 620.4
Debts for Public Works	4 192.6
Total:	40 095.4
Total Public Debt	118 634.4

Our State Debts can be divided into two categories: 652

(a) Debts from the time of the struggle for freedom and the first years of independent Lithuania; this period terminated approximately in 1923; 648 457

(b) Debts of a later period, which were contracted solely for the purpose of economic reconstruction.

To the former group belong:

1. The debt to the United States, which originated from 1919 and was contracted for various medicaments, clothing,

652 648 457 and foodstuffs obtained from the American military camps in France and from the American Relief Administration. The residue of the debt was fixed by the Treaty of 1924 at 60 000 000 litas ($ 6 000 000).

2. The debt to Great Britain of 1920 for war material deliveries to the amount of 7 300 000 litas (£ 150 000).

3. The Liberty Loan was realized between 1919 and 1925 in America from the local Lithuanians for the purposes of organization of defence of Lithuania and for goods purchases, to the amount of 18 500 000 litas ($ 1 850 000).

4. The debt to the Allied Powers for the administrative costs of the Memel Territory was consolidated in 1930 for 9 100 000 litas, of which 8 900 000 pertained to France and 200 000 litas to Great Britain.

652 5. The promissory-notes of the State Treasury, which between 1921 and 1923 were issued to the amount of 36 600 000 Ost mark.

6. The so-called War Money Charges Certificates, a sort of extraordinary tax, which in the first years of Lithuanian independence were obtained from the urban population and all commercial and industrial undertakings. These tax certificates are redeemed according to a specified plan at 50% of the face value.

Of the above-mentioned debts belonging to the category of the liberation period there remains at present still unredeemed a total of 50 700 000 litas.

Of the second group, that is of the loans that were utilized for economic investment, the following are noteworthy:

(a) The Match Monopoly Loan, which was contracted in 1930 in Sweden for the transfer of the Match Monopoly to the Swedish Joint-stock Match Manufacturing Company, to the amount of 60 000 000 litas ($ 6 000 000), of which, however, only 45 000 000 litas ($ 4 500 000) was realized, and

(b) The debts for public works which were incurred for the construction of the Telšiai - Kretinga Railway, to the amount of 15 700 000 litas; for the expansion of Memel port, to the amount of 4 200 000 litas; and for the erection of two bridges in Kaunas, to the amount of 1 700 000 litas;

(c) The two domestic loans, viz., of 18 000 000 litas in 1935 and of 15 000 000 litas in 1936.

652 The first two years, 1929 and 1930, belong to the high trend period; 1933 and 1934 represent the low level position of the crisis, and both last years show the present-day economic advance.

On the basis of the foregoing figures we can first of all conclude that our payment account even during the crisis could be closed without a passive balance.

The most important item on the revenue and expenditure side consists of the foreign trade turnover, the figures of which do not, however, agree with those of the foreign trade statistics. The export figure is raised by the value of the fish exported from the Kurisches Haff, which do not pass the Customs, and the import figure in relation to contraband corrected. The changes in the value of the foreign trade turnover, in connexion with the price development treated in preceding chapters, were the main cause of the recession of the total sum of our payment balance in comparison with the pre-crisis position. Also the descent of the active balance in 1937, in comparison with the previous year, was evoked by the passive balance of the trade account; the corrected trade account in 1936 had an active balance of 27 900 000 litas, and, on the contrary, in 1937 a passive balance of 9 800 000 litas.

The second most important item consists of the services (transport, postal communication, freights, harbour dues, tourist expenditures) as also the funds and remittances of emigrants, which in our table are indicated as „Other current items".

On the revenue side before the crisis, inter alia the remittances of emigrants played the most considerable rôle, but these have since been severely curtailed. Thus in 1929 the money remittances from America amounted to 30 500 000 litas; in 1933 to 9 700 000 litas; and in 1937 to only 6 200 000 litas. The sharp recession of railway goods transit since 1932 has likewise contributed to the decline of the corresponding receipts. On the expenditure side in this group in the first place stand the outlays of Lithuanian tourists abroad, the money exported by Lithuanian emigrants as also the transport costs. The decline of the first two categories is explained by the economic crisis, while the shrinkage of transport costs is attributable to the extension of the Memel harbour and the

creation of a home mercantile marine. All these factors 652 explain why the amount of the so-called „Other current items", as also of our payment balance on the debit and credit side, has sharply diminished.

The items „Capital Operations" and „Interest and Dividends" have also in recent years declined on the expenditure side, which has in part been brought about by the introduction of currency regulation. On the revenue side, on the other hand, in 1937 the increase in the influx of foreign capital has to be noted.

4. Operations of the Lietuvos Bankas.

Lithuania belongs to the few States that have maintained their currency quotation on the level of gold parity. The retention of sound currency, notwithstanding the crisis and devaluation in almost all countries of the world, has materially contributed to the fact that the passing accumulation tendency of foreign exchange in 1935 which, moreover, had more psychological than real grounds, by recourse to foreign bills regulation, was easily eliminated, and the normal situation rapidly restored.

The emission activity of Lietuvos Bankas will be clear from the following comparison:

Year End Dec. 31	Banknote Issue	Gold Reserve	Foreign Bills	Cover Ratio in Gold and Foreign Bills in %
	in Million Litas			
1928	84.77	34.27	43.62	91.9
1929	94.83	35.08	78.48	119.8
1930	117.16	39.39	86.32	107.3
1931	108.95	50.14	33.17	76.5
1932	96.21	49.07	15.96	67.6
1933	89.92	52.00	15.34	76.8
1934	88.24	52.14	8.38	68.6
1935	103.50	36.14	9.91	44.5
1936	110.35	73.10	4.08	69.9
1937	116.56	79.04	1.87	69.4

The last column of the above table shows that the cover ratio has never fallen below the legally prescribed norm of

152 33 1/3%, because even the lowest position reached in 1935 which, moreover, afforded the occasion for the introduction of foreign bills regulation, still remained 11 points above the norm. The present cover ratio is indeed, when percentaged, lower than in the pre-crisis years, but the cover must nevertheless be deemed far more favourable, if one takes into consideration that in 1937 67.8% and in 1929, that is, in the year of the highest cover ratio, only 36.9% of the banknote emission were covered with gold. The gold reserve of the Lietuvos Bankas has grown 125.3% in comparison with 1929, i. e. chiefly during the last two years.

The volume of the emission reflects approximately the contingent development of the economic situation, taking into account, it is true, the circumstance that the quoted numerals represent the monthly figures at the end of December of the actual year; thus, for example, the banknote circulation in October, 1931, amounted still to 120 650 000 litas against 118 280 000 litas in October, 1930, which proves that the crisis first began at the end of 1931.

This is shown us also by the first two columns of the following table, which contain other most important data on the activity of the Lietuvos Bankas (in million litas):

Year	Annual Turnover	Total Monetary Circulation: Year's Average	Deposits	Loans	Discount
			December 31		
1928	5 560.4	102.0	80.39	91.49	7
1929	5 662.0	102.3	99.55	84.14	7
1930	6 094.6	117.2	102.67	101.62	7
1931	6 492.3	127.1	77.99	109.11	8 1/2
1932	5 056.6	112.7	57.17	91.96	7
1933	4 163.6	105.8	60.80	83.79	7
1934	4 004.1	101.1	68.51	101.03	6
1935	4 417.2	111.4	45.78	103.01	6
1936	4 781.8	124.1	78.01	105.37	5 1/2
1937	5 565.4	131.9	91.75	119.42	5 1/2

The development of the figure series of the general annual turnover and of the total monetary circulation is not quite proportionate. The difference is noticeable chiefly during the

last two years. Expressed in indices they show the following course: 652.

	1931	1936	1937
Annual turnover	100.0	73.6	86.0
Monetary circulation	100.0	97.6	103.8

The vigorous development of the monetary circulation exists in connexion with the credit policy of the Lietuvos Bankas. The sum of loans granted in 1937 rose by 9.5% in comparison with 1931. The increased fluidity of the money market is moreover emphasized in the reduced discount rate. The figure series of the monetary circulation shows us therefore the development of the credit situation, while the annual turnover more accurately characterizes the economic situation. On the basis of the turnover development and taking into consideration the price variations, we may assume that the real value of the total operations of the Lietuvos Bankas has doubled in comparison with 1928 and has risen by 40% in comparison with 1931, which clearly discloses the rapid advance of economy, particularly in recent years.

The distribution of loans granted by the Lietuvos Bankas according to separate economic branches is shown in the following comparative table:

Year	Agriculture		Industry		Trade	
	Mil. Lts.	Percentage Share	Mil. Lts.	Percentage Share	Mil. Lts.	Percentage Share
1934	34.83	40.9%	26.81	31.5%	5.00	5.9%
1935	41.21	40.7%	30.36	30.0%	5.55	5.5%
1936	44.88	43.4%	31.84	30.8%	5.70	5.5%
1937	50.19	47.5%	27.72	26.2%	5.61	5.3%
1938	50.57	42.3%	30.67	25.7%	9.35	7.8%

As is clear from the foregoing figures, credits were in the first place provided for agricultural purposes. They were for the most part granted to the corresponding cooperative societies. In industry and trade, the branches working for export were chiefly considered. Moreover, in the years 1930—1933, a lower special discount rate (6%) was also fixed for export credits.

453 IV. To the fourth and last group belong the State savings
152 banks in Lithuania Major and the savings banks of the Memel Territory. The following tables elucidate their activity:

152 **A. The Activity of the State Savings Banks (in million litas):**

Year Dec. 31	Balance Amounts	Savings Deposits	Loans
1928	3.85	0.86	3.04
1929	5.66	2.07	4.76
1930	12.52	11.00	11.98
1931	26.82	24.80	25.06
1932	36.70	34.17	31.73
1933	41.36	38.75	35.03
1934	46.69	43.12	37.84
1935	47.21	42.90	35.68
1936	57.38	52.29	32.79
1937	66.34	60.12	30.37

453 **B. The Activity of the Savings Banks of the Memel Territory (in million litas):**

Year Dec. 31	Balance Amounts	Savings Deposits	Loans
1928	11.71	9.23	4.21
1929	14.04	11.64	4.86
1930	19.99	15.65	6.81
1931	24.01	18.65	8.09
1932	30.24	23.96	9.06
1933	26.58	19.32	6.48
1934	23.19	15.26	6.73
1935	20.39	11.87	6.57
1936	21.61	13.82	5.70
1937	28.12	18.61	5.32

152 The percentage distribution of the savings deposits in the State savings banks according to vocation is also characteristic of the growing well-being of the working population. The figures are as under:

	1935, Jan. 1	1936, Jan. 1	1937, Jan. 1	1938, Jan. 1
Public Institutions	40.64	44.85	38.87	33.6
Officials and Employees	13.09	13.11	14.72	16.6
Farmers	12.52	12.67	14.40	15.6
Merchants & Industrialists	11.22	8.93	8.64	9.0
Liberal Professions	7.99	7.90	7.50	8.2
Workers	2.49	2.53	3.01	3.7

*
* *

Summarizing the figures of the Lietuvos Bankas and the Žemės Bankas, the commercial banks and the associations of mutual credit of Kaunas and Memel, the credit cooperative societies and the Raiffeisen loan funds banks, as also of the State savings banks and the savings banks of the Memel Territory, we obtain the following result of the development of deposits and loans in all Lithuanian credit institutions during the last ten years (in million litas):

Dec. 31	Deposits	Loans
1928	225.46	304.38
1929	282.83	333.04
1930	345.73	437.83
1931	302.04	479.62
1932	291.20	449.48
1933	278.40	446.51
1934	269.54	461.95
1935	229.60	451.48
1936	290.22	467.35
1937*)	347.60	501.38

These figures show that both deposits and loans in 1937 again reached and exceeded the pre-crisis position (1930—31). Whereas, however, the deposits in conformity with the contingent situation of economy in the crisis years have suffered a severe setback, the fluctuations of the loans were negligible,

*) Without Raiffeisen loan banks of Memel Territory.

which is attributable to the intervention of the Government on behalf of agricultural credits. 452 453 652

In connexion with the consolidation of the credit situation and thanks to the initiative of the Lietuvos Bankas, private discount has also materially decreased. In 1929 it still fluctuated between 14—18%. At the end of 1930 the banks decided that the rate of interest should not rise above 12%; while today it amounts to 8%. Moreover, in accordance with a legal enactment (Government Gazette No. 432) private discount may not exceed the official bank rate by more than three points.

On the basis of the above cited balance items of the separate categories of the credit institutions, we may affirm that the overwhelming portion of the credits pertains to agriculture; the credits for trade and industry amount to approximately one-third of the total sum, and are without exception short-term. In view of this and in connexion with the rapid growth of industry, the necessity is ever more and more being felt for a banking institution which, through the provision of long-term credits, would promote the investment activity of industry.

* * *

The consolidation of the credit situation is also characterized by the statistics of bills of exchange protests and the legal compulsory auction sales. The following comparative table embodies the data for the last eight years: 436

	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Total bills of exchange in circulation, in million litas	706.24	760.52	546.52	463.21	490.81	423.40	410.43	472.03
Amount of protested bills, in million litas	40.06	67.51	71.74	39.34	32.48	23.54	13.97	12.98
Percentage share of protests in sum of bill circulation	5.7	8.9	13.1	8.5	6.6	5.6	3.4	2.7
Number of compulsory auction sales of movable property	636	794	1 961	3 104	2 768	2 471	1 621	1 084
Amount of debts in million litas	1.48	1.83	3.33	3.81	2.86	3.83	2.33	1.06
Percentage of debt cover	27	35	27	27	22	14	19	27

The number of bill protests, both according to separate items and the total value and according to the percentage ratio

6: Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1938 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

APPENDIX

ECONOMIC FIGURES

433

	1929	1930
INDUSTRY:		
1. Total number of medium and wholesale undertakings (of 5 employed persons upwards)	1 044	1 051
2. Total number of employed workers	19 637	19 334
3. Total figure of engine power in H. P.	.	.
4. Production Index	100.0	108.3
TRADE:		
474 473 439 1. Total number of larger undertakings (Trade in the narrower sense I — III Corp)	14 255	14 224
2. Railway goods traffic 1 000 tons	2 079	1 993
3. Price Index	100	87
4. Foreign Trade Turnover:		
(a) Million Litas	636.3	646.2
(b) Volume	100.0	116.7
5. Cooperative Trade Turnover, million litas	108.6	111.9
FINANCE AND CREDIT CONDITIONS:		
●652 452 453 1. Monetary circulation, in million litas	102.3	117.2
2. State Revenue, in million litas	338.5	347.7
3. State Expenditure, in million litas	269.9	320.6
4. Deposits of the Credit Institutions, in million litas	282.8	345.7
5. Loans of the Credit Institutions, in million litas	333.0	437.8
6. Total Sums of Bills of Exchange Protests, in million litas	49.1	40.1
7. Discount Rate of the Lietuvos Bankas	7	7

OF LITHUANIA.

1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	
							433
1 049	1 105	1 108	1 118	1 136	1 135	1 247	
21 053	19 743	20 660	22 282	23 344	25 844	31 689	
70 038	84 804	95 751	94 585	105 349	109 634	125 157	
140.7	153.7		166.5	185.9	244.2	272.0	
							494
14 141	13 590	12 981	12 572	12 034	12 054	12 445	493
2 164	1 599	1 722	1 853	2 003	2 193	2 352	489
74	61	54	52	46	46	53	
551.1	356.1	302.4	285.9	280.8	346.5	420.9	
128.3	106.6	102.2	103.2	103.9	125.2	139.3	
127.8	111.3	105.8	111.3	149.4	185.2	203.6	
							652 ●
127.1	112.7	105.8	101.1	111.4	124.1	131.9	452
340.1	292.0	256.9	264.4	279.9	302.8	329.9	453
335.3	278.2	249.7	251.8	276.9	287.7	318.2	
302.0	291.2	278.4	269.5	229.6	290.2	347.6	
479.6	449.5	446.5	461.9	451.5	467.3	501.4	
67.5	71.7	39.3	32.5	23.5	13.9	12.9	
8½	7	7	6	6	5½	5½	

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

VI. AGRICULTURAL CREDIT AND AGRICULTURAL INSURANCE

Agricultural credit may be divided as follows, according to the term of the loan and the conditions of payment : 452

1. Indebtedness to the Ministry of Agriculture for land obtained from the Agrarian Fund, timber purchased, agricultural improvements and the reintegration of land. These are long-term debts ; in some cases, no interest is charged ; in others, interest at 3% per annum. [652]

2. Loans on mortgage are granted to agriculturists almost exclusively by the Agrarian (Land) Bank. Up to 1934, the Bank granted mortgage loans in cash only ; since that year, it has granted mortgage bonds, of variable duration, up to twenty-eight years. The rate of interest is from 3.6% to 4.5%. On January 3rd, 1938, mortgage bonds (4%) were quoted on the Kaunas Exchange at 92.9.

3. Loans granted by the credit co-operatives. The term varies from six to eighteen months ; the loans may be extended for a single period of six months. The maximum loan that may be granted to agriculturists is 5,000 litai. The interest is from 6% to 8%. The credit co-operatives sometimes grant loans against promissory notes, but more usually against recognisances, two or more agriculturists being required to stand surety. The recognisance differs from the promissory note in the following respects : It is exempt from stamp duty ; the duration of the loan may be extended without the necessity for a new recognisance, simply by means of a note on the original recognisance. If the loan is not paid on the due date, there is no need for a protest ; it is recovered by the police, in accordance with a simplified procedure.

4. Loans granted by short-term credit establishments organised as joint-stock companies or mutual credit societies. These credit establishments serve the needs of commerce and industry ; agriculturists only occasionally apply to them for loans. They grant loans to farmers for three to six months at 8%.

The following table shows the indebtedness of Lithuanian farmers at January 1st, 1938 :

		Number of loans	Amount of loans in litai (1 litas = $ 0.592 on September 30th, 1938)
I.	Ministry of Agriculture . . .	122,994	71,239,000
II.	Loans on mortgage	28,818	114,530,000
III.	Credit co-operatives	82,713	55,052,600
IV.	Commercial banks	9,727	6,847,000
		244,252	247,658,600

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

[625] Art. 67. The all-Union Ministries, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Lithuanian SSR and the Ministry of State Security of the Lithuanian SSR set up
632 their Administrations under the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies in accordance with the conditions of the district and on the basis of the laws of the USSR and of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 68. The Departments and Administrations of the Executive Committees of the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Ministries of the Lithuanian SSR.

633 Art. 69. The city Soviets of Working People's Deputies set up the following Departments of their Executive Committees:

- a Department of Public Health
- a Department of the Municipal Economy
- a Department of Cultural and Educational Work
- a Department of Public Education
- a General Department
- a Department of Social Maintenance
- a Department of Trade
- a Department of Finance
- a Planning Commission
- a Cadres Sector

under the Chairman of the Executive Committee and, in addition, in accordance with the specific features of the city's industry and its suburban and municipal economy,

- a Department of Local Industry and
- a Department of Agriculture.

Art. 70. The Departments of the Executive Committees of the city Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the respective city Soviets of Working People's Deputies and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Departments of the Executive Committees of the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 71. The Departments of the Executive Committees of the Vilnius, Kaunas, Klaipeda, Shyaulyai and Panevezhis city Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of these cities and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Ministry of the Lithuanian SSR directly.

631 Art. 72. On the expiration of the terms of office of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, their executive and administrative organs retain their powers until the newly elected Soviets shall have formed new executive and administrative organs.

Chapter VI. The Budget of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic

6[illegible] Art. 73. The state budget of the Lithuanian SSR is drawn up by the Council
●652 of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR and submitted by it to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR for its approval.

[645] Upon its approval by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR the state budget of the Lithuanian SSR is published for general information.

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

646 Art. 74. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR elects a Budget Commission, which reports its conclusions on the state budget of the Lithuanian SSR to the
652 Supreme Soviet.

Art. 75. The report on the fulfilment of the state budget of the Lithuanian SSR is approved by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR and published for general information.

631 Art. 76. The budgets of the district, city, volost, small town and apilinki Soviets include the revenues from the local economy, deductions from the state
652 revenues collected within their territory and likewise receipts from local taxes and imposts in amounts fixed by the laws of the USSR and the Lithuanian SSR.

Chapter VII. The Courts and the Procurator's Office

692 Art. 77. In the Lithuanian SSR justice is administered by the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR, the District and People's Courts, the Special Courts of the USSR established by decision of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

[693] Art. 78. In all Courts cases are tried with the participation of people's assessors, except in cases specially provided for by law.

Art. 79. The Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR is the highest judicial organ of the Lithuanian SSR. The Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR is charged with the supervision of the judicial activities of all the judicial organs of the Lithuanian SSR.

[646] Art. 80. The Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR is elected by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR for a term of five years.

Art. 81. District Courts are elected by the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies for a term of five years.

Art. 82. People's Courts are elected by the citizens of the cities and volosts on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage by secret ballot for a term of three years.

695 Art. 83. Judicial proceedings in the Lithuanian SSR are conducted in the Lithuanian and Russian languages, persons not knowing these languages being
[563] guaranteed the opportunity of fully acquainting themselves with the material of the case through an interpreter and likewise the right to use their own language in court.

Art. 84. In all Courts of the Lithuanian SSR cases are heard in public, unless otherwise provided for by law, and the accused is guaranteed the right to defence.

693 Art. 85. Judges are independent and subject only to the law.

Art. 86. Supreme supervisory power to ensure the strict observance of law by all Ministries and institutions subordinated to them, as well as by officials and citizens within the territory of the Lithuanian SSR generally, is exercised by the Procurator-General of the USSR directly and also through the Procurator of the Lithuanian SSR.

504 Under German rule, Memel, as the northernmost situated port, which lacked a hinterland, did not acquire full importance, and served exclusively timber transport. For the first time under the Lithuanian regime a rising period began for Memel port. The indispensable investment works, which for the first time rendered the port accessible to the navigation of larger oceangoing vessels, demanded heavy outlays, the redemption of which will take a long time. The Government during the past fifteen years has laid out 39 000 000 litas on construction work and cost of up-keep of the port, while during the same time the receipts reached only 9 500 000 litas. Besides these directly invested sums for the extension of the port, no less considerable amounts have been expended on the erection of warehouses, petrol tanks, refrigerators, and similar installations. Certainly the receipts show a rapid rise: whereas until 1935 they fluctuated between 500 000 litas and 800 000 litas annually, in 1936 they already amounted to 1 360 000 litas and in 1937 to over 1 500 000 litas.

● 653
504

[502] The most important construction work consisted in the deepening of the harbour on an average by 2 metres, in order to render it navigable for ocean steamers. Thanks to these works, the harbour depths to-day in many places are from 8 to 9 metres and in the new dock of the winter port from 7 to 7.5 metres. In the next few years, moreover, further deepening of the harbour to 10 metres is planned.

The already mentioned new dock of the winter port comprises an area of 96 000 square metres and is accessible to large vessels with a displacement of 10 000—15 000 tons. Among other works should be mentioned: The strengthening of approximately 2 000 metres of quays with ferro-concrete and iron reinforcement; the creation of a yacht harbour; extension of the railway track in the port by 4 300 metres; erection of three modern electric cranes; building of new port warehouses with 73 000 cubic metres storage capacity; the completion of the electric power station, &c.

505 The development of Memel shipping since the attachment of the Territory to Lithuania is shown by the following figures:

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

234 half of the cattle were slaughtered for meat by various armies.[23]

Shortly after the World War there was great demand for milk products in Germany and prices were high. It was possible to sell milk and milk products even of low quality, especially in the border districts of Germany. In 1924–25 the conditions began to change. Germany returned to the pre-war methods of tariff protection and adopted the policy of economic self-sufficiency. There were also greater supplies of milk products from other markets, such as Denmark and overseas, which caused a decrease in prices.

Private merchants, interested only in immediate profits and possessing no capital for long-term investments, were unable to improve the quality of milk products. That this quality was low can be deduced from the fact that the butter bought up from the farmers had been prepared in a variety
439 of ways, mostly by primitive methods. The butter was then mixed and packed for export. Naturally, prices for such "mixtures," were low, but eventually it became impossible to sell the product even at low prices.

234 The government was anxious to help the farmers by im-
474 proving milk products and increasing exports. The best way
654 to do that seemed to be by coöperation, a method which in later years fully justified the expectations. Through the initiative of the coöperatives and with government subsidies, the quality of butter was improved so much that in 1936, of all the butter-exporting countries, only Denmark was able to get higher prices than Lithuania. Lithuania's position in this market shows even more creditable progress when we

[23] *Centraline Lietuvos Pieno Perdirbimo Bendroviu Sajunga Pienocentras 1927–1936* (The Central Union of Dairy Coöperative Societies of Lithuania, Pienocentras, 1927–1936), p. 15.

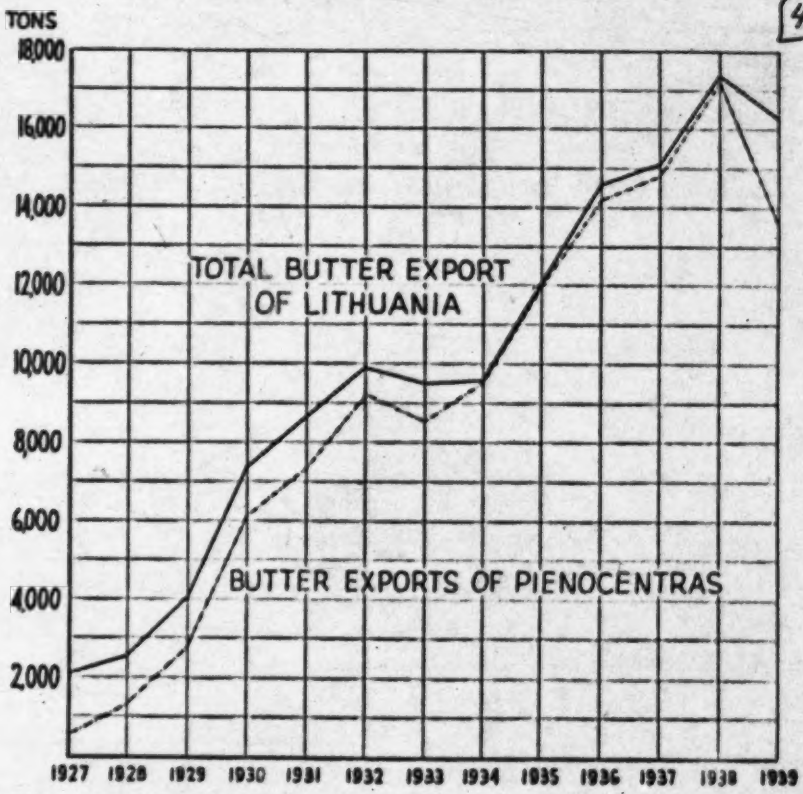
3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

take into consideration the fact that Danish butter had been selling in London for decades and the English consumers had acquired a taste for it.[34]

The first to organize the dairies were the Central Union of the Agricultural Coöperatives of Lithuania (Lietukis) and the Coöperative Society (Gamintojas). In 1923 a separate dairying section was established at Lietukis. The Ministry of Agriculture subsidized the newly organized steam

CHART I

BUTTER EXPORTS OF LITHUANIA



[34] Krikscliunas, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

234 dairies (using steam power equipment) to enable them to
474 buy new machinery, granting the dairies twenty-five per-
654 cent of the value of the machinery, the subsidy not to exceed 9,000 litas. Subsidies up to 1,500 litas were also given to hand dairies in the same percentage. The Ministry of Agriculture also provided loans on favorable terms for the construction of buildings for new dairies and from 1925
234 granted subsidies up to 5,000 litas for this purpose. In 1926
474 the dairying section of Lietukis was organized into a separate organization—the Central Union of Dairy Coöperative Societies of Lithuania, known by its trade name, Pienocentras. The growth of coöperative dairies is shown in Table 20.

TABLE 20

THE GROWTH OF COÖPERATIVE DAIRIES IN LITHUANIA[a]

YEAR	NUMBER OF DAIRIES	NUMBER OF SKIMMING STATIONS
1923	3	—
1924	61	—
1925	54	—
1927	153	151
1929	262	660
1931	273	1,610
1933	251	1,825
1935	209	1,771
1937	188	2,052
1938	185	2,105
1939	176	2,159

[a] *Centraline Lietuvos Pieno Perdirbimo Bendrovis Sajunga Pienocentras 1927–1936*, p. 21.

Ministry of Home Affairs	23.3	24.3	26.6	28.1	25.2	24.6	25.0	24.9	26.1	29.8
Ministry for Foreign Affairs ..	4.5	4.4	5.7	6.3	5.1	4.6	3.9	4.5	4.8	5.6
Ministry of Education	35.3	34.3	43.3	45.6	40.4	38.6	39.5	38.0	39.5	47.6
Ministry of Justice	9.8	9.9	11.2	10.7	10.0	9.4	10.2	10.4	11.3	12.4
State Control	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.1	1.1	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.1

652

The structure of State expenditure and its development since 1928 are show in the foregoing table. We see therefrom that until 1934 the Ministry of Communications held the first place in State outlays; then disbursements for purposes of national defence have advanced to the top in the last three years. The high share of expenses for purposes of communication - this amounted in 1931 to 21.5% and in 1937 to 20.0% - is to be ascribed to the heavy investment costs of the expansion of the railway network, road building, and expansion of Memel port.

Then follow outlays for agriculture. Their share reached 654 ●
its peak level in 1931, viz., 19.0%, and then declined to 15.6% 652
in 1936 and 11.4% in 1937. Their high share in the pre-crisis period is due to prolific reclamation works. During the crisis approximately half the disbursements devolved upon relief measures for the purpose of improving the prices of grain and other agricultural products, about which we have already spoken more in detail in the chapter on the Home Trade (section on Development of Prices). With the amelioration of the economic situation, the subventions naturally decreased, which explains the reduction of the percentage share of 1937.

The expenditure of the Ministry of Education also 652
represents a considerable proportion of the total. In 1937 both actually and in percentage it reached its peak level and exceeded the pre-crisis position. Its share in 1937 amounted to 15% in round figures against 13.6% in 1931.

The outlays of the Ministry of Finance during the last six years show a lower level than from 1928—1931; this is chiefly the result of the changes in the development of credit operations.

The remaining expenditures (State Council, Ministries of Home and Foreign Affairs, Justice, and State Control), in view of their State political character, are far more stable and therefore show no considerable variations.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1339 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

423 to the good, as such farms generally contribute nothing towards
311 agricultural production and are far from being a social asset. There are no. latifundia in Lithuania. The largest estate comprises about 1,000 hectares, and the larger properties exceeding 100 hectares number only 1602, or 0.56% of the total farms.

162 The proportion of men and women in the rural population is about equal. The country people do not go to the towns in search of work, as urban and country dwellers carry on different trades and their lives are quite separate.

An old barn.

134 The soil is of average fertility. In the east and south-east, there is a small area which is sandy and not very fertile, while, in the north again, a small area consists of very fertile land. The vast plains of Lithuania are covered with clay — more or less light — deposited during the Ice Age and subjected to centuries of erosion and impoverishment.

[132] The rainfall is fairly heavy, so that much of this low-lying
242 land necessitates drainage works. The State makes itself
[654] responsible for the large-scale regularisation of rivers and watercourses and the cutting of drainage channels. The farmers are responsible, with the help of Government subsidies, for ditching and drain-laying on water-logged land. By no means all of the land is satisfactorily drained. The yield cannot

10a

186 The Russian occupation receives no popular support from the masses. Of racial Lithuanians, only a
668 few hardened communists and several thousand released criminals turned collaborators.

There is a definite trend to exclude even Lithuanian communists. In all of the periodic purges, it is the Lithuanian communists who suffer disgrace, expulsion and exile, while Russian embezzlers retain their posts. An "Anti-Cominform" morale is pronounced among the Lithuanian members of the LKP/b. Party and non-Party Lithuanians are still found in the less important "high offices." However, not a single Lithuanian holds an administrative post in any office connected with the military effort. This trend is pronounced even in the distribution of "ministerial" titles.

● 655 All communications—railroads, waterways, ports, post offices, telegraph, radio, telephone, aviation and highways—are under a centralized "All-Union" control: there are no "ministries" for any communications. A few Lithuanians are still encountered among the MVD railroad guard personnel but their number constantly dwindles.

486 Travel inside Lithuania to a distance of 200 km. is not obstructed, with the exception of the "prohibited zones" along the Polish frontier and the seacoast, where special permits from the MVD are required. Otherwise, traveling permits are issued by employing offices. Of course, every traveler must submit to numerous checkings of the papers by armed patrols.

There is no frontier with East Prussia and Latvia, and the same general travel rules apply to journeys to Latvia and East Prussia. Nevertheless, it is deemed safer to procure a *"komandirovka"* (dispatch orders) even if the destination be less than 200 km.—a "detour" to Siberia must never be overlooked. The Latvian frontier is crossed mostly for black marketing. It is possible to go to Byelorussia and into the interior of Russia with a permit issued by a local MVD or Executive Committee. *"Komandirovka"* is required for travel by air.

[191] Transportation tickets, birth, death and other records are printed in Russian and "local" languages. Nevertheless, it is not a rare phenomenon to hear in response to an inquiry in Lithuanian: *"Neponimayu etovo sobachevo yazika"* (I do not understand this canine language).

Mobilization and Demobilization

727 Of the so-called "Lithuanian Units," only one survives—the 16th Infantry Division stationed in Vilnius. The enlisted and non-commissioned officers personnel is roughly 80% Lithuanian, but the officer cadres are predominantly Russian on all levels. Orders are given in Russian. Colonel Motieka is the Divisional Commander, and political "General" Macijauskas is Deputy Commanding Officer. All other mobilized Lithu-
701 anians are dispersed throughout Russian units.

During the war, men of the classes of (birth) 1895 through 1926 were drafted. After the cessation of hostilities in Germany, a few men were demobilized, others were assigned to various Labor Battalions and moved to Russia. Those serving in MVD units were retained in the service. Men born prior to 1923 were demobilized from strictly military units of the Soviet Army.

7. The Chemical Industry.

381 To the chemical industry in 1937 accrued 4.3% of the
433 industrial workers; 2.3% of the engine horse-power; 4.9% of the gross value; and 6.3% of the net value of Lithuania's industrial production. In pre-war Lithuania there were only two match factories and one fertilizer factory; other branches were almost non-existent. In independent Lithuania many new undertakings are springing up. The development of separate branches proceeds, however, unequally, as we can gather from the following data:

[464]

	1927		1931			1937		
	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.	No. of Concerns	No. of Workers	Capacity of Engines in H. P.
Total	49	885	48	724	1 244	48	1 344	2 848
Including:								
Match Production	5	326	2	158	213	1	52	140
Soap Production	15	174	15	189	118	12	158	362
Rubber Goods	—	—	—	—		1	620	
Fertilizer Factories	2	109	1	130		1	141	
Colours, Turpentine and Technical Fats	7	69	10	66	913	14	151	2 346
Pharmaceutical and Cosmetic Production	4	30	6	47		9	98	

464 The sharpest decline in the number of undertakings and workers is shown by the match industry. The curtailment in 1931 to two concerns with 158 workers against five undertakings with 326 workers in 1927 may be ascribed to the
• [655] creation in 1930 of the State Match Monopoly and the transfer
[473] of the same to the „Lietuvos degtukų akcinė bendrovė" (Lithuanian Joint-stock Match Company) founded with Swedish capital. The still lower position in 1937 was occasioned by the decrease in consumption, which in the analysis of production
388 will be more closely discussed. The staffs of the soap factories
387 show a slight reduction. The number of the workers employed
464 in the Memel Fertilizer Factory has since 1931 only slightly increased.

reached in 1931, in which year their percentage share was also the highest, viz., 40.7%. The recession in the crisis period was most marked in 1935, i. e. in comparison with 1931 by 46 900 000 litas or a third in round figures. The last two years, but especially 1937, brought about a recovery by 28 400 000 litas. The share in the total revenue that year amounted to 36.4%. 651 652

Among indirect taxes the Customs duties are the most productive. In 1937 they alone defrayed 17.4% of all State disbursements. The strikingly sharp decline of Customs receipts in the crisis years (in 1935 by 44.5% in comparison with 1931) and the relatively low present position, notwithstandig the advance during the last two years, are not due to the quantitative curtailment of import (it has, on the contrary, grown) but to the change in their structure. To-day more raw materials are imported, and fewer luxury articles, which naturally are subject to higher duties.

The receipts of the State Monopolies (Spirit, Matches, and Playing Cards) reflect very faithfully on the whole the development of the purchasing power of the population, but their estimate nevertheless necessitates consideration of the circumstance that the price of spirit during the period under review, in sympathy with the course of other commodity prices, decreased. Although therefore the total receipts of the Monopolies in 1937 stand below the level of the years 1930—1931, the actual sales of whisky through the Monopoly retail establishments in 1937 were 121 000 litres or 2.3% higher than in 1931. The recovery of the losses of the crisis period followed only during the last two years, in which the sales in comparison with 1935 grew by 1 275 217 litres or 31.1%, which characterizes the development tempo of the present-day advance. 652 655

The figure sequence of the excise receipts is, from the contingent standpoint, largely upset by the circumstance that in 1932, as the consumption of excisable goods began to decline in consequence of the outbreak of the crisis, the domestic production of sugar set in, whereby the decreases of excise dues from beer, tobacco, &c., were more or less equalized. The fluctuations in the receipts of the last three years are explained by the fact that in 1935 a portion of the sugar 652

652 excise for the following year was paid in advance and in 1937 the residue for the expired year was paid in retrospect.

[655] The third important group of State revenue consists of the income from State undertakings, such as the railways, posts, telegraphs, and telephones.

Their percentage share in the total amount of State revenue in 1931, i. e. before the crisis period, represented 19.9%; in 1937 it amounted to only 15.6%. This group shows the sharpest decline of receipts, which has been caused chiefly by the sinking of railway earnings since 1932, and was partly elicited by the recession of goods transit.

The income from State Properties is regulated in the first place by timber sales from the State forests and is therefore dependent upon the movement of timber prices. In 1937 it overtook the pre-crisis level, which, however, was attained, in addition to the price trend, through more intensive timber felling.

The extraordinary revenue is composed chiefly of the carrying-over of the previous years' surplus and of the salary deductions for State officials introduced since 1932 for the crisis period. The latter item during the last three years amounted to approximately 24 000 000 litas. In 1935 and 1936 also the taking up of State debts to the amount of 18 000 000 litas and 15 000 000 litas respectively figures in this group; furthermore in 1936 the revenue from the Coinage Fund to the amount of 17 000 000 litas. The percentage share of extraordinary revenue, which in 1931 amounted to merely 8.3%, rose in 1935 to 21.8% and in 1937 again declined to 13.5%.

State Expenditure from 1928—1937 (in million Litas).

	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
State Council	4.2	4.0	4.8	5.5	4.4	4.7	4.8	4.8	5.2	5.9
Ministry for National Defence .	49.1	49.3	55.9	55.5	46.4	38.9	49.9	65.5	76.8	81.4
Ministry of Agriculture	44.8	35.0	41.6	63.7	50.7	38.0	42.2	46.5	44.9	36.2
Ministry of Finance	49.1	46.9	58.8	46.4	31.9	25.7	23.7	30.0	26.1	34.5
Ministry of Communications ..	59.0	60.4	71.4	72.2	62.9	54.0	51.5	51.2	51.8	63.7

000 How tired he looked! His cheekbones protruding, his face yellow, nothing but rags on his emaciated body. And yet—his head was high and he looked straight ahead! He marched as a soldier past the reviewing stand. I was proud of him: he meant what he used to say in those good old days: "Don't be like reeds swaying in the wind. Be firm, be individual personalities!"

"Detained but a month ago, there he was marching past my window to Siberia. . . . He reeled. . . . His comrades quickly grasped him—and the professor marched again, with heavier steps. . . . The column disappeared in the growing dusk. . . .

"I waited by the window. The cursing and stray shots of soldiers died down. . . . I descended to the street and walked toward the railway depot—maybe I could see him once again—just to impart my farewell through eyes.

"But cruel Mongol faces blocked the approaches. I stopped—looked around. An old woman peered anxiously at the long train seen in the distance. A young woman with unshed tears stood nearby. . .

"Several MVD soldiers came forth and shouted to run for our lives. As they spoke, bullets ricocheted from the walls overhead. . . We ran. . . .

"I found myself climbing the stairs to the shrine of the Blessed Virgin of Aukros Vartai. I knelt and begged Our Lady to help us in our present misfortune. . . .

"Suddenly, as the train whistled, I heard singing from a distance. Our exiles were singing that great hymn of Lithuania: *"Dievas mūsų gelbėtojas ir stiprybė. . . ."* (God, our shelter and strength!)"

Economic Oppression

Latvia and Estonia had been subdued prior to 1948 and little resistance had been offered to the forcible collectivization. Lithuania suffered heavy blows throughout 1948, mostly due to the desperate resistance against collectivization and terror. A proud and stubborn people steeped in traditional sense of human dignity, self-respect, passion for their native soil, for Christianity, and despising the exhibitionist masters of the country—cannot be broken! THE LITHUANIANS WILL EITHER REGAIN THEIR FREEDOM—OR DIE TO THE LAST MAN! Living in individual homesteads or in kolkhozes, they will—unlike the Russians—sporadically rebel whenever the limit of their patience will be reached and their sense of dignity outraged. Russian sadism and cruelty will not affect the people's determination.

[181]

423 In 1948, the life of independent farmers was not easy. The land was nationalized. The norm of land 652 parcels left to private "management" by former owners varied in the districts. Arable land was evaluated according to the scale of "third-class land," and a production equivalent of up to 30 hectares was left to private "exploitation." Where the land is of better grade, plots are smaller. Wherever the communists tagged a "people's enemy" classification on the owner, only 5 ha. of land were left.

Norms of compulsory levies "in nature" also vary. The quota is assessed per hectare, and the norm for persons with larger plots is greater per hectare than that levied on managers of smaller plots. A cow-owning urban dweller who does not own a single square foot of soil, must deliver 12 kilograms of butter annually to the state. Payment for "tax in nature" de-

423 656 liveries is niggardly. For instance, 2 pre-reform rubles were paid for a hundredweight of rye, but the state resold the grain to the worker as baked bread at the rate of 3.5 rubles per kilogram. In the black market, the hundredweight of rye sold for 1,200 rubles.

Failure to meet the assessed produce quotas is harshly penalized: cattle are confiscated, families are dispossessed and sentenced to several years of "loss of freedom" at hard labor in concentration camps. And a farmer deals with *two governments*: in daytime with the Russians, at night—with the Lithuanian underground authorities.

A farmer managing 30 ha. farm, must deliver 4,000 kilograms of grains, 4,500 kg. of potatoes, 800 kg. of meat, and specified amounts of hay, wool, eggs, butter and milk to the state. Terms are fixed for such deliveries, usually between fall and Christmas. However, [461] local Executive Committees pay no attention to the fixed terms: they engage in "socialistic competition" to surpass each other in making record deliveries and set the high mark of "voluntary contributions in excess of the quotas." Fixed contingents are not enough: excess quotas are fixed and announced, by armed militiamen, to the exploited farmer as "voluntarily assumed duties of the area inhabitants," plus "voluntary sales to the state" of about 20% in excess of the quota. Detachments of militia ravage the countryside collecting the levies ahead of time. Once the quotas and excess quotas are met,—a distant "sister republic" somewhere in the Altais "challenges" Lithuania to a "socialistic competition." Immediately, tens of thousands of militia and MVD troops descend on the poor farmers to seize "voluntary contributions" in addition to negligently exposed wristwatches, cash, suits, etc. The waylaying of women and girls begins, etc. If "challenges" are repeated, new waves of armed official robbers descend. . . .

This shameless policy of exploitation ruins the farmer. He no longer has bread nor seeds, and is glad to get away from the armed communist terrorists and to settle on a kolkhoz or anywhere out of reach of the collectors of "voluntarily assumed quotas"—but he is fooled, as challenges to "socialistic competition" by distant kolkhozes omit no one. . . . Nothing at all is paid sometimes for the seized stocks, even though the collectors possess signed receipts of payment. And all the time the harrassed farmer must listen to Russian profanity and hear himself called "people's enemy," "kulak," "saboteur," "reactionary," "exploiter," etc.

[511] Workers employed in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes receive but 10% of the minimum standard of living. For this reason, every inhabitant of a state-operated farm and institution MUST steal to protect his family from hunger and nakedness.

The duty of providing "stoykas" is very oppressive. Farmers must provide carriages and horses for postal deliveries, to transport government officials and their Katyushas from place to place, to cut and tote fixed contingents of timber, to transport grain contingents, carry gravel and repair the roads, etc. Of course, a member of the family must accompany the cart. During the German occupation, it was safer for women to accompany the carts. But no woman of any age may risk exposure to Russians. . . . Occasionally the driver and the horse disappear for months—transporting officials to distant places or carting materials for mili-

423 tary constructions. A family owning one horse must
656 transport 30 cords of timber to fixed stations. The owner of two horses must double the quota, in winter.

[311] In 1947, about 40% of arable land of Lithuania was unplanted, and the diet of the rural population suffered a catastrophic decline. Few tractors are available. Threshing machines were nationalized. Bribes are required to gain any assistance from the Russian managers of the MTS stations—and people prefer not to deal with the drunken and greedy representatives of the "master race." Forests are systematically destroyed and forest fires are not combatted. The MVD-MGB troops quite frequently set fire to the forests in order to "smoke out" guerrillas.

There was even less incentive to work for Russia in 1948. At least one half of the arable land went untilled. . . .

Industry

433 Peat production dropped to one-third of the level
377 of the German occupation period. Very little coal is brought to the country. For these reasons, there is a severe shortage of electric power. City dwellers must provide their own heating—for apartments, institutions and schools.

The official press occasionally reports that certain officials "abuse their office" by driving to some village, demolishing "deserted homes" and forcing the neighboring farmers to transport the lumber to the city as fuel. . . . Due to the prevalent bureaucracy and chaos, government buildings and student dormitories go unheated for weeks. Therefore, dormitory inhabitants or the office force of this or that institution mobilize and follow the example of the dignitaries: they descend on and transport deserted homes (in parts) in a "socialistic competition" to keep themselves warm. . . .

433 Brick production dropped for lack of skilled man-
[329] power. The brick works of Rokai and Palembnas produce for the army exclusively. No bricks and no tiles are available for sale to private citizens. Therefore, bricks and tiles figure in a lively black market exchange for horses.

Not a single cement plant is in operation—except on paper, in the boastful reports of "achievements" of the Russian dignitaries. The cement plants of Akmenė and Skirsnemunė are still in the stage of paper planning, though included in the five-year plan to be consummated by 1950.

[288] The textile plants of Klaipėda are idle. The Drobė plant of Kaunas is under reconstruction. The Litex and Audiniai plants began operating. The Linas plant produces for export to Russia exclusively.

The hide tanning plants of Šiauliai and the glass factories of Radviliškis and Aleksotas are operating. Dairies were mostly reactivated. The huge Maistas stockyards and canneries were burned down in Kaunas, and feeble efforts at reconstruction are forging ahead. The Maistas plant in Panevėžys is operating but production is small. The plant at Tauragė still lies in ruins.

The beet sugar refineries of Marijampolė and Panevėžys resumed operations. The paper and cardboard plant produces inferior quality products. The railway yards and repair shops of Kaunas are being expanded. The factories, as a rule, produce for war and export to Russia. The present production level amounts to less than 50% of the 1939 level.

659 656 798 the Ministry of Education whether he could attend religious services. The reply was: "As an individual—yes, as a State employee—No."

Churches in the cities are crowded. In rural areas—the churches are nearly vacant. This is because people are afraid to leave their homes because of robberies and thefts by the Russians and Party members. On Sundays, even uniformed soldiers and militiamen (police) are openly engaging in robberies.

659 798 208 A vigorous campaign against priests and the Vatican was instituted since December 1946. The Pope, the Vatican, and Christian morality and ways of life are vilely denounced. In 1947, the Vatican became the "cradle of international reaction": the button pressed in Moscow echoes everywhere under the Russian occupation.

Translators immediately put out literature in the Lithuanian language. *Tiesa*, the official organ of the Communist Party and "government," in its #43 issue denounced the institution of Papacy as a partner of imperialists and exploiters: "The Pope was partner of the gangs of Teutonic crusaders," "During World War II, the Pope supported Hitler, the worst enemy of the Lithuanian people," "the clergy are the worst exploiters and enemies of the people."

Christian morality is also abused but "bolshevik morality" (?) is praised. For instance, *Bolševikiniu Keliu* (On the Bolshevik Path, No. 6/12) of 28 February 1947 wrote:

"The working people of a socialist country are creating their own new morality, basically differing from religious morality. Our morality is based on the struggle for Communism. . . . Morality is the means for destroying the exploiting society and uniting the working people around the proletariat which is forming a new Communist society. Hatred for the oppressors and enslavers . . . these are the wonderful peculiarities of our morality."

Certainly, a remarkable resemblance to Nazi "morality". . . .

The people of Lithuania entertain no illusions: the publicity drive against religion presages a new wave of arrests and deportations and purges. Indeed, since February 1947 mass dismissals from State employment—and every concern is a State concern—began.

798 771 883 The Lithuanian people met the second anti-religious drive with passive resistance, just as during the first occupation. The "purges" are met with heroic stoicism. Churches remain filled with the faithful, regardless of the "friendly reminders" by Communist overlords to avoid the "inconveniences" and "hardships." Religious conferences for school children go on in churches, and the Komsomol is boycotted. Anti-religious "lectures" are attended only under compulsion. Teachers support the Komsomol only under direct pressure. *Tiesa*, the Soviet official mouthpiece, voiced its concern (12 February 1947):

"Komsomol meetings in the II Gymnasium of Siauliai are infrequent. The Komsomol youths' attendance is deficient—a recent meeting was attended by only 5 members out of 13. We asked comrade Baravykaitė,

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

According to the agricultural census of 1930, the number of farms in Lithuania and their areas are as stated in Table 7. 241 423

TABLE 7

CENSUS OF FARMS

FARM SIZE (*Acres*)	NUMBER OF FARMS	COMBINED AREA (*Acres*)
2.5– 12.5	53,463	380,722
12.5– 25.0	78,237	1,440,338
25.0– 37.5	59,572	1,788,349
37.5– 50.0	33,236	1,408,275
50.0– 75.0	34,197	2,042,511
75.0–125.0	20,597	1,885,111
125.0–250.0 and over	8,078	1,725,742
TOTAL	287,380	10,671,048

Through the land reform, over 45,000 new farms have been established and over 200,000 persons (including new settlers and their families) have been provided with regular occupation and permanent homes. This undoubtedly has brought beneficial results to the social and economic life of the country.[15] Moreover, the land reform has undoubtedly been a means of substantially raising the country's productivity, to the benefit of both the state and the individual farmer. 241 178

When Soviet Russia occupied Lithuania on June 15, 1940, a still more radical "land reform" was proclaimed by the Soviet-appointed puppet government. All land was proclaimed state property. Consequently, the farmer-owners suddenly became only managers of government property and, therefore, could not sell, exchange, or give away their 423 656 471

[15] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 34; Elbergas, *op. cit.*, pp. 64–68.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

423 land. Seventy-four acres (30 hectares) was the maximum
471 allowed each family to manage.
656 Several thousand formerly landless farmers who obtained a few acres through this Soviet "land reform" and whose popular support the Soviet government was seeking found themselves unable to till the allotted land because they had no tools, seed, or livestock and could not secure any aid from the government. The Soviet policy was to force them all into so-called "collective farms" (kolkhoz).

The majority of the farms of 80 hectares (198 acres) or over were not distributed at all but converted into government farms (sovkhoz) controlled through commissars.

Those who were allowed to keep 30 hectares (74 acres) were called "kulaks," and such high taxes were imposed upon them that they were forced to join the government-fostered collective farms.

241 As indicated by Table 7, before the Soviet Russian oc-
423 cupation there were 287,380 separate farms in Lithuania,
656 ranging in area from 2.5 to 250 acres. These farms, on the basis of productive capacity, were classified into three groups.

The first group was comprised of the self-sufficient farms, ranging in acreage from 2.50 to 30 acres. Farmers in this group raised sufficient grain to maintain their families and kept one or two horses for work, one to four milk cows, and some poultry; thus they themselves produced most of their food. They had little to sell and bought little from the town. At the end of 1939, about 160,000 farms or 56 percent of all farms of Lithuania were in this group.

The second group was comprised of farms of between 30 and 70 acres which produced substantial quantities of agricultural products for the market. Although the farming system of this group was similar to that of the first one to the

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians

extent that these farmers produced various kinds of agri- 241
cultural products, they usually concentrated more specially 423
on one branch of farming, such as dairying or grain raising. 656
About 100,000 farms belonged to this group.

Farms exceeding 70 acres belonged to the third group and stood highest in independent Lithuania from the point of view of the quality and quantity of their products. There were about 27,000 farms in this group. It was mainly this and the second group which supplied the bulk of agricultural products for export. It was also this third group and to a degree the second which first felt the ruin of Sovietization. Most of the farms in the third group were reduced to not more than 74 acres so that the farming inventory and buildings were not suitable to the smaller parcels of land. A substantial part of them was converted into government farms (*sovkhoz*). At the same time pressure was put on the second [651]
group by imposing exorbitant taxes in order to make it disintegrate as rapidly as possible.

Taking into consideration the area of land utilized by 241
each group, it might be deduced that in normal times the 433
first group produced 20 percent of the entire amount sold on the market, while the second and third groups produced the remaining 80 percent, or 40 percent each. From this it would appear that the capacity of agricultural production in Lithuania during the Soviet Russian occupation dropped at least 40 percent.

When the Germans occupied Lithuania in June, 1941, they 423
found the Bolshevik-introduced system convenient to some extent for the expropriation of the country economically. They restored the system of private ownership, but had not returned, up to the end of 1941, farms to the original owners. Even those farmers who were left managers of their small

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

436 twenty-first as great. In January, 1919, the rate of exchange was 8.27 marks to the dollar, while one year later, in February, 1920, it was 98.994 marks, and in the beginning of 1922, 200 marks. On October 1, 1922, the day redemption of the *Obost* marks commenced, one dollar equaled 1,650 marks; on October 2, 1,815 marks. Russian rubles were redeemed on October 1, 1922, at 0.004 litas.[4]

453 A special law for the establishment of Lietuvos Bankas (the Bank of Lithuania) was passed on August 11, 1922.[5] The financial basis of the bank is 12,000,000 litas capital stock consisting of 120,000 shares of 100 litas par value [656] each. Although Lietuvos Bankas, before Soviet occupation, was a private enterprise in its organization, it was under government control and the general director was appointed by the president of the republic upon recommendation of the Council of Ministers. The Law of Establishment of the Lietuvos Bankas grants a special concession to permit the issuance of notes for twenty years, which period may be prolonged by law.

436 652 648 With the first issue of litas notes on October 1, 1922, the redemption of the *Obost* marks at the market exchange rate was begun. The Russian rubles at that time were almost worthless, and the value of *Obost* marks was just a fraction of the original value. This caused a great loss to the population of Lithuania, wiping out everybody's savings and creating generally chaotic credit conditions. There is no question but that Germany was responsible for the inflation and loss in the value of *Obost* marks and that Lithuania had the right to demand reparations. Negotiations for that purpose were

[4] Kazys Sruoga, *Die Wirtschaft der Republik Litauen und ihre Notenemission*, Kaunas, 1930, pp. 15–18.

[5] *Lietuvos Bankas, First Decade, 1922–1932*, Kaunas, 1932, pp. 10–14; *V.Z. Nr. 199, par. 1347.*

(b) Introduction of reduced seasonal duties on tropical fruits for the period from January 1 to June 1, on November 30, 1937 (Government Gazette, 592/4130). 651

Concurrently with the import duties, on many goods that are subject to export control, in case they are exported not in the prescribed packing or do not conform to the contemplated standard of quality, the export duties are raised and their export is not permitted respectively. The sole object of these measures is to support the fulfilment of standardization and to improve the quality of our export goods. Subject to export control are: Butter, eggs, meat, seeds, potatoes, apples, flax, linseed, casings, bristles, and crayfish. 439 651

At the end of 1932, Lithuania was also obliged, in the wake of the import restrictions imposed by other countries, to place her imports under State control. This was effected through the Law of December 22, 1932 (Government Gazette, 401/2751) on the introduction of a licence system, first of all only for the import of 11 articles, i. e. sugar, salt, phosphates, iron, steel, tin, coal, cement, cotton threads and yarn, paper, cardboard, and woollen fabrics. This list of goods subject to licence was appreciably extended by later laws, chiefly by the Law of August 4, 1934 (Government Gazette, 453/3161), whereby the number of articles was increased to 46 and among them knitted goods and cotton fabrics were included; by the Law of February 6, 1935 (Government Gazette, 468/3282), and by the Law of February 15, 1936 (Government Gazette, 523/3631), so that to-day of the 216 articles of the Customs Tariff 134, but actually approximately 85% of the effective imports are subject to licence. 651 439

The introduction of the licence system in Lithuania had in view not by any means the stifling of import; it resulted rather only from regard to the structure of the trade-balance. Before the last economic crisis, i. e. at the time when world trade was still not subject to any import and currency restrictions, the question of trade-balances with individual countries played no great rôle because it was easily possible by means of an export surplus achieved with certain countries to equalize an import surplus recorded in trade with others. Ever since, however, foreign trade began to develop chiefly along compensation and accounting lines, the transference of balances has encountered difficulties. Thus in 1932, viz., the last year 457

scale only 19 points is due to the agrarian character of our country and its dependence upon export. 435

In order to ameliorate the disadvantageous operation of the scissors, the Government since 1931 has introduced fixed prices for several of the most important staples, such as grain, butter, eggs, and live pigs, whereby the difference between the world market price and the prices established for the home-market is made good by the State Treasury. The cost of this support for the period until the end of 1937 amounted to 133 800 000 litas and for the last three years alone to over 50 000 000 litas, in which context it should, however, be mentioned that in consequence of the attraction of world market prices for pigs, their subvention was suspended two years ago. 656 435

For a series of important commodities prices are regulated by a Price Controller. The fixing of maximum prices, especially for imported industrial goods, is undertaken on the basis of the world market prices and pursues the object only of putting a stop to a speculative bull movement and of checking dishonest competition.

The above-mentioned politico-economic measures of the Government have indubitably contributed to the relatively easy bridging over of the crisis.

The development of our retail prices for several of the more important characteristic commodities from 1929 to 1937 is shown by the following table collated on the basis of data of the Central Statistical Bureau: 435

A. Prices of Agrarian Products, in Litas.

Year	Rye, 50 klgrs.	Linseed, 1 klg.	Flax, 1 klgr.	Live Fattened Pigs, 50 klgrs.	Bacon, 1 klgr.	Unsalted Butter, 1 klgr.
1929	22.80	0.79	2.10	115.00	3.20	6.85
1930	11.30	0.68	1.50	96.00	3.05	6.00
1931	12.60	0.40	0.95	66.00	2.15	5.05
1932	12.30	0.26	0.84	50.00	1.45	4.10
1933	9.10	0.30	1.00	47.00	1.30	3.30
1934	9.00	0.32	0.95	44.00	1.25	3.10
1935	6.20	0.27	1.28	29.00	0.85	2.75
1936	7.20	0.24	1.12	35.00	1.05	2.80
1937	9.80	0.28	1.27	46.00	1.40	3.05

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

seized by the government in 1861 and 1863 are to receive 671
priority over all others. Each head of a family may receive not 423
more than 49.4 acres (20 hectares). Land is also to be distributed to public schools, schools of agriculture, and other in- [657]
stitutions of learning and culture as well as to hospitals, sanatoriums, asylums, and other social and public organizations.

The land is divided into four classes, graded according to 423
the fertility of the soil. The new owners have to pay equal annual installments for their land for thirty-six years. The rate to be paid varies from 180 to 252 litas per hectare (2.471 acres) for first-class land, depending on its location; 90 to 126 litas for second-class; 36 to 54 litas for third-class, and 18 to 27 litas for fourth-class. No interest accumulates on the unpaid balance except on due shares which are not paid in the time prescribed.[13]

The only recipients of land exempted from all payments [729]
are volunteer soldiers in the Lithuanian war for independence and their families.

Former owners of the lands taken for land reform pur- 423
poses were entitled to compensation. Payment was to be 425
made with government bonds bearing three percent interest 652
and redeemable at any time not later than thirty-six years from the date of issue. Paragraph 58 of the Land Reform Law prescribes that the compensation for the land shall be a fair price based on valuations existing in the period between 1910 and 1914. As the Land Reform Law was passed on April 3, 1922, when *Obost* marks [14] were in circulation, the compensation was to be paid in this currency. (One Russian ruble was made equal to two *Obost* marks.) Paragraph 59 provides that the highest amount paid may not exceed

[13] Salkauskas, *op. cit.*, pp. 325–32.
[14] See, p. 102 below, section on Finance.

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

X. MEDICO-SOCIAL POLICY

744 Sanitary conditions in the towns and rural administrative areas are under the supervision of the competent district medical
• 657 officer, who also inspects sales of foodstuffs. He is responsible
758 for measures for the prevention of infectious diseases and for seeing that all persons suffering from venereal disease receive treatment.

It has not yet been possible to apply all the recommendations of the 1931 European Conference on Rural Hygiene. Health centres had already been set up (different from those recommended by the Conference) in 1929, before the Conference met. They are staffed by doctors, nurses and midwives, and advise pregnant women and mothers. The responsibility for establishing them rests with the Department of Labour and Social Insurance (Ministry of the Interior), which acts through the Union of Maternity and Child Welfare Organisations. There are at present twenty-two such health centres.

In 1938, 210 health stations were opened, each serving an area with an average of 10,000 inhabitants. Every health station has a medical officer and a midwife, the former being responsible for giving medical assistance to the inhabitants and for supervising the health of school-children. The stations are maintained jointly by the Ministry of the Interior and the municipalities. The doctors and midwives are paid a small fixed salary, and also receive reduced rate fees from their patients. Indigent persons are given free medical and obstetrical assistance. Persons suffering from venereal disease are treated free of charge by the doctor attached to the health station.

[Lithuanian Constitution 75 of April 7, 1948]

683 Art. 87. The Procurator of the Lithuanian SSR is appointed by the Procurator-General of the USSR for a term of five years.

Art. 88. District and city procurators are appointed by the Procurator of the Lithuanian SSR subject to the approval of the Procurator-General of the USSR for a term of five years.

Art. 89. The organs of the Procurator's Office perform their functions independently of any local organs whatsoever, being subordinate solely to the Procurator-General of the USSR.

Chapter VIII. Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens

641 461 Art. 90. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to work, that is, the right to guaranteed employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.

The right to work is ensured by the socialist organization of the national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the elimination of the possibility of economic crises and the abolition of unemployment.

Art. 91. The citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to rest and leisure.

[466] The right to rest and leisure is ensured by the establishment of an eight-hour day for factory and office workers, the reduction of the working day to seven or six hours for arduous trades and to four hours in shops where conditions of work are particularly arduous, by the institution of annual vacations with full pay for factory and office workers, and by the provision of a wide network of sanatoria, rest homes and clubs for the accommodation of the working people.

[467] 641 Art. 92. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or disability.

This right is ensured by the extensive development of social insurance of factory and office workers at state expense, free medical service for working people, and the provision of a wide network of health resorts for the use of the working people.

[671] Art. 93. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to education.

This right is ensured by universal and compulsory elementary education; by free education up to and including the seventh grade; by a system of state stipends for students of higher educational establishments who excel in their studies; by instruction in schools being conducted in the native language, and by the organization in the factories, state farms and machine and tractor stations of free vocational, technical and agronomic training for the working people.

[672] Art. 94. Women in the Lithuanian SSR are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, government, cultural, political and other public activity.

The possibility of exercising these rights is ensured by women being accorded an equal right with men to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education, by state protection of the interests of mother and child, state aid to mothers of large families and unmarried mothers, maternity leave with full pay, and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens.

[563] 871 873 Instead of the second foreign language, the language of instruction and general literature are taught. There are only 23 weekly lessons in French, 12 in drawing, 25 in physical culture and pre-military training, and 9 in manual training and housekeeping for girls.

Schools Public or Private

871 658 Nineteen thousand nine hundred and thirty-nine secondary school students were attending 66 gymnasia and 34 progymnasia in 1937; in 1919 there were 5 gymnasia and 33 progymnasia with 9,213 students. These schools may be either State (public) or private. The former are founded and maintained by the State; the latter, with the permission of the Minister of Education, by corporations, ecclesiastical orders, and private individuals. All the private schools are under the control of the Ministry of Education which grants subventions toward their maintenance, sends official delegates to inspect the work carried on in them, and appoints their teachers. The students in some of the private gymnasia enjoy all the privileges extended to students in the State schools. In others they do not, and in order to acquire those rights the students must at the end of their course of study, pass examinations in the State schools or in their own schools in the presence of a delegate of the Ministry of Education. The relative numerical status of the two types of schools is:

Type	Progymnasia	Gymnasia
State	22	33
Private:		
Lithuanian	2	10
Jewish	5	14
German	4	5
Latvian	1	----------
Polish	----------	3
Russian	----------	1

562 873 Nine gymnasia and one progymnasium have been especially set aside for the education of girls, and eight for the education of boys. All

5:Masilionas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

562 873 the others are mixed but in the larger schools in which parallel classes exist, separate classes for boys and girls are established.

875 [658] The extension of the network of secondary schools produced in the first years of Lithuania's independence a shortage of teachers, and educating a staff was undertaken by the State. Teachers were trained in foreign universities, and from 1922 onwards in the University of Vytautas the Great in Kaunas, as well. Most of the 1,432 teachers now employed are university graduates and possess the qualifications required by the Ministry of Education. They are classified as junior teachers, teachers, and senior teachers. The rank of junior teacher is granted to persons who have taken a university course in psychology, pedagogics, the history of pedagogics, pedology, and the methodology of their specialties, or have passed examinations in these subjects and have completed their studies in the subjects necessary for the teaching of their specialty. Junior teachers who have taught successfully not less than 2 years and have conducted two probational lessons in their specialty may be elevated by the Ministry of Education to the rank of teachers. Teachers who have taught with outstanding success for at least 5 years may be raised to senior teachers.

School Competitions

873 555 A State physical culture badge to encourage physical fitness, scout troops and circles, camps for students, and travel during the vacation period are all connected with secondary education, but perhaps the most noteworthy activity to promote all-sided scholastic progress and interscholastic cooperation is the school competitions that were organized first in 1935 and take place at the end of the school year.

In these competitions the secondary schools strive for supremacy in the reading and recitation of Lithuanian, French, and German, drawing, singing, and physical culture. In

5:Masiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Technical Instruction

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Up to the Great War there were no technical schools in Lithuania, and technical instruction was received in the course of apprenticeship. The work of reconstruction after the recovery of independence created a great demand for skilled labor and special arrangements had to be made for systematic vocational training. For this purpose the state began to found technical schools but progress was slow until 1926 when a Department of Technical Education was organized in the Ministry of Education and the network of technical schools began to be systematically developed.

"Lithuanian soirées" thus went far beyond the purpose of simple entertainment.

Nevertheless, it involved only the work of amateurs. The creation of a central Lithuanian theater that should unite all the artistic forces of the country, was an idea of the future and could only become a reality after the state had been founded. We can name two important dates here, the year 1920 as the /186/ year of foundation of the dramatic theater and the opera, and the year 1925, in which the first full-length ballet, Coppelia, was produced.

The Lithuanian opera was created almost out of nothing. Singers, choruses, orchestras, conductors, directors, as well as all the rest of the personnel did not suddenly become available, but needed a fairly long period of training. The nucleus of the new troup was formed by the famous tenor of the St. Mary Theater in Petersburg, Kipras Petrauskas, as well as M. Rakauskaitė and Ant. Sodeika, who returned from America. Other artists joined them, and thus on December 31, 1920, after the overcoming of many difficulties, Verdi's La Traviata could be performed as the first opera.

658 The Lithuanian opera and the dramatic theater which originated in the same year were founded by the Lithuanian Art Society (Lietuvių Meno Kūrėjų Draugija), and in the spring of 1922 were taken over by the state. An extraordinary development from an artistic point of view can be observed from then on. About 50 operas were performed, among them three Lithuanian: Gražina and Radvila Perkūnas by Karnavičius, and The Three Talismans by A. Račiunas. A further opera, Eglė, the Serpent Queen by M. Petrauskas, is in preparation. From the many others, only a few may be named: Verdi's La Traviata, Rigoletto, Il Trovatore, The Masked Ball, Aida; Puccini's Madame Butterfly, La Tosca, La Bohême; Gounod's Faust; Bizet's Carmen; Tschaikovsky's Eugene Onegin and Pique Dame; Wagner's Lohengrin

*538 the novel Pirmieji metai (The First Year). In his novel in two volumes Ieškau gyvenimo draugo (I Seek a Companion through Life) Liudas Dovydėnas introduces us to the life of elementary school teachers. Another of his works from peasant life, Broliai Domeikos (The Brothers Domeika) earned for him the state prize in 1936. (13) Along with

[658] 13. The Lithuanian state, since 1935, has regularly given a prize of money for the most valuable literary work of the year: the importance of this practice should not be underestimated, since in a small nation, even under the most favorable circumstances, literary works have editions of only a few thousand copies.

those already mentioned, Inčiūra and Zobarskas are making a name for themselves among the writers of novels. A tender and subtle love story, Valentina, was published by Vaičiulaitis.

536 In comparison to the abundance of prose publications, especially of the last decades, dramatic writing has been secondary, although its traditions, too, reach back as far as the period of the prohibition on printing. Along with Fromas Gužutis (1822-1900), whose drama in five acts Ponai ir Mužikai (Lords and Peasants) is based on the relations between the nobility and the people, Petliukas and Landsbergis-Žemkalnis, with his drama Blinda, became known after 1900. The greatest success was achieved by Keturakis (pseudonym for J. Vilkutaitis) with his peasant comedy, published in 1895, Amerika Pirtyje (America in the Pirtis), which at that time went across all the amateur stages of Lithuania and has still proved to be a drawing card even today. In addition, Šiaulėniškis may be named; his drama Sparnai (Wings) is under the influence of modern symbolism.

/279/ The development of Lithuanian dramatic

795 of the Lithuanian survivors. *Lithuania is still "the most loyal Daughter of Rome in the North of Europe,"* in the words of the late Pope Pius XI.

661 798 The Russians continue their practice of subjecting the Catholic clergy to periodic and systematic "questioning," accompanied by physical torture and threats. Several priests became apostates. Most of the others were killed in torture chambers or exiled to Siberia, while several dozen priests enlisted with the patriotic guerrillas. Retired emiriti priests were called back to duty—as each priest must now serve 3 to 5 parishes.

874 661 798 One seminary remained for a few years. The number of divinity students was limited to 150. Professors and students were repeatedly summoned to the MVD-MGB and subjected to "pressure" and tortures in order to enlist them as agent-informers. Seminary rectors and their assistants were arrested and exiled as soon as they assumed duties. Students attended classes in churches. They were shadowed and threatened, and their number steadily dwindled as the MVD exercised more "pressure." By 1947, the number of divinity students dropped to 60. Normally 30 to 40 priests die annually of natural causes, but only 7-8 priests were graduated annually to replace the deceased. Finally, during the winter of 1947-48, the seminary was closed.

798 659 661 The surviving priests (about 400 as of the fall of 1948) could discourse on Scriptural texts in their sermons—always mindful that MVD agents were taking down notes and that suspicious Russians in the MVD-MGB offices would summon them to enlarge on translations of the suspect imputed allegories. Attacks on the Church in the official press, over the radio and at mass meetings cannot be answered or discussed: that would be "propaganda." The Stalin constitution warrants freedom of the anti-religious propaganda and of "religious belief,"—not of religious "propaganda."

Priests are continually exposed to provocation. For instance, MVD agents go to "confession" in order to provoke some remark by the priest. Sometimes a priest is summoned "to give last rites to a dying person." When the priest arrives, the "dying person" impersonated by a provocateur becomes a "guerrilla" ("bandit") and the clergyman is arrested "for association with bandits." Priests are forced to disrobe in MVD offices and to be photographed with MVD "girls." Afterward the photographs are circulated among the people. Nevertheless, the faithful are not easily misled by the alien oppressor whom every Lithuanian despises.

In 1947 there was a large scale massacre of the faithful at Kretinga when someone rang the bells of the Franciscan monastery at the time the Russians came to close it. The running people saw Russian troops bringing out the bleeding bayoneted body of a priest. Infuriated, the Lithuanians attacked the Russians with stones and bats. The Russians fired indiscriminately at the mob. . . .

No religious literature—no catechisms, missals, discourses, etc.—is printed: no paper is allotted by the government—and all printing places are state-operated. No priests are permitted to enter hospitals, schools, barracks and prisons to administer the sacraments. The priests enter gaols only as prisoners.

Since 1947, the Russians attacked the Church from another angle—clamoring against the Vatican and demanding creation of a "national Catholic Church."

798 661 Priests were repeatedly summoned and urged to break with "the fascist Vatican"—or be imprisoned for "espionage" and contact with "the Vatican intelligence." In several parishes pastors were arrested and apostate priests installed, without the Bishop's blessing. Bishop's representatives were barred. Local communist officials became ardent and regular "church-goers"—but no one else went there and the Russian venture died a natural death.

659 794 Finally, the Soviet authorities engaged in what may be *the final duel* between the Church and the militant atheism: decrees were published placing all "cultural monuments," viz. church structures, under the supervision of the government. The authorities attempt to impose the so-called *"dvadsatkas"*—committees of 20 members—on each parish to supervise the needs for repairs, pastor's functions, etc. One half of these committeemen are appointed by the government. As to the rest—no specific regulations are disclosed. These "committees" would have the power to dismiss pastors and accept replacements—in effect, they would nullify the episcopal authority and would control every activity of the faithful. To further weaken the opposition, the Bishops were seized and incoming administrators subjected to pressure and deprived of the means of communicatnig with the parishes.

The faithful realize the objective—the clandestine press forewarned them and coupled threats of reprisals against weakening persons together with the explanation of the real meaning of the Russian action. Under such strained conditions, churches go unrepaired rather than enjoy "government assistance" in exchange for acceptance of a *"dvadsatka."* Priests summoned before the MVD refer the officials to the Canonic Law of the Church and direct the Russians to discuss the matter with the Bishops.

A native traitor and atheist, Gailevičius, a former superintendent of NKVD prisons, is presently the "Commissar for Cult Affairs of the Lithuanian SSR." In January 1949 he published a decree in his capacity as custodian of "cultural monuments": churches must not "operate" within 7 kilometers of each other, and if several churches are found within the 7 km. radius, only one church is to be left "operating" and the other churches are to be shut down for use by the state.

In theory, this decree could scarcely affect rural churches. An intolerable situation is arising in cities, however. For instance, there are 17 churches and several chapels in the city of Kaunas. Under this decree, only one church would remain in this city of 150,000 inhabitants, of whom 60% are Lithuanian Catholics. A similar situation is bound to arise in the capital city of Vilnius with its dozens of beautiful churches, or "cultural monuments."

Serious clashes, or rather massacres of women and children, are expected to result during the forcible seizure and closing of the churches to which the foreign invader has no title.

The Italian press recently cited "reliable sources" of January 1949 to the effect that the Russians had confiscated the Cathedral Basilica of Vilnius and converted the edifice into a dance hall. This cannot be verified from Lithuanian sources at this time—but the Gailevičius decree makes this news probable.

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Lithuanian Freedom Fighters resting after a hard-fought battle—in Samaitia.

Religious Practices

798 659 Since the fall of 1947, the Russians abandoned tolerance of the strictly religious functions of the faithful—adults attending church and receiving sacraments. The radio, press and tens of thousands of professional agitators are engaged in blasphemous atheistic propaganda aimed at discrediting the religion as "outdated witchcraft and prejudice" and attributing "fascist conspiracy" to the Vatican. This meant that the first attempt to create a "national Church" by subverting clergy and imposing "dvadsatkas" failed. But the effort was not abandoned.

Vatican, British and American broadcasts are heard —and the more important developments are relayed to the population by the clandestine press. Needless to say that the Lithuanians, facing daily the official attack on their Church and their Catholicism, are very saddened and embittered by the complete silence abroad over the martyrdom of Lithuania—compared with the publicity given the staged trials of various Church dignitaries in the satellite countries. They especially resent the omission of Lithuania from among the Catholic nations listed in foreign broadcasts as victimized by Soviet armed atheism.

All monasteries are shut down and friars-nuns dispersed. Catechetic instruction is banned from schools, the armed forces and from private tutoring within a family circle. In 1946 the Bishops had requested the authorities to permit catechetic instruction of school-age children in church structures but the authorities refused. The parents themselves presently prepare their children for the first communion.

[626] Church-goers are watched by MVD agents conspicuously posted near church doorways, and they are shadowed and questioned. Arrests were repeatedly made inside churches by armed cap-wearing MVD gangsters who loudly profane the churches. All state employees—and all people are state employees with the exception of the "kulaks" or independent smallholders refusing to go into "artels"—receive strict warnings to stop attending religious services ("witchcraft sessions"), or their conduct will be construed as a "demonstration of disloyalty to the existing order."

Students developed a spontaneous custom: on the way to schools they stop in a church to pray. The authorities strive to eradicate this custom by summoning their parents and threatening to expel children from

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659 798 schools. Teachers who openly attended churches were summarily dismissed.

[711] In spite of all these restrictions and threats, churches are well attended, especially in rural areas. Churchgoers are mostly women and people not connected with government offices and concerns, less dependent on the bureaucracy. Intellectuals and officials travel to distant places where they are not known personally to attend Mass or for confession. Rural churches, further from cities or where only small MGB-MVD garrisons are stationed, draw the largest attendance.

Religious processions on streets were not banned officially but few people dared to show themselves publicly and face the jeers of the armed blaspheming Russians and a few native traitors. The clergy discouraged public processions exposing the faithful to unnecessary persecution.

[585] Marriages are registered by local Executive Committees. Those who so desire may go through a religious ceremony but a religious ceremony is not recognized by the authorities. Marriages contracted prior to the Russian invasion were not questioned, however.

Several small Protestant congregations are still in existence in the Klaipėda District, but most of the Protestant churches were shut down and converted to other use for lack of communicants. The Calvinist churches of Biržai and Prienai were turned into military horse stables. Protestants are more or less tolerated, because the Protestant Church offers no problem to the occupant.

The pre-war Russian settlers, natives of Lithuania, regularly attend the MVD-dominated Orthodox churches. The new settlers go to churches occasionally out of curiosity.

Since the end of 1947, persons exhibiting religious icons and crucifixes in their homes came under persecution. Religious pictures and statuettes found in homes by the armed searching parties infuriate the Russians and their stooges. Religious objects are smashed, bayoneted, spat upon and trampled by the puny "masters of the world" raging against their Creator.

Living quarters of the pastors—"cult servants"—were requisitioned by the housing authorities and a [65] small nook was assigned to priests. Churches are assessed with exorbitant taxes. Complaints are answered: "If you can't meet state obligations—close up shop." The faithful exerted every effort to contribute the necessary funds and in most cases the tax levies were met. Thereupon the Russians demanded lists of contributors. The pastors answered that they did not list plate contributors—and were arrested and threatened with prosecution for "failure to account from public funds." A number of churches were unable to meet the levies, as all of the people are burdened with excessive taxes, requisitions and perennial "voluntarily assumed contributions to the state" imposed by the armed militiamen.

000 It is not known whether, since comrade Gailevičius claimed all churches as "cultural monuments" subject to his custody, churches would be taxed—that is, churches left "operating."

A church is the only place where a tortured people could find spiritual solace and escape from the blaring loudspeakers and mad ravings of the Russian oppressor.

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The Situation Of The Church In Enslaved Lithuania

Moscow Boasts

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The Information Bulletin of the Soviet Embassy in Washington (April 30), in its "Notes on Soviet Life," describes the alleged freedom of religion in Lithuania:

> The position of the Roman Catholic Church in Soviet Lithuania was described in a recent statement by the Most Reverend Mgr. Reinis, Catholic Archbishop of Vilnius.
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> "The Catholic Church enjoys perfect freedom in Soviet Lithuania," he told a Tass correspondent. "The local authorities are assisting us in restoring and repairing churches destroyed by the German invaders, and supplying building materials. Our clergy are provided with all necessities.
>
> "There are at present two archbishoprics in Lithuania," Mgr. Reinis went on to explain, "those of Vilnius and Kaunas. The Catholic Church organization has remained unchanged. All 711 churches are functioning with their staffs of 1,332 clergy. The Kaunas Ecclesiastical Seminary, headed by the prominent theologian Venskus, is graduating scores of young Catholic priests annually. Thousands of believers in Vilnius, Kaunas and other towns and villages gather as usual at Matins and Vespers. All established holidays are observed by the Church."

The Reality

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Before the Russian aggression in 1940, there were 6 dioceses in Lithuania (Archbishoprics of Vilnius and Kaunas, Bishoprics of Kaišiadorys, Panevėžys, Telšiai and Vilkaviškis) and the Klaipėda-Memel Prelacy. Lithuania had three archbishops and seven bishops, including one for the armed forces. There were four theological seminaries (Vilnius, Kaunas, Telšiai and Vilkaviškis) with 850 divinity students. There were Catholic and Protestant Theology-Philosophy Faculties in the Kaunas University, and a goodly number of private denominational high schools and other institutions of learning. A Catholic Academy of Arts and Sciences functioned and a Catholic University was in the process of formation. There were 800 parishes, with about 900 churches and chapels, 1,600 priests, and numerous convents, monasteries and congregations.

000 AND NOW? . . .

The Soviet Bulletin gives the latest statistics: "The Catholic Church organization has remained unchanged . . . 711 churches . . . 1,332 clergy . . . The Kaunas Ecclesiastical Seminary . . . two archbishoprics."

The Soviet Embassy conveniently omits the information regarding the fate of the bishops (of whom only three are probably in the country), the three missing seminaries, 300 priests, and the introduction of *numerus clausus* for divinity students: 150 for a nation of three million. . . The following article by a prominent Catholic layman, a university professor who lived through both Russian occupations and is now a refugee in Germany, will demonstrate bolshevik

[423] tens and personal property owned by institutions and organizations of a religious character were sequestered. 798 In nationalizing land, parishes were given only 3 hec- 661 tares—although other landlords retained 30 hectares. Buildings owned by parishes and bishoprics, including episcopal residences and seminaries, libraries, printing shops, printed stocks of books were confiscated. Denominational grammar schools, high schools, orphanages, kindergartens and hospitals were converted into state institutions. The stocks of missals, hymnals, prayer-books, rosaries, religious pictures, and other religious articles found stored in book shops and retail stores were desecrated or destroyed.

793 The Soviets considered the clergy a separate "caste," 651 antagonistic to the proletariat and, therefore, to be eliminated. The clergy as well as independent farmers 661 (called *'kulaks'*), were oppressed economically; priests and "cult servants" were heavily taxed. For instance, a tolerated "proletarian" with a monthly income of 200 rubles paid 30 rubles monthly for living space assigned to him, while "cult servants" of the same income class paid 220 rubles monthly, and those with incomes of 350 rubles paid 388 rubles.

651 The Communist Party proposed to levy excessive 665 license fees on churches, similar to motion picture 661 house and cabaret assessments. The taxes depended on the size of the church. Such taxes were already imposed in the sections of Poland annexed to Russia—20,000 to 50,000 rubles. A commissar explained the policy to a pastor of a Lithuanian parish in eastern Lithuania which was annexed by Russia in 1939: "If you can't pay—close down your shop." Consequently, the churches were to be closed by degrees for nonpayment of taxes.

798 The Party also passed a decision to convert the cen- 665 trally located Garrison Church of Kaunas into a "Rev- 661 olutionary Museum." The Museum of Church Art was liquidated and its exhibits, the antique vestments, were used by Red Army troopers to polish their boots.

All that was public anti-religious action. The other phase, shrouded in secrecy, was directed against individual members of the clergy.

The Party instructed its agents to disrupt the internal discipline of churchmen, to enlist agent-informers among the clergymen, to antagonize priests against each other or to compromise them. NKGB Major Gladkov issued a secret directive dated 21 October 1940, directed to all county security chiefs, to institute unbroken surveillance of priests, church employees, friars and nuns, and to enlist students of upper classes for espionage on the private lives of the clergymen. "Remember that some of the priests are not provided for materially and are wavering in their ideological outlook." The secret order of 21 January 1941 directed particular attention to individual discontent and antagonism among members of religious organizations: advantage should be taken of such incidents to disrupt the organizations.

793 After digesting the reports of weakness exhibited by 659 some individual priests, People's Commissar of Jus- 661 tice, Pranas Pakarklis, a native traitor, offered attractive offices to a number of priests, on condition that

2:Anonymous U-4 (no date)1947 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

793 659 661 they discontinue holding Mass and stop the performance of other priestly duties. A number of priests were arrested and the NKVD attempted to enlist their services by threats and blackmail. Because of these methods, several priests consented—and, immediately after their release, fled abroad. Those refusing to become agents were imprisoned. Soon the number of prisoners grew as many friars, preachers and high school students heroically defended their faith.

626 527 461 The Russians initiated a campaign against religious *traditions*. They began by banning the traditional Corpus Christi processions in the streets. All Saints Day was declared to be a working day, and the authorities banned traditional services and mass visits to cemeteries on All Souls' Day. During Advent and Lent, the bolsheviks encouraged dancing, entertainment and anti-religious lectures. Good Friday and Holy Saturday, as well as the second day of Easter, were designated working days. Those failing to report for work on the second day of Easter were prosecuted. In general, at frequent intervals, ordinary Sundays were periodically declared to be working days, and Saturdays—days of rest.

876 626 The teaching of religion in schools was replaced by classes on biology and the Stalin constitution. Biological lectures popularized "Darwinism." The "science of constitution" was to popularize a "Soviet democracy" and its oft-varying shifts directed by party [883] line. In place of religious sodalities and athletic groups, the bolsheviks attempted to form *"Komsomol"* (Communist Youth) nests directed by political instructors called "Komsorg." Religious sermons were replaced by anti-religious tirades in the communist-controlled press and at mass meetings. Attendance at such mass-meetings to hear blasphemies was made compulsory.

626 661 558 Churches kept open and functioning. However, attendants at religious services were terrorized. The Party posted uniformed and non-uniformed spies at church doors to observe and list the churchgoers. Attendance in church was a sufficient reason for dismissal from higher offices.

000 The anti-religious drive, growing in tempo, began to expand. When Bishops Brizgys and Ramanauskas called on Pozdniakov, the former Soviet Minister to Lithuania and at present the Kremlin's deputy satrap, to ask for the return of the premises of the Theological Seminary, the Russian attempted to "reason" with them. Pozdniakov stated that they should have no illusions: what had been accomplished in Russia in 20 years, will be achieved in Lithuania within two to three years by experienced administrators. Why should the Seminary "delude" young men? By the time they became priests, there would be no duties to perform—in Russia the priests already have nothing to do. . . .

Lithuanian Resistance to the Anti-Religious Drive

798 771 The Lithuanians had suffered much for religion—murder, imprisonment and exile to Siberia—during

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of laymen active in Catholic Action were either murdered or exiled to Siberia. 40,000 Lithuanians were deported to Russia during that one lone year, and at least two-thirds of the number were Catholic Action members.

The Second Russian Occupation

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As far back as 1942, Comrade Vyshynsky, Deputy Commissar of Foreign Affairs and Liquidator of the Democratic Latvian State, admitted to a foreign statesman that bolshevik tactics in the Baltic States were based on an erroneous policy: the method of violence and compulsion had been a mistake.

In July 1944, the Russians again invaded the Baltic States. However, there was no change in their policy or methods regarding religion: they permitted no Catholic organizations, press or instruction of religion in schools.

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The Salesian monastery at Skirsnemunė was encircled by the Red Army and all physically able friars were drafted into the Red Army.

Soon thereafter, the tactics regarding the clergy wavered. Soviet overlords attempted to maintain, to some extent, the propaganda thesis regarding the alleged existence of "freedom of religion" in the Soviet Union. Only one Catholic Seminary, of the former four, was left in Lithuania, but divinity students, as other university students, were exempt from military duty. The number of divinity students was sharply limited to 150—for a Catholic nation of three million —instead of the previous 850.

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This measure represented a lull in the anti-religious drive: religion was to be eliminated by other means, by mass deportations of the faithful and their replacement by Communist Russians, so that, in the words of comrade Pozdniakov, the priests would find no employment for their vocation, no audience to listen to them. By effecting the primary aim of the Soviet regime—the liquidation of the Lithuanian people—the secondary aim, that of abolishing religion, would be simultaneously achieved. This explains the change in tactics, not the basic aim.

Furthermore, the new "party line" sought not merely to leave the clergy untouched, but to use them for political interests of bolshevism, as is done in Russia with the Orthodox clergy. In 1946 the NKVD encountered great difficulty with armed Lithuanian guerrilla operations. The NKVD decided to use the bishops and clergy to break the fighters' will to wage war. The Ministry of Interior (NKVD-MVD) demanded that the bishops publish pastoral letters and in sermons condemn the armed resistance and urge an end to it.

The alien regime attempted to attain two purposes: to enlist the clergy's aid to further its plans, and to drive a wedge between the clergy and the fighting nation. However, the plan was too obviously underlined with "red" threads, and the bishops declined to do the NKVD bidding. When the NKVD threatened with repressions, one bishop frankly told the satraps: "It is all the same to me whether I live five more years or less—I shall not soil the authority of the Church."

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793 ing Holy Mass. With his hands tied behind his back, he was pushed into an auto, driven to the railroad
651 station, and placed on board a train.
798 Bishop Matulionis was arrested in mid-December 1946. The old martyr bore himself with dignity and firmness. To warnings by well-wishers he replied: "I know the bolsheviks." He had ordained some divinity graduates December 9 and 12th, and appeared very weak. He was arrested a few days later for having issued a pastoral letter warning against the wiles of Komsomol.

Arrests of the clergy are more numerous after several visits to "Prime Minister" Gedvila to protest against limiting the number of divinity students to 150. The seminary's building is being requisitioned: its quarters in Marian Fathers' Charity Church are being turned over to Nurses School.

A favorite Russian method is to promote dissension. When Rev. Nagulevičius, pastor of Obeliai, was arrested, the NKDV lodged a suspended priest in the rectory. This "pastor" refused to admit the priest appointed by the bishop. The Chancellor of the diocese arrived to settle the matter, but the NKVD "pastor" refused to obey. When the Chancellor visited comrade Gailevičius, Adviser on Cult Affairs in Vilnius, the latter said: "At present the people rule. This is apparently the people's will, and we cannot help in this matter."

The NKVD is attempting to install its own "priests" and, eventually, to have a Church administration subservient to the NKVD. Thus far, only one apostate is known.

No priests are admitted to the Klaipėda-Memel District.

[794] Congregations are being evicted from their quarters although, officially, the monasteries are not banned. St. Casimir's Sisters are still in possession at Pažaislis, and the Franciscan Fathers are still left in Kretinga.

[651] Priests and Church property are heavily taxed. For instance, the Cathedral of Kaunas must pay 46,000 rubles, the Cathedral of Panevėžys 40,000, the small Church of St. Nicholas in Vilnius dating back to the 14th century, is taxed 16,000 rubles. The late Mgr. Jokubauskas, administrator of the Bishopric of Kaunas who died in February 1947, was taxed 20,000 rubles. The figures become significant when it is realized that an average laborer earns 200 rubles a month.

Sidelights of Anti-Religious Drive

●659 Religious practice is permitted inside the church
626 only: Stalin's constitution grants "freedom of belief"
798 and warrants the liberty of anti-religious propaganda. No religious texts, not even prayerbooks, are permitted to be published—"paper shortage" . . . On the other hand millions of vile pamphlets are printed.

Once more, uniformed sentinels and agents in mufti are ostentatiously posted at church doors. They look over every face and scribble notes in the "blocnotes."
[558] Attendance in church means dismissal from a responsible post in the government. Teachers attending religious services are denounced in the press as "persons of low morality." A high school director inquired of

2Anonymous U-4 (no date)1947 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

659 656 798 the Ministry of Education whether he could attend religious services. The reply was: "As an individual—yes, as a State employee—No."

Churches in the cities are crowded. In rural areas—the churches are nearly vacant. This is because people are afraid to leave their homes because of robberies and thefts by the Russians and Party members. On Sundays, even uniformed soldiers and militiamen (police) are openly engaging in robberies.

659 798 208 A vigorous campaign against priests and the Vatican was instituted since December 1946. The Pope, the Vatican, and Christian morality and ways of life are vilely denounced. In 1947, the Vatican became the "cradle of international reaction": the button pressed in Moscow echoes everywhere under the Russian occupation.

Translators immediately put out literature in the Lithuanian language. *Tiesa*, the official organ of the Communist Party and "government," in its #43 issue denounced the institution of Papacy as a partner of imperialists and exploiters: "The Pope was partner of the gangs of Teutonic crusaders," "During World War II, the Pope supported Hitler, the worst enemy of the Lithuanian people," "the clergy are the worst exploiters and enemies of the people."

Christian morality is also abused but "bolshevik morality" (?) is praised. For instance, *Bolševikinis Kelias* (On the Bolshevik Path, No. 6/12) of 28 February 1947 wrote:

"The working people of a socialist country are creating their own new morality, basically differing from religious morality. Our morality is based on the struggle for Communism. . . . Morality is the means for destroying the exploiting society and uniting the working people around the proletariat which is forming a new Communist society. Hatred for the oppressors and enslavers . . . these are the wonderful peculiarities of our morality."

Certainly, a remarkable resemblance to Nazi "morality". . . .

The people of Lithuania entertain no illusions: the publicity drive against religion presages a new wave of arrests and deportations and purges. Indeed, since February 1947 mass dismissals from State employment—and every concern is a State concern—began.

798 771 883 The Lithuanian people met the second anti-religious drive with passive resistance, just as during the first occupation. The "purges" are met with heroic stoicism. Churches remain filled with the faithful, regardless of the "friendly reminders" by Communist overlords to avoid the "inconveniences" and "hardships." Religious conferences for school children go on in churches, and the Komsomol is boycotted. Anti-religious "lectures" are attended only under compulsion. Teachers support the Komsomol only under direct pressure. *Tiesa*, the Soviet official mouthpiece, voiced its concern (12 February 1947):

"Komsomol meetings in the II Gymnasium of Šiauliai are infrequent. The Komsomol youths' attendance is deficient—a recent meeting was attended by only 5 members out of 13. We asked comrade Baravykaitė,

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

644 Art. 95. Equality of rights of citizens of the Lithuanian SSR, irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, government, cultural, political and other public activity, is an indefeasible law.

Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or, conversely, the establishment of any direct or indirect privileges for, citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, is punishable by law.

[659] Art. 96. In order to ensure the citizens freedom of conscience, the church in the Lithuanian SSR is separated from the state, and the school from the church. Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognised for all citizens.

Art. 97. In conformity with the interests of the working people, and in order to strengthen the socialist system, the citizens of the Lithuanian SSR are guaranteed by law:

a) freedom of speech;
b) freedom of press;
c) freedom of assembly, including the holding of mass meetings;
d) freedom of street processions and demonstrations.

These civil rights are ensured by placing at the disposal of the working people and their organizations printing presses, stocks of paper, public buildings, the streets, communications facilities and other material requisites for the exercise of these rights.

[575] Art. 98. In conformity with the interests of the working people, and in order to develop the organizational initiative and political activity of the masses of the people, citizens of the Lithuanian SSR are guaranteed the right to unite in public organizations: trade unions, cooperative societies, youth organizations, sport and defence organizations, cultural, technical and scientific societies; and the most active and politically-conscious citizens in the ranks of the working class and other sections of the working people unite in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), which is the vanguard of the working people in their struggle to strengthen and develop the socialist system and is the leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and state.

Art. 99. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR are guaranteed inviolability of the person. No person may be placed under arrest except by decision of a court or with the sanction of a procurator.

Art. 100. The inviolability of the homes of citizens and privacy of correspondence are protected by law.

Art. 101. The Lithuanian SSR affords the right of asylum to foreign citizens persecuted for defending the interests of the working people, or for scientific activities, or for struggling for national liberation.

Art. 102. It is the duty of every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR to abide by the Constitution of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, to observe the laws, to maintain labour discipline, honestly to perform public duties, and to respect the rules of socialist intercourse.

795 of the Lithuanian survivors. *Lithuania is still "the most loyal Daughter of Rome in the North of Europe,"* in the words of the late Pope Pius XI.

661 798 The Russians continue their practice of subjecting the Catholic clergy to periodic and systematic "questioning," accompanied by physical torture and threats. Several priests became apostates. Most of the others were killed in torture chambers or exiled to Siberia, while several dozen priests enlisted with the patriotic guerrillas. Retired emiriti priests were called back to duty—as each priest must now serve 3 to 5 parishes.

874 661 798 One seminary remained for a few years. The number of divinity students was limited to 150. Professors and students were repeatedly summoned to the MVD-MGB and subjected to "pressure" and torures in order to enlist them as agent-informers. Seminary rectors and their assistants were arrested and exiled as soon as they assumed duties. Students attended classes in churches. They were shadowed and threatened, and their number steadily dwindled as the MVD exercised more "pressure." By 1947, the number of divinity students dropped to 60. Normally 30 to 40 priests die annually of natural causes, but only 7-8 priests were graduated annually to replace the deceased. Finally, during the winter of 1947-48, the seminary was closed.

798 659 661 The surviving priests (about 400 as of the fall of 1948) could discourse on Scriptural texts in their sermons—always mindful that MVD agents were taking down notes and that suspicious Russians in the MVD-MGB offices would summon them to enlarge on translations of the suspect imputed allegories. Attacks on the Church in the official press, over the radio and at mass meetings cannot be answered or discussed: that would be "propaganda." The Stalin constitution warrants freedom of the anti-religious propaganda and of "religious belief,"—not of religious "propaganda."

Priests are continually exposed to provocation. For instance, MVD agents go to "confession" in order to provoke some remark by the priest. Sometimes a priest is summoned "to give last rites to a dying person." When the priest arrives, the "dying person" impersonated by a provocateur becomes a "guerrilla" ("bandit") and the clergyman is arrested "for association with bandits." Priests are forced to disrobe in MVD offices and to be photographed with MVD "girls." Afterward the photographs are circulated among the people. Nevertheless, the faithful are not easily misled by the alien oppressor whom every Lithuanian despises.

In 1947 there was a large scale massacre of the faithful at Kretinga when someone rang the bells of the Franciscan monastery at the time the Russians came to close it. The running people saw Russian troops bringing out the bleeding bayoneted body of a priest. Infuriated, the Lithuanians attacked the Russians with stones and bats. The Russians fired indiscriminately at the mob. . . .

No religious literature—no catechisms, missals, discourses, etc.—is printed: no paper is allotted by the government—and all printing places are state-operated. No priests are permitted to enter hospitals, schools, barracks and prisons to administer the sacraments. The priests enter gaols only as prisoners.

Since 1947, the Russians attacked the Church from another angle—clamoring against the Vatican and demanding creation of a "national Catholic Church."

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Priests were repeatedly summoned and urged to break with "the fascist Vatican"—or be imprisoned for "espionage" and contact with "the Vatican intelligence." In several parishes pastors were arrested and apostate priests installed, without the Bishop's blessing. Bishop's representatives were barred. Local communist officials became ardent and regular "church-goers"—but no one else went there and the Russian venture died a natural death.

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Finally, the Soviet authorities engaged in what may be *the final duel* between the Church and the militant atheism: decrees were published placing all "cultural monuments," viz. church structures, under the supervision of the government. The authorities attempt to impose the so-called *"dvadsatkas"*—committees of 20 members—on each parish to supervise the needs for repairs, pastor's functions, etc. One half of these committeemen are appointed by the government. As to the rest—no specific regulations are disclosed. These "committees" would have the power to dismiss pastors and accept replacements—in effect, they would nullify the episcopal authority and would control every activity of the faithful. To further weaken the opposition, the Bishops were seized and incoming administrators subjected to pressure and deprived of the means of communicatnig with the parishes.

The faithful realize the objective—the clandestine press forewarned them and coupled threats of reprisals against weakening persons together with the explanation of the real meaning of the Russian action. Under such strained conditions, churches go unrepaired rather than enjoy "government assistance" in exchange for acceptance of a *"dvadsatka."* Priests summoned before the MVD refer the officials to the Canonic Law of the Church and direct the Russians to discuss the matter with the Bishops.

A native traitor and atheist, Gailevičius, a former superintendent of NKVD prisons, is presently the "Commissar for Cult Affairs of the Lithuanian SSR." In January 1949 he published a decree in his capacity as custodian of "cultural monuments": churches must not "operate" within 7 kilometers of each other, and if several churches are found within the 7 km. radius, only one church is to be left "operating" and the other churches are to be shut down for use by the state.

In theory, this decree could scarcely affect rural churches. An intolerable situation is arising in cities, however. For instance, there are 17 churches and several chapels in the city of Kaunas. Under this decree, only one church would remain in this city of 150,000 inhabitants, of whom 60% are Lithuanian Catholics. A similar situation is bound to arise in the capital city of Vilnius with its dozens of beautiful churches, or "cultural monuments."

Serious clashes, or rather massacres of women and children, are expected to result during the forcible seizure and closing of the churches to which the foreign invader has no title.

The Italian press recently cited "reliable sources" of January 1949 to the effect that the Russians had confiscated the Cathedral Basilica of Vilnius and converted the edifice into a dance hall. This cannot be verified from Lithuanian sources at this time—but the Gailevičius decree makes this news probable.

668 In the village of M . . . ., several hundred Russians encircled 6 guerrillas. The cornered patriots defended themselves an entire day. Only 3 men survived when their ammunition was exhausted. They managed to crawl toward Russian corpses, and they fought with "borrowed" weapons until all three men were blown out of existence. 60 Russians, including the MVD chief of Prienai, died.

Desecration and Reprisals

661 The behavior of Russian "repression forces" may be illustrated by several examples.

In 1948, a MVD unit called on a farmer in Marijampolė township to make a search. When the door was not opened quickly enough, the Russians fired several series of automatic fire through the door, killing the father. They broke down the door, beat up and raped the widow and her 17-year old daughter, seized everything of value and left. In a neighboring farm, the Russians raped a pregnant woman in her husband's presence, beat up everyone and left. The woman gave birth to a stillborn within a few days.

On 7 February 1947 the MVD troops of Marijampolė saw two German women beggars near the Nendrininkai village. The soldiers opened fire. One woman escaped, the other was raped by 7 men—in the sight of the horrified villagers. The same Russians encountered an elderly German woman beggaring in the Ilgeliškiai village. Learning from her papers that she was German, they killed her with rifle butts and ordered the farmers to bury her.

In Sasnava township, farmer Kukliečius and his son were cutting wood at the forest edge around their farm. Passing Russians shot them on sight, without investigating. They shot farmer Rauba in the Pinkeviškiai village whom they observed chopping wood.

In the village of Naujakaimis, MVD troops killed three youths observed walking together on the street—Valinskas, 17, B. Vylniauskas, 18, and J. Vylniauskas, 16. The Russians bayoneted, kicked and struck the bodies with rifle butts and did not permit the bereaved parents to claim the bodies.

In Kamajai town, Rokiškis county, the Russians descended on a widow who was inadvertently feeding seven strangers who proved to be guerrillas—6 men and a nurse. When the guerrillas refused to surrender, the Russians opened fire. The battle of 7 guerrillas against some 60 Russians lasted several hours. The guerrillas and their hostess were killed. The widow's young daughter fainted from fright and was found among the corpses. The troops ordered the neighbors to load the corpses on a truck. These neighbors seeing the girl was living—told the Russians. The latter ordered them to toss the girl with the corpses. The bodies were brought to Rokiškis and dumped on the city market place. The girl revived. She crawled and started running. Several Russian guards overtook her, passed a noose of barbed wire over her neck, and dragged her back to the corpses—strangled. This scene was witnessed by an American citizen now back in the United States.

Thousands of similar incidents are recorded by the underground.

668 661 When the MVD became too active in Marijampolė county in 1947, a guerrilla was assigned to court an

661 668 MVD employee and he became engaged to her. The engagement party was attended by several dozen top officials, including Chairman of the County Executive Committee, the Prosecutor, the Komsomol Chairman, MVD officials, etc. At an opportune moment, the lone guerrilla liquidated the entire group of Soviet satraps, with the exception of the guest musician. Similar incidents occurred elsewhere, and the Russians now avoid gathering in such groups, unless under strong escort.

Desecration of patriots' corpses continues. Bodies are dumped in market places. Crosses and Lithuanian insignia are cut on the bodies by bayonets and scythes, rosaries "rein" the mouths, eyes are gouged, sexual organs mutilated. Bodies lie in decomposed state for weeks, as the Russians kick and spit on the bodies, dance around them, etc.

Banditry by Russian troops and militia is restrained by the guerrilla units protecting the inhabitants. For over a year Russian bandit gangs of army deserters posed a serious problem but these were eventually destroyed by the guerrillas.

The resistance movement embraces the entire country, although degree of organization differs from place to place. The Russian campaign for a memorial thanking Stalin for the "liberation" failed miserably. Lately, however, to minimize the reprisals, the underground instructed people to report to polling places and to pay lip service to "father of nations," "the great teacher and leader, protector of the working people of the world, Stalin The Sun."

668 Liaison with the underground forces in the neighboring countries is rendered difficult by the extreme nationalism of the Poles and Whiteruthenians. Collaboration is limited to specific objectives, such as assistance for passage of envoys. The underground in Poland is not unified, and there had been cases of betrayal by rival factions. Excellent contact is maintained with the Latvians and Ukrainians. Overtures from "Russian underground sources" were deliberately ignored as too risky—the Russians are so thoroughly cowed by three decades of terror and informer network that no Russian is deemed reliable.

Administration

645 The "boss" of the country is a satrap of the Kremlin—comrade *Shcherbakov*, titled All-Union Communist Party's/bolshevik Plenipotentiary for Lithuania.

In addition to comrade Justas "President" Paleckis, Chairman of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, the Council of Ministers is made up of the following nominal heads:

Prime Minister—Mečys Gedvila (Lithuanian);

Deputy Premiers—First Deputy Pisaryov, Second Deputy Sokolov, Third Deputy Mamayev (all 3 Russians);

Council's Secretary—S. Pupeikis (Lithuanian);

Minister of Food Industry—K. Andrijaitis (Lithuanian);

Minister of Local Industry—S. Shkodin (Russian);

Minister of Fishing Industry—Andrei Zasypkin (Russian) was summarily dismissed "for inefficiency" 3 February 1949 and replaced by an unknown, "V. Mickevičius";

474 15a Grammar school teachers and library managers were enlisted in the propaganda task. At long last, following a year of propaganda, "in the early spring of 1948, the smallholders Gasparaitis, Daugèla and others from Stungiai village of Žagarė township declared a desire to form an agricultural artel in their village. The initiative on the part of the working peasants was immediately supported by the township and county Party and Soviet organs."

The pattern is very clear. Following a full year of terrorization, *two persons* were finally browbeaten "to take the initiative," that is, to sign on the dotted line in the presence of the armed militiamen who had repeatedly searched their farms, requisitioned "excess supplies," beat up and cursed the farmers. The rest of the "organs" immediately "supported the initiative": 56 families at long last capitulated, rather than go to Siberia, and formed the third kolkhoz in the county. . .,

On 18 July, four days before the *Izvestiya* article boasting of landgrants to Lithuanian farmers "FOR ALL TIME," the Moscow radio blared: *"Not a foot of soil must be left in private hands!"*

On 24 July the Vilnius radio seconded: "Individual farms are—hatcheries of kulaks and nationalist bandits," and stressed that "every kolkhoz dweller is deputized by the Communist Party not only to perform his direct duties in the kolkhoz but *assist the Party in controlling the kulak farms* in the neighborhood."

On 9 August the Moscow radio noted that "individual farms, especially in the Baltic republics, were sheltering places for the enemy's agents. . . . It is the supreme duty of the communists of Lithuania to organize kolkhozes and *destroy the centers of bourgeois and Western influence.*"

Resistance to Collectivization

161 474 *The New York Times* of 25 August 1948 published a dispatch from Paris depicting the paced up drive for collectivization. Greatest resistance was believed to exist in Lithuania.

In its issue of 17 October, the *Times* reported that "a new purge of kulaks" was expected in Lithuania. "Last May Soviet militia rounded up many Lithuanian families, ordered them to sign statements that they were moving to Siberia 'voluntarily,' and then sent them east. They were so-called kulaks."

By 14th December, the entire American press published comments on an article of comrade Trofimov complaining that the Lithuanians were dispatching to Lenin some "Soviet folk." Early in January, the Vilnius radio boasted of the *"liquidation of an insurrection" in Lithuania.*

What were the actual facts? The Russian MVD-MGB forces conducted *three "operations" of genocide* and mass deportations in the spring, autumn and winter. These "operations" were planned and ordered by the Kremlin Politburo, and comrade Gavedov was delegated by comrade Abakumov, State Security Minister of the USSR,to execute the "operations." Nevertheless, some gruesome events facilitated the improvisation of an "insurrection."

In consequence of the pussyfooting of the Allied and IRO officials, some simpleton DPs succumbed to the wiles of the Soviet repatriation missions in Western Germany and returned to Lithuania. Some of

661 them, like the 60-year old farmer J. Kaminskas from Oldenburg, were "detoured" to Siberia. Several other
474 families were forcibly repatriated by the Russians from Pomerania—and were executed by the local authorities when they reached their homes. Having identified the former refugees, the Russians at once retaliated against their relatives. Thus, in Sudavia, Rev. Degutis of Virbalis, Rev. Zdanavičius, Rev. Draadys, township clerk Bieliauskas of Pajevonys, Stasys Aleksa from Jakilkiai, Jonas Micuta from Kunigilkiai were executed. In distant Samagitia, Antanas Ambrozaitis, Antanas Bieliauskas and several other men were exiled to Siberia from Kretinga and their *wives were forced to re-marry*. Similar events have taken place elsewhere.

668 The guerrilla commanders felt obliged to retaliate.
725 On learning that Eugenija Kubiliûtė of Pajevónys had been responsible for some of the Russian-conducted massacres, the guerrillas attacked Pajevonys, found the girl inside the Pajevonys township office, tied her and burned down the structure with the traitor girl inside. The same night the MVD-militia outpost was attacked and destroyed. In the northwest, the guerrillas simultaneously occupied several towns and killed all the communists. Other units invaded the Klaipėda District and seized a Russian arsenal at Šilutė-Heidekrug, including tanks and artillery pieces. Several battalions of the regular Soviet Army sent to combat the guerrillas unexpectedly passed over to the enemy. . . . If there was "insurrection," that was by the regular armed forces of Russia. MVD-MGB troops were moved in and light bombers were summoned to bomb the "bandits" who retreated to the forests. As Russian reinforcements rushed to Pajevonys, a Russian munitions dump exploded. . . .

Then followed the "operation" of May 1948.

Genocide in Operation

474 Rural authorities were instructed to urge the dis-
661 possessed farmers to file applications for land allotments. Of course, none of these instructions were printed in the press. Local officials were instructed to stress that the Soviet regime wanted to endow everyone with land. When petitions were turned in, the officials informed the petitioners that land was allotted to them "in another township" and they must report to certain transportation points. When the farmers and their families, bearing their few worldly possessions arrived at the appointed places, they were encircled by MVD troops, driven to railroad depots and placed on board freight cars bound for Siberia. Conservative estimates placed the number of people deported in this despicable manner at more than 100,000.

Letters began arriving from the deportees telling about the numerous deaths while in transit. People trembled as they listened to threats made by countless agitators. Agricultural work was done listlessly. Fields were neglected. More and more failures to meet taxes and grain delivery quotas were reported in the press, announcing "temporary exile into friendly republics" of the "kulak saboteurs." People became resigned and agreed to go into kolkhozes.

668 The Lithuanian is passionately fond of his soil. How could he leave all his precious belongings and animals to the profane Russians to debase? No: he would rather burn down everything. . . .

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A unit of Freedom Fighters resting after a battle—Tauras Area, Lithuania.

668 These practices meant "sabotage of a people's economy" and "insurrection." Reproached and heckled in
661 this manner, some people broke down and could no longer stand the tirades and the violence. They seized their pitchforks, axes and scythes and turned on the hated Muscovites. Countless people were murdered. Ablebodied men fled to the forests.

All this time, the Russians were perfecting their preparations to execute the "Abakumov Order" to purge the Baltic States of all hostile element (see the Nov.-Dec. 1948 issue of the *Lithuanian Bulletin*, pp. 4-5). The indignation and desperation of the farmers offered a very convenient excuse for MVD-MGB troops to descend en masse in November and December 1948 in execution of a previously conceived plan of the Kremlin Politburo. After all, the agitators had very definite instructions: rave for hours—and some people's enemies are likely to betray themselves/. . .

No one knows the manpower losses of the "operation" of the present winter. First reports placed the casualties at 60,000 men, women and children. But the Russians claimed that the "insurrection" was put down only in January 1949, and the "Russian system" entails retaliation against the families and friends of the "people's enemies." This means that the persecution is endless. . . .

However, the crime of genocide perpetrated by the Russians against Catholic Lithuania does not end with simple murder on the ground of a provoked "sabotage" and "insurrection." Genocide takes other forms.

874 One of the refined forms of genocide is reported in
661 the Party organ *Tiesa* of 13 December 1948:

"A serial call of the youths to the FGA (Factory Production Training) schools of Vilnius, Kaunas and Klaipėda began on 10 November. The call-up will last until 15 December 1948. One thousand youths will be called to learn mass construction skills. During the years 1945-48 about 14,000 young skilled workers entered industrial and construction concerns from the trades, railroad and FGA schools."

Graduates of such specialized schools may be sent anywhere in the Soviet Union, to "assist the fraternal republics" needing specified skilled labor groups. They have no choice—they must go where they are directed, and there is unlimited demand for skilled labor in the Asiatic "fraternal republics." Their eventual return to their homeland is doubtful.

1:Anonymous U-5 (no date)1949 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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"Master race" gangsters—Russian MGB "istrebiteli" troops (a photograph "borrowed" by the guerrillas).

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This is a diabolical method to take the youths from their homeland and to separate them permanently from their own people, thus depriving Lithuania of a natural growth of its people. This method entails *double genocide*—the destruction of a *national* and *religious* minority. There is but one lone Catholic church in Russia—in Moscow, for foreigners. The Lithuanian Catholic youths of school age are doomed to live among heathen Russians and Asiatics, far from the influence of the Catholic Church. . . .

Few young people are seen in Lithuania. They are either drafted into the Soviet armed forces and labor battalions, or are working in Russia as skilled workers, or are with the guerrillas in the forests. Natural family life and procreation are made impossible. The Lithuanian People as a nation is being starved, crucified and wiped out by the Soviet aggressor whom Lithuania had considered a friend during the years 1920-1940.

Death March

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A guerrilla officer vividly described his impressions of viewing a column of the deportees in Vilnius.

"As the last rays of the sun were growing longer, just like our sufferings under the increasing oppression, my hopeless eyes gazed into the street.

"Suddenly, armed soldiers with fixed bayonets turned the corner and chased people off the street. A long column of men was approaching—an ordinary sight these days, the third one I had seen that week.

"Two days earlier, a woman fell into a manhole in her flight when MVD soldiers were chasing the people off the street. She clung to the manhole's edge. The soldiers stopped the column, pulled the woman to the street and mercilessly clubbed and kicked her—I can still hear her cries. . . .

"Two weeks earlier, the 15-year old son of my neighbor was marched past this house. I watched Juozukas passing his home. The boy raised his hand and shouted: "The regime of bandits will eventually come to an end! I shall return, my dear parents, do not fear!"—But a rifle butt was already descending on his shoulders. . . .

"The column came nearer. I strained my eyes to see if I knew anyone.

"Yes—there was my former professor of Lituanistics. A tall man, his head held high, hatless. Doubtless, he carried his hat in hand to be recognized easier. . . .

2:Anonymous U-4(no date)1947 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

tactics in combatting religion. Pg 21A

Soviet Methods

Dr. Ladas Natkevičius, the late Lithuanian Minister to the Kremlin, was asked by Stalin in 1939, during the so-called "negotiations for a Mutual Assistance Pact," how great was the influence of the clergy in Lithuania. When he was told that the clergy of all Christian denominations enjoy great authority among the faithful, the Generalissimo thoughtfully remarked —"That is *very important to know.*"

At the time the remark passed unnoticed. A Soviet invasion was not anticipated because of the frequently professed Soviet friendship for Lithuania and Lithuania's excellent record in discharging all treaty obligations.

But the significance of this remark was quite apparent when Justas Paleckis, the puppet "president of Soviet Lithuania," bade farewell to Dr. Hildebrandt, a noted German newspaperman. Paleckis told the departing German quite frankly that he had received instructions from the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. to apply no *direct* pressure on the clergy.

The Soviet regime always fought religion and its institutions, but its tactical methods were different during both occupations.

The First Occupation—Oppression at Full Tempo

Immediately after the first total occupation of the Baltic States in June 1940, uniform steps were applied by the three satraps of the Kremlin dispatched to liquidate the sovereign Republics: Vice-Commissar for Foreign Affairs Dekanozov in Lithuania, Deputy-Commissar for Foreign Affairs Vyshynsky in Latvia and Politbureau member Zhdanov in Estonia. The Concordats with the Vatican were abruptly and unilaterally broken off and the Papal Nunzios were expelled.

Then followed the elimination of religion from public life. The Catholic and Protestant Theology-Philosophy Faculties of the University of Lithuania at Kaunas were closed; all Catholic cultural, educational and social welfare organizations, newspapers and publishing concerns were abolished and their properties confiscated; teaching of religion was eliminated from schools; army, school, hospital and prison chaplains were summarily dismissed; crucifixes and other religious insignia were removed from schools, courts and public places and desecrated.

Then came the application of the nationalization decree: buildings, landholdings, workshops, libraries, private hospitals and schools, orphanages, kindergar-

[#23] tens and personal property owned by institutions and organizations of a religious character were sequestered. 798 In nationalizing land, parishes were given only 3 hectares—although other landlords retained 30 hectares. 661 Buildings owned by parishes and bishoprics, including episcopal residences and seminaries, libraries, printing shops, printed stocks of books were confiscated. Denominational grammar schools, high schools, orphanages, kindergartens and hospitals were converted into state institutions. The stocks of missals, hymnals, prayer-books, rosaries, religious pictures, and other religious articles found stored in book shops and retail stores were desecrated or destroyed.

793 The Soviets considered the clergy a separate "caste," antagonistic to the proletariat and, therefore, to be 651 eliminated. The clergy as well as independent farmers 661 (called '*kulaks*'), were oppressed economically; priests and "cult servants" were heavily taxed. For instance, a tolerated "proletarian" with a monthly income of 200 rubles paid 30 rubles monthly for living space assigned to him, while "cult servants" of the same income class paid 220 rubles monthly, and those with incomes of 350 rubles paid 388 rubles.

651 The Communist Party proposed to levy excessive 665 license fees on churches, similar to motion picture 661 house and cabaret assessments. The taxes depended on the size of the church. Such taxes were already imposed in the sections of Poland annexed to Russia—20,000 to 50,000 rubles. A commissar explained the policy to a pastor of a Lithuanian parish in eastern Lithuania which was annexed by Russia in 1939: "If you can't pay—close down your shop." Consequently, the churches were to be closed by degrees for nonpayment of taxes.

798 The Party also passed a decision to convert the cen- 665 trally located Garrison Church of Kaunas into a "Rev- 661 olutionary Museum." The Museum of Church Art was liquidated and its exhibits, the antique vestments, were used by Red Army troopers to polish their boots.

All that was public anti-religious action. The other phase, shrouded in secrecy, was directed against individual members of the clergy.

The Party instructed its agents to disrupt the internal discipline of churchmen, to enlist agent-informers among the clergymen, to antagonize priests against each other or to compromise them. NKGB Major Gladkov issued a secret directive dated 21 October 1940, directed to all county security chiefs, to institute unbroken surveillance of priests, church employees, friars and nuns, and to enlist students of upper classes for espionage on the private lives of the clergymen. "Remember that some of the priests are not provided for materially and are wavering in their ideological outlook." The secret order of 21 January 1941 directed particular attention to individual discontent and antagonism among members of religious organizations: advantage should be taken of such incidents to disrupt the organizations.

793 After digesting the reports of weakness exhibited by 657 some individual priests, People's Commissar of Jus- 661 tice, Pranas Pakarklis, a native traitor, offered attractive offices to a number of priests, on condition that

793 659 661 they discontinue holding Mass and stop the performance of other priestly duties. A number of priests were arrested and the NKVD attempted to enlist their services by threats and blackmail. Because of these methods, several priests consented—and, immediately after their release, fled abroad. Those refusing to become agents were imprisoned. Soon the number of prisoners grew as many friars, preachers and high school students heroically defended their faith.

626 527 461 The Russians initiated a campaign against religious *traditions*. They began by banning the traditional Corpus Christi processions in the streets. All Saints Day was declared to be a working day, and the authorities banned traditional services and mass visits to cemeteries on All Souls' Day. During Advent and Lent, the bolsheviks encouraged dancing, entertainment and anti-religious lectures. Good Friday and Holy Saturday, as well as the second day of Easter, were designated working days. Those failing to report for work on the second day of Easter were prosecuted. In general, at frequent intervals, ordinary Sundays were periodically declared to be working days, and Saturdays—days of rest.

876 626 The teaching of religion in schools was replaced by classes on biology and the Stalin constitution. Biological lectures popularized "Darwinism." The "science of constitution" was to popularize a "Soviet democracy" and its oft-varying shifts directed by party [883] line. In place of religious sodalities and athletic groups, the bolsheviks attempted to form *"Komsomol"* (Communist Youth) nests directed by political instructors called "Komsorg." Religious sermons were replaced by anti-religious tirades in the communist-controlled press and at mass meetings. Attendance at such mass-meetings to hear blasphemies was made compulsory.

626 661 558 Churches kept open and functioning. However, attendants at religious services were terrorized. The Party posted uniformed and non-uniformed spies at church doors to observe and list the churchgoers. Attendance in church was a sufficient reason for dismissal from higher offices.

000 The anti-religious drive, growing in tempo, began to expand. When Bishops Brizgys and Ramanauskas called on Pozdniakov, the former Soviet Minister to Lithuania and at present the Kremlin's deputy satrap, to ask for the return of the premises of the Theological Seminary, the Russian attempted to "reason" with them. Pozdniakov stated that they should have no illusions: what had been accomplished in Russia in 20 years, will be achieved in Lithuania within two to three years by experienced administrators. Why should the Seminary "delude" young men? By the time they became priests, there would be no duties to perform—in Russia the priests already have nothing to do. . . .

Lithuanian Resistance to the Anti-Religious Drive

798 771 The Lithuanians had suffered much for religion—murder, imprisonment and exile to Siberia—during

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798 the Tsarist Russian occupation. True to tradition, resistance against the anti-religious drive developed into
771 a spontaneous and united movement. The defense of religion embraced even persons who had formerly neglected the church and seemed to be indifferent.

Churches were filled to capacity. A former female communist stated that the church was the only place where one could relax physically, without having to listen to the maddening bolshevik agitation.

Mass singing in churches became a new and precious experience—a plea for help from a persecuted and dying people.

[769] On All Souls' night, the cemeteries were filled with people. The Lithuanians followed their ancient tradition, they paid respect to their dead without priests, regardless of the fury of the Party Militia which arrested many in their mad rage.

On Sundays, declared to be working days, everyone, including civil servants and school children, went to church, knowing full well the penalty. In Prienai, students reporting to school on All Souls' Day found a scribbled message tacked on the door: "Stalin's constitution grants freedom of conscience, therefore believers need not attend classes"—so all the students went to church. Numerous arrests and dismissals from school followed.

Public prayers were a custom during the school year. Now, just as soon as the teachers left the classrooms, they were again recited.

The bishops did not dismiss former chaplains from their duties. Unable to teach the doctrines of the Church in schools, the chaplains transferred their pastoral activities, after classes, into churches and sacristies. The chaplain of Alytus organized a Retreat on Good Friday. To prevent attendance, the Communist Party ordered the faculty of the school to organize an anti-religious lecture on that date and ordered all students to attend the mass-meeting. The teachers and a few pupils showed up. A teacher related afterward: "A little girl sat in front of me during the harrangue reading a booklet in her lap. I was curious and looked over her shoulder. It was the national religious classic of Lent songs—*Graždūs Verksmai*."

The ecclesiastic authorities did not dismiss the students of the seminaries. As some students dispersed, new idealists replaced them. Divinity students lived privately and attended lectures in churches, sacristies and private quarters. The NKVD made preparations to foreclose all private religious instruction, but the war intervened.

727 The first Russian occupation lasted one year. Poz-
● 661 dniakov's prophecy of the Soviet regime achieving within a two-three year period the results gained by the anti-religious campaign in Russia during 20 years, did not materialize, because of the spontaneous and determined resistance.

However, a heavy blow was delivered to religious life in Lithuania during the one year: 10% of the priests were eliminated, forcibly separated from their people. Of these, 15 priests were brutally tortured and murdered, 9 were exiled to Siberia. The majority

727 661 of laymen active in Catholic Action were either murdered or exiled to Siberia. 40,000 Lithuanians were deported to Russia during that one lone year, and at least two-thirds of the number were Catholic Action members.

The Second Russian Occupation

659 798 626 As far back as 1942, Comrade Vyshynsky, Deputy Commissar of Foreign Affairs and Liquidator of the Democratic Latvian State, admitted to a foreign statesman that bolshevik tactics in the Baltic States were based on an erroneous policy: the method of violence and compulsion had been a mistake.

In July 1944, the Russians again invaded the Baltic States. However, there was no change in their policy or methods regarding religion: they permitted no Catholic organizations, press or instruction of religion in schools.

[702] The Salesian monastery at Skirsnemunė was encircled by the Red Army and all physically able friars were drafted into the Red Army.

Soon thereafter, the tactics regarding the clergy wavered. Soviet overlords attempted to maintain, to some extent, the propaganda thesis regarding the alleged existence of "freedom of religion" in the Soviet [874] Union. Only one Catholic Seminary, of the former four, was left in Lithuania, but divinity students, as other university students, were exempt from military duty. The number of divinity students was sharply limited to 150—for a Catholic nation of three million —instead of the previous 850.

This measure represented a lull in the anti-religious drive: religion was to be eliminated by other means, by mass deportations of the faithful and their replacement by Communist Russians, so that, in the words of comrade Pozdniakov, the priests would find no employment for their vocation, no audience to listen to them. By effecting the primary aim of the Soviet regime—the liquidation of the Lithuanian people—the secondary aim, that of abolishing religion, would be simultaneously achieved. This explains the change in tactics, not the basic aim.

Furthermore, the new "party line" sought not merely to leave the clergy untouched, but to use them for political interests of bolshevism, as is done in Russia with the Orthodox clergy. In 1946 the NKVD encountered great difficulty with armed Lithuanian guerrilla operations. The NKVD decided to use the bishops and clergy to break the fighters' will to wage war. The Ministry of Interior (NKVD-MVD) demanded that the bishops publish pastoral letters and in sermons condemn the armed resistance and urge an end to it.

The alien regime attempted to attain two purposes: to enlist the clergy's aid to further its plans, and to drive a wedge between the clergy and the fighting nation. However, the plan was too obviously underlined with "red" threads, and the bishops declined to do the NKVD bidding. When the NKVD threatened with repressions, one bishop frankly told the satraps: "It is all the same to me whether I live five more years or less—I shall not soil the authority of the Church."

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The Anti-Religious Drive Intensified

When the Church hierarchy refused to be drawn to the "party line," Russian tactics once more underwent a change and returned to the policy of outright oppression.

Half of the surviving bishops of Lithuania were arrested: Bishop Borisevičius of Telliai, his Suffragan Bishop Ramanauskas, and Bishop Theophilius Matulionis of Kailiadorys. The latter suffered his second martyrdom at the hands of the Russians: previously he had spent 12 years in Russian dungeons and slave labor camps until, in 1933, he was exchanged for a Soviet spy sentenced in Lithuania for subversive activities.

There are two versions regarding the fate of Bishop Borisevičius. Officially, he was sentenced to death. However, repatriated German prisoners of war state that they saw the bishop in a slave labor gang cutting timber in the Far East, together with several other Lithuanian Monsignori and priests.

The aged bishop of Vilkavilkis, Antanas Karosas, is now living in Marijampolė, retired from active duties. Archbishop Karevičius died soon after the second Russian invasion. Archbishop Romuald Jałbrzykowski of Vilnius was repatriated to Poland to administer the sections of the Vilnius Archbishopric left in a reduced Poland. Archbishop Skvireckas, Metropolitan of Lithuania, together with Bishop Brizgys of Kaunas and Co-Adjutor Bishop Podoňkis of Vilkavilkis, are in exile in Western Europe. Bishop Mečys Reinys of Vilnius, according to a *Tass* bulletin, is said to be alive in Vilnius. There is no information whatsoever regarding Bishop Paltarokas of Panevėrys. Mgr. Juodaitis is administering the Bishopric of Telliai.

If Bishop Paltarokas is still living, only two bishops remain in Lithuania—20% of the pre-war hierarchy. Of course, this does not prevent *Tass* from claiming that "The Catholic Church organization has remained unchanged. . . ."

During the latter part of 1946, the Soviet press vilely attacked the Catholic Church and the clergy. Lithuanian priests were accused of supporting the guerrillas—"political bandits" and "Lithuanian-German nationalists." The NKVD instituted numerous prosecution processes against priests and gave the widest publicity to the charges. Priests were sentenced to 10 years in hard labor prisons and deported to Russia.

The terror, by the end of the year 1946, was greater than during the first occupation: 25 priests were murdered, 40 were sentenced to hard labor and deported, 150 priests are in hiding.

Through murders, imprisonment, deportations and exile, Lithuania has lost the services of at least 350 priests—that is, 22% of all priests in the country in 1940.

Bishop Ramanauskas of Telliai went to the NKVD in Vilnius to inquire about the fate of his superior, Bishop Borisevičius. He was told that the Bishop was sentenced to death. He returned to Telliai. He was arrested by the NKVD immediately after hold-

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793 ing Holy Mass. With his hands tied behind his back, he was pushed into an auto, driven to the railroad
651 station, and placed on board a train.
798 Bishop Matulionis was arrested in mid-December 1946. The old martyr bore himself with dignity and firmness. To warnings by well-wishers he replied: "I know the bolsheviks." He had ordained some divinity graduates December 9 and 12th, and appeared very weak. He was arrested a few days later for having issued a pastoral letter warning against the wiles of Komsomol.

Arrests of the clergy are more numerous after several visits to "Prime Minister" Gedvila to protest against limiting the number of divinity students to 150. The seminary's building is being requisitioned: its quarters in Marian Fathers' Charity Church are being turned over to Nurses School.

A favorite Russian method is to promote dissension. When Rev. Nagulevičius, pastor of Obeliai, was arrested, the NKDV lodged a suspended priest in the rectory. This "pastor" refused to admit the priest appointed by the bishop. The Chancellor of the diocese arrived to settle the matter, but the NKVD "pastor" refused to obey. When the Chancellor visited comrade Gailevičius, Adviser on Cult Affairs in Vilnius, the latter said: "At present the people rule. This is apparently the people's will, and we cannot help in this matter."

The NKVD is attempting to install its own "priests" and, eventually, to have a Church administration subservient to the NKVD. Thus far, only one apostate is known.

No priests are admitted to the Klaipėda-Memel District.

[794] Congregations are being evicted from their quarters although, officially, the monasteries are not banned. St. Casimir's Sisters are still in possession at Pažaislis, and the Franciscan Fathers are still left in Kretinga.

[651] Priests and Church property are heavily taxed. For instance, the Cathedral of Kaunas must pay 46,000 rubles, the Cathedral of Panevėžys 40,000, the small Church of St. Nicholas in Vilnius dating back to the 14th century, is taxed 16,000 rubles. The late Mgr. Jokubauskas, administrator of the Bishopric of Kaunas who died in February 1947, was taxed 20,000 rubles. The figures become significant when it is realized that an average laborer earns 200 rubles a month.

Sidelights of Anti-Religious Drive

659 Religious practice is permitted inside the church
626 only: Stalin's constitution grants "freedom of belief"
798 and warrants the liberty of anti-religious propaganda. No religious texts, not even prayerbooks, are permitted to be published—"paper shortage" . . . On the other hand millions of vile pamphlets are printed.

Once more, uniformed sentinels and agents in mufti are ostentatiously posted at church doors. They look over every face and scribble notes in the "blocnotes."
[558] Attendance in church means dismissal from a responsible post in the government. Teachers attending religious services are denounced in the press as "persons of low morality." A high school director inquired of

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Among the young Lithuanian intelligentsia there arose very quickly a differentiation between those who obtained a religious education and those who turned to the secular sciences. Both groups, however, found themselves together in the cultural battle which was now breaking out against the Russification plans of the Czarist government. Then /230/ the latter took a step which had never happened before in the history of peoples by proclaiming, on August 6, 1865, that six governments of western Russia were forbidden to print writings in Latin letters. If this decree, which was not repealed until April 24, 1904, was aimed above all at the Polish literature, it also had at first the effect of a death blow on the further development of the young Lithuanian literature. It soon became evident that it was impossible to use the Russian alphabet for the Lithuanian language, and thus this prohibition was equivalent to a prohibition of all Lithuanian literature, including the religious, which tended to arouse special bitterness in this Roman-Catholic country. In order completely to paralyze the development of a Lithuanian educated class and therewith the awakening of an independent national consciousness, there followed a second prohibition according to which Lithuanians in their home provinces could not obtain any posts in the Russian government service. Thus the lay intelligentsia which was now arising, insofar as it turned to government service, was removed into the interior of Russia. A knowledge of these circumstances is a basic condition for the understanding of the further development of Lithuanian literature, for it is now clear why the further intellectual and literary development was carried forward from now on by forces that started their activities outside the political borders of the country. In addition it explains why, in this struggle for existence, whose center of gravity lay from now on on the

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*538 661 purely political side, the literary and artistic element had to recede far in the background.

Bishop Valančius originated the idea of printing Lithuanian books in Tilsit and then having them secretly brought across the border. These books carried Vilna as their place of publication, and as date of publication any year prior to the proclamation of the prohibition. In the course of time it was possible /231/ to cover the whole country with a network of so-called "book carriers" or "book bringers" (Lithuanian: knygnešys), who secretly smuggled the books across the border and distributed them within the country, although they were threatened with prison, even death, and deportation to Siberia. The Russians set a price of 500 rubles on the head of the book carrier Bielakas in 1890. Even the clergy was not spared, a number of priests were banished to Siberia, and a trial hung over Bishop Valančius himself in 1870-71. (31)

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[113] 31. A good insight into this period is given by the comprehensive two-volume collection by P. Ruseckas, Knygnešys (The Book Bringers), Vol. I (Kaunas, 1926); Vol. II (1928); it contains numerous recollections and accounts of these men themselves, along with copious references. Otherwise, too, this period in Lithuanian literature has been fre-

*538 Although in the decade from 1864-73 no [214] less than 214, and from 1874-83 even 270 Lithuanian books and articles (principally religious in nature) were printed and distributed,(32) the year

32. Figures of the Lighuanian bibliographer Daltromaitis.

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Freedom Fighter recruits undergoing training in machine gun firing—Dainava Area in Lithuania.

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"Among the bourgeois nationalists combatting the people, an important part is played by the reactionary section of the Catholic clergy who try to utilize the religious convictions of people in the interest of the exploiting classes.

". . . The interest of the Lithuanian people demands that the bourgeois nationalists be smashed as soon as possible. We have every means to accomplish this.

"The speedy destruction of the bourgeois-nationalist underground depends to a great extent on a successful expansion of combat against the relics of influence of the bourgeois nationalist ideology among certain sections of the population, and on a re-education of our republic's working people in the spirit of Soviet ideology."

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A year later, on 14 December 1948, all the major press agencies commented the article of comrade A. S. Trofimov, new secretary of the "Lithuanian" Communist Party Central Committee, in a December 2 issue of "Soviet Lithuania." The Russian comrade called to mobilize the Party's forces for the "liquidation of the remnants of the bourgeois-nationalist underground" which "spreads provocative rumors, and steals into the Government system and into factories," "intimidating and murdering Soviet folk" in an effort "to hinder the great work of restoring and expanding the people's economy."

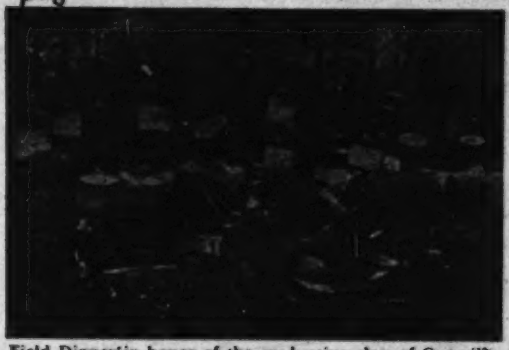
At long last, comrade Trofimov received a Russian translation of his fellow-secretary's article written a year earlier. . . .

There had been such articles in the Soviet press ever since the imposition of a Russian regime upon Lithuania—and there will be many more such articles as long as the MVD-MGB will maintain the Communist Party in power over any freedom-loving country.

News of a worldwide distribution of "Trofimov's article"—plagiarized from comrade Sniečkus—reached Moscow. Comrade Trofimov's fate is not known—but the first week of January 1949, Soviet broadcasts beamed to Western Europe hastened to proclaim that the Lithuanian "insurrectionist underground" had been "liquidated" and that everything was now in order.

Nevertheless, on 16-19 February 1949, comrade Sniečkus for four hours raved at the LKP/b Congress

1:Anonymous U-3 (no date)1949 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
p. 8



Field Dinner in honor of the graduating class of Guerrilla Officers School, Tauras Area in Lithuania.

668 186 665 —repeating his call to smash the underground, the reactionary clergy, etc. One need not be a prophet to predict that boasts of "liquidation" and threats, repeatedly made since 1945, will be reiterated for an indefinite time in the future.

Liberation Movement

668 725 Armed and passive resistance will continue until the liberation of the country—or extinction of the Lithuanian People.

The Supreme Lithuanian Committee of Liberation (*VLIK*) is regarded as the country's supreme *political* representative, and its delegation abroad is acknowledged as the Government-in-Exile. It is a coalition of all democratic non-Communist parties and combat organizations.

The actual *resistance* is coordinated inside the country by a non-partisan *BDPS*—the United Democratic Resistance Movement. Its armed forces, called FREEDOM FIGHTERS, are directed by the *VGPS*—the Supreme Command of the Armed Guerrilla Forces.

The objectives are: to counteract the bolshevik spy network; to defend and protect the inhabitants from robberies and murders; to prevent the colonization of the country by foreigners; to curb collectivization and moral lapses; to prevent the wasteful destruction of the forests and other national resources; to keep the population informed of international developments through a press network; to shelter persons passing into outlaw status; to preserve the nation's manpower and traditions of a cultural, political and national entity. In general—the aspiration is to regain state sovereignty under a democratic system, with Lithuania a member of the European Continental Commonwealth and in friendship wtih neighboring countries, including Russia. The main objective is—SURVIVAL OF THE LITHUANIAN PEOPLE. Other objectives flow therefrom.

Resistance tactics constantly change in accordance with the methods and degree of oppression by the Soviet occupant. The country is divided into Areas, and resistance members themselves know but one or two other members. The BDPS Praesidium is formed on the principle of efficiency and personal qualifications, rather than representation of various political ideologies. Force today is applied on rare occasions, whenever its use as a terrorist shock action is justified, for instance, attack on the armed convoys and trains transporting deportees.

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Press Section, Baltic Area of the Lithuanian Liberation Army. An underground newspaper in the process of printing in a forest.

876 Lithuanian language, but in Vilnius classes are bi-
626 lingual. Technological training is favored from the top, and students themselves elect such classes for practical reasons. The Marxist-Leninist "science" is obligatory. Nevertheless, of 2,000 students of the University of Kaunas, only 13 were members of the Komsomol in the school year 1947-48.

883 The Komsomol (Communist Youth organization)
665 —just vegetates: there are few Lithuanian recruits. These are found in the cities only. The Komsomol had enjoyed some success during the early days of the second occupation as a "security measure." However, when the authorities began employing the Komsomol personnel for repression, espionage, grain collection supervision, etc., the ranks dwindled. The *Komsorgs* (Komsomol organizers) are pressuring students to join the Komsomol and school directors second the efforts, but there is practically no response: in schools of 500 pupils, only a dozen or so, mostly children of non-Lithuanian race, belong to the Komsomol.

Membership in the "Pioneers"—the parody of boy scouting—is not obligatory but school authorities warn the parents to enroll their children.

In Kindergartens, communist and anti-religious propaganda is forced on little children, and teachers slyly attempt to enlist the little ones as informers on their parents and friends.

Forcible Collectivization and Duplicity

423 Unbelievable official duplicity is practiced by the Kremlin. Thus, *Izvestiya*, the official organ of the Soviet Government, in the issue No. 172 of 22 July 1948 wrote:

"The Agrarian Reform has been consummated in Lithuania. 92,000 former smallholders and the landless have received gratuitously FOR ALL TIME 659,000 hectares of land, tens of thousands horses and cows, over 100,000 houses and other farm structures.

"Prior to the completion of harvesting, over 250 kolkhozes were found in the country."

The final phrase presaged the forcible drive against the "smallholders and the landless" from whom land was seized and redistributed in order to provide statistical data to show a great Soviet "achievement," prior to driving the expropriated "recipients of the land FOR ALL TIME" into the kolkhozes. And yet,

[423] tens and personal property owned by institutions and organizations of a religious character were sequestered. 798 In nationalizing land, parishes were given only 3 hec- 661 tares—although other landlords retained 30 hectares. Buildings owned by parishes and bishoprics, including episcopal residences and seminaries, libraries, printing shops, printed stocks of books were confiscated. Denominational grammar schools, high schools, orphanages, kindergartens and hospitals were converted into state institutions. The stocks of missals, hymnals, prayer-books, rosaries, religious pictures, and other religious articles found stored in book shops and retail stores were desecrated or destroyed.

793 The Soviets considered the clergy a separate "caste," 651 antagonistic to the proletariat and, therefore, to be 661 eliminated. The clergy as well as independent farmers (called '*kulaks*'), were oppressed economically; priests and "cult servants" were heavily taxed. For instance, a tolerated "proletarian" with a monthly income of 200 rubles paid 30 rubles monthly for living space assigned to him, while "cult servants" of the same income class paid 220 rubles monthly, and those with incomes of 350 rubles paid 388 rubles.

651 The Communist Party proposed to levy excessive license fees on churches, similar to motion picture 665 house and cabaret assessments. The taxes depended on 661 the size of the church. Such taxes were already imposed in the sections of Poland annexed to Russia—20,000 to 50,000 rubles. A commissar explained the policy to a pastor of a Lithuanian parish in eastern Lithuania which was annexed by Russia in 1939: "If you can't pay—close down your shop." Consequently, the churches were to be closed by degrees for nonpayment of taxes.

798 The Party also passed a decision to convert the cen- 665 trally located Garrison Church of Kaunas into a "Rev- 661 olutionary Museum." The Museum of Church Art was liquidated and its exhibits, the antique vestments, were used by Red Army troopers to polish their boots.

All that was public anti-religious action. The other phase, shrouded in secrecy, was directed against individual members of the clergy.

The Party instructed its agents to disrupt the internal discipline of churchmen, to enlist agent-informers among the clergymen, to antagonize priests against each other or to compromise them. NKGB Major Gladkov issued a secret directive dated 21 October 1940, directed to all county security chiefs, to institute unbroken surveillance of priests, church employees, friars and nuns, and to enlist students of upper classes for espionage on the private lives of the clergymen. "Remember that some of the priests are not provided for materially and are wavering in their ideological outlook." The secret order of 21 January 1941 directed particular attention to individual discontent and antagonism among members of religious organizations: advantage should be taken of such incidents to disrupt the organizations.

793 After digesting the reports of weakness exhibited by 659 some individual priests, People's Commissar of Jus- 661 tice, Pranas Pakarklis, a native traitor, offered attractive offices to a number of priests, on condition that

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

[44] Art. 103. It is the duty of every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR to safe-
[665] guard and fortify public, socialist property as the sacred and inviolable foun-
dation of the Soviet system, as the source of the wealth and might of the coun-
[401] try, as the source of the prosperity and culture of all the working people.

Persons committing offences against public, socialist property are enemies of the people.

Art. 104. Universal military service is law.

Military service in the Armed Forces of the USSR is an honourable duty of the citizens of the Lithuanian SSR.

[667] Art. 105. To defend the country is the sacred duty of every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR. Treason to the motherland - violation of the oath of allegiance, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military power of the state, espionage - is punishable with all the severity of the law as the most heinous of crimes.

Chapter IX. The Electoral System

666 Art. 106. Members of all Soviets of Working People's Deputies - of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR and of the district, city, volost, small town and apilinki Soviets of Working People's Deputies - are chosen by the electors on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

Art. 107. Elections of deputies are universal: all citizens of the Lithuanian SSR who have reached the age of eighteen, irrespective of race or nationality, sex, religion, education, domicile, social origin, property status or past activities, have the right to vote in the election of deputies and to be elected, with the exception of insane persons and persons who have been convicted by a court of law and whose sentences include deprivation of electoral rights.

[668] Every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR who has reached the age of twenty-one is eligible for election to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, irrespective of race, nationality, sex, religion, education, domicile, social origin, property status or past activities.

Art. 108. Elections of deputies are equal: each citizen has one vote; all citizens participate in elections on an equal footing.

[562] Art. 109. Women have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with men.

Art. 110. Citizens serving in the Armed Forces of the USSR have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with all other citizens.

Art. 111. Elections of deputies are direct: all Soviets of Working People's Deputies, from apilinki, volost and city Soviets of Working People's Deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR are elected by the citizens by a direct vote.

Art. 112. Voting at elections of deputies is secret.

Art. 113. Candidates are nominated by election districts.

[Lithuanian Constitution 25 of April 3, 1948]

66 The right to nominate candidates is secured to public organizations and societies of the working people: Communist Party organizations, trade unions, cooperatives, youth organizations and cultural societies.

Art. 114. It is the duty of every deputy to report to his electors on his work and on the work of his Soviet of Working People's Deputies, and he may be recalled at any time upon decision of a majority of the electors in the manner established by law.

Art. 115. Elections to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of the Lithuanian SSR are held by election districts on the bases of representation fixed by the Ordinance Concerning Elections to Soviets of Working People's Deputies of the Lithuanian SSR.

Chapter X. Arms, Flag, Capital

18 Art. 116. The state arms of the Lithuanian SSR are a sickle and hammer of gold on a white background in the rays of the rising sun surrounded by ears of grain and oak leaves and with inscriptions in the Lithuanian and Russian languages: "Workers of All Countries, Unite!"

In the upper part of the arms is a five-pointed star and in the lower part, the letters "LTSR".

Art. 117. The state flag of the Lithuanian SSR is of red cloth with a gold sickle and hammer and the gold letters "Lietuvos TSR" in the upper corner near the staff. The ratio of width to length is 1:2.

Art. 118. The capital of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic is the City of Vilnius.

Chapter XI. Procedure for Amending the Constitution

642 Art. 119. The Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR may be amended only by
C46 decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR adopted by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes of the Supreme Soviet.

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000 Note: The Russian text from which this translation was made was a typed copy authenticated on June 24, 1948 by Mr. S. Pupeikis, Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

000 "Anti-religious propaganda is not forbidden in Soviet Lithuania, nor is religious propaganda forbidden. Like all Catholic priests, I preach the word of God freely and without hindrance from the pulpit. If anti-religious lectures are given in our city, any citizen does or does not attend as he sees fit—just as every citizen does or does not attend the services at any church according to the dictates of his judgment."

This assertion, of course, violates the wording of Art. 124 of the Soviet Constitution. Constitution, published by the OGIZ State Publishing House of Political Literature at Moscow in 1938, in English, gives the following (inaccurate) translation: "Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens."

875 A direct contradiction is provided by an article of comrade V. Niunka, Minister of Education of the Lithuanian SSR, in the Communist Party organ *Tiesa* of 31 October 1948:

"Most of the teachers of the Ignalina gymnasium . . . did not rid themselves of religious prejudices, they frequently go to church thereby setting a bad example for the pupils. . . . Former director N. Petravičius is a clerical, he practices his religion, he even keeps pictures of the saints in his home . . . and categorically refuses to admit his errors. . . .

"Therefore, the College of the Ministry of Education decrees:

"1) to dismiss the following teachers from teaching duties:

"(a) Nikanoras Petravičius as a clerical and unfit to work in Soviet schools . . ." — and other teachers practicing their religious duties.

000 There was indeed a Casimir Kulak, a Catholic priest of Whiteruthenian extraction. He had been a professor of the Eastern rite liturgy and Orthodox Theology at the Roman Catholic Seminary in Pinsk. He was an erudite man, tolerant in his dealings with the Lithuanians, and a Whiteruthenian patriot—not to be confused with the Lithuanians.

It is feared that the alleged "interview" in the Soviet Embassy Bulletin may be the last we shall hear of this priest—unless from a MVD dungeon. The Soviet Embassy had once before published an "interview" with a Catholic dignitary, the Most Rev. Mečys Reinys, Archbishop of Vilnius,—and he "vanished" within a month thereafter. . . .

Resistance

● 668 186 Comrade Antanas Sniečkus, the window-dressing "Stalin" of Lithuania—First Secretary of the Communist Party/bolshevik of Lithuania—had this to say in the LKP/b organ *Tiesa* ("Pravda"), No. 300 of 24 December 1947:

"It must not be forgotten that the bourgeois nationalists within the republic's territory are conducting anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation, spreading provocative rumors and, seeking to undermine the work, they attempt to infiltrate in the state apparatus.

"When German fascism lies smashed and is no longer able to aid the Lithuanian bourgeois nationalists, they expect such aid from the Anglo-American imperialists.

". . . They praise the false Anglo-Saxon democracy and idealize the bourgeois system of America and England.

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Freedom Fighter recruits undergoing training in machine gun firing—Dainava Area in Lithuania.

668 186 "Among the bourgeois nationalists combatting the people, an important part is played by the reactionary section of the Catholic clergy who try to utilize the religious convictions of people in the interest of the exploiting classes.

"... The interest of the Lithuanian people demands that the bourgeois nationalists be smashed as soon as possible. We have every means to accomplish this.

"The speedy destruction of the bourgeois-nationalist underground depends to a great extent on a successful expansion of combat against the relics of influence of the bourgeois nationalist ideology among certain sections of the population, and on a re-education of our republic's working people in the spirit of Soviet ideology."

665 668 186 A year later, on 14 December 1948, all the major press agencies commented the article of comrade A. S. Trofimov, new secretary of the "Lithuanian" Communist Party Central Committee, in a December 2 issue of "Soviet Lithuania." The Russian comrade called to mobilize the Party's forces for the "liquidation of the remnants of the bourgeois-nationalist underground" which "spreads provocative rumors, and steals into the Government system and into factories," "intimidating and murdering Soviet folk" in an effort "to hinder the great work of restoring and expanding the people's economy."

At long last, comrade Trofimov received a Russian translation of his fellow-secretary's article written a year earlier....

There had been such articles in the Soviet press ever since the imposition of a Russian regime upon Lithuania—and there will be many more such articles as long as the MVD-MGB will maintain the Communist Party in power over any freedom-loving country.

News of a worldwide distribution of "Trofimov's article"—plagiarized from comrade Sniečkus—reached Moscow. Comrade Trofimov's fate is not known,—but the first week of January 1949, Soviet broadcasts beamed to Western Europe hastened to proclaim that the Lithuanian "insurrectionist underground" had been "liquidated" and that everything was now in order.

Nevertheless, on 16-19 February 1949, comrade Sniečkus for four hours raved at the LKP/b Congress

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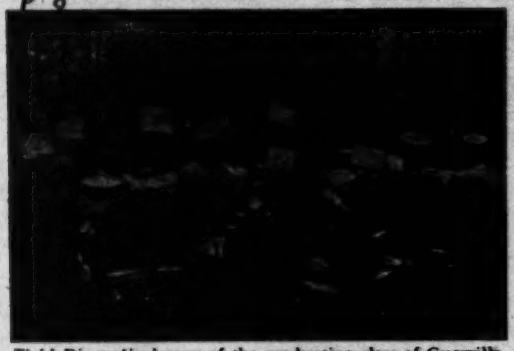

Field Dinner in honor of the graduating class of Guerrilla Officers School, Tauras Area in Lithuania.

668 186 665 —repeating his call to smash the underground, the reactionary clergy, etc. One need not be a prophet to predict that boasts of "liquidation" and threats, repeatedly made since 1945, will be reiterated for an indefinite time in the future.

Liberation Movement

668 725 Armed and passive resistance will continue until the liberation of the country—or extinction of the Lithuanian People.

The Supreme Lithuanian Committee of Liberation (*VLIK*) is regarded as the country's supreme *political* representative, and its delegation abroad is acknowledged as the Government-in-Exile. It is a coalition of all democratic non-Communist parties and combat organizations.

The actual *resistance* is coordinated inside the country by a non-partisan *BDPS*—the United Democratic Resistance Movement. Its armed forces, called FREEDOM FIGHTERS, are directed by the *VGPS*—the Supreme Command of the Armed Guerrilla Forces.

The objectives are: to counteract the bolshevik spy network; to defend and protect the inhabitants from robberies and murders; to prevent the colonization of the country by foreigners; to curb collectivization and moral lapses; to prevent the wasteful destruction of the forests and other national resources; to keep the population informed of international developments through a press network; to shelter persons passing into outlaw status; to preserve the nation's manpower and traditions of a cultural, political and national entity. In general—the aspiration is to regain state sovereignty under a democratic system, with Lithuania a member of the European Continental Commonwealth and in friendship wtih neighboring countries, including Russia. The main objective is—SURVIVAL OF THE LITHUANIAN PEOPLE. Other objectives flow therefrom.

Resistance tactics constantly change in accordance with the methods and degree of oppression by the Soviet occupant. The country is divided into Areas, and resistance members themselves know but one or two other members. The BDPS Praesidium is formed on the principle of efficiency and personal qualifications, rather than representation of various political ideologies. Force today is applied on rare occasions, whenever its use as a terrorist shock action is justified, for instance, attack on the armed convoys and trains transporting deportees.

1:Anonymous U-3(no date)1949 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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Trainees of the Guerrilla Officers School returning to their camp after field training—Tauras Area in Lithuania.

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Large-scale battles are no longer fought—they proved too costly. The Russians claimed to have "liquidated 12,000 bandits" since 1944 and estimate the present forces of the "bandits" at 40,000. The Lithuanian underground concedes considerably greater battle casualties—in excess of 20,000—and estimates the Russian battle casualties at 180,000. This seeming disproportion in battle losses is explained by the fact that the Lithuanians are on the defensive, they strike from ambush in coldly calculated shock actions, strike a swift blow and retire,—while the Russians storm blindly in massed ranks. There is a case of a former guerrilla unit commander who, after the murder of his entire family and the destruction of his farm by the punitive detachments, enlisted with the guerrillas and accounted for 283 assorted Russians prior to his escape westward.

Unfortunately, armed action is followed by reprisals by Soviet punitive detachments which rage for weeks around the scene of a clash—while the guerrilla unit is far from the place by that time. The havoc caused by Soviet punitive hordes is so great that, despite the insufferable treatment at the hands of the occupant, the Liberation Movement strives to reduce employment of arms to an unavoidable minimum.

Uniformed armed units are maintained in the field but are used as a policing force. The guerrillas—men and women "outlaws" who cannot go back to their homes—are under orders to destroy themselves in an extremity and to take pains to mutilate their faces in death, lest their families and acquaintances should suffer. Consequently, the last hand grenade is reserved for suicidal use: the grenade is placed in the mouth and exploded. Faces of battle casualties are mutilated by comrades of the fallen Freedom Fighters when clandestine burial is made impossible. Some 8,000 men and women met death in suicidal fashion.

In 1947, a group of 8 Freedom Fighters making their way on a mission to Poland, were traced to a dugout by MVD dogs. According to Russian prisoners taken later by the guerrillas, the MVD troops showered grenades and mortar fire around the dugout. When a hole was finally pierced, solemn singing came from inside, followed by a series of explosions: all 8 men had blown themselves to eternity.

668 In the village of M . . . ., several hundred Russians encircled 6 guerrillas. The cornered patriots defended themselves an entire day. Only 3 men survived when their ammunition was exhausted. They managed to crawl toward Russian corpses, and they fought with "borrowed" weapons until all three men were blown out of existence. 60 Russians, including the MVD chief of Prienai, died.

Desecration and Reprisals

661 The behavior of Russian "repression forces" may be illustrated by several examples.

In 1948, a MVD unit called on a farmer in Marijampolė township to make a search. When the door was not opened quickly enough, the Russians fired several series of automatic fire through the door, killing the father. They broke down the door, beat up and raped the widow and her 17-year old daughter, seized everything of value and left. In a neighboring farm, the Russians raped a pregnant woman in her husband's presence, beat up everyone and left. The woman gave birth to a stillborn within a few days.

On 7 February 1947 the MVD troops of Marijampolė saw two German women beggars near the Nendrininkai village. The soldiers opened fire. One woman escaped, the other was raped by 7 men—in the sight of the horrified villagers. The same Russians encountered an elderly German woman beggaring in the Ilgeliškiai village. Learning from her papers that she was German, they killed her with rifle butts and ordered the farmers to bury her.

In Sasnava township, farmer Kukliečius and his son were cutting wood at the forest edge around their farm. Passing Russians shot them on sight, without investigating. They shot farmer Rauba in the Pinkevilkiai village whom they observed chopping wood.

In the village of Naujakaimis, MVD troops killed three youths observed walking together on the street—Valinskas, 17, B. Vylniauskas, 18, and J. Vylniauskas, 16. The Russians bayoneted, kicked and struck the bodies with rifle butts and did not permit the bereaved parents to claim the bodies.

In Kamajai town, Rokiškis county, the Russians descended on a widow who was inadvertently feeding seven strangers who proved to be guerrillas—6 men and a nurse. When the guerrillas refused to surrender, the Russians opened fire. The battle of 7 guerrillas against some 60 Russians lasted several hours. The guerrillas and their hostess were killed. The widow's young daughter fainted from fright and was found among the corpses. The troops ordered the neighbors to load the corpses on a truck. These neighbors seeing the girl was living—told the Russians. The latter ordered them to toss the girl with the corpses. The bodies were brought to Rokiškis and dumped on the city market place. The girl revived. She crawled and started running. Several Russian guards overtook her, passed a noose of barbed wire over her neck, and dragged her back to the corpses—strangled. This scene was witnessed by an American citizen now back in the United States.

Thousands of similar incidents are recorded by the underground.

668 661 When the MVD became too active in Marijampolė county in 1947, a guerrilla was assigned to court an

661 MVD employee and he became engaged to her. The engagement party was attended by several dozen top
668 officials, including Chairman of the County Executive Committee, the Prosecutor, the Komsomol Chairman, MVD officials, etc. At an opportune moment, the lone guerrilla liquidated the entire group of Soviet satraps, with the exception of the guest musician. Similar incidents occurred elsewhere, and the Russians now avoid gathering in such groups, unless under strong escort.

Desecration of patriots' corpses continues. Bodies are dumped in market places. Crosses and Lithuanian insignia are cut on the bodies by bayonets and scythes, rosaries "rein" the mouths, eyes are gouged, sexual organs mutilated. Bodies lie in decomposed state for weeks, as the Russians kick and spit on the bodies, dance around them, etc.

Banditry by Russian troops and militia is restrained by the guerrilla units protecting the inhabitants. For over a year Russian bandit gangs of army deserters posed a serious problem but these were eventually destroyed by the guerrillas.

The resistance movement embraces the entire country, although degree of organization differs from place to place. The Russian campaign for a memorial thanking Stalin for the "liberation" failed miserably. Lately, however, to minimize the reprisals, the underground instructed people to report to polling places and to pay lip service to "father of nations," "the great teacher and leader, protector of the working people of the world, Stalin The Sun."

668 Liaison with the underground forces in the neighboring countries is rendered difficult by the extreme nationalism of the Poles and Whiteruthenians. Collaboration is limited to specific objectives, such as assistance for passage of envoys. The underground in Poland is not unified, and there had been cases of betrayal by rival factions. Excellent contact is maintained with the Latvians and Ukrainians. Overtures from "Russian underground sources" were deliberately ignored as too risky—the Russians are so thoroughly cowed by three decades of terror and informer network that no Russian is deemed reliable.

Administration

645 The "boss" of the country is a satrap of the Kremlin—comrade *Shcherbakov*, titled All-Union Communist Party's/bolshevik Plenipotentiary for Lithuania.

In addition to comrade Justas "President" Paleckis, Chairman of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, the Council of Ministers is made up of the following nominal heads:

Prime Minister—Mečys Gedvila (Lithuanian);

Deputy Premiers—First Deputy Pisaryov, Second Deputy Sokolov, Third Deputy Mamayev (all 3 Russians);

Council's Secretary—S. Pupeikis (Lithuanian);

Minister of Food Industry—K. Andrijaitis (Lithuanian);

Minister of Local Industry—S. Shkodin (Russian);

Minister of Fishing Industry—Andrei Zasypkin (Russian) was summarily dismissed "for inefficiency" 3 February 1949 and replaced by an unknown, "V. Mickevičius";

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186 The Russian occupation receives no popular support from the masses. Of racial Lithuanians, only a
668 few hardened communists and several thousand released criminals turned collaborators.

There is a definite trend to exclude even Lithuanian communists. In all of the periodic purges, it is the Lithuanian communists who suffer disgrace, expulsion and exile, while Russian embezzlers retain their posts. An "Anti-Cominform" morale is pronounced among the Lithuanian members of the LKP/b. Party and non-Party Lithuanians are still found in the less important "high offices." However, not a single Lithuanian holds an administrative post in any office connected with the military effort. This trend is pronounced even in the distribution of "ministerial" titles.

655 All communications—railroads, waterways, ports, post offices, telegraph, radio, telephone, aviation and highways—are under a centralized "All-Union" control: there are no "ministries" for any communications. A few Lithuanians are still encountered among the MVD railroad guard personnel but their number constantly dwindles.

486 Travel inside Lithuania to a distance of 200 km. is not obstructed, with the exception of the "prohibited zones" along the Polish frontier and the seacoast, where special permits from the MVD are required. Otherwise, traveling permits are issued by employing offices. Of course, every traveler must submit to numerous checkings of the papers by armed patrols.

There is no frontier with East Prussia and Latvia, and the same general travel rules apply to journeys to Latvia and East Prussia. Nevertheless, it is deemed safer to procure a *"komandirovka"* (dispatch orders) even if the destination be less than 200 km.—a "detour" to Siberia must never be overlooked. The Latvian frontier is crossed mostly for black marketing. It is possible to go to Byelorussia and into the interior of Russia with a permit issued by a local MVD or Executive Committee. *"Komandirovka"* is required for travel by air.

[191] Transportation tickets, birth, death and other records are printed in Russian and "local" languages. Nevertheless, it is not a rare phenomenon to hear in response to an inquiry in Lithuanian: *"Neponimayu etovo sobachevo yazika"* (I do not understand this canine language).

Mobilization and Demobilization

727 Of the so-called "Lithuanian Units," only one survives—the 16th Infantry Division stationed in Vilnius. The enlisted and non-commissioned officers personnel is roughly 80% Lithuanian, but the officer cadres are predominantly Russian on all levels. Orders are given in Russian. Colonel Motieka is the Divisional Commander, and political "General" Macijauskas is Deputy Commanding Officer. All other mobilized Lithu-
701 anians are dispersed throughout Russian units.

During the war, men of the classes of (birth) 1895 through 1926 were drafted. After the cessation of hostilities in Germany, a few men were demobilized, others were assigned to various Labor Battalions and moved to Russia. Those serving in MVD units were retained in the service. Men born prior to 1923 were demobilized from strictly military units of the Soviet Army.

661 them, like the 60-year old farmer J. Kaminskas from Oldenburg, were "detoured" to Siberia. Several other 474 families were forcibly repatriated by the Russians from Pomerania—and were executed by the local authorities when they reached their homes. Having identified the former refugees, the Russians at once retaliated against their relatives. Thus, in Sudavia, Rev. Degutis of Virbalis, Rev. Zdanavičius, Rev. Drazdys, township clerk Bieliauskas of Pajevonys, Stasys Aleksa from Jakilkiai, Jonas Micuta from Kunigilkiai were executed. In distant Samagitia, Antanas Ambrozaitis, Antanas Bieliauskas and several other men were exiled to Siberia from Kretinga and their *wives were forced to re-marry*. Similar events have taken place elsewhere.

668 The guerrilla commanders felt obliged to retaliate. 725 On learning that Eugenija Kubiliûtė of Pajevónys had been responsible for some of the Russian-conducted massacres, the guerrillas attacked Pajevonys, found the girl inside the Pajevonys township office, tied her and burned down the structure with the traitor girl inside. The same night the MVD-militia outpost was attacked and destroyed. In the northwest, the guerrillas simultaneously occupied several towns and killed all the communists. Other units invaded the Klaipėda District and seized a Russian arsenal at Šilutė-Heidekrug, including tanks and artillery pieces. Several battalions of the regular Soviet Army sent to combat the guerrillas unexpectedly passed over to the enemy. . . . If there was "insurrection," that was by the regular armed forces of Russia. MVD-MGB troops were moved in and light bombers were summoned to bomb the "bandits" who retreated to the forests. As Russian reinforcements rushed to Pajevonys, a Russian munitions dump exploded. . . .

Then followed the "operation" of May 1948.

Genocide in Operation

474 Rural authorities were instructed to urge the dis-
661 possessed farmers to file applications for land allotments. Of course, none of these instructions were printed in the press. Local officials were instructed to stress that the Soviet regime wanted to endow everyone with land. When petitions were turned in, the officials informed the petitioners that land was allotted to them "in another township" and they must report to certain transportation points. When the farmers and their families, bearing their few worldly possessions arrived at the appointed places, they were encircled by MVD troops, driven to railroad depots and placed on board freight cars bound for Siberia. Conservative estimates placed the number of people deported in this despicable manner at more than 100,000.

Letters began arriving from the deportees telling about the numerous deaths while in transit. People trembled as they listened to threats made by countless agitators. Agricultural work was done listlessly. Fields were neglected. More and more failures to meet taxes and grain delivery quotas were reported in the press, announcing "temporary exile into friendly republics" of the "kulak saboteurs." People became resigned and agreed to go into kolkhozes.

668 The Lithuanian is passionately fond of his soil. How could he leave all his precious belongings and animals to the profane Russians to debase? No: he would rather burn down everything. . . .

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A unit of Freedom Fighters resting after a battle—
Tauras Area, Lithuania.

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These practices meant "sabotage of a people's economy" and "insurrection." Reproached and heckled in this manner, some people broke down and could no longer stand the tirades and the violence. They seized their pitchforks, axes and scythes and turned on the hated Muscovites. Countless people were murdered. Ablebodied men fled to the forests.

All this time, the Russians were perfecting their preparations to execute the "Abakumov Order" to purge the Baltic States of all hostile element (see the Nov.-Dec. 1948 issue of the *Lithuanian Bulletin*, pp. 4-5). The indignation and desperation of the farmers offered a very convenient excuse for MVD-MGB troops to descend en masse in November and December 1948 in execution of a previously conceived plan of the Kremlin Politburo. After all, the agitators had very definite instructions: rave for hours—and some people's enemies are likely to betray themselves. . . .

No one knows the manpower losses of the "operation" of the present winter. First reports placed the casualties at 60,000 men, women and children. But the Russians claimed that the "insurrection" was put down only in January 1949, and the "Russian system" entails retaliation against the families and friends of the "people's enemies." This means that the persecution is endless. . . .

However, the crime of genocide perpetrated by the Russians against Catholic Lithuania does not end with simple murder on the ground of a provoked "sabotage" and "insurrection." Genocide takes other forms.

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One of the refined forms of genocide is reported in the Party organ *Tiesa* of 13 December 1948:

"A serial call of the youths to the FGA (Factory Production Training) schools of Vilnius, Kaunas and Klaipėda began on 10 November. The call-up will last until 15 December 1948. One thousand youths will be called to learn mass construction skills. During the years 1945-48 about 14,000 young skilled workers entered industrial and construction concerns from the trades, railroad and FGA schools."

Graduates of such specialized schools may be sent anywhere in the Soviet Union, to "assist the fraternal republics" needing specified skilled labor groups. They have no choice—they must go where they are directed, and there is unlimited demand for skilled labor in the Asiatic "fraternal republics." Their eventual return to their homeland is doubtful.

423 posed of eventually by distribution among the landless and
425 the small landowners (those having not more than 12 acres).[9]
[671] This decree was legalized by the Preliminary Land Reform Law of August 18, 1920, and its scope was broadened to permit the republic of Lithuania to assume also the ownership of private forests that were larger than 25 *desimtines*
[804] (one *desimtine* is equal to about 2.7 acres).[10] This law was a tentative one in that it contained no provision for the distribution of the expropriated property.

671 The Land Reform Law in its final draft, consisting of
423 twelve sections and subdivided into seventy-seven para-
[425] graphs, was ratified in 1922.[11] The first section outlines the composition of the lands reserved for distribution, defining particularly the land to be taken into the distribution reserve. This action also enabled the state to take over the private property of those who had served in the post-war German armed bands of Bermont and Virgolicz and of those who had worked or were still working against the independence of Lithuania. Estates exceeding 200 acres and owned by one person or one family were also to be taken for land reform purposes.[12] Later the limit was raised to 321 acres (150 hectares). The second section of the Land Reform Law provides that the biggest and least active estates shall be among the first to be appropriated for land reform purposes. The third section defines the types of prospective recipients of the reapportioned land parcels. It states mainly that heads of families of landless peasants, farm laborers, and small landowners are entitled to share in the land distribution. Those farmers, or their lawful successors, from whom land was

[9] Elsbergas, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[10] *Vyriausybes Zinios*, Nr. 45 eil. 454 (Government Gazette No. 45, Part 454). Hereafter referred to as V.Z.

[11] *Ibid.*, Nr. 83 eil. 721.

[12] *Ibid.*, Nr. 324 eil. 2218.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

seized by the government in 1861 and 1863 are to receive 671 ●
priority over all others. Each head of a family may receive not 423
more than 49.4 acres (20 hectares). Land is also to be distributed to public schools, schools of agriculture, and other in- [657]
stitutions of learning and culture as well as to hospitals, sanatoriums, asylums, and other social and public organizations.

The land is divided into four classes, graded according to 423
the fertility of the soil. The new owners have to pay equal annual installments for their land for thirty-six years. The rate to be paid varies from 180 to 252 litas per hectare (2.471 acres) for first-class land, depending on its location; 90 to 126 litas for second-class; 36 to 54 litas for third-class, and 18 to 27 litas for fourth-class. No interest accumulates on the unpaid balance except on due shares which are not paid in the time prescribed.[13]

The only recipients of land exempted from all payments [729]
are volunteer soldiers in the Lithuanian war for independence and their families.

Former owners of the lands taken for land reform pur- 423
poses were entitled to compensation. Payment was to be 425
made with government bonds bearing three percent interest 652
and redeemable at any time not later than thirty-six years from the date of issue. Paragraph 58 of the Land Reform Law prescribes that the compensation for the land shall be a fair price based on valuations existing in the period between 1910 and 1914. As the Land Reform Law was passed on April 3, 1922, when *Obost* marks [14] were in circulation, the compensation was to be paid in this currency. (One Russian ruble was made equal to two *Obost* marks.) Paragraph 59 provides that the highest amount paid may not exceed

[13] Salkauskas, *op. cit.*, pp. 325–32.
[14] See, p. 102 below, section on Finance.

5:Masiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

First Law

671 The first law on elementary education was
872 passed in 1922 making the Lithuanian primary
875 school of four grades and requiring all children of both sexes between the ages of 7 and 13 to attend it. The general administrative organization was based on the principle of decentralization which granted wide powers to the local authorities and to the children's parents. However, this experience soon showed that under such a system the qualifications of the
[647] teachers left much to be desired. For this reason the law of 1922 was amended in 1925 and the appointment of teachers, their transfer from one school to another, and certain other matters were centered in the Ministry of Education. In the same year the school curricula were drawn up and officially approved. The schools were run under this law up to 1936 when a new elementary school law
[186] was promulgated which declares that the purpose of the elementary school is to provide primary education for the youth of Lithuania, foster their spiritual and physical growth, and teach them to love, cherish, and sacrifice themselves for Lithuania.

872 The present elementary school has six grades. The first four, obligatory for children between 7 and 13, form the first degree of study. The last two, for children 14 and 15 years old, form the second degree which is optional as yet because not enough schools are available. The increase in them began only in 1933. The elementary school subjects of instruction are: Religion taught by clergymen of the various denominations and compulsory for all children, Lithuanian as the language of instruction, arithmetic, knowledge of environment, history, geography,
872 natural history, art, manual arts, music and
186 singing, and physical training. In an ele-
191 mentary school district where the number of children of non-Lithuanian parentage exceeds

497 Railroad traffic is lively: military trains pass Kaunas every few minutes. A single passenger train circulates daily between Vilnius and Kaunas, and one train operates every other day between Kaunas and Šeštokai.

499 505 Graveled highways go unrepaired, showing ever greater deterioration. Few ships and barges are seen on the Nemunas, as most of the fleet managed to escape to Denmark in 1944.

465 511 [435] All artisans were driven into "artels": excessive taxes did the trick.

Wages are low and working hours are long. Prices are twice as high as in Moscow: one week's wages is spent on a kilogram of butter. In 1945 butter was transported from Lithuania to Moscow in an "airlift operation," by planes. The Muscovites liked Lithuanian butter—and butter is still exported, depriving the Lithuanians of their diet. Numerous deductions are withheld from wages—up to one half, including "voluntary" subscriptions to state loans, etc.

In consequence of the meager pay, every worker attempts to steal whatever he can, and to sell the stolen products in the black market. Lately the bureaucracy —itself most guilty of embezzlement—began penalizing the workers with harsh penalties. Nevertheless, the practice of stealing is universal, and the Russian officials set the pace. Whenever the so-called "exemplary state farms" call for volunteers to assist in planting or harvesting—there are enough volunteers who anticipate a chance to "hook something."

The morale of factory workers is as low as that of the farmers. The living conditions steadily deteriorate. Discontent over "stakhanovite efficiency," long working hours, low pay, lack of clothing, etc. is widespread. In the early part of 1948 the regime abandoned its choicest proffer to workers—the bait of appointment [554] to managing posts. Today, there is a tendency to build up cadres of skilled specialists, a privileged caste of people in uniform—even telegraph post climbers wear uniforms. . . .

Moral Situation

000 Symbols of Russian "culture" and ways of life universally exhibited by the "masters and victors" are—violence, profanity, drunkenness, thievery, deceit and raggedness.

685 Any criminal tendencies among the natives were drastically curbed by the underground authorities. Felonies were penalized by death sentences—and the sentences were carried out. But thieving is uncontrollable in the factories and in the supply services.

273 186 The Russians and their bootlickers revel in continual drunkenness. Vodka is the universal form of bribe. Unfortunately, the brutal conditions of life affected the Lithuanians to a certain degree, too. People are tempted to forget bitter reality for a half hour at least. The resistance movement continually wages a press propaganda against alcoholism ("Don't be like a Russian!"). For strictly practical considerations of maintaining a supply service for its armed units, the resistance movement repeatedly issued orders banning home distilling and any waste of the much needed grains. The Russians, however, pursue a definite policy aimed at demoralizing the natives and weakening their moral standards. Vodka is dumped on the market in unlimited unrationed qualities. But—the Church is still permitted to preach against the evils of drunkenness.

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

[64] Art. 103. It is the duty of every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR to safe-
[667] guard and fortify public, socialist property as the sacred and inviolable foun-
[421] dation of the Soviet system, as the source of the wealth and might of the coun-
try, as the source of the prosperity and culture of all the working people.

Persons committing offences against public, socialist property are enemies of the people.

Art. 104. Universal military service is law.

Military service in the Armed Forces of the USSR is an honourable duty of the citizens of the Lithuanian SSR.

[667] Art. 105. To defend the country is the sacred duty of every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR. Treason to the motherland - violation of the oath of allegiance, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military power of the state, espionage - is punishable with all the severity of the law as the most heinous of crimes.

Chapter IX. The Electoral System

666 Art. 106. Members of all Soviets of Working People's Deputies - of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR and of the district, city, volost, small town and apilinki Soviets of Working People's Deputies - are chosen by the electors on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

Art. 107. Elections of deputies are universal: all citizens of the Lithuanian SSR who have reached the age of eighteen, irrespective of race or nationality, sex, religion, education, domicile, social origin, property status or past activities, have the right to vote in the election of deputies and to be elected, with the exception of insane persons and persons who have been convicted by a court of law and whose sentences include deprivation of electoral rights.

[644] Every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR who has reached the age of twenty-one is eligible for election to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, irrespective of race, nationality, sex, religion, education, domicile, social origin, property status or past activities.

Art. 108. Elections of deputies are equal: each citizen has one vote; all citizens participate in elections on an equal footing.

[542] Art. 109. Women have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with men.

Art. 110. Citizens serving in the Armed Forces of the USSR have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with all other citizens.

Art. 111. Elections of deputies are direct: all Soviets of Working People's Deputies, from apilinki, volost and city Soviets of Working People's Deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR are elected by the citizens by a direct vote.

Art. 112. Voting at elections of deputies is secret.

Art. 113. Candidates are nominated by election districts.

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

64 Art. 103. It is the duty of every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR to safe-
[65] guard and fortify public, socialist property as the sacred and inviolable foun-
dation of the Soviet system, as the source of the wealth and might of the coun-
[421] try, as the source of the prosperity and culture of all the working people.

Persons committing offenses against public, socialist property are enemies of the people.

Art. 104. Universal military service is law.

Military service in the Armed Forces of the USSR is an honourable duty of the citizens of the Lithuanian SSR.

[65] Art. 105. To defend the country is the sacred duty of every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR. Treason to the motherland - violation of the oath of allegiance, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military power of the state, espionage - is punishable with all the severity of the law as the most heinous of crimes.

Chapter IX. The Electoral System

66 Art. 106. Members of all Soviets of Working People's Deputies - of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR and of the district, city, volost, small town and apilinki Soviets of Working People's Deputies - are chosen by the electors on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

Art. 107. Elections of deputies are universal: all citizens of the Lithuanian SSR who have reached the age of eighteen, irrespective of race or nationality, sex, religion, education, domicile, social origin, property status or past activities, have the right to vote in the election of deputies and to be elected, with the exception of insane persons and persons who have been convicted by a court of law and whose sentences include deprivation of electoral rights.

[64] Every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR who has reached the age of twenty-one is eligible for election to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, irrespective of race, nationality, sex, religion, education, domicile, social origin, property status or past activities.

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[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

646 Art. 74. The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR elects a Budget Commission,
652 which reports its conclusions on the state budget of the Lithuanian SSR to the Supreme Soviet.

Art. 75. The report on the fulfilment of the state budget of the Lithuanian SSR is approved by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR and published for general information.

631 Art. 76. The budgets of the district, city, volost, small town and apilinki
652 Soviets include the revenues from the local economy, deductions from the state revenues collected within their territory and likewise receipts from local taxes and imposts in amounts fixed by the laws of the USSR and the Lithuanian SSR.

Chapter VII. The Courts and the Procurator's Office

● 692 Art. 77. In the Lithuanian SSR justice is administered by the Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR, the District and People's Courts, the Special Courts of the USSR established by decision of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

[693] Art. 78. In all Courts cases are tried with the participation of people's assessors, except in cases specially provided for by law.

Art. 79. The Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR is the highest judicial organ of the Lithuanian SSR. The Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR is charged with the supervision of the judicial activities of all the judicial organs of the Lithuanian SSR.

[646] Art. 80. The Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR is elected by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR for a term of five years.

Art. 81. District Courts are elected by the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies for a term of five years.

Art. 82. People's Courts are elected by the citizens of the cities and volosts on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage by secret ballot for a term of three years.

695 Art. 83. Judicial proceedings in the Lithuanian SSR are conducted in the
[563] Lithuanian and Russian languages, persons not knowing these languages being guaranteed the opportunity of fully acquainting themselves with the material of the case through an interpreter and likewise the right to use their own language in court.

Art. 84. In all Courts of the Lithuanian SSR cases are heard in public, unless otherwise provided for by law, and the accused is guaranteed the right to defence.

693 Art. 85. Judges are independent and subject only to the law.

Art. 86. Supreme supervisory power to ensure the strict observance of law by all Ministries and institutions subordinated to them, as well as by officials and citizens within the territory of the Lithuanian SSR generally, is exercised by the Procurator-General of the USSR directly and also through the Procurator of the Lithuanian SSR.

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[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

693 Art. 87. The Procurator of the Lithuanian SSR is appointed by the Procurator-General of the USSR for a term of five years.

Art. 88. District and city procurators are appointed by the Procurator of the Lithuanian SSR subject to the approval of the Procurator-General of the USSR for a term of five years.

Art. 89. The organs of the Procurator's Office perform their functions independently of any local organs whatsoever, being subordinate solely to the Procurator-General of the USSR.

Chapter VIII. Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens

641 461 Art. 90. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to work, that is, the right to guaranteed employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.

The right to work is ensured by the socialist organization of the national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the elimination of the possibility of economic crises and the abolition of unemployment.

Art. 91. The citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to rest and leisure.

[466] The right to rest and leisure is ensured by the establishment of an eight-hour day for factory and office workers, the reduction of the working day to seven or six hours for arduous trades and to four hours in shops where conditions of work are particularly arduous, by the institution of annual vacations with full pay for factory and office workers, and by the provision of a wide network of sanatoria, rest homes and clubs for the accommodation of the working people.

[657] 641 Art. 92. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or disability.

This right is ensured by the extensive development of social insurance of factory and office workers at state expense, free medical service for working people, and the provision of a wide network of health resorts for the use of the working people.

[671] Art. 93. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to education.

This right is ensured by universal and compulsory elementary education; by free education up to and including the seventh grade; by a system of state stipends for students of higher educational establishments who excel in their studies; by instruction in schools being conducted in the native language, and by the organization in the factories, state farms and machine and tractor stations of free vocational, technical and agronomic training for the working people.

[562] Art. 94. Women in the Lithuanian SSR are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, government, cultural, political and other public activity.

The possibility of exercising these rights is ensured by women being accorded an equal right with men to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education, by state protection of the interests of mother and child, state aid to mothers of large families and unmarried mothers, maternity leave with full pay, and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens.

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3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

161 According to the census of September 17, 1923, Lithuania had 2,170,616 inhabitants. This number, it was estimated, had increased to 2,575,363 by 1939. However, about 153,-793 were lost by the forced cession to Germany of Klaipeda (Memel) Territory in March, 1939, and about 457,500 were regained through the return of a portion of the Vilnius region in October, 1939. Thus, Lithuania at the end of 1939 had about 2,879,070 inhabitants.[18] But since then still further changes occurred. After the occupation in June, 1940, [697] Soviet Russia started the Sovietization of Lithuania. Those [167] suspected as "enemies of the people" were arrested and deported to the interior of Russia, mostly to Siberia. Conservative estimates put the number of persons so deported at 70,000. In addition, by an agreement concluded between Russian and German governments, about 60,000 persons were "repatriated" by Germany as persons of German extraction. When Germany started the attack on Soviet Russia on June 22, a part of Jewish population fled with the Red Army. Therefore, it is estimated that Lithuania as a consequence of Soviet Russian and German occupation lost about 150,000 inhabitants.

162 About 76.7 percent of the inhabitants live on farms and villages, while the remaining 23.3 percent live in the towns. The towns are not numerous and in most cases are small. The larger and more important are Vilnius, the capital, with 210,000 inhabitants; Kaunas, with about 130,000 inhabitants; Klaipeda, the Baltic port, with 58,000 inhabitants; Siauliai, an important center of communications and the center of the leather industry, with about 30,000 inhabitants; and Panevezys, an old commerçial and administrative center, ooo with 25,000 inhabitants. The average density of the popula-

[18] Centralinis Statistikos Biuras, *Statistikos Biuletenis* (Bulletin of Statistics), Nr. 10., Kaunas, Oct. 1939, p. 1. (Hereafter referred to as S. Biul. 10.)

186 The Russian occupation receives no popular support from the masses. Of racial Lithuanians, only a
668 few hardened communists and several thousand released criminals turned collaborators.

There is a definite trend to exclude even Lithuanian communists. In all of the periodic purges, it is the Lithuanian communists who suffer disgrace, expulsion and exile, while Russian embezzlers retain their posts. An "Anti-Cominform" morale is pronounced among the Lithuanian members of the LKP/b. Party and non-Party Lithuanians are still found in the less important "high offices." However, not a single Lithuanian holds an administrative post in any office connected with the military effort. This trend is pronounced even in the distribution of "ministerial" titles.

655 All communications—railroads, waterways, ports, post offices, telegraph, radio, telephone, aviation and highways—are under a centralized "All-Union" control: there are no "ministries" for any communications. A few Lithuanians are still encountered among the MVD railroad guard personnel but their number constantly dwindles.

486 Travel inside Lithuania to a distance of 200 km. is not obstructed, with the exception of the "prohibited zones" along the Polish frontier and the seacoast, where special permits from the MVD are required. Otherwise, traveling permits are issued by employing offices. Of course, every traveler must submit to numerous checkings of the papers by armed patrols.

There is no frontier with East Prussia and Latvia, and the same general travel rules apply to journeys to Latvia and East Prussia. Nevertheless, it is deemed safer to procure a *"komandirovka"* (dispatch orders) even if the destination be less than 200 km.—a "detour" to Siberia must never be overlooked. The Latvian frontier is crossed mostly for black marketing. It is possible to go to Byelorussia and into the interior of Russia with a permit issued by a local MVD or Executive Committee. *"Komandirovka"* is required for travel by air.

[191] Transportation tickets, birth, death and other records are printed in Russian and "local" languages. Nevertheless, it is not a rare phenomenon to hear in response to an inquiry in Lithuanian: *"Neponimayu etovo sobachevo yazika"* (I do not understand this canine language).

Mobilization and Demobilization

727 Of the so-called "Lithuanian Units," only one survives—the 16th Infantry Division stationed in Vilnius. The enlisted and non-commissioned officers personnel is roughly 80% Lithuanian, but the officer cadres are predominantly Russian on all levels. Orders are given in Russian. Colonel Motieka is the Divisional Commander, and political "General" Macijauskas is Deputy Commanding Officer. All other mobilized Lithu-
● 701 anians are dispersed throughout Russian units.

During the war, men of the classes of (birth) 1895 through 1926 were drafted. After the cessation of hostilities in Germany, a few men were demobilized, others were assigned to various Labor Battalions and moved to Russia. Those serving in MVD units were retained in the service. Men born prior to 1923 were demobilized from strictly military units of the Soviet Army.

701 Mobilization generally failed during the period of hostilities. The majority of men managed to secure themselves in the "armored institutions" exempt from draft, others went into hiding, and a small number reported for duty. Many men in hiding were killed or wounded and exiled during the *"oblavas"* (manhunts and searches).

702 After the war, classes of 1926-1928 were called up for training. Presently, men born in 1929-1931 are in training. The basic training takes place in Lithuania and East Prussia. The trainees wear their own clothing and provide their own food: each week they are drilled 4 days and then are told to proceed home and bring back food supplies for a week. When training is completed, men are dispatched to Russian bases, some are assigned to the 16th Infantry Division stationed in the homeland.

702 There is no officers school for Lithuania specifically. However, in all university and college level schools
874 military training is obligatory for men and women throughout the years of schooling, 4-5 hours weekly. Reserve commissions in respective specialties are given upon graduation—Junior Lieutenantcy to Captaincy, depending on the degree of success in passing the examinations of the Military Chair ("Cathedral"). General Karvelis, a former artillery officer of the Lithuanian Army, heads the military "chair" in the University of Vilnius, assisted by Colonel Purelia. General Vincas Vitkauskas, former commander-in-chief of the Lithuanian Army, heads the military chair in the University of Kaunas. Lectures are given in Russian and Lithuanian, depending on the lecturer's ability to speak Lithuanian and the composition of his class. The lecturing personnel is one-half Russian. Orders are given in Russian.

[872] In secondary schools, military training is likewise compulsory for both boys and girls, beginning with the basic first grade.

War Preparations

712 Klaipėda (Memel) is converted into a major submarine and naval base.

723 During the first half of 1948, regular Soviet Army forces (exclusive of the Navy and MVD-MGB units) stationed in Lithuania numbered about 80,000 men of infantry, artillery, aviation, armored and tank units. The artillery is concentrated along the seacoast.

Airfields are continually expanded to accommodate transport craft but the number of planes shifts—the planes refuel and take off. Nevertheless, some "destroyers" (fighter planes), light bombers, reconnaissance and training planes are permanently stationed. Radar installments are in evidence, but do not seem to be alerted. Three "rocket artillery" airfields were constructed at Lisbergylas-Linksmakalnis in Kaunas, at Vilnius, and in Mažeikiai county in the northwest. Little is known regarding the closely guarded secret weapons of "Toxin Fog" and "Thermite Artillery." Aviation training schools are in operation at Vilnius and Kaunas, but no Lithuanian students are admitted there.

According to Russian officers, Estonia and Karelia form "Zone A of the Strategic Area of the Northern Front," while Latvia, Lithuania and East Prussia form "Zone B, an auxiliary strategic and supply area for the operational area of Poland."

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

642 Art. 14. The Lithuanian SSR consists of the districts of Alitus, Anikshchyai, Birshai, Varena, Vilkaviskis, Vilnyus, Zarasai, Ionishkis, Kaishyadoris, Kaunas, Kedainyai, Kelmena, Klaipeda, Krotinga, Kupishkis, Kurshenai, Lazdiyai, Mazheikyai, Mariyampolo, Pagegyai, Panevezhis, Pasvalis, Plunge, Pronai, Radvilishkis, Raseinyai, Rokishkis, Taurage, Telshai, Trakai, Ukmerge, Ukyana, Shakyai, Shvenchonis, Shiluta, Shyaulyai, Yurbarkas; and of the cities of Vilnius, Kaunas, Klaipeda, Shyaulyai and Panevezhis which do not form part of districts.

Art. 15. The Lithuanian SSR reserves the right freely to secede from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Art. 16. The territory of the Lithuanian SSR may not be altered without its consent.

640 Art. 16a. The Lithuanian SSR has its own Republican military formations.

648 Art. 16b. The Lithuanian SSR has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states and to conclude agreements and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives with them.

Art. 17. The laws of the USSR are binding within the territory of the Lithuanian SSR.

647 Art. 18. Every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR is a citizen of the USSR. Citizens of all other Union Republics enjoy on the territory of the Lithuanian SSR equal rights with citizens of the Lithuanian SSR.

Art. 19. The jurisdiction of the Lithuanian SSR, as represented by its higher organs of state power and organs of state administration, embraces:

a) Adoption of the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR and control over its observance;

b) Establishment of the administrative-territorial divisions of the Lithuanian SSR and of the boundaries of districts and volosts;

c) Legislation of the Lithuanian SSR;

d) Maintenance of public order and safeguarding the rights of citizens;

e) Approval of the national-economic plan of the Lithuanian SSR;

f) Approval of the state budget of the Lithuanian SSR and of the report on its fulfilment;

g) Determination of state and local taxes, imposts and non-tax revenues in conformity with the laws of the USSR, as well as direction of the fulfilment of local budgets;

h) Direction of insurance and savings;

i) Administration of the banks, industrial, agricultural and trading enterprises and organizations subordinate to the Republic, as well as direction of local industry;

j) Control and superintendence of the condition and administration of enterprises subordinate to the Union;

k) Establishment of the procedure governing the use of land, mineral wealth, forests and waters;

l) Direction of dwelling-houses and the municipal economy, dwelling house construction and the modernization of cities and other inhabited places;

m) Road Building; direction of local transport and communications;

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727 661 of laymen active in Catholic Action were either murdered or exiled to Siberia. 40,000 Lithuanians were deported to Russia during that one lone year, and at least two-thirds of the number were Catholic Action members.

The Second Russian Occupation

659 As far back as 1942, Comrade Vyshynsky, Deputy 798 Commissar of Foreign Affairs and Liquidator of the 626 Democratic Latvian State, admitted to a foreign statesman that bolshevik tactics in the Baltic States were based on an erroneous policy: the method of violence and compulsion had been a mistake.

In July 1944, the Russians again invaded the Baltic States. However, there was no change in their policy or methods regarding religion: they permitted no Catholic organizations, press or instruction of religion in schools.

[702] The Salesian monastery at Skirsnemunė was encircled by the Red Army and all physically able friars were drafted into the Red Army.

Soon thereafter, the tactics regarding the clergy wavered. Soviet overlords attempted to maintain, to some extent, the propaganda thesis regarding the alleged existence of "freedom of religion" in the Soviet [874] Union. Only one Catholic Seminary, of the former four, was left in Lithuania, but divinity students, as other university students, were exempt from military duty. The number of divinity students was sharply limited to 150—for a Catholic nation of three million —instead of the previous 850.

This measure represented a lull in the anti-religious drive: religion was to be eliminated by other means, by mass deportations of the faithful and their replacement by Communist Russians, so that, in the words of comrade Pozdniakov, the priests would find no employment for their vocation, no audience to listen to them. By effecting the primary aim of the Soviet regime—the liquidation of the Lithuanian people—the secondary aim, that of abolishing religion, would be simultaneously achieved. This explains the change in tactics, not the basic aim.

Furthermore, the new "party line" sought not merely to leave the clergy untouched, but to use them for political interests of bolshevism, as is done in Russia with the Orthodox clergy. In 1946 the NKVD encountered great difficulty with armed Lithuanian guerrilla operations. The NKVD decided to use the bishops and clergy to break the fighters' will to wage war. The Ministry of Interior (NKVD-MVD) demanded that the bishops publish pastoral letters and in sermons condemn the armed resistance and urge an end to it.

The alien regime attempted to attain two purposes: to enlist the clergy's aid to further its plans, and to drive a wedge between the clergy and the fighting nation. However, the plan was too obviously underlined with "red" threads, and the bishops declined to do the NKVD bidding. When the NKVD threatened with repressions, one bishop frankly told the satraps: "It is all the same to me whether I live five more years or less—I shall not soil the authority of the Church."

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712 If these officers speak the truth, the Soviet Army
723 seems to place many hopes in the "first line of rocket artillery" resting on bases in Finland, Karelia and Estonian islands, a part of the "Leningrad Offensive Area." Lithuania and East Prussia serve as "the second line and the security zone of the connecting road junctions."

In addition to elaborate installations on the Estonian islands and the tip of Kurzeme, fortifications are constructed along the line running from the port of Liepaja in Latvia, through Mažeikiai, along the upper Venta river, down the banks of the Dubysa southward to the Nemunas river, and up the Nemunas to the stronghold of Gardinas-Grodno. Ramifications of that underground fortified line give an impression of two fortified belts, with extended strong points at intervals. Underground fuel oil dumps, and steel and concrete munitions dumps are constructed. The fortified points are circled by medium sized airfields cleverly masked as "pastures" or "planted fields." Subterranean fuel dumps, more or less 3 meters deep, radiate 2 to 10 km. from such airfields. However, some of these dumps are intended for fuel other than gasoline. Inasmuch as these "magazines" lie near the main communication arteries, it is supposed that these dumps are intended for the long range rocket artillery—a weapon well developed by the Soviets. The sites are closely guarded by MVD garrisons, and labor crews are isolated from the natives. The work was done by military engineer units and labor gangs brought from Russia.

717 A larger airfield is located near Šiauliai. About 30 twin-motored fighter planes of new production are stationed there, in addition to more than a dozen old-type 2-U machines and several long range (up to 2,200
707 km.) bombers of new type. This is said to be the training base of the "Northern Front," where exercises for offensive action against Western Germany, the British Isles and Scandinavia are staged. An auxiliary base was constructed nearby in 1948.

000 Since July 1948, large MVD-MGB units, hospital trains and cavalry brigades were concentrated around Baranowicze and southward to Lviv, and additional air squadrons flew toward Pomerania. Simultaneously, large troop movements by railroad were observed toward Königsberg, and munitions trains rolled westward day and night for several weeks. It seemed that the Russians were expecting hostilities over Berlin and were moving reinforcements and supplies to Germany, and concentrating repression forces for another wave of mass deportations from Lithuania, in accordance with the orders of the Politburo relayed by MGB Abakumov.

Part of these troops were later diverted to Lithuania. A state of insurrection was deliberately provoked in connection with forcible collectivization, and an "operation" of deportations was effected.

Repression Forces

625 The MVD forces stationed permanently in Lithuania number at least 30,000 men, mainly infantry and motorized units. A MVD school is operated on Duonelaitis Street in Kaunas, where MVD officer candidates are trained.

The MGB forces number about 40,000 men, of whom 10% are Lithuanians. A MGB officers school

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342 Few castles in the baroque style have been
346 preserved in present-day Lithuania. We know that the high nobility followed the example of the court and built splendid mansions on its properties in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On the basis of the available contemporary illustrations Galaunė finds here a close relationship with the present old Lithuanian synagogues, which faithfully preserved the style of those country mansions with their high, pyramid-like, graded [gebrochene] roofs and the cubic forms of the anteroom. Thus the old synagogues seem to him to be the "last echo of an architecture of wood, already vanished, which was employed in the building of the Lithuanian estates." (21)

[113] 21. Cf. Galaunė, "Lietuvių liaudies means" (The Lithuanian Folk Art), Veröff, d. Hum. Fak. d. Univ. Vytautas d. Gr. (Kaunas, 1930), pp. 153 and 154, as well as the Russian and Polish references given there.

342 In discussing the modern castles we should
712 not forget that most of the manor houses arose in those quiet and peaceful times when the castle no longer represented a fortress. Real fortresses which served the purpose of defense did not exist in Lithuania (Unnumbered page with illustrations--Village Sculpture) /161/ in any great number. Their remains go back almost exclusively to the wars of the orders, for example the ruins of the fortresses of Kaunas and Gelgaudai, the old Christ Memel /Christmemel/. On the foundation walls of others rise castles of recent times, such as those of Raudonė and Raudondvaris. (22)

113 22. Tarasenka, Gimtoji senovė (Olden Days of the Homeland) (Šiauliai, 1925), pp. 90-92. Tarasenka, Medžiaga Lietuvos archeologijai (Material for Lithuanian Archaeology). For the fortress of Gelgaudai cf.

11: Scheffer O-4.5 (ca. 1660) 1704
EP4 Lapps
Letts R84
Lithuanians R85

Le 635 728 698

to submit under the Protection of *Sigismund Augustus* King of *Poland*, who made *Courland* a Dukedom, and gave it to *Goddard Kettler* of *Nesselrath*, the last Master of the *Teutonick* Order in *Livonia*, to hold it as a Fief of the Crown of *Poland*. But *William* the youngest Son of this *Goddard*, who succeeded his elder Brother in the Government, was dispossessed of his Dominions by *Sigismund* III. King of *Poland*, and lived in Exile till 1619, when he was restored to the Dukedom, whose Posterity enjoy it to this Day.

Le 636

The *Poles* also remain to this Day possess'd of some inconsiderable Places of the *South* side of the River *Dwina* or *Dune*, among which *Dunaburgh* is the only Place worth taking notice of.

Li 103 133 131 504 712 175 727

The Dutchy of *Memel* is likewise a part of the *Southern Livonia*: Its Capital City bearing the same Name, is Situate upon, and encompass'd by, the River *Tanger*, which not far from thence exonerates it self into the Sea, in the Gulph call'd the Lake of *Courland*, and affords a very Commodious Harbour to this little but pleasant Town: Its Castle is very well Fortified; it was *An.* 1250. built by the Master of the Order of *Livonia*, and in 1328. sold by them to the Master of the *Prussian* Knights. In the Truce made in the Year 1635, betwixt the *Poles* and *Swedes*, it was Stipulated, that the said City and Dukedom should be surrendred to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who ever since remains in possession of it.

CHAP. II.

Of the Antient Inhabitants of Livonia, *and their Superstitions and Customs.*

Le 175 [illegible]

IT is beyond all dispute, that *Livonia* remain'd for a long time involved in the Darkness of Paganism and Idolatry, this Country being quite unknown in these Parts, till in the Year 1158, a Merchant Ship of *Bremen* (or as some will have it of *Lubeck*) being forced by a Tempest into the Gulph of *Riga*, made the first

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tactics in combatting religion. Pg 21A

Soviet Methods

771 Dr. Ladas Natkevičius, the late Lithuanian Minister to the Kremlin, was asked by Stalin in 1939, during the so-called "negotiations for a Mutual Assistance Pact," how great was the influence of the clergy in Lithuania. When he was told that the clergy of all Christian denominations enjoy great authority among the faithful, the Generalissimo thoughtfully remarked —"That is *very important to know.*"

At the time the remark passed unnoticed. A Soviet invasion was not anticipated because of the frequently professed Soviet friendship for Lithuania and Lithuania's excellent record in discharging all treaty obligations.

But the significance of this remark was quite apparent when Justas Paleckis, the puppet "president of Soviet Lithuania," bade farewell to Dr. Hildebrandt, a noted German newspaperman. Paleckis told the departing German quite frankly that he had received instructions from the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. to apply no *direct* pressure on the clergy.

The Soviet regime always fought religion and its institutions, but its tactical methods were different during both occupations.

The First Occupation—Oppression at Full Tempo

718 661 Immediately after the first total occupation of the Baltic States in June 1940, uniform steps were applied by the three satraps of the Kremlin dispatched to liquidate the sovereign Republics: Vice-Commissar for Foreign Affairs Dekanozov in Lithuania, Deputy-Commissar for Foreign Affairs Vyshynsky in Latvia and Politbureau member Zhdanov in Estonia. The Concordats with the Vatican were abruptly and unilaterally broken off and the Papal Nunzios were expelled.

Then followed the elimination of religion from public life. The Catholic and Protestant Theology-Philosophy Faculties of the University of Lithuania at Kaunas were closed; all Catholic cultural, educational and social welfare organizations, newspapers and publishing concerns were abolished and their properties confiscated; teaching of religion was eliminated from schools; army, school, hospital and prison chaplains were summarily dismissed; crucifixes and other religious insignia were removed from schools, courts and public places and desecrated.

423 798 661 Then came the application of the nationalization decree: buildings, landholdings, workshops, libraries, private hospitals and schools, orphanages, kindergar-

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Such "living standards" rapidly depleted the once formidable force. In most places, only 2 or 3 "Stribs" survived in individual townships. These were finally incorporated in the uniformed MGB units. Township contingents were complemented by Russian aliens, a dozen to several dozen men in each township. Reserve units of the "Stribs" are stationed in county seats. These "operational MGB aktivs" roam the countryside night and day. They search homes, collect taxes, grain quotas, seek the hiding places of the guerrillas, detain people, and shoot suspects on sight—capital punishment was "abolished" in Russia. . . .

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In Butrimonys, where some 100 Jewish families lived before the war, only several families survived. One of the surviving Jews was especially ungrateful toward the farmer who had saved him at great per-

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

648 about 457,500 inhabitants, although according to the Peace Treaty between Lithuania and Soviet Russia of July 12, 1920, Lithuania should have regained 12,448 square miles. Lithuania's industry was partly compensated for the loss of Klaipeda. But the industry in the Vilnius territory is not nearly as developed as that in the Klaipeda region. According to the approximate statistics there are in that part of the Vilnius territory which was returned to Lithuania 159 industrial establishments with 5,900 employees. Also, the agricultural standard in this region is substantially below that in other sections of Lithuania. As a step toward improving agricultural and social conditions, the government of Lithuania was about to put into effect its land reform act of 1922, but the Soviet occupation in June, 1940, interrupted this work.

• 725 The next blow to the country's fortunes came as a result of the sudden outbreak of war between Germany and Soviet Russia on June 22, 1941. On the following day, Lithuanian patriots arose in rebellion against Bolshevik terrorism and the institution of mass deportations of Lithuanians to Siberia; they were successful enough to drive the Bolsheviks from Kaunas, Vilnius, and other Lithuanian cities. The Lithuanians set up at once a provisional government. But soon the Germans, in pursuit of the retreating Red Army, overran all of Lithuania, dissolved the Lithuanian government, and by autocratic decrees began to shape their economy more to the Nazi-prescribed pattern of "the new order."

000 As the year 1941 drew to a close, all freedom of action in Lithuania—political, social, and economic—was still suspended. The nation is fully conscious that her future holds another struggle for independence and for a new reconstruction. Lithuania, like many other small nations through-

1:Anonymous U-3 (no date)1949 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

p. 8

Field Dinner in honor of the graduating class of Guerrilla Officers School, Tauras Area in Lithuania.

668 186 665 —repeating his call to smash the underground, the reactionary clergy, etc. One need not be a prophet to predict that boasts of "liquidation" and threats, repeatedly made since 1945, will be reiterated for an indefinite time in the future.

Liberation Movement

668 725 Armed and passive resistance will continue until the liberation of the country—or extinction of the Lithuanian People.

The Supreme Lithuanian Committee of Liberation (*VLIK*) is regarded as the country's supreme *political* representative, and its delegation abroad is acknowledged as the Government-in-Exile. It is a coalition of all democratic non-Communist parties and combat organizations.

The actual *resistance* is coordinated inside the country by a non-partisan *BDPS*—the United Democratic Resistance Movement. Its armed forces, called FREEDOM FIGHTERS, are directed by the *VGPS*—the Supreme Command of the Armed Guerrilla Forces.

The objectives are: to counteract the bolshevik spy network; to defend and protect the inhabitants from robberies and murders; to prevent the colonization of the country by foreigners; to curb collectivization and moral lapses; to prevent the wasteful destruction of the forests and other national resources; to keep the population informed of international developments through a press network; to shelter persons passing into outlaw status; to preserve the nation's manpower and traditions of a cultural, political and national entity. In general—the aspiration is to regain state sovereignty under a democratic system, with Lithuania a member of the European Continental Commonwealth and in friendship wtih neighboring countries, including Russia. The main objective is—SURVIVAL OF THE LITHUANIAN PEOPLE. Other objectives flow therefrom.

Resistance tactics constantly change in accordance with the methods and degree of oppression by the Soviet occupant. The country is divided into Areas, and resistance members themselves know but one or two other members. The BDPS Praesidium is formed on the principle of efficiency and personal qualifications, rather than representation of various political ideologies. Force today is applied on rare occasions, whenever its use as a terrorist shock action is justified, for instance, attack on the armed convoys and trains transporting deportees.

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Trainees of the Guerrilla Officers School returning to their camp after field training—Tauras Area in Lithuania.

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725

Large-scale battles are no longer fought—they proved too costly. The Russians claimed to have "liquidated 12,000 bandits" since 1944 and estimate the present forces of the "bandits" at 40,000. The Lithuanian underground concedes considerably greater battle casualties—in excess of 20,000—and estimates the Russian battle casualties at 180,000. This seeming disproportion in battle losses is explained by the fact that the Lithuanians are on the defensive, they strike from ambush in coldly calculated shock actions, strike a swift blow and retire,—while the Russians storm blindly in massed ranks. There is a case of a former guerrilla unit commander who, after the murder of his entire family and the destruction of his farm by the punitive detachments, enlisted with the guerrillas and accounted for 283 assorted Russians prior to his escape westward.

Unfortunately, armed action is followed by reprisals by Soviet punitive detachments which rage for weeks around the scene of a clash—while the guerrilla unit is far from the place by that time. The havoc caused by Soviet punitive hordes is so great that, despite the insufferable treatment at the hands of the occupant, the Liberation Movement strives to reduce employment of arms to an unavoidable minimum.

Uniformed armed units are maintained in the field but are used as a policing force. The guerrillas—men and women "outlaws" who cannot go back to their homes—are under orders to destroy themselves in an extremity and to take pains to mutilate their faces in death, lest their families and acquaintances should suffer. Consequently, the last hand grenade is reserved for suicidal use: the grenade is placed in the mouth and exploded. Faces of battle casualties are mutilated by comrades of the fallen Freedom Fighters when clandestine burial is made impossible. Some 8,000 men and women met death in suicidal fashion.

In 1947, a group of 8 Freedom Fighters making their way on a mission to Poland, were traced to a dugout by MVD dogs. According to Russian prisoners taken later by the guerrillas, the MVD troops showered grenades and mortar fire around the dugout. When a hole was finally pierced, solemn singing came from inside, followed by a series of explosions: all 8 men had blown themselves to eternity.

625 operates on the Gediminas Street in Vilnius, and nearly 30% of its cadets are Lithuanians. Small tanks and reconnaissance planes are at the disposal of the MVD and MGB forces.

The People's Militia is part of the MVD, and most of the Lithuanian personnel is found there. The *"Istrebiteli"* ("Exterminators") are a part of the MGB. The "Istrebiteli" were devised in the spring of 1945 to combat "political bandits." Guerrilla activities were widespread at the time, and the Russians attempted to enlist about 30 native "Istrebiteli" in each township. All sorts of inducements and privileges were offered, including exemption from draft. Native Russians, gypsies and Polish-speaking city vagrants enlisted, as well as some Lithuanian youths anxious to escape the draft. The guerrillas, through the underground press and through their relatives, waged a very strenuous campaign against the "Istrebiteli." Recruits were ambushed and killed. Their ranks were depleted in skirmishes, when untrained raw recruits faced the veteran guerrillas. After each skirmish, the guerrillas circulated mimeographed appeals to "brothers," urging the "Stribs" to abandon the enemy and either join the guerrilla forces or seek a legal status somewhere in the country, rather than aid the oppressor in destroying their own people. This campaign was successful: few Lithuanians enlisted and the recruits deserted.

725 625 The Russians used the "Stribs" in collecting compulsory grain quotas and taxes, and these functions made them universally hated. The inhabitants slyly derided the "Stribs" and *"Stribikauliai"* (deformed hips), etc., just as they referred to the "great" comrade Suslov as *"Suliava"* (trash sweepings). The "Stribs," receiving weapons but no uniforms nor food from the government, followed the example of the Russian tutors and engaged in wholesale robberies, murders and thefts. Farmers in no way connected with the resistance defended themselves with axes and scythes.

Such "living standards" rapidly depleted the once formidable force. In most places, only 2 or 3 "Stribs" survived in individual townships. These were finally incorporated in the uniformed MGB units. Township contingents were complemented by Russian aliens, a dozen to several dozen men in each township. Reserve units of the "Stribs" are stationed in county seats. These "operational MGB aktivs" roam the countryside night and day. They search homes, collect taxes, grain quotas, seek the hiding places of the guerrillas, detain people, and shoot suspects on sight—capital punishment was "abolished" in Russia. . . .

Frontier Corps units are stationed along the heavily guarded and fortified Polish frontier, and on the seacoast. MVD railroad units guard railroad stations and depots and check passengers' papers on trains. Combined MGB-MVD patrols (jeeps, armored cars, armored motorcycles, and tanks) control the main highways, especially at night.

War Psychosis

723 722 Preparations for war are in evidence everywhere. New airfields are constructed, old fields are expanded and modernized. Armored units, air squadrons and artillery are constantly in transit. Closely guarded military trains travel by night. The populace is kept in a state of nervous war tension—probably to provoke

661 them, like the 60-year old farmer J. Kaminskas from Oldenburg, were "detoured" to Siberia. Several other
474 families were forcibly repatriated by the Russians from Pomerania—and were executed by the local authorities when they reached their homes. Having identified the former refugees, the Russians at once retaliated against their relatives. Thus, in Sudavia, Rev. Degutis of Virbalis, Rev. Zdanavičius, Rev. Drazdys, township clerk Bieliauskas of Pajevonys, Stasys Aleksa from Jakilkiai, Jonas Micuta from Kunigilkiai were executed. In distant Samagitia, Antanas Ambrozaitis, Antanas Bieliauskas and several other men were exiled to Siberia from Kretinga and their *wives were forced to re-marry*. Similar events have taken place elsewhere.

668 The guerrilla commanders felt obliged to retaliate.
725 On learning that Eugenija Kubiliūtė of Pajevónys had been responsible for some of the Russian-conducted massacres, the guerrillas attacked Pajevonys, found the girl inside the Pajevonys township office, tied her and burned down the structure with the traitor girl inside. The same night the MVD-militia outpost was attacked and destroyed. In the northwest, the guerrillas simultaneously occupied several towns and killed all the communists. Other units invaded the Klaipėda District and seized a Russian arsenal at Šilutė-Heidekrug, including tanks and artillery pieces. Several battalions of the regular Soviet Army sent to combat the guerrillas unexpectedly passed over to the enemy. . . . If there was "insurrection," that was by the regular armed forces of Russia. MVD-MGB troops were moved in and light bombers were summoned to bomb the "bandits" who retreated to the forests. As Russian reinforcements rushed to Pajevonys, a Russian munitions dump exploded. . . .

Then followed the "operation" of May 1948.

Genocide in Operation

474 Rural authorities were instructed to urge the dis-
661 possessed farmers to file applications for land allotments. Of course, none of these instructions were printed in the press. Local officials were instructed to stress that the Soviet regime wanted to endow everyone with land. When petitions were turned in, the officials informed the petitioners that land was allotted to them "in another township" and they must report to certain transportation points. When the farmers and their families, bearing their few worldly possessions arrived at the appointed places, they were encircled by MVD troops, driven to railroad depots and placed on board freight cars bound for Siberia. Conservative estimates placed the number of people deported in this despicable manner at more than 100,000.

Letters began arriving from the deportees telling about the numerous deaths while in transit. People trembled as they listened to threats made by countless agitators. Agricultural work was done listlessly. Fields were neglected. More and more failures to meet taxes and grain delivery quotas were reported in the press, announcing "temporary exile into friendly republics" of the "kulak saboteurs." People became resigned and agreed to go into kolkhozes.

668 The Lithuanian is passionately fond of his soil. How could he leave all his precious belongings and animals to the profane Russians to debase? No: he would rather burn down everything. . . .

3: Simutis 5-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanian: RB5

175 Her greatest disaster came in 1795 when, together with Poland, she was partitioned between Russia and Prussia. The greater part of ethnographic Lithuania was given to Russia and the lesser part, to Prussia.

Even though the Lithuanian-Polish state collapsed, the Lithuanian nation continued to exist, although it was badly impaired and its size diminished by more than two thirds.

642 Lithuanians were under the stern rule of Czarist Russia
648 for 123 years until, on the 16th of February, 1918, the National Council in Vilnius (Vilna) declared Lithuania an independent state, with ancient Vilnius as its capital.[7] On July 12, 1920, during the war between the Soviets and the Poles, Lithuania signed in Moscow with the Soviet government a peace treaty by which the city of Vilnius with the region about it was assigned to Lithuania.[8]

726 But the old Polish scheme began to manifest itself again.
648 After defeating the Soviet troops near Warsaw, the Poles appeared on the southern Lithuanian frontier and precipitated fighting with the Lithuanians. Finding the going more difficult than they expected, the Poles started negotiations which were carried on under the supervision of the League of Nations and resulted in the conclusion of the Treaty of Suvalkai[9] on October 7, 1920.[10] Two days later, however, the special Polish army, commanded by General Zeligowski, took the Lithuanians completely by surprise and occupied the city of Vilnius and the Vilnius region, comprising almost one
648 third of ethnographic Lithuania. This treacherous act re-

[7] See Appendix A for the text of the Declaration of Independence.

[8] Pranas Dailide, *Lietuvos Sutartys su Svetimomis Valstybemis*, Uzsieniu Reikalu Ministerijos leidinys, Tomas I, 1919–29. Recueil des traites conclus par la Lithuanie avec les pays étrangers, Public par le Ministère des Affaires Étrangeres. I (1919–29), 30–52. See Appendix B for the extract from the text of the peace treaty with Russia.

[9] Dailide, *op. cit.*, pp. 58–61.

[10] See Appendix C for the text of the Treaty of Suvalkai.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

neutrality toward Poland in the hour of distress during the 648
German-Polish war.

On March 22, 1939, Germany, under the threat of invasion, forced Lithuania to surrender Klaipeda. After Poland collapsed in September, 1939, Soviet Russia seized Vilnius and, according to the Mutual Assistance Pact of October 10, 1939,[17] returned it to Lithuania together with 2,569 square miles of territory. On June 15, 1940, Soviet Russia, subse- 726
quent to its ultimatum, invaded and occupied Lithuania. Almost exactly a year later, on June 23, 1941, the Lithuanians seized an opportunity to start a violent uprising against the Russians, but already the Germans were pouring in from the south and west. They overran Lithuania, dispersed the newly organized Lithuanian government, and started a new period of oppression, Nazi style.

THE POPULATION PATTERN

The Lithuanians were famous from ancient times for 181
their physical health, strength, and vitality. Even today there is still a substantial percentage of elderly persons who have never taken medicine and have never been seriously ill. In general, Lithuanians are farm-loving people, industrious and peaceful. Being great individualists, the Lithu- 369
anians prefer to live on farms because it keeps them close to nature and at the same time affords every man a greater chance of being "his own boss." The cities of Lithuania are therefore inhabited by minorities, mostly Jews. Even in present-day Lithuania, the towns do not show the real character of the nation, as the influx from the farms to the cities has never been strong enough to change the political, economic, and social conditions that have existed for several centuries.

[17] See Appendix E for the text.

186 The Russian occupation receives no popular support from the masses. Of racial Lithuanians, only a
668 few hardened communists and several thousand released criminals turned collaborators.

There is a definite trend to exclude even Lithuanian communists. In all of the periodic purges, it is the Lithuanian communists who suffer disgrace, expulsion and exile, while Russian embezzlers retain their posts. An "Anti-Cominform" morale is pronounced among the Lithuanian members of the LKP/b. Party and non-Party Lithuanians are still found in the less important "high offices." However, not a single Lithuanian holds an administrative post in any office connected with the military effort. This trend is pronounced even in the distribution of "ministerial" titles.

655 All communications—railroads, waterways, ports, post offices, telegraph, radio, telephone, aviation and highways—are under a centralized "All-Union" control: there are no "ministries" for any communications. A few Lithuanians are still encountered among the MVD railroad guard personnel but their number constantly dwindles.

486 Travel inside Lithuania to a distance of 200 km. is not obstructed, with the exception of the "prohibited zones" along the Polish frontier and the seacoast, where special permits from the MVD are required. Otherwise, traveling permits are issued by employing offices. Of course, every traveler must submit to numerous checkings of the papers by armed patrols.

There is no frontier with East Prussia and Latvia, and the same general travel rules apply to journeys to Latvia and East Prussia. Nevertheless, it is deemed safer to procure a *"komandirovka"* (dispatch order) even if the destination be less than 200 km.—a "detour" to Siberia must never be overlooked. The Latvian frontier is crossed mostly for black marketing. It is possible to go to Byelorussia and into the interior of Russia with a permit issued by a local MVD or Executive Committee. *"Komandirovka"* is required for travel by air.

[191] Transportation tickets, birth, death and other records are printed in Russian and "local" languages. Nevertheless, it is not a rare phenomenon to hear in response to an inquiry in Lithuanian: *"Neponimayu etovo sobachevo yazika"* (I do not understand this canine language).

Mobilization and Demobilization

● 727 Of the so-called "Lithuanian Units," only one survives—the 16th Infantry Division stationed in Vilnius. The enlisted and non-commissioned officers personnel is roughly 80% Lithuanian, but the officer cadres are predominantly Russian on all levels. Orders are given in Russian. Colonel Motieka is the Divisional Commander, and political "General" Macijauskas is Deputy Commanding Officer. All other mobilized Lithuanians are dispersed throughout Russian units.

701 During the war, men of the classes of (birth) 1895 through 1926 were drafted. After the cessation of hostilities in Germany, a few men were demobilized, others were assigned to various Labor Battalions and moved to Russia. Those serving in MVD units were retained in the service. Men born prior to 1923 were demobilized from strictly military units of the Soviet Army.

2xAnonymous U-4 (no date)1947 R85 Lithuanians R85

798 the Tsarist Russian occupation. True to tradition, *resistance* against the anti-religious drive developed into a spontaneous and united movement. The defense of religion embraced even persons who had formerly neglected the church and seemed to be indifferent.

Churches were filled to capacity. A former female communist stated that the church was the only place where one could relax physically, without having to listen to the maddening bolshevik agitation.

Mass singing in churches became a new and precious experience—a plea for help from a persecuted and dying people.

[769] On All Souls' night, the cemeteries were filled with people. The Lithuanians followed their ancient tradition, they paid respect to their dead without priests, regardless of the fury of the Party Militia which arrested many in their mad rage.

On Sundays, declared to be working days, everyone, including civil servants and school children, went to church, knowing full well the penalty. In Prienai, students reporting to school on All Souls' Day found a scribbled message tacked on the door: "Stalin's constitution grants freedom of conscience, therefore believers need not attend classes"—so all the students went to church. Numerous arrests and dismissals from school followed.

Public prayers were a custom during the school year. Now, just as soon as the teachers left the classrooms, they were again recited.

The bishops did not dismiss former chaplains from their duties. Unable to teach the doctrines of the Church in schools, the chaplains transferred their pastoral activities, after classes, into churches and sacristies. The chaplain of Alytus organized a Retreat on Good Friday. To prevent attendance, the Communist Party ordered the faculty of the school to organize an anti-religious lecture on that date and ordered all students to attend the mass-meeting. The teachers and a few pupils showed up. A teacher related afterward: "A little girl sat in front of me during the harrangue reading a booklet in her lap. I was curious and looked over her shoulder. It was the national religious classic of Lent songs—*Graudûs Verksmai.*"

The ecclesiastic authorities did not dismiss the students of the seminaries. As some students dispersed, new idealists replaced them. Divinity stutlents lived privately and attended lectures in churches, sacristies and private quarters. The NKVD made preparations to foreclose all private religious instruction, but the war intervened.

727 661 The first Russian occupation lasted one year. Pordniakov's prophecy of the Soviet regime achieving within a two-three year period the results gained by the anti-religious campaign in Russia during 20 years, did not materialize, because of the spontaneous and determined resistance.

However, a heavy blow was delivered to religious life in Lithuania during the one year: 10% of the priests were eliminated, forcibly separated from their people. Of these, 15 priests were brutally tortured and murdered, 9 were exiled to Siberia. The majority

727 661 of laymen active in Catholic Action were either murdered or exiled to Siberia. 40,000 Lithuanians were deported to Russia during that one lone year, and at least two-thirds of the number were Catholic Action members.

The Second Russian Occupation

659 793 626 As far back as 1942, Comrade Vyshynsky, Deputy Commissar of Foreign Affairs and Liquidator of the Democratic Latvian State, admitted to a foreign statesman that bolshevik tactics in the Baltic States were based on an erroneous policy: the method of violence and compulsion had been a mistake.

In July 1944, the Russians again invaded the Baltic States. However, there was no change in their policy or methods regarding religion: they permitted no Catholic organizations, press or instruction of religion in schools.

[702] The Salesian monastery at Skirsnemunė was encircled by the Red Army and all physically able friars were drafted into the Red Army.

Soon thereafter, the tactics regarding the clergy wavered. Soviet overlords attempted to maintain, to some extent, the propaganda thesis regarding the alleged existence of "freedom of religion" in the Soviet [874] Union. Only one Catholic Seminary, of the former four, was left in Lithuania, but divinity students, as other university students, were exempt from military duty. The number of divinity students was sharply limited to 150—for a Catholic nation of three million —instead of the previous 850.

This measure represented a lull in the anti-religious drive: religion was to be eliminated by other means, by mass deportations of the faithful and their replacement by Communist Russians, so that, in the words of comrade Pozdniakov, the priests would find no employment for their vocation, no audience to listen to them. By effecting the primary aim of the Soviet regime—the liquidation of the Lithuanian people—the secondary aim, that of abolishing religion, would be simultaneously achieved. This explains the change in tactics, not the basic aim.

Furthermore, the new "party line" sought not merely to leave the clergy untouched, but to use them for political interests of bolshevism, as is done in Russia with the Orthodox clergy. In 1946 the NKVD encountered great difficulty with armed Lithuanian guerrilla operations. The NKVD decided to use the bishops and clergy to break the fighters' will to wage war. The Ministry of Interior (NKVD-MVD) demanded that the bishops publish pastoral letters and in sermons condemn the armed resistance and urge an end to it.

The alien regime attempted to attain two purposes: to enlist the clergy's aid to further its plans, and to drive a wedge between the clergy and the fighting nation. However, the plan was too obviously underlined with "red" threads, and the bishops declined to do the NKVD bidding. When the NKVD threatened with repressions, one bishop frankly told the satraps: "It is all the same to me whether I live five more years or less—I shall not soil the authority of the Church."

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5
Baltic Countries RB1

TABLE 22

BUTTER EXPORTS IN THE BALTIC STATES[a]

(*In Metric Tons*)

YEAR	LITHUANIA	LATVIA	ESTONIA
1927	2,051	10,761	9,906
1928	2,643	13,006	11,222
1929	4,084	14,830	12,359
1930	7,357	13,430	14,066
1931	8,705	18,739	14,444
1932	9,926	18,598	12,531
1933	9,580	15,720	9,224
1934	9,671	15,701	10,118
1935	12,154	16,816	10,838
1936	14,629	17,291	10,955
1937	15,058	19,211	13,179
1938	17,413	23,464	14,732
1939	16,386	([b])	([b])

[a] C.S.B., volumes for 1927 to 1939.
[b] Figures not available.

L 234 439 BC 234 439

LIVESTOCK

Livestock breeding is one of the branches of agriculture that suffered greatly in the World War. As soon as the war started in 1914 Russia requisitioned the best horses for the army. Then came the German army, which took what had been left by the Russians. Only horses unfit for army use were left.

L 231 727

To alleviate a great shortage of food caused by the Allied blockade the Germans requisitioned even the milk cows for slaughter. The reduction in livestock in Lithuania in 1919 as compared with 1913 was as follows: horses, 38 percent; cattle, 47.7 percent; pigs, 44 percent; sheep, 30 percent. The reduction of stock may be clearly seen from Table 23,

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

TABLE 23

231 LIVESTOCK IN LITHUANIA 1913–39

●727

YEAR	HORSES (1,000 head)	CATTLE (1,000 head)	PIGS (1,000 head)	SHEEP (1,000 head)
1913	451	918	1,138	1,152
1919	280	480	750	806
1920	335	604	1,119	894
1921	376	780	1,262	1,036
1925	497	1,339	1,488	1,455
1928 [a]	611	1,128	1,010	1,409
1930	562	1,034	1,207	1,212
1935 [b]	545	1,132	1,223	1,220
1938 [c]	558	1,193	1,249	1,241
1939	521	1,004	1,117	1,224

[a] For the period 1913–28: Kubilius, *op. cit.*, p. 86; C.S.B., 1918–28, p. 58.
[b] For the years 1930 and 1935: *Lietuvos Surasymas*, 1935, pp. 40–51.
[c] C.S.B., volumes for 1938 and 1939.

which shows also that livestock breeding recovered very quickly after the World War, so that as early as 1925 the number of livestock was even greater than it had been in [499] 1913. Exports of livestock and their products constituted 26.13 percent of the total value of exports as early as 1924 and reached 31.02 percent in 1928 and 61.4 percent in 1939. It may be interesting to analyze the livestock situation according to its various important branches.

231 Horses were bred in Lithuania as far back as historians [523] can trace the Lithuanian people. That horses are beloved by Lithuanians is proved by the many folk songs about them. In the Middle Ages Lithuania needed horses for its wars and bred them in great numbers for that purpose. Some of them were even sold in foreign markets.[36]

[36] Kriksciunas, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

474 agricultural machinery, etc. Without the co-operative societies, the acquisition of these indispensable articles would have been almost impossible. Machinery to facilitate the various processes of farming and tools by which the land could be more efficiently prepared were shown to peasants at exhibitions, conferences and practical demonstrations organised by the rural co-operative societies.

474 242 3. Before the war, when Lithuania was still part of Russia, it was only towards 1911 or 1912 that action to encourage technical progress in agriculture could be developed on anything like a wide scale. Before that date, and particularly since 1906, much had been done in this sphere by the co-operative organisations — agricultural societies and farmers' clubs. At the meetings held by these organisations, many questions relating to the improvement of agricultural production were discussed. Exhibitions, courses of instruction and lectures were regularly held and visits were organised to model farms, experimental stations and demonstrations of agricultural instruments; schools of agriculture were founded and journals were published. General questions of importance to agriculturists were also discussed — *e.g.*, the flight from the land, the problem of agricultural labour, means of transport, hygiene and social insurance.

4. Since the end of the nineteenth century, propaganda has been conducted for the development of stock-breeding, particularly for the purposes of the dairy industries, as a substitute for the corn-growing to which Lithuanian agriculturists used largely to confine themselves. This propaganda was directed, in the first instance, to the owners of large agricultural estates and was subsequently extended to the owners of medium and small holdings also.

474 [727] The valuable activities of the co-operative societies in this sphere were interrupted by the war, during which Lithuanian agriculture suffered greatly: there was a fall of 38% in the number of horses, 47% in cattle, 44% in pigs and 30% in sheep; approximately 35% of the arable land was lying fallow and 1,200 villages with 14,270 agricultural undertakings, 2,000 separate undertakings and fifty townships, comprising a total of 57,080 buildings, were destroyed. The independent State of Lithuania was raised from the ruins without any compensation being received for the losses suffered. The co-operative societies applied themselves to the revival of rural life. Henceforward, their activities were better organised, as they were allowed to form unions and were able to concern themselves with the most varied branches of rural life.

In 1918, only 10% of the co-operative societies in being before the war still remained, so that the network of societies had to be extended. In consequence, many new societies of

11: Scheffer O-4.5 (ca. 1660) 1704
EP4 Lapps
Letts R84
Lithuanians R85

Le 635 728 648

to submit under the Protection of *Sigismund Augustus* King of *Poland*, who made *Courland* a Dukedom, and gave it to *Goddard Kettler* of *Nesselrath*, the last Master of the *Teutonick* Order in *Livonia*, to hold it as a Fief of the Crown of *Poland*. But *William* the youngest Son of this *Goddard*, who succeeded his elder Brother in the Government, was dispossessed of his Dominions by *Sigismund* III. King of *Poland*, and lived in Exile till 1619, when he was restored to the Dukedom, whose Posterity enjoy it to this Day.

Le 636

The *Poles* also remain to this Day possess'd of some inconsiderable Places of the *South* side of the River *Dwina* or *Dune*, among which *Dunaburgh* is the only Place worth taking notice of.

Li 103 133 131 504 712 175 727

The Dutchy of *Memel* is likewise a part of the *Southern Livonia*: Its Capital City bearing the same Name, is Situate upon, and encompass'd by, the River *Tanger*, which not far from thence exonerates it self into the Sea, in the Gulph call'd the Lake of *Courland*, and affords a very Commodious Harbour to this little but pleasant Town: Its Castle is very well Fortified; it was *An.* 1250. built by the Master of the Order of *Livonia*, and in 1328. sold by them to the Master of the *Prussian* Knights. In the Truce made in the Year 1635, betwixt the *Poles* and *Swedes*, it was Stipulated, that the said City and Dukedom should be surrendred to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who ever since remains in possession of it.

CHAP. II.

Of the Antient Inhabitants of Livonia, *and their Superstitions and Customs.*

Le 175

IT is beyond all dispute, that *Livonia* remain'd for a long time involved in the Darkness of Paganism and Idolatry, this Country being quite unknown in these Parts, till in the Year 1158, a Merchant Ship of *Bremen* (or as some will have it of *Lubeck*) being forced by a Tempest into the Gulph of *Riga*, made the first

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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Appendix B

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EXTRACT FROM THE PEACE TREATY WITH RUSSIA

Lithuania on the one part and Russia on the other being determined to base their future mutual relations on justice and right, which would grant to both countries and their peoples the benefits of earnest and peaceful neighborly relations, have to this end decided to start negotiations and have appointed as their delegates:

For the Democratic Republic of Lithuania:

TOMAS NARUSEVICIUS
PETRAS KLIMAS
SIMONAS ROZENBAUMAS
JUOZAS VAILOKAITIS
VYTAUTAS RACKAUSKAS

And for the Federated States of the Soviet Socialist Republics of Russia:

ADOLF ABRAMOVICH IOFFE
ULIAN USEFOVICH MARCHLEVSKI
LEONID LEONIDOVICH BOBLENSKI

The said delegates, having submitted their credentials to one another and found them in good form and order, have agreed on the following:

ARTICLE I

Pursuant to the declaration made by the Federated States of the Soviet Socialist Republics of Russia to the effect that all peoples have the right to self-determination until they become

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

completely separated from the state of which they are a part, Russia without any prejudice recognizes the self-rule and independence of the State of Lithuania with all the juridical consequences resulting from such recognition and for all time renounces with good will all the sovereignty rights of Russia, which it has had in regard to the Lithuanian nation or territory. 648 728

The fact that Lithuania ever was under Russian sovereignty does not place the Lithuanian people and the nation or territory under any obligations to Russia.

NOTE: This treaty, consisting of nineteen paragraphs, was signed in Moscow on July 12, 1920, and ratified on August 6, 1920, and it became effective on October 14, 1920.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Appendix C

LITHUANIAN-POLISH PACT

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Agreement between Lithuania and Poland with Regard to the Establishment of a Provisional Modus Vivendi Pending a Definite Settlement of Relations between the Two States, Signed at Suvalkai, October 7, 1920 [1]

The Delegation of the Government of Lithuania, composed of:

(1) Representatives of the Lithuanian High Command, Lieutenant General Maksimas Katche, and Commander Aleksandras Sumskis,

(2) Representatives of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Messrs. Bronius Balutis, Voldemaras Carneckis, and Mykolas Birziska,

and the Delegation of the Government of Poland, composed of:

(1) Representative of the Polish High Command, Colonel Mieczyslaw Mackiewicz,

(2) Representative of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Juljusz Lukasiewicz,

met at the Conference held at Suvalkai from September 30 to October 7, 1920, and, after presenting their credentials, which were found to be in good and due form, concluded the following Agreement:

ARTICLE I: THE LINE OF DEMARCATION

(a) A line of demarcation, which in no way prejudices the territorial claims of the two Contracting Parties, shall be fixed and shall be marked by the following points:

[1] Translation from the Lithuanian by the author.

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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From the frontier of East Prussia to the confluence of the Juodoji Ancia (Tcharna-Hantcha) with the Nemunas (Niemen) river, i. e., the line fixed by the decision of the Supreme Council on December 8, 1919; thence along the Nemunas river to the mouth of the Grave river; then up the course of the Grave to the point at which it is crossed by the road Merkyne-Ratnycia (Noretch-Rotnitsa); thence in a straight line to the confluence of the Skruoblis with the Merkys river (Meretchanka); thence along the Merkys to the mouth of the Dereznica (Derechnitsa), leaving the village of Salavarciai (Solovertsy) on the Lithuanian side and the village of Male Dubno on the Polish side; thence along the Dereznica (Derechnitsa) to the spot where it is crossed by the Vilnius-Varena (Vilna-Orany) railway, about two kilometers northeast of Varena station; thence along the road through Bartoliai-Kuciai (Bartole-Kucie), Naujadvaris (Nowy-Dvor), Eisiske (Eishishki), Paditve (Podsitwa), Gorodonka, and the station of Bastunai (Bastuny), leaving this road and the Bastunai station in the hands of the Polish authorities.

(b) When hostilities between the Polish and Lithuanian troops have ceased, in conformity with Article 2 of the present Agreement, the line defined above may not under any pretext be crossed by the troops of the two Contracting Parties. Nevertheless, the existence of this line shall not prevent the farmers from cultivating their fields situated on either side of it.

(c) The marking out on the ground of the line of demarcation in those parts of the territory of the former Government of Suvalkai, which are referred to in the decision of the Supreme Council of December 8, 1919, shall be entrusted to the Commission of Control of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 2: CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES

(a) The two Contracting Parties, confirming and completing the Agreements for the cessation of hostilities between the Polish and Lithuanian armies, which have been accepted during the present Conference, and which have only a provisional character and relate only to certain places, undertake to cease hostilities throughout the entire length of the line of demarcation described

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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in Article 1, paragraph (a) of the present Agreement from the frontier of East Prussia to the meridian of Paturciai (Paturse), about nine kilometers southeast of Eisiske.

(b) After the withdrawal of the Soviet troops to the east of the Vilnius-Lyda railway, military operations between the Polish and Lithuanian troops shall cease on the sector of the line of demarcation between the meridian of the village of Paturciai and the station of Bastunai inclusively.

(c) As regards the cessation of hostilities and the establishment of a line of demarcation between the Lithuanian and Polish troops in the region to the east of the meridian of the station of Bastunai, these questions shall be settled by a special agreement when the Soviet troops have been withdrawn from that region. In case of failure to arrive at such an agreement, the two Contracting Parties reserve the right to appeal to the League of Nations for a solution of these questions.

ARTICLE 3: THE STATION OF VARENA

(a) The Polish authorities undertake to allow Lithuanian trains (except troop trains and trains conveying war material) to pass in either direction between Alytus and Vilnius and to afford to Lithuanian trains at Varena station all assistance and technical facilities for free movement in either direction.

(b) As an exception, the Polish Government consents to allow trains conveying troops and war materials proceeding from Alytus to pass freely through Varena station, provided that the total number of such trains does not exceed seven, that not more than two trains pass in one day, and that they pass through Varena station between seven and seventeen o'clock [Polish time].

(c) The supervision of the execution of the provisions contained in paragraphs (a) and (b) of the present Article shall be entrusted to the Commission of Control of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 4: EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS

The two Contracting Parties declare that they mutually agree

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

in principle to exchange all prisoners taken by either Contracting Party. The order and date of exchange shall be decided by separate agreement. 648 728

ARTICLE 5: DURATION OF AGREEMENT, ETC.

The present Agreement shall come into force at noon on October 10, 1920. This date, however, shall not affect the cessation of hostilities where this has actually taken place. The Agreement shall remain in force until all territorial disputes between Poles and Lithuanians have been finally settled.

In drawing up the present Agreement the two Contracting Parties have used the German General Staff Map, scale 1 : 100,000.

The present Agreement is done in duplicate in the Lithuanian and Polish languages, and signed at Suvalkai, on October 7, 1920.

For the Lithuanian Delegation:

Lieutenant General M. Katche
Bronius Balutis
Voldemaras Carneckis
Mykolas Birziska
Major Aleksandras Sumskis

For the Polish Delegation:

Colonel M. Mackiewicz
J. Lukasiewicz

3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

seized by the government in 1861 and 1863 are to receive 671
priority over all others. Each head of a family may receive not 423
more than 49.4 acres (20 hectares). Land is also to be distributed to public schools, schools of agriculture, and other in- [657]
stitutions of learning and culture as well as to hospitals, sanatoriums, asylums, and other social and public organizations.

The land is divided into four classes, graded according to 423
the fertility of the soil. The new owners have to pay equal annual installments for their land for thirty-six years. The rate to be paid varies from 180 to 252 litas per hectare (2.471 acres) for first-class land, depending on its location; 90 to 126 litas for second-class; 36 to 54 litas for third-class, and 18 to 27 litas for fourth-class. No interest accumulates on the unpaid balance except on due shares which are not paid in the time prescribed.[13]

The only recipients of land exempted from all payments [729]
are volunteer soldiers in the Lithuanian war for independence and their families.

Former owners of the lands taken for land reform pur- 423
poses were entitled to compensation. Payment was to be 425
made with government bonds bearing three percent interest 652
and redeemable at any time not later than thirty-six years from the date of issue. Paragraph 58 of the Land Reform Law prescribes that the compensation for the land shall be a fair price based on valuations existing in the period between 1910 and 1914. As the Land Reform Law was passed on April 3, 1922, when *Obost* marks [14] were in circulation, the compensation was to be paid in this currency. (One Russian ruble was made equal to two *Obost* marks.) Paragraph 59 provides that the highest amount paid may not exceed

[13] Salkauskas, *op. cit.*, pp. 325–32.
[14] See, p. 102 below, section on Finance.

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

X. MEDICO-SOCIAL POLICY

744 Sanitary conditions in the towns and rural administrative areas are under the supervision of the competent district medical 657 officer, who also inspects sales of foodstuffs. He is responsible 758 for measures for the prevention of infectious diseases and for seeing that all persons suffering from venereal disease receive treatment.

It has not yet been possible to apply all the recommendations of the 1931 European Conference on Rural Hygiene. Health centres had already been set up (different from those recommended by the Conference) in 1929, before the Conference met. They are staffed by doctors, nurses and midwives, and advise pregnant women and mothers. The responsibility for establishing them rests with the Department of Labour and Social Insurance (Ministry of the Interior), which acts through the Union of Maternity and Child Welfare Organisations. There are at present twenty-two such health centres.

In 1938, 210 health stations were opened, each serving an area with an average of 10,000 inhabitants. Every health station has a medical officer and a midwife, the former being responsible for giving medical assistance to the inhabitants and for supervising the health of school-children. The stations are maintained jointly by the Ministry of the Interior and the municipalities. The doctors and midwives are paid a small fixed salary, and also receive reduced rate fees from their patients. Indigent persons are given free medical and obstetrical assistance. Persons suffering from venereal disease are treated free of charge by the doctor attached to the health station.

4: Kubilitzky G-4, 5 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

651 individuals residing in the rural parts of the country is slightly higher, due to the lower standard of living.

●745 An employees' sickness-insurance fund was created in 1928 to provide for medical treatment, especially of the poorer classes. Membership in this organization is compulsory for all workers and employees, except farm laborers and State employees. Monthly contributions, equal in amount, are made by both the employer and the employee, according to wage classes, of which there are six. For wage class I (daily wage, 4 lits; weekly wage, 24 lits; and monthly wage, 100 lits) the monthly payment to the sick fund is 5.40 lits. The payments for each wage class are progressively higher, until for class VI (daily wage, 12.01 lits and over; weekly wage, 73 lits and over; and monthly wage, 301 lits and over) the payment to the sick fund is 21.60 lits. The maximum benefit allowed ranges from 3 lits for wage class I to 14 lits for wage class VI.

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An additional amount (10 percent of the monthly payments made to the sick fund) is contributed in equal shares by the employer and the employee to the Labor Chamber.

647 All State employees contribute 6 percent of their wages to a pension fund. Furthermore, from 4.5 percent to 18.73 percent of the wages of a married State employee are deducted for the special fund created to balance the budget, the deduction of a single employee varing between 11.7 percent to 24.53 percent. These deductions apply to State employees residing in Kaunas, Klaipeda, the Klaipeda Territory, and abroad. The deductions made from wages of State employees residing in the rural parts of the country vary from 9.5 percent to 23.73 percent for married, and from 15.3 percent to 29.53 percent for single persons. These rates became effective on April 1, 1937.

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651 Tax deductions from wages amount to 10 percent; however, a certain amount is exempt from taxation. In the case of a single worker the exemption applies to all wages under 36.50 lits per week. Ten percent of the amount exceeding 36.50 lits per week is subject to taxation and is determined in accordance with the family status of the worker. The result of this, in practice, is that married workers with one child do not pay taxes.

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456 Contributions for social, sickness, accident, old-age, and disability insurance amount in all to 9 percent, 4½ percent of which are paid by the employer and the remaining 4½ percent by the worker.

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

X. MEDICO-SOCIAL POLICY

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113 in the periodical Das Neue Litauen in 1917-18: Tetzner, "Tolminkemer Erinnerungstage" (1917), No. 5/6. Alfred Brust, "Die litauische Kultur und der Expressionismus" (1918), No. 1. Victor Jungfer, "Die Taubehe im litauischen Volksliede" (1918), No. 15/16/ W. W. Ulmenried-Naujeck, "Zur litauischen Literatur" (1918), No. 18/19. In addition reference may be made to the same issues of the years of the Zeitung der X. Armee, published at that period, in whose literary supplement were contained a number of really valuable contributions to the research on Lithuanian folk songs and their melodies. For the most recent period cf. Möller, Das Lied der Völker (No. 13 on the Lithuanian folk song) (Leipzig, 1930); and H. Engert, Aus litauischer Dichtung, Deutsche Nachdichtungen (Kaunas, 1935), 1st. ed.; (1938), 2nd ed.

533 B. Prose Writing

*538 1. The Raudos (Lamentations for the Dead)

764 Between the daina and the prose writing of the people, as it found its expression in sagas, fairy tales, and other creations, stand the Lithuanian lamentations for the dead, or raudos. They are the oldest creations of Lithuanian folk literature that are mentioned in the chronicles. Thus /73/ Kojalowicz reports that the heroic death of those 300 Lithuanians who, in 1362, at the conquest of the fortress of Kaunas by Winrich of Kniprode, threw themselves into the flames of the burning castle was celebrated by the people in songs of sorrow (vulgaribus naeniis populus decantabat). (47) According to Strykowski a priest

47. F. and H. Tetzner, op. cit., p. 5.

sang for their dead at the funerals of princes.

533 538 764 Evidently these brief indications, to which our knowledge of the earliest period is limited, refer not to the folk song, but to the raudos, which are often mentioned also in a later period. Although each rauda has its own melody, they do not represent real songs for the dead, but have the form of a lamentation for the dead. The older raudos have no metrical character, but are in language and form rather to be compared with a type of rhythmically elevated prose. Their melodies were of sorrowful monotony. Old women sang them for remuneration at burials. Through them one wished to appease the ghosts of the dead, in whose continued existence one firmly believed, so that they would not return to the house as evil demons of [776] revenge and spread pestilence and disease. Thus these lamentations for the dead represent the superstitious result of that primitive belief in ghosts and demons which particularly illustrated the mental attitude of the Lithuanian people and still lives today in remote villages of the country

In content the raudos differ from each other only little. The good deeds of the deceased are remembered, and the sorrow at the departure of father, mother, husband, brother, or sister is expressed, often in an infinitely tender and moving manner. As Chr. Bartsch has already pointed out, there is not one among the genuinely popular raudos that would be spoken by a man for a man or even for his wife. "Everywhere it is women (and girls) who speak." The wife as such is not mentioned. (48) At times the lamentation

[113] 48. Chr. Bartsch, "Über litauische Volksliteratur," Mitteilungen der litauischen litterarischen Gesellschaft, Vol. II (1884), Tilsit, p. 100.

of the relatives and friends of the deceased, who follow the coffin, has such a staggering

533 effect that even the priest, from inner /74/
*538 emotion and pity, is not able to complete the
764 sacred rites at the grave without tears.

Formally the more recent raudos differ from the older ones in their strophic arrangement: out of the old lamentation has grown a song with rauda motifs. In this form the raudos have been preserved till the present day in the province of Drūkija. (49) In order to give a rough idea

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49. Akiras Birzys, Lietuvos miestai ir miesteliai /Lithuania'sCities and Towns/, Vol. I, Alytaus apskritis, Dzuku krastas /The District of Alytus, the Province of the Dzulijans/ (Kaunas, 1931), p. 397. The most important collection of Lithuanian lamentations for the dead is that published bv Dr. J. Basanavičius, "Lietūvių Tauta (Vilna, 1926), Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 59-145.

of the nature of the old raudos, I reproduce below a few of these lamentations, taken from the great song collection of A. Juškevičius.

Lament for the Mother

Little mother, you who took care of me, oh my little mother; I thank your dear hands, with which you brought me up from childhood; I thank your feet, on which you carried me, your wisdom in teaching me well; I thank your little mouth, that talked sweetly with me.

Who will now talk so sweetly with me, who teach me so well? Little mother, who will protect me when I have a complaint? With whom shall I speak? The cuckoo in the forest will stop calling, but I shall never stop.

Little mother, you do not breathe; little mother you do not sigh; say but one word and com-

533 fort my sorrowing heart. The whole night I talked
#533 to you; with my little mother I did not talk
764 (i.e. received no answer).

Oh little mother, little cherry, oh my little mother, you wanderer. Oh, my little mother makes a home of little white boards, the little windows without glass, without a door. You will not see the rising sun nor its setting.

The last time, the last little hour, we talked together. Oh, if I could awaken my little mother!

/75/ Oh, when will you come to us and when visit us? Whence shall I expect you; in which little corner shall I meet you? Little mother, day and night have I wandered; I shall never find you.

Lament for the Son

My little son, you forsaken one, my little son, my garland of rue, my little son, you little golden ring, my little son, the days of my youth!

Oh, my little son, the days of my youth I buried, oh, the days of my youth I have no more, no more, my little son.

Oh, my little son, my whole dowry, all that I have. How shall I forget you, my little son, and the days of my youth?

Oh, my little son, so short was your life--leave me still a little room.

Lament for the Father

Oh, my dear father, who had such a short life, oh, my dear father, who had such cares--you earned your home of little white boards, of gray earth your home. How hard you obtained it--will you bear the gray earth?

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Oh, dear father, you who provided for me, oh dear father, you who protected me, to whom shall I bring my complaints, with whom shall I talk?

You my little father, the sun sets--I cannot converse, I cannot talk with my father.

Dear father, little father, my pride, my little father, you wanderer.

/76/ Oh my little father is still, oh my little father breathes no more, oh, my little father does not call me, he does not ask me.

Oh, my little father now has his place of rest.
You my little father, bless me.
Oh, perhaps I have bitterly displeased my father, that he no longer speaks with me.
Little father, the sun sets--oh, they lay my father inside the hill. My little father, how will you like it there?
Oh, your home is without a door, without a little glass window.
Oh, where should we seek for you, where shall we find you?
Oh, although I go over all roads and paths, through all forests, my father I shall no longer meet.
Little father, who will talk with me, who open the door for me?
Oh, little father, we will go over the roads which you travelled--there we shall cry.

Lament for the Daughter

Oh, my little daughter, my spinner, my weaver, support for my feet and hands.
What were you afraid of, the hard times or the hard work? It was not necessary to be afraid, I would have taught you; the work is not hard, even if the times are hard; everything fell on

533 your father and mother; you would not have had to
*533 worry about anything.
764 My ghostly bride, my clear ice crystal, companion of the high mountain, in which flowers will you come up, in which leaves will you turn green? When I in passing look to the side, which flowers will you make grow? How will I recognize you, in the leaves or in the flowers?

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*538 /77/ 2. Fairy Tales and Sagas
[775] The belief in a lasting connection of the departed souls with the living, as indicated in the raudos, deeply influenced the Lithuanian people for centuries. The strong mystical trait in the spirutual life of the Lithuanian maintained this belief the more strongly since as late as the sixteenth century Lithuania was a completely pagan country, whose superficial Christianization had scarcely touched the consciousness of the people itself. Thus, too, the abundance of superstitious motifs which we still find in Lithuania today grew in the soil of an ancient popular religion. They frequently are mixed with quite modern ideas. Their expression, however, is found in a rich world of fairy tales and sagas which only today has been partially investigated, and which in any case differs from the Western type in that it has not yet been transferred from the reality of experience to the cemetery of literary history. The abundance of fairy tales at the disposal of the Lithuanian people is so great that the existing collections can give only a weak picture of it.

Among all peoples the fairy tale stands at the beginning of every literary creation; it affords us a glimpse into the childhood years of humanity. The motifs of the fairy tales themselves wander; many of them stem from the Orient and from India (Benfey). Unfortunately the following brief characterization of the Lithuanian popular fairy tale can, because of the scope of this work,

346 With the close relationship of Lithuania to these
177 countries they were bound to exert an influence on it, so that Galaunė arrives at the conclusion: "The bell towers of the Ukraine, above all however of Galicia, are known from a much older period (the beginning of the sixteenth century) than ours; several of them differ in their form only little from our bell towers. For this reason, in my opinion one must seek the elements of the wooden fortress in the architecture of the Lithuanian bell towers too." (19)

19. Galaunė, op. cit., p. 92.

346 /111/ If these established points prove that in all probability the Lithuanian bell towers go back in their origin to older models, these towers also contain numerous independent architectonic elements which are to be regarded as purely Lithuanian. The village artist strove for the greatest possible variety within the framework at his disposal. We are always surprised anew by the great richness of form, the diversity of the distribution of the masses, which contain all phases of expression from light enthusiasm to calm seriousness and from simple modesty to complicated expression. Thus each of these wooden bell towers is an individual work of art, deeply rooted in the life of the Lithuanian peasants and indispensable to the picture of the Lithuanian countryside.

B. The Village Art

778 1. The Roofed Crosses

322 If the village artist was bound by the prac-
764 tical purposes of his work in the construction of the farmhouses, village churches, and bell towers, his art could be that much more freely unfolded in those strange, towering crosses which represent the real landmarks of the Lithuanian landscape. The German poet Herbert Eulenberg reproduces the

778 impression of these crosses in the following beau-
764 tiful words: "Nowhere in the world except per-
322 haps in the Tyrol does one see as many crosses as in Lithuania. Like high masts they stand individually by the village street, on the ridges of fields, and at crossroads. One finds them grouped together in the cemeteries of Lithuania, where they grow out of the graves like great, gloomy lilies. Bent over by time, these high grave crosses greet the passing hiker or traveller like tokens of the dead, with whom the Lithuanian people as no other live in constant fearful or friendly contact. Especially in the winter it makes an often uncanny impression when out of the broad surface of snow which /112/ covers the whole land the high black crosses project and seem to beckon one with an earnest finger. And the sight of a Lithuanian cemetery in the winter will remain unforgettably impressed in the memory of anyone, when the gloomy outlines of such a group of crosses rise against the glowing red of the sunset like the shadows of Golgotha." (20) The East

[113] 20. Hermann Struck and Herbert Eulenberg, Skizzen aus litauen, Weissrussland und Kurland (Berlin, 1916).

Prussian Alfred Brust says of the same crosses: "There are among them works of art which, surrendered to every wind and weather, belong to the great rarities of simplest but most profound folk art." (21) Prof. Otto Schwindrazheim defines the

[113] 21. Alfred Brust, "Die litauische Kultur und der Expressionismus," Das neue Litauen, 1918, No. 14, pp. 50-51.

Lithuanian crosses as "masterpieces of popular wooden art," (22) and the Italian art historian

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Luigi Caglio actually describes them as the "most typical manifestation of folk art in Europe.' (23)

23. Luigi Caglio, Alla Biennale di Monza (1925). (Quoted according to Galaunė, op. cit., p. 103.)

No artist, however, has more strongly grasped and reproduced the mystical impression which proceeds from these crosses than the Lithuanian painter Čiurlionis in his picture "Samogitian Cemetery." It is characteristic that almost every observer who surrendered himself to the strong mood of these crosses felt at the same time the contrast that exists between these apparent manifestations of Christian faith and the rational nature of Christianity itself--a contrast which naturally does not enter the consciousness of the present-day "God carvers" /Herrgottsschnitzer/, who work within the framework of primitive traditions. And it is really not the abundance of pagan symbols with which these monuments of devout veneration of the dead are decorated, but rather the totality of the impression, which seizes the observer with compelling force. Already their majestic height--five or six meters--is unique and distinguishes them from all similar monuments of Christian origin. But scholarly research too, which has turned its attention to the Lithuanian crosses since the beginning of this century and has tried first and foremost to solve the problem of their origin, proceeding from the most varied viewpoints, has arrived at the same conclusion: the Lithuanian crosses grew out of the pagan veneration of the dead by the Lithuanians and represent a primitive /Unnumbered page with illustration--Roofed Crosses, after a Painting by Čiurlionis/ /113/ monument of ancient Lithuanian culture. Only at a later period did they acquire their present Christian appearance, without, how-

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ever, casting off completely their old forms. We encounter this view, first vaguely indicated by Szukiewicz, the first investigator of the crosses of the Vilna area, in the work of Brensteyn on the Samogitian roofed crosses, in 1906, as an already confirmed theory, which is later extensively supported by the archaeological investigations of Dr. Basanavičius. The famous ecclesiastical prohibition with which Michael, the Bishop of Sambia, in 1426, forbade the erection of crosses in the cemeteries agrees with these conclusions. The founding of the Lithuanian state gave this research a further impetus: many thousands of crosses in the country were photographed and recorded in drawings, so that the history of art has today at its disposal an incomparably greater amount of material than before the World War.

According to our present knowledge, as expressed in the works of Galaunė and Rukštelė,(24)

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24. W. Szukiewicz, Krzyże zdobne w gubernju Wilenskiej ("Wisła" 1903), Vol. XVII. Brensteyn, Krzyże i kapliczki (1906). Dr. J. Basanavičius, Lietuviu kryžiai archeologijos šviesoje (The Lithuanian Crosses in the Light of Archaeology). Brensteyn investigates in his work exclusively the roofed crosses of Samogitia. The essay of Dr. Basanavičius forms the introduction to the picture book of Jaroševičius mentioned at the beginning: Lietuvii Kryžiai. An abstract in German in V. Jungfer, Alt-Litauen (Berlin, 1926), pp. 71-90.) The most recent literature: Antanas Rukštelė, Lietuviu Tautodailė (Kaunas, 1929), pp. 55-69. Scholarly: Galaunė, op. cit., pp. 101-142 (with detailed references).

the modern roofed crosses resulted from simple wooden columns which were erected by the graves of

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the dead as early as in pagan times. They originated from the cult of the dead and were probably intended as dwelling places for the souls of the departed. As such they are also attested to among neighboring peoples.

The development probably proceeded as follows: on these columns a two-part, later polygonal or circular, roof was placed in order to protect the stem from rain and snow. In these square columns, which were of considerable strength, little niches were carved out, perhaps in order thus to provide a dwelling for the souls of the dead, perhaps already under Christian influence; for in these niches, which are still occasionally encountered today, we have the original form of those little saints' chapels with which most of the present-day crosses are decorated. With the decrease in strong trees, the chapels were set free from their bonds, gained structural independence, /114/ and were set on top of the wooden columns--at first in place of the roof, which then appeared raised and supported by little columns, later as real little chapels with partially closed side walls. This facilitated their further artistic development in which Lithuanian wooden ornamentation was able to unfold its characteristic forms. Only at the end of the seventeenth or at the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, in Galaunē's view, did the Lithuanian grave columns described here obtain in part the form of a cross. It resulted from the prohibitions of the clergy, who were opposed to the placing of the figures of saints in such chapels which were attached to simple wooden columns or carved out of them. (25)

25. P. Galaunē, op. cit., p. 110.

The forms of the Lithuanian crosses, their chapels, and their ornamentation exhibit an infinite diversity. Almost every province, even

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every parish has its peculiarities. Among the thousands of photographs mentioned above, which today are found in the Lithuanian folklore museum in Kaunas, hardly one looks like any of the others. So strongly, in spite of all traditional restrictions, have the God-carvers expressed their individuality.

In the spiritual life of the country people these crosses have until quite recently occupied a prominent position. They were set up on all important occasions, at births, baptisms, and weddings, at disasters and illnesses, at bad harvests and as thanksgiving for good ones. They were placed not only in cemeteries, but also at the entrances to villages, in private gardens, on hills and fields, at rivers and springs and in dark forests. Their number was so great that the traveller through Samogitia met them at every turn, and in the region of Vilna, as Szukiewicz reports, (26) they even took the place of the trees

26. p. 131.

Although in the meantime many have been destroyed by nature itself and many others have fallen victim to war, the ancient Lithuanian province of Samogitia still has at its disposal today an immense quantity of cross motifs and decorative forms. An organization of these crosses into specific types, which /115/ research in art history has repeatedly attempted, is only possible with this abundance of forms if one proceeds from the structural forms of the crosses themselves and disregards all decorative motifs. (27) We

27. p. 127.

then obtain three large groups--the wooden columns provided only with a roof, second the columns with chapels, and third the crosses proper. Among

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the roofed columns Galaunė distinguishes 44 different types, among the columns with chapels 12, and among the crosses with a crossbar no less than 46. (27) Of these groups the first and most

27. p. 127.

ancient has today almost disappeared in Lithuania; the last and most recent is the most frequently represented.

Not all the crosses, though very many, are decorated with the saints' chapels mentioned at the beginning. The latter, to be sure, as can be seen in their style, go back to a considerably more recent period, and seem to have found their model in the style of the wooden bell towers and village churches.

We find such little chapels not only in connection with the crosses--whether it be at the point of intersection of the crossbar or at the end of the wooden column--chapels one or two meters high resting on the earth or built on a stone foundation are also no rarity. In their decoration various types of style from Gothic to baroque, even rococo, can be clearly recognized. As already mentioned in another place, the baroque style obviously met more than any other the decorative requirements of the peasant artist. Its application frequently betrays great taste. From the decorative elements of these little works of art flows, as Galaunė says, "such simplicity, such earnestness, and such subtle sensitivity that one must arrive at the conviction that in Lithuania the baroque style was closely related not only to the stone architecture of the country's cities, but also the psyche of the people." (28) These

28. p. 137.

chapels are filled with statuettes of saints carved

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of wood with occasional votive offerings between them, and at times we see the representation of whole biblical scenes, above all the Way of the Cross.

/116/ The saints' chapels on the crosses and columns themselves are also very diverse. We find up to three arranged on top of each other, and sometimes four on all sides of the column. Thus the Lithuanian cross occasionally has more the effect of a little Chinese pagoda than of a Christian cross. The number of chapels depends on the number of saints' figures which one desired to house in them. Each tier is divided into sections, so that each saint is housed by himself. The form of the chapels is usually quadrangular, but hexagonal and octagonal ones with open fronts are also not rare. Still others, which rest on only moderately high columns, have the form of little altars. Still others are not attached to crosses, but to trees. In addition we find quite simple ones with only a roof over the picture of Christ, which we can hardly describe as chapels.

Among the decorative forms of the little chapels the sawed-out, scalloped, wavy, and openwork edges of the boards, at times completely sawed-out ornamental boards, are most evident.(29)

29. Schwindrazheim, op. cit., p. 48.

In addition there is, both in the crosses and chapels, a great abundance of ornamentation: twisted columns, baroque spiral ornaments, little wooden bells hanging down, stylized wreathes, leaves, and flowers. Many of these ornaments undoubtedly stem from very old, pre-Christian times, primarily those geometrical patterns which we will meet later in other products of the folk art, and which remind us of the ornamentation of prehistoric pots and articles of bronze. The zigzags, the ribbon patterns, the braid patterns, the fir tree

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patterns, the rosettes--they all are repeated in constantly new combinations. In the stylization of animals--the latter occur more seldom--we find birds and snakes, reminders of the serpent cult of the ancient Lithuanians. The crosses obtain their special characteristic, however, in the representation of sun, moon, and stars. The sun is usually represented as an iron cross with beams set on top, at times moved to the intersection of the crossbar. Its symbol /117/ is the circle, at times also a clearly executed sun disc from which rays radiate. In stark contrast to those of the Christian halo, the rays of the Lithuanian cross are zigzags, spirals, or the shape of lotus leaves and thorns. Others are formed like flowers, anchors, and crosses, or like hammers and arrows. The stars appear at the ends of the rays of the sun cross; the moon is a half moon open toward the top beneath the sun disc. Next to the pagan symbols of life are the Christian symbols of the suffering and death of Jesus--spear, hammer, and ladder--in addition chalices and monstrances, angels holding crowns and blowing trumpets, and many other Christian attributes. Nevertheless, this second group is subordinate to the first.

Perhaps later folklore research will be able to explore more deeply the meaning of the symbolism represented here. (30) The pagan symbols

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30. Among others, H. Schaeder attempts a penetrating symbolic interpretation in an essay, "Litauische Ornamentik, Das Land Ober-Ost" (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1917), p. 63.

of life, trees and plants; the symbols of light and animating warmth, the sun and stars; the symbols of love and tender affection, hearts, flowers,

778 and birds; and many others whose meaning is hidden
to us grow out of the Lithuanian crosses as the
322 expression of a deep mental attitude which flows
764 from the spiritual life of an inwardly rich people.
From the purely artistic angle, in the Lithuanian cross ornamentation, which recalls both a most loyal attachment to faith and a close communion with the dead, we are touched by the compactness with which it grows out of the crosses and blends into a unity with them. (31) In current times, to

[113] 31. V. Jungfer, Alt-Litauen, op. cit., p. 87. V. Jungfer, Hinter den Seen, hinter den Wäldern, Bilder litauischen Volkstums (Königsberg, 1932), pp. 45 and 58.

be sure, it must be recognized how amid a younger and more rationalistic generation the old symbolism of the forefathers is more and more forgotten. Not only does the old custom of setting up crosses disappear; even where wooden crosses are still erected, one meets more and more frequently slender, smooth crosses without any ornamentation, of which only the majestic height still recalls their primitive tradition. (32)

32. A few beautiful and artistically valuable crosses have today been set up in the garden of the Vytautas Museum in Kaunas.

/118/ 2. The Wood Sculpture

532 Our survey of the Lithuanian crosses and their chapels would not be complete if we did not include in our presentation those wooden sculptures of the Christian saints which were mentioned above and for whose sake the chapels of the Lithuanian crosses were created.

Lithuanian wood sculpture, to which we thus turn our attention, has, in its origin and its early stages, not been clarified. Romantic research,

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

CROSSES AND CHAPELS

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But Lithuania is not only a country of wooden churches: she is particularly the land of crosses. Inseparable from the landscape their outlines follow the undulations of the fields and penetrate into the woods. They are placed along the roads, in the proximity of sources, on tombs, on *piliakalniai*, both in solitary and frequented places. According to legend you find one at every ten paces in Holy Žemaitija. At the cemetery of Vilnius they leave no room for a tree. Though they are originally funereal they are mostly votive offerings. They commemorate a birth, a baptism, the favorable issue of a lawsuit. They are planted in times of epidemics or of drought. They remind the peasant of the successes and misfortunes

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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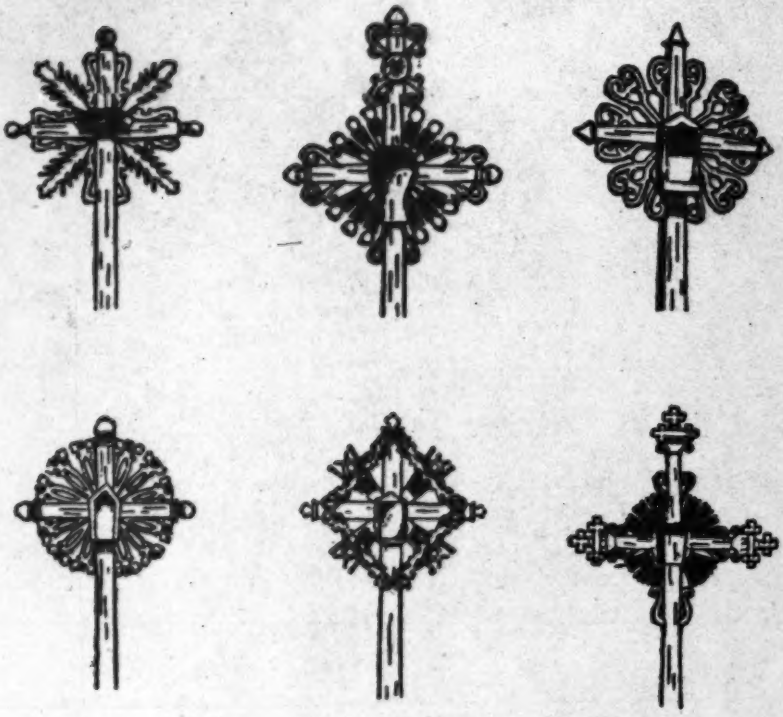

49.—54. Crosses

of his lifetime. Their consecration was celebrated by ancient rites and banquets, at which mead and beer flowed in streams. They often had nothing in common with a cross but the name and the clergy forbade their use. As early as 1426 the church proscribed them. It refused to bless them and had them removed from the neighbourhood of the chapels. Mr. Basanavičius has proved that the origin of these monuments lies far back in primitive beliefs. Trunks of trees, often rudimentary stems, were erected in prehistoric cemeteries. The archives of the churches at Insterburg testify to the custom followed by the Lithuanians up to the 17th century of placing on their tombs figures carved from boards, horses for men and birds for women. Up to the present day in the graveyards of

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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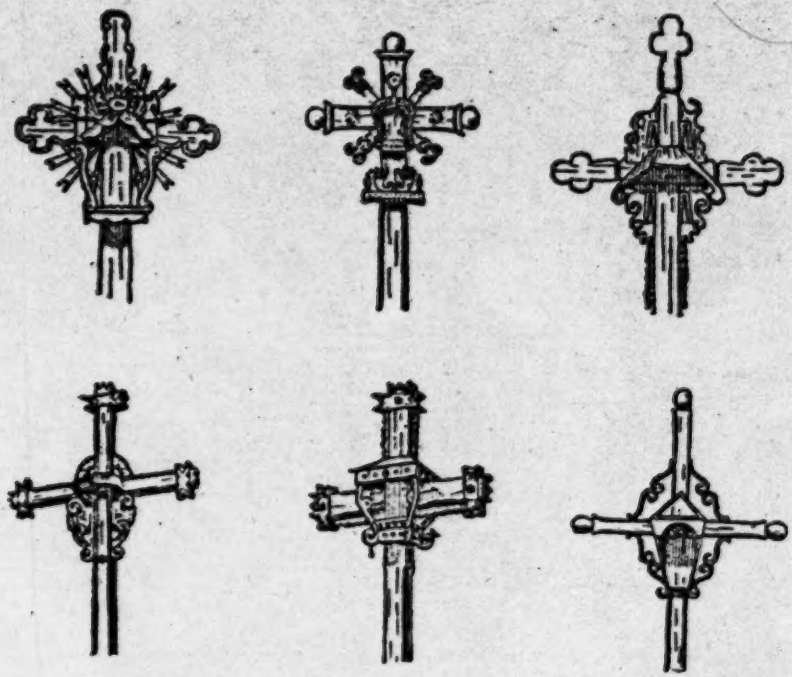

55.—60. Crosses

fishermen in the region of Klaipéda (Memel), one may come across toads and fantastically shaped animals carved in oak or in pinewood. They are placed not near the head, but at the feet of the dead. In these monsters cowering on the grave, there is no trace of Christian symbolism Though their variety seems to be inexhaustible, — Mr. Varnas photographed more than 2000 crosses all differing one from the other — these crosses and steles may be divided into several groups. According to Mr. Galaunė, the most ancient type is a simple tree trunk rudely squared. Similar funereal posts have also been found in Russia, in Finland and in Hungary. At their tops there is sometimes a small roof and sometimes a small niche. From these two archaic types stem two series of crosses: the "mushroom cross", crowned by a gable and the "lantern cross", consi-

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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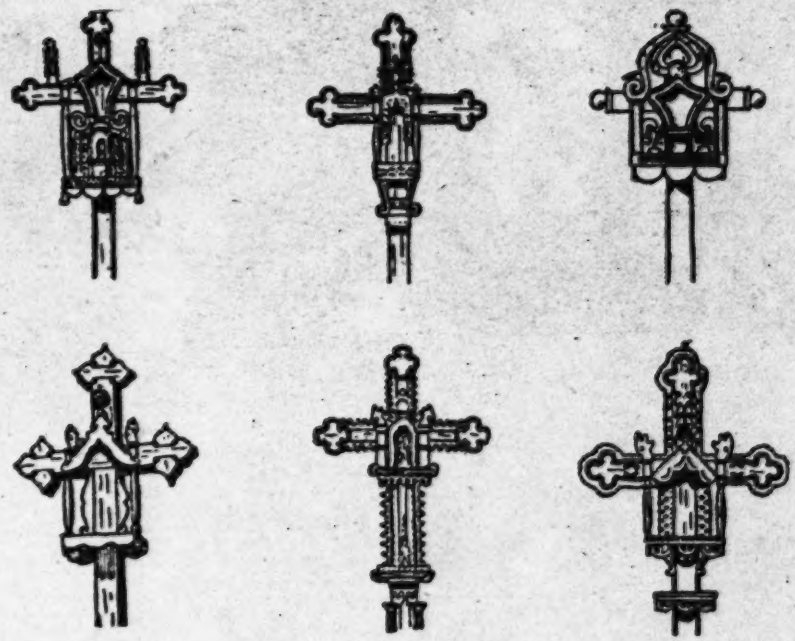

61.—66. Crosses

sting of a chapel supported by a pedestal. A third series comprises the crosses properly so called.

In these types of craftsmanship on a reduced scale, rather than in churches and dwelling-houses, the woodcutter gives his imagination free play to produce complicated forms. The roof of the "mushroom cross" is constantly renewed and reshaped as a cone or a pyramid, a star or a Greek cross. Cornices are suspended below it. It is supported by consoles or by twisted columns. They become reliquaries set on high posts. Sometimes a number of such erections are placed one above the other in the shape of strange pagodas. The "lantern type" goes through a similar evolution, small houses replace the ordinary roof, small *klétis*, the front of which is decorated with two columns, buildings in the shape of a cross or a polygone with spires or small central domes or rotundas. The walls are fre-

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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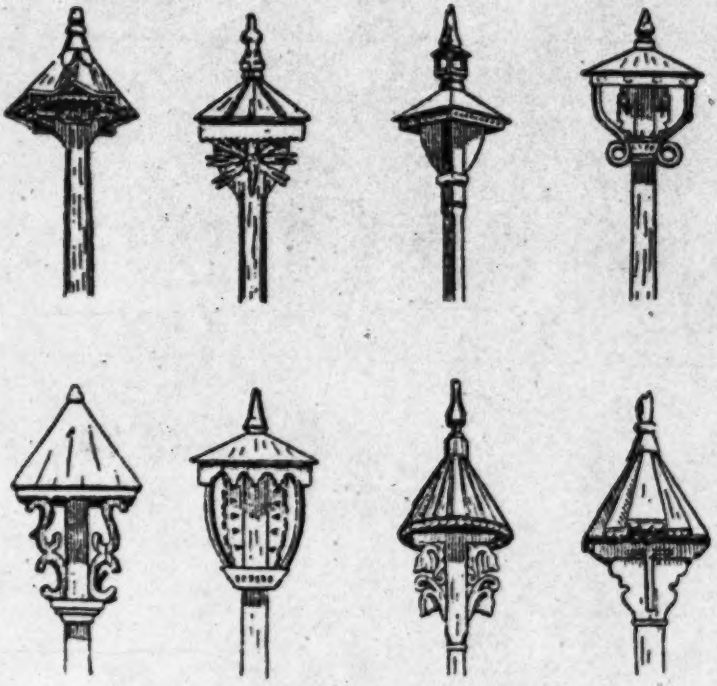

67.—74. *Crosses*

quently replaced by pillars. The chapel is often protected by trellis work, by jutty rooms, by openwork balustrades, so that the chapel itself seems to be nearly submerged under the weight of this light burden. It is an architecture of fairy tales and toys.

But it is the third group, that of crosses proper, that is the fittest object of such goldsmith's work in boards. It may be combined with the "lanterns", and then the chapel is placed at the crossing of the arms. In some cases the chapel disappears completely, leaving nothing behind but its back wall, which then becomes an independent element of ornamentation, a shield with capricious outlines fixed at the intersection of the arms of the cross. One could have thought that henceforth all traces of the ancient themes

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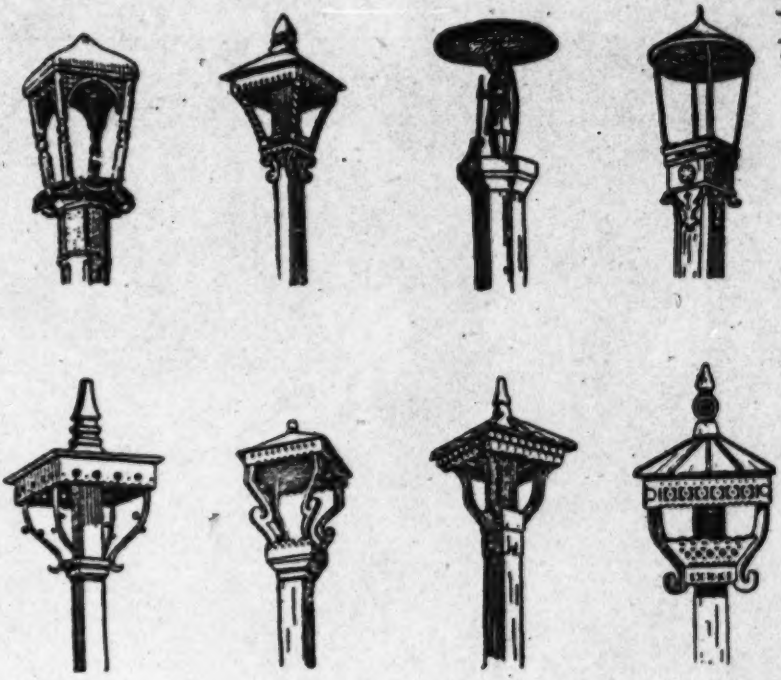

75.—82. Crosses and Chapels

had disappeared, but such is not the case. Around the cross, with or without a chapel, there are often placed wheels and disks of fire. As in Ireland there are frequently to be seen circles or fan shaped arrays of arrows, leafwork, palm leaves, wreaths of flowers. Sometimes their dimensions do not exceed those of a simple aureole, but in certain cases the cross is submerged thereunder.

To the now barely discernible Christian symbol another element is joined, 778
the origin of which goes back to pagan traditions. It is a surviving rem- 531
nant of prehistoric forms and of the ancient worship of the celestial bodies. Sun wheels are revived and eclipse the symbol of Christ. The myth is also preserved in the legends transmitted by word of mouth.

[534] consisting of a pig's bladder, the long shepherd's horn.--The Lithuanian
533 is very gifted musically as well as poetically. His folk songs, the dainos, present in brief, firm trochaic measures and in soft iambs the sincere and heart-felt, vividly experienced joys and sorrows of a sensitive human soul which tends towards melancholy. These songs have frequently been translated, and they were greatly appreciated by Herder and Goethe. The latter reproduced a daina in his musical play, Die Fischerin. The tenderness and fervor of the folk poetry is repeated in
● 764 the appearance and the mood of the graveyards. Their silents seclusion along mountain slopes and on hilltops, their--romantically neglected --enclosures of flowers and creepers, their enormous, dark, and forcibly admonitory Golgotha crosses and moss-covered crucifixes with the instruments of torture, the sight of which and the walk through which, make them into veritable experiences. In spite of all the neglect, one is conscious here that the Lithuanian is close to his dead, even if such customs have disappeared, as still existed during the 16th century, according to which the deceased was placed fully dressed on a chair and wailing women were made to sing songs of mourning around him.

/31: Illustrations./

/32/ The Lithuanians.

II.

ooo 1. Lithuanian farmer. 2. Costume of the 17th century. 3. Costume of the 19th century. 4. Tub. 5. Earthenware pot. 6.-10 Pots. 11. Spoon. 12. Ladle. 13, 14. Salt grinders. 15. Pouch made of birch bark used for collecting berries. 16. Butter tub made of a hollowed-out stem. 17. Chair with a perforated back. 18. Spoons. 19. Flax-scutcher and basket made of straw-ropes used to store grain.[1]

415 It is of course impossible for the Lithuanian wood culture to
[322] remain exclusively such today. Stampers and grinders and the tankards for the ancient native barley beer are still fashioned in the completely original manner by being worked out of a solid block and hollowed out. But, however much this is true, and, however much birch bark is still used, there exists, nevertheless, home-made earthenware, next to the wood products, especially in the fringe areas. But even the

1 [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 28a--#analyst]

998 the Tsarist Russian occupation. True to tradition, *resistance* against the anti-religious drive developed into
991 a spontaneous and united movement. The defense of religion embraced even persons who had formerly neglected the church and seemed to be indifferent.

Churches were filled to capacity. A former female communist stated that the church was the only place where one could relax physically, without having to listen to the maddening bolshevik agitation.

Mass singing in churches became a new and precious experience—a plea for help from a persecuted and dying people.

● [769] On All Souls' night, the cemeteries were filled with people. The Lithuanians followed their ancient tradition, they paid respect to their dead without priests, regardless of the fury of the Party Militia which arrested many in their mad rage.

On Sundays, declared to be working days, everyone, including civil servants and school children, went to church, knowing full well the penalty. In Prienai, students reporting to school on All Souls' Day found a scribbled message tacked on the door: "Stalin's constitution grants freedom of conscience, therefore believers need not attend classes"—so all the students went to church. Numerous arrests and dismissals from school followed.

Public prayers were a custom during the school year. Now, just as soon as the teachers left the classrooms, they were again recited.

The bishops did not dismiss former chaplains from their duties. Unable to teach the doctrines of the Church in schools, the chaplains transferred their pastoral activities, after classes, into churches and sacristies. The chaplain of Alytus organized a Retreat on Good Friday. To prevent attendance, the Communist Party ordered the faculty of the school to organize an anti-religious lecture on that date and ordered all students to attend the mass-meeting. The teachers and a few pupils showed up. A teacher related afterward: "A little girl sat in front of me during the harrangue reading a booklet in her lap. I was curious and looked over her shoulder. It was the national religious classic of Lent songs—*Graudûs Verkimai.*"

The ecclesiastic authorities did not dismiss the students of the seminaries. As some students dispersed, new idealists replaced them. Divinity students lived privately and attended lectures in churches, sacristies and private quarters. The NKVD made preparations to foreclose all private religious instruction, but the war intervened.

727 The first Russian occupation lasted one year. Poz-
661 dniakov's prophecy of the Soviet regime achieving within a two-three year period the results gained by the anti-religious campaign in Russia during 20 years, did not materialize, because of the spontaneous and determined resistance.

However, a heavy blow was delivered to religious life in Lithuania during the one year: 10% of the priests were eliminated, forcibly separated from their people. Of these, 15 priests were brutally tortured and murdered, 9 were exiled to Siberia. The majority

659 798 [711] schools. Teachers who openly attended churches were summarily dismissed.

In spite of all these restrictions and threats, churches are well attended, especially in rural areas. Churchgoers are mostly women and people not connected with government offices and concerns, less dependent on the bureaucracy. Intellectuals and officials travel to distant places where they are not known personally to attend Mass or for confession. Rural churches, further from cities or where only small MGB-MVD garrisons are stationed, draw the largest attendance.

Religious processions on streets were not banned officially but few people dared to show themselves publicly and face the jeers of the armed blaspheming Russians and a few native traitors. The clergy discouraged public processions exposing the faithful to unnecessary persecution.

[585] Marriages are registered by local Executive Committees. Those who so desire may go through a religious ceremony but a religious ceremony is not recognized by the authorities. Marriages contracted prior to the Russian invasion were not questioned, however.

Several small Protestant congregations are still in existence in the Klaipėda District, but most of the Protestant churches were shut down and converted to other use for lack of communicants. The Calvinist churches of Biržai and Prienai were turned into military horse stables. Protestants are more or less tolerated, because the Protestant Church offers no problem to the occupant.

The pre-war Russian settlers, natives of Lithuania, regularly attend the MVD-dominated Orthodox churches. The new settlers go to churches occasionally out of curiosity.

Since the end of 1947, persons exhibiting religious icons and crucifixes in their homes came under persecution. Religious pictures and statuettes found in homes by the armed searching parties infuriate the Russians and their stooges. Religious objects are smashed, bayoneted, spat upon and trampled by the puny "masters of the world" raging against their Creator.

Living quarters of the pastors—"cult servants"—were requisitioned by the housing authorities and a [65] small nook was assigned to priests. Churches are assessed with exorbitant taxes. Complaints are answered: "If you can't meet state obligations—close up shop." The faithful exerted every effort to contribute the necessary funds and in most cases the tax levies were met. Thereupon the Russians demanded lists of contributors. The pastors answered that they did not list plate contributors—and were arrested and threatened with prosecution for "failure to account from public funds." A number of churches were unable to meet the levies, as all of the people are burdened with excessive taxes, requisitions and perennial "voluntarily assumed contributions to the state" imposed by the armed militiamen.

000 It is not known whether, since comrade Gailevičius claimed all churches as "cultural monuments" subject to his custody, churches would be taxed—that is, churches left "operating."

A church is the only place where a tortured people could find spiritual solace and escape from the blaring loudspeakers and mad ravings of the Russian oppressor.

tactics in combatting religion. Pg 21A

Soviet Methods

Dr. Ladas Natkevičius, the late Lithuanian Minister to the Kremlin, was asked by Stalin in 1939, during the so-called "negotiations for a Mutual Assistance Pact," how great was the influence of the clergy in Lithuania. When he was told that the clergy of all Christian denominations enjoy great authority among the faithful, the Generalissimo thoughtfully remarked —"That is *very important to know.*"

At the time the remark passed unnoticed. A Soviet invasion was not anticipated because of the frequently professed Soviet friendship for Lithuania and Lithuania's excellent record in discharging all treaty obligations.

But the significance of this remark was quite apparent when Justas Paleckis, the puppet "president of Soviet Lithuania," bade farewell to Dr. Hildebrandt, a noted German newspaperman. Paleckis told the departing German quite frankly that he had received instructions from the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. to apply no *direct* pressure on the clergy.

The Soviet regime always fought religion and its institutions, but its tactical methods were different during both occupations.

The First Occupation—Oppression at Full Tempo

Immediately after the first total occupation of the Baltic States in June 1940, uniform steps were applied by the three satraps of the Kremlin dispatched to liquidate the sovereign Republics: Vice-Commissar for Foreign Affairs Dekanozov in Lithuania, Deputy-Commissar for Foreign Affairs Vyshynsky in Latvia and Politbureau member Zhdanov in Estonia. The Concordats with the Vatican were abruptly and unilaterally broken off and the Papal Nunzios were expelled.

Then followed the elimination of religion from public life. The Catholic and Protestant Theology-Philosophy Faculties of the University of Lithuania at Kaunas were closed; all Catholic cultural, educational and social welfare organizations, newspapers and publishing concerns were abolished and their properties confiscated; teaching of religion was eliminated from schools; army, school, hospital and prison chaplains were summarily dismissed; crucifixes and other religious insignia were removed from schools, courts and public places and desecrated.

Then came the application of the nationalization decree: buildings, landholdings, workshops, libraries, private hospitals and schools, orphanages, kindergar-

793 659 661 they discontinue holding Mass and stop the performance of other priestly duties. A number of priests were arrested and the NKVD attempted to enlist their services by threats and blackmail. Because of these methods, several priests consented—and, immediately after their release, fled abroad. Those refusing to become agents were imprisoned. Soon the number of prisoners grew as many friars, preachers and high school students heroically defended their faith.

626 527 461 The Russians initiated a campaign against religious *traditions*. They began by banning the traditional Corpus Christi processions in the streets. All Saints Day was declared to be a working day, and the authorities banned traditional services and mass visits to cemeteries on All Souls' Day. During Advent and Lent, the bolsheviks encouraged dancing, entertainment and anti-religious lectures. Good Friday and Holy Saturday, as well as the second day of Easter, were designated working days. Those failing to report for work on the second day of Easter were prosecuted. In general, at frequent intervals, ordinary Sundays were periodically declared to be working days, and Saturdays—days of rest.

876 626 The teaching of religion in schools was replaced by classes on biology and the Stalin constitution. Biological lectures popularized "Darwinism." The "science of constitution" was to popularize a "Soviet democracy" and its oft-varying shifts directed by party [883] line. In place of religious sodalities and athletic groups, the bolsheviks attempted to form *"Komsomol"* (Communist Youth) nests directed by political instructors called "Komsorg." Religious sermons were replaced by anti-religious tirades in the communist-controlled press and at mass meetings. Attendance at such mass-meetings to hear blasphemies was made compulsory.

626 661 558 Churches kept open and functioning. However, attendants at religious services were terrorized. The Party posted uniformed and non-uniformed spies at church doors to observe and list the churchgoers. Attendance in church was a sufficient reason for dismissal from higher offices.

000 The anti-religious drive, growing in tempo, began to expand. When Bishops Brizgys and Ramanauskas called on Pozdniakov, the former Soviet Minister to Lithuania and at present the Kremlin's deputy satrap, to ask for the return of the premises of the Theological Seminary, the Russian attempted to "reason" with them. Pozdniakov stated that they should have no illusions: what had been accomplished in Russia in 20 years, will be achieved in Lithuania within two to three years by experienced administrators. Why should the Seminary "delude" young men? By the time they became priests, there would be no duties to perform—in Russia the priests already have nothing to do. . . .

Lithuanian Resistance to the Anti-Religious Drive

798 771 The Lithuanians had suffered much for religion—murder, imprisonment and exile to Siberia—during

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798 the Tsarist Russian occupation. True to tradition, *resistance* against the anti-religious drive developed into
● 771 a spontaneous and united movement. The defense of religion embraced even persons who had formerly neglected the church and seemed to be indifferent.

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659 656 798 the Ministry of Education whether he could attend religious services. The reply was: "As an individual—yes, as a State employee—No."

Churches in the cities are crowded. In rural areas—the churches are nearly vacant. This is because people are afraid to leave their homes because of robberies and thefts by the Russians and Party members. On Sundays, even uniformed soldiers and militiamen (police) are openly engaging in robberies.

659 798 208 A vigorous campaign against priests and the Vatican was instituted since December 1946. The Pope, the Vatican, and Christian morality and ways of life are vilely denounced. In 1947, the Vatican became the "cradle of international reaction": the button pressed in Moscow echoes everywhere under the Russian occupation.

Translators immediately put out literature in the Lithuanian language. *Tiesa*, the official organ of the Communist Party and "government," in its #43 issue denounced the institution of Papacy as a partner of imperialists and exploiters: "The Pope was partner of the gangs of Teutonic crusaders," "During World War II, the Pope supported Hitler, the worst enemy of the Lithuanian people," "the clergy are the worst exploiters and enemies of the people."

Christian morality is also abused but "bolshevik morality" (?) is praised. For instance, *Bolševikiniu Keliu* (On the Bolshevik Path, No. 6/12) of 28 February 1947 wrote:

"The working people of a socialist country are creating their own new morality, basically differing from religious morality. Our morality is based on the struggle for Communism. . . . Morality is the means for destroying the exploiting society and uniting the working people around the proletariat which is forming a new Communist society. Hatred for the oppressors and enslavers . . . these are the wonderful peculiarities of our morality."

Certainly, a remarkable resemblance to Nazi "morality". . . .

The people of Lithuania entertain no illusions: the publicity drive against religion presages a new wave of arrests and deportations and purges. Indeed, since February 1947 mass dismissals from State employment—and every concern is a State concern—began.

798 771 883 The Lithuanian people met the second anti-religious drive with passive resistance, just as during the first occupation. The "purges" are met with heroic stoicism. Churches remain filled with the faithful, regardless of the "friendly reminders" by Communist overlords to avoid the "inconveniences" and "hardships." Religious conferences for school children go on in churches, and the Komsomol is boycotted. Anti-religious "lectures" are attended only under compulsion. Teachers support the Komsomol only under direct pressure. *Tiesa*, the Soviet official mouthpiece, voiced its concern (12 February 1947):

"Komsomol meetings in the II Gymnasium of Šiauliai are infrequent. The Komsomol youths' attendance is deficient—a recent meeting was attended by only 5 members out of 13. We asked comrade Baravykaitė,

798 a Komsomol girl, why her sister did not attend. She
771 blushed, did not dare to speak, finally she admitted:
883 'She is afraid.'

"—What do you mean, afraid?

"In the 4th Class there are 2 Komsomol members, but the influence of the reactionary Catholic clergy is very strong among the students of that class. The girls attend church and classes in religion arranged by the priests. Only members of the Komsomol do not attend, and they are persecuted for this reason.

"Reactionary Catholic clergymen built a strong nest in the II Gymnasium. They send out invitations to attend church where religion is taught to students. The teachers could not be unaware of this, yet they do nothing about it."

The Soviet mouthpiece recommended the purging of the teaching staff.

771 The Lithuanian People may suffer long martyrdom for Christianity. Nevertheless, they are encouraged by the sharpening ideological exchanges reflected in the Soviet press. They continue to sing with unfathomable emotion their classic religious hymn:

"Marija, Marija, skaisčiausia Lelija . . .
Palengvink vergija, pagelbėk žmonijai,
Išgelbėk nuo priešo baisaus . . .

"Oh, Mary, Mary, most immaculate Lily . . .
Ease enslavement, help humanity,
Save from the terrible enemy . . ."

800 If this struggle lasts much longer and the Lithuanians and the other Baltic peoples do not receive help from those who guaranteed to nations and to individuals freedom of worship, then the Baltic peoples will be exterminated. Only their unshakable loyalty to their religious convictions and to liberty, will remain as an example; perhaps to some, more sensitive souls—as a qualm of conscience.

What is taking place in Lithuania and the other Baltic States today is only a reproduction in miniature of the great ideological conflict which is shaking the world: the conflict of religion against anti-religion; a continuation of the conflict of democracy and freedom against totalitarianism and moral and physical slavery. As Mr. Alexander Clifford says in his very significant article in the continental edition of the "Daily Mail" (May 7, 1947): *"Make No Mistake, This Is War—A Holy War."*

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533 jumped, blended with others, and instead of the sustained solemnity that speaks in the drawn-out textual half notes of the German chorale, for example, there resulted a whirl of sensations, an inner excitement that surged rhythmically up and down and seemed to drag everyone along with it in the same manner.

In these Easter songs, as in many old Christmas songs, the tempo leaps often in the singing from the 2/4 rhythm into 3/4 and then into 4/4. Through the unusual acceleration, which gave the melody -- for example in a Gloria that I heard -- after an initial solemnity an almost dance-like character, the climax of a joyful mood was reached. The influence of ancient folk melodies on religious music was unmistakable here. According to Hoffheinz, the same phenomenon is shown in the church music of the Lutheran Lithuanians too. (5)

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5. Cf. W. Hoffheinz, Giesmų Balsai, Litauische Kirchengesänge, published by the Lithuanian Literary Society (Tilsit, 1894), Introduction: "He (the Lithuanian) leaps in his melodies, draws over the tones, and changes the rhythm . . .From where do they get these melodies? -- Who is able to discover that now? Certainly many have arisen from ancient dainos melodies." (The influence of Lithuanian folk song on church music has, as far as I know, not yet been investigated. For Germany cf. here for example the interesting investigation by Prof. Fellerer, "Der Durchbruch deutschen Musikempfindens im liturgischen Gesang des Mittelalters," Funde und Forschungen, 1938, No. 7, pp. 75-76.)

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/37/ With the deep religiosity of the Lithuanian people, religious songs and hymns play no less a role in their life than the folk songs.

533 your father and mother; you would not have had to
*533 worry about anything.
764 My ghostly bride, my clear ice crystal, companion of the high mountain, in which flowers will you come up, in which leaves will you turn green? When I in passing look to the side, which flowers will you make grow? How will I recognize you, in the leaves or in the flowers?

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/77/ 2. Fairy Tales and Sagas

The belief in a lasting connection of the departed souls with the living, as indicated in the raudos, deeply influenced the Lithuanian people for centuries. The strong mystical trait in the spirutual life of the Lithuanian maintained this belief the more strongly since as late as the sixteenth century Lithuania was a completely pagan country, whose superficial Christianization had scarcely touched the consciousness of the people itself. Thus, too, the abundance of superstitious motifs which we still find in Lithuania today grew in the soil of an ancient popular religion. They frequently are mixed with quite modern ideas. Their expression, however, is found in a rich world of fairy tales and sagas which only today has been partially investigated, and which in any case differs from the Western type in that it has not yet been transferred from the reality of experience to the cemetery of literary history. The abundance of fairy tales at the disposal of the Lithuanian people is so great that the existing collections can give only a weak picture of it.

Among all peoples the fairy tale stands at the beginning of every literary creation; it affords us a glimpse into the childhood years of humanity. The motifs of the fairy tales themselves wander; many of them stem from the Orient and from India (Benfey). Unfortunately the following brief characterization of the Lithuanian popular fairy tale can, because of the scope of this work,

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My dear mother sang so sadly, and a familiar feeling rose within me that everyone would die and I would then be completely alone. That was so terrible, and I said to my mother:

"Mother, let's get out of here and go where it's light." My mother closed the piano and we went into the dining-room, where the lamp burned cheerfully above the table, the samovar hummed amiably on a little table, and Nika and Jonelis, bent over a table, looked at pictures.

.....

And everything has vanished and flown away. . . You too have gone, my mother, flown away from the nest into paradise. But first the little birds flew off.

And the storm has torn apart the nest.

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3. Maironis and the Idealism in the Lyrics of His Time

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The works of Maria Pečkauskaitė leads us back into that romantically colored, religious-political world of ideas awakened by the periodical Aušra (1883-86); these ideas later /253/ influenced wider and wider religiously oriented circles through Apžvalga (1890-96) and the periodical founded by the clergyman Tumas, Tėvynės Sargas (1896-1904). The last paper, especially, acineved importance. In its columns, along with intelligent essays of Maria Pečkauskaitė written with great penetration, we find also other names which became known later; all of the clergy of the country, under the influence of the new movement, grouped themselves around this paper. In order to understand the spirit of that period, out of which came a new stimulus for the further development of Lithuanian writing, at least the basic thoughts

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771 should be indicated. There was a striving for a synthesis of Catholic and national philosophy, as we can clearly see in a programmatic passage in the periodical (No. 4 of the year 1896): "Out of ardent desire to protect our faith and to preserve our people, we shall strive to enlighten them; but we shall never sacrifice Catholicism for the good of the fatherland, but we want to be filled with patriotic feeling out of the love of God." There is a warning not to use force against those in power ("He who makes war with the sword falls by the sword," Maironis), rather the awakening of opposition against the Orthodox church and Russification should proceed with spiritual means. These means, however, are the same as in the Aušra epoch--the awakening of love for the hereditary homeland, a romantic glorification of the past corresponding, on the other side, to a pessimistic interpretation of the present, and the expectation of the grace of God who will someday free the people from the Russian yoke. That is the theme of the period.

*538 Now unquestionably thoughts like those indicated above, especially when they are fed by a strong emotional source, are profitable material above all for lyricism; thus it is not surprising that in this period and this world of ideas a poet arose who in Lithuania is considered the most important representative of lyricism up to the first World War, and who from the literary-historical point of view must in any case be regarded as the creator of modern Lithuanian artistic lyric poetry--/254/ the prelate Jonas Maculevičius Mačiulis, or as he called himself with his pen name--Maironis.

Born in 1862 the son of a free peasant in the district of Raseiniai, who was raised in contact with peasants as well as with the minor nobility of the vicinity, he entered the gymnasium in Kaunas and finished there in 1883. The Kaunas

[415] earthenware remains completely simple in technique and form. In
291 the way of clothing the old has not been preserved. Figure 2, from
177 the 17th century, points to similarities with the Letts. In East Prussia, German influences then had their effect, and beyond the border Polish influences made themselves felt. For a long time, until well into the
771 19th century, remnants of the ancient religion were preserved. This religion was a knowledge of divine forces in nature, everywhere, from the sun and the stars to the plants and stones; as well as a knowledge of the unity between nature and man, of inner and lasting relations and interinfluences between them. How clearly the divine in nature was beheld is indicated by conceptions like the one that believes that actual pain is inflicted upon the deity if the bark is peeled off the trees! How clearly the unity was experienced is to be seen from the custom of of keeping trees in the farmyard, with the thriving of which the prosperity and health of the inhabitants remained connected; or from folk songs like the following:

Alas, I poor man went hence,
Cried bitter tears.
Was not the oak tree
Transformed into my father.

Gnome-like earth spirits lived in the roots of the juniper bushes--not reminiscences of tiny original inhabitants of the type familiar among the Reindeer Lapps, as has been stated, but clearsighted visions of elementary beings. Spring, summer, and autumn festivals united the people for the communal experience of the light, the sun as the spiritual center of the world and of existence; in sacred forests
793 they came to the gods and sacrificed to them. Yes, the chief of the
771 Waideloten priesthood, the Kriwe, sacrificed himself after he had become old; he admonished the people to do penance, climbed upon the stake, let himself be burned and knew that he would rise up the gods in the flames. In the same sense, it was considered a particular sign of divine mercy to be struck and killed by lightning. At one time the religious knowledge and feeling was guarded by a liberally organized, but nevertheless hierarchically ordered priesthood with an elected chief priest, and these were mediated to the people in exoteric forms. Then they maintained a perpetual fire which, only in the year 1387, was ceremoniously extinguished for ever in the castle at Vilna by the duke Jagello(!). Then they made sacrifices to the sun, they prophesied

793 from a clairvoyant vision, they mediated the disclosures of the de-
771 ceased, convoked the people for gatherings, when such revelations had been received, in order to make them known, in order to arrange festivals, and in order to determine the sowing and the harvesting time. The priests were, therefore, the spiritual leaders of the people, who guided life into its everyday activities from the vantage point of their knowledge of the cosmic interconnections. They were acquainted with the influence of the moon on all births and with the return of the souls after death into its sphere: "that which has died off, which is laid as a seed kernel into the soil of another world," as Creuzer expresses it; an insight, it would appear, into the process of every re-
[796] newed life on earth. A special festival in autumn, the festival of the consecration of the goat, seems to have been an exoteric parallel to the initiation rites in the mystery cults; for on this occasion the priests recited the traditions from the history of the people and absolved the people of sin. After the harvest a god's image was every year broken
[821] and renovated; by this was expressed the experience that the spiritual forces of the cosmos turn towards and away from the earth in the rhythm of the year, and that in winter they collect themselves, renew themselves, in order to be able to come streaming to the growing plant world in the spring. Present-day harvest practices are the final dying echoes of such knowledge of the spiritual forces, vivifying and emanating, that permeate the world and all its parts.

113 Bibliography, etc.

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/33: Illustrations./

533 your father and mother; you would not have had to
538 worry about anything.
764 My ghostly bride, my clear ice crystal, companion of the high mountain, in which flowers will you come up, in which leaves will you turn green? When I in passing look to the side, which flowers will you make grow? How will I recognize you, in the leaves or in the flowers?

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/77/ 2. Fairy Tales and Sagas

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Among all peoples the fairy tale stands at the beginning of every literary creation; it affords us a glimpse into the childhood years of humanity. The motifs of the fairy tales themselves wander; many of them stem from the Orient and from India (Benfey). Unfortunately the following brief characterization of the Lithuanian popular fairy tale can, because of the scope of this work,

533 538 764 Evidently these brief indications, to which our knowledge of the earliest period is limited, refer not to the folk song, but to the raudos, which are often mentioned also in a later period. Although each rauda has its own melody, they do not represent real songs for the dead, but have the form of a lamentation for the dead. The older raudos have no metrical character, but are in language and form rather to be compared with a type of rhythmically elevated prose. Their melodies were of sorrowful monotony. Old women sang them for remuneration at burials. Through them one wished to appease the ghosts of the dead, in whose continued existence one firmly believed, so that they would not return to the house as evil demons of [776] revenge and spread pestilence and disease. Thus these lamentations for the dead represent the superstitious result of that primitive belief in ghosts and demons which particularly illustrated the mental attitude of the Lithuanian people and still lives today in remote villages of the country.

In content the raudos differ from each other only little. The good deeds of the deceased are remembered, and the sorrow at the departure of father, mother, husband, brother, or sister is expressed, often in an infinitely tender and moving manner. As Chr. Bartsch has already pointed out, there is not one among the genuinely popular raudos that would be spoken by a man for a man or even for his wife. "Everywhere it is women (and girls) who speak." The wife as such is not mentioned. (48) At times the lamentation

[113] 48. Chr. Bartsch, "Über litauische Volksliteratur," Mitteilungen der litauischen litterarischen Gesellschaft, Vol. II (1884), Tilsit, p. 100.

of the relatives and friends of the deceased, who follow the coffin, has such a staggering

*538 [17] and Germany, had their influence on the Lithuanian popular fairy tale. Here belong primarily the tales of monsters and giants who steal beautiful women, of subterranean palaces, enchanted forests and mountains, and similar motifs. Thus we see that the Lithuanian fairy tale, as it is told today, has been enriched through many centuries by material and motifs taken over from the outside and worked into something of its own--just like the German fairy tale, by which it was in turn often enriched. But although, as we saw, the fairy tale motifs in themselves are not characteristic of the fairy tale world of a people, since it is not difficult to find corresponding parallels, the significance of individual motifs within the whole store of fairytales of particular peoples is undeniably varied. The Lithuanian popular fairy tale is, for example, so strongly ruled by the belief in ghosts and demons that a whole large collection of tales could be put together by Dr. Basanavičius from this angle alone. As, however, no phenomenon of popular life rests on accident, but can always be explained from the history of the people concerned, we must attribute this peculiarity to the belief in the dead and immortality mentioned at the beginning, which for historical reasons has been preserved in Lithuania and found its expression with particular tenacity and has there. Furthermore, we *538 •776 probably find everywhere the belief in witches, in good and bad fairies, but in the framework of the Lithuanian world of fairy tales special importance is attached to the laumas /Laumen/. The laumas are mostly evil spirits, who /82/ always show themselves in the form of women. They torture people at night in nightmares, steal or exchange newborn children, play all kinds of tricks, and practice their mischief primarily on Thursday evening. For that reason one may never spin on that evening, for then the laumas spin on during

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the night and take with them what was spun. They aid people, but frequently attach this aid to some unfulfillable condition, so that much harm results from it. At times they help also forsaken people and especially children; they also enter into marriage with mortals. They show themselves then usually as good housewives, until upon some imprudence on the part of the husband they suddenly disappear, but still return regularly, invisible, to care for their abandoned children. Just as alive today in the Lithuanian people as the lauma tales are the tales of the aitvaras, a winged dragon who brings grain to the houses of the farmers and makes them rich. The aitvaras motif has brought forth a whole literature, since it also plays a great role in the fairy tales of the other Baltic peoples (Lettish: pukkis, Esthonian: puuk, together with other terms. (54)).

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54. A. Bezzenberger, Litauische Forschungen, op. cit., pp. 61-64. Krėvė-Mickevičius, "Aitvaras dzukų legendose" (The Aitvaras in the Legends of the Dukijans), Mūsų Tautosaka, Vol. III, pp. 3-81. (16 tales.) By the same author, Aitvaras liaudies padavimuose. (The Aitvaras in Popular Tradition) (Kaunas, 1933). Dr. J. Balys, "Aitvaras," in the periodical Gimtasai Kraštas, 1934, Nos. 1 and 2, where also the whole scholarly literature on this motif is given.

The aitvaras, which in Samogitian is known under the name kaukas, flies howling through the air, primarily at night, in the form of a fiery serpent and usually disappears in the chimney of the farmer to whom he brings wealth. The owner of an aitvaras is supposed to feed this demon with milk and white bread. One can buy the aitvaras among the Germans in Riga, but the motif is probably older according to which it originates from

*538 an egg hatched by a black cock seven years old.
176 The aitvaras does many services for his owner, protecting his cattle, watching over his fields, and bringing him property stolen elsewhere, which he first swallows and then spits out. This stolen property, however, brings no harm, but turns out so well that it arouses the envy of all the neighbors; still today one says of a farmer in Lithuania who has suddenly become rich that he possesses an aitvaras. One can also force the demon /83/ to drop his loot and to burn down the house of his master by letting down one's pants or taking off one's coat and showing him the naked posterior.

*538 For the tale of the aitvaras, too, many
177 parallels can be found among other, primarily Nordic, peoples; in the Slavic store of fairy tales, on the other hand, it plays only a subordinate role. Those numerous fairy tales in which a hunter with a red cap chases behind the devil go back to Lithuanian myth: it is Perkunas, who is well disposed toward people and rewards them when they help him. The ancient Lithuanian serpent cult, on the other hand, which is often attested to from earlier centuries, has influenced the Lithuanian fairy tale only little. To be sure, it appears in one of the most beautiful and colorful tales, of "Eglē, the Queen of the Serpents"; however, Koncewicz has supplied a Russian parallel for it, so that the question of borrowing remains open. (55) The Lithuanian has a special preference

[113] 55. J. Koncewicz, "Die Natter" (Russian Fairy Tales), Mitteilungen der Litauischen litterarischen Gesellschaft, 1885, pp. 260-262.

for animal fairy tales, which are often told in the form of an instructive fable. They betray the same sharp gift for observation of surroundings

531/ decorative colors in nature. On the other hand,
352 any representation of human life, /134/ so dear to Poles and Russians, is lacking. From the darkly toned background the colors are set in relief forcefully and without transitions--green and yellow; white and red; green, violet, and yellow--and in still other combinations, which always speak of a sure feeling for colors. In their total impression these chests, in spite of the liveliness of their colorings, have a calm effect. Nevertheless the few examples of this art which I have so far seen seem to me not to express shat I should like to consider the truly characteristic feature of coloring in Lithuanian folk art--the creative force of the colors. This can become truly effective only where it no longer stands in the service of drawing, but makes the surface itself subordinate, as in the flow of the colorful patterns of the Lithuanian decorative ribbons or in the margučiai, the Easter eggs.

531 The Lithuanian margučiai (marginti--to
776 decorate in colors) exhibit the same stylized ornamentation in a state of stability that is fluidly shaped in the juostos--leaves, flowers, geomettrical figures in infinitely changing form--but here it is the color which brings it forth, which becomes an end in itself, and which controls and fashions the surface. It is precisely in the margučiai that one can observe how the nature of the complementary colors is fully grasped. The extent of the oval is seen as a unit and only rarely divided into segments. The loving investigator and collector of these little works of art, Tadas Daugirdas, has written some interesting things concerning this branch of folk art. (43) He relied

[113] 43. Thaddäus von Dowgird, "Margutschai--die litauischen Ostereier," Kownoer Zeitung, 1917.

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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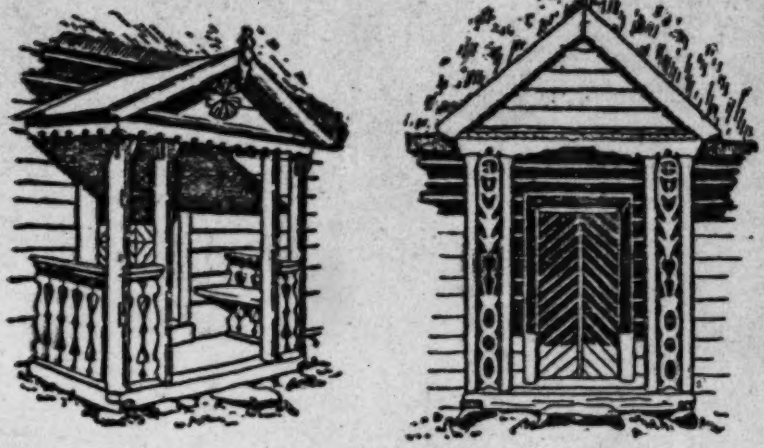

2.—3. Porches

was a large terrace where in summer the inhabitants could take their meals and sleep.

342 Decoration was generally scarce and usually limited to the front of the
531 house. Perforated boards embellished the cornices, the cross beams and the window frames. They were cut in saw pattern or in a design of intersecting segments of a circle. They were decorated with rows of hearts and various other ornaments. Sometimes birds or other arimals surrounding a vase were placed on both sides of the holy tree of the Orient, the "Hom", which is perfectly recognizable. The oculi are surrounded by rosaces. The bodies of the pillars were often decorated with spheres or tores placed one above the other. The balustrades imitated the carvings
[777] on the rail posts. On the façade circular designs were often used. On the gable two intersecting branches representing horses or birds showed the ancient zoomorphic combinations we find so often in Romanesque sculpture. They were believed to protect the dwellers against ruin, disease and fires. According to legend, evil spirits flying over a village only entered dwellings which lacked this ornament on which they could perch and take breath.

1 [Errata: should be other animals. Cf. Errata Sheet, p. 204, cat. 116. --- Analyst]

346 With the close relationship of Lithuania to these
177 countries they were bound to exert an influence on it, so that Galaunē arrives at the conclusion: "The bell towers of the Ukraine, above all however of Galicia, are known from a much older period (the beginning of the sixteenth century) than ours; several of them differ in their form only little from our bell towers. For this reason, in my opinion one must seek the elements of the wooden fortress in the architecture of the Lithuanian bell towers too." (19)

19. Galaunē, op. cit., p. 92.

346 /111/ If these established points prove that in all probability the Lithuanian bell towers go back in their origin to older models, these towers also contain numerous independent architectonic elements which are to be regarded as purely Lithuanian. The village artist strove for the greatest possible variety within the framework at his disposal. We are always surprised anew by the great richness of form, the diversity of the distribution of the masses, which contain all phases of expression from light enthusiasm to calm seriousness and from simple modesty to complicated expression. Thus each of these wooden bell towers is an individual work of art, deeply rooted in the life of the Lithuanian peasants and indispensable to the picture of the Lithuanian countryside.

B. The Village Art

778 1. The Roofed Crosses

322 If the village artist was bound by the prac-
764 tical purposes of his work in the construction of the farmhouses, village churches, and bell towers, his art could be that much more freely unfolded in those strange, towering crosses which represent the real landmarks of the Lithuanian landscape. The German poet Herbert Eulenberg reproduces the

778 764 322 impression of these crosses in the following beautiful words: "Nowhere in the world except perhaps in the Tyrol does one see as many crosses as in Lithuania. Like high masts they stand individually by the village street, on the ridges of fields, and at crossroads. One finds them grouped together in the cemeteries of Lithuania, where they grow out of the graves like great, gloomy lilies. Bent over by time, these high grave crosses greet the passing hiker or traveller like tokens of the dead, with whom the Lithuanian people as no other live in constant fearful or friendly contact. Especially in the winter it makes an often uncanny impression when out of the broad surface of snow which /112/ covers the whole land the high black crosses project and seem to beckon one with an earnest finger. And the sight of a Lithuanian cemetery in the winter will remain unforgettably impressed in the memory of anyone, when the gloomy outlines of such a group of crosses rise against the glowing red of the sunset like the shadows of Golgotha." (20) The East

[113] 20. Hermann Struck and Herbert Eulenberg, Skizzen aus litauen, Weissrussland und Kurland (Berlin, 1916).

Prussian Alfred Brust says of the same crosses: "There are among them works of art which, surrendered to every wind and weather, belong to the great rarities of simplest but most profound folk art." (21) Prof. Otto Schwindrazheim defines the

[113] 21. Alfred Brust, "Die litauische Kultur und der Expressionismus," Das neue Litauen, 1918, No. 14, pp. 50-51.

Lithuanian crosses as "masterpieces of popular wooden art," (22) and the Italian art historian

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Luigi Caglio actually describes them as the "most typical manifestation of folk art in Europe.' (23)

23. Luigi Caglio, Alla Biennale di Monza (1925). (Quoted according to Galaunė, op. cit., p. 103.)

No artist, however, has more strongly grasped and reproduced the mystical impression which proceeds from these crosses than the Lithuanian painter Čiurlionis in his picture "Samogitian Cemetery." It is characteristic that almost every observer who surrendered himself to the strong mood of these crosses felt at the same time the contrast that exists between these apparent manifestations of Christian faith and the rational nature of Christianity itself--a contrast which naturally does not enter the consciousness of the present-day "God carvers" /Herrgottsschnitzer/, who work within the framework of primitive traditions. And it is really not the abundance of pagan symbols with which these monuments of devout veneration of the dead are decorated, but rather the totality of the impression, which seizes the observer with compelling force. Already their majestic height--five or six meters--is unique and distinguishes them from all similar monuments of Christian origin. But scholarly research too, which has turned its attention to the Lithuanian crosses since the beginning of this century and has tried first and foremost to solve the problem of their origin, proceeding from the most varied viewpoints, has arrived at the same conclusion: the Lithuanian crosses grew out of the pagan veneration of the dead by the Lithuanians and represent a primitive /Unnumbered page with illustration--Roofed Crosses, after a Painting by Čiurlionis/ /113/ monument of ancient Lithuanian culture. Only at a later period did they acquire their present Christian appearance, without, how-

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ever, casting off completely their old forms. We encounter this view, first vaguely indicated by Szukiewicz, the first investigator of the crosses of the Vilna area, in the work of Brensteyn on the Samogitian roofed crosses, in 1906, as an already confirmed theory, which is later extensively supported by the archaeological investigations of Dr. Basanavičius. The famous ecclesiastical prohibition with which Michael, the Bishop of Sambia, in 1426, forbade the erection of crosses in the cemeteries agrees with these conclusions. The founding of the Lithuanian state gave this research a further impetus: many thousands of crosses in the country were photographed and recorded in drawings, so that the history of art has today at its disposal an incomparably greater amount of material than before the World War.

According to our present knowledge, as expressed in the works of Galaunė and Rukštelė,(24)

[113]

24. W. Szukiewicz, Krzyże zdobne w gubernju Wilenskiej ("Wisła" 1903), Vol. XVII. Brensteyn, Krzyże i kapliczki (1906). Dr. J. Basanavičius, Lietuviu kryžiai archeologijos šviesoje (The Lithuanian Crosses in the Light of Archaeology). Brensteyn investigates in his work exclusively the roofed crosses of Samogitia. The essay of Dr. Basanavičius forms the introduction to the picture book of Jaroševičius mentioned at the beginning: Lietuvii Kryžiai. An abstract in German in V. Jungfer, Alt-Litauen (Berlin, 1926), pp. 71-90.) The most recent literature: Antanas Rukštelė, Lietuviu Tautodailė (Kaunas, 1929), pp. 55-69. Scholarly: Galaunė, op. cit., pp. 101-142 (with detailed references).

the modern roofed crosses resulted from simple wooden columns which were erected by the graves of

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322
764

the dead as early as in pagan times. They originated from the cult of the dead and were probably intended as dwelling places for the souls of the departed. As such they are also attested to among neighboring peoples.

The development probably proceeded as follows: on these columns a two-part, later polygonal or circular, roof was placed in order to protect the stem from rain and snow. In these square columns, which were of considerable strength, little niches were carved out, perhaps in order thus to provide a dwelling for the souls of the dead, perhaps already under Christian influence; for in these niches, which are still occasionally encountered today, we have the original form of those little saints' chapels with which most of the present-day crosses are decorated. With the decrease in strong trees, the chapels were set free from their bonds, gained structural independence, /114/ and were set on top of the wooden columns--at first in place of the roof, which then appeared raised and supported by little columns, later as real little chapels with partially closed side walls. This facilitated their further artistic development in which Lithuanian wooden ornamentation was able to unfold its characteristic forms. Only at the end of the seventeenth or at the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, in Galaunē's view, did the Lithuanian grave columns described here obtain in part the form of a cross. It resulted from the prohibitions of the clergy, who were opposed to the placing of the figures of saints in such chapels which were attached to simple wooden columns or carved out of them. (25)

25. P. Galaunē, op. cit., p. 110.

The forms of the Lithuanian crosses, their chapels, and their ornamentation exhibit an infinite diversity. Almost every province, even

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764

every parish has its peculiarities. Among the thousands of photographs mentioned above, which today are found in the Lithuanian folklore museum in Kaunas, hardly one looks like any of the others. So strongly, in spite of all traditional restrictions, have the God-carvers expressed their individuality.

In the spiritual life of the country people these crosses have until quite recently occupied a prominent position. They were set up on all important occasions, at births, baptisms, and weddings, at disasters and illnesses, at bad harvests and as thanksgiving for good ones. They were placed not only in cemeteries, but also at the entrances to villages, in private gardens, on hills and fields, at rivers and springs and in dark forests. Their number was so great that the traveller through Samogitia met them at every turn, and in the region of Vilna, as Szukiewicz reports, (26) they even took the place of the trees.

26. p. 131.

Although in the meantime many have been destroyed by nature itself and many others have fallen victim to war, the ancient Lithuanian province of Samogitia still has at its disposal today an immense quantity of cross motifs and decorative forms. An organization of these crosses into specific types, which /115/ research in art history has repeatedly attempted, is only possible with this abundance of forms if one proceeds from the structural forms of the crosses themselves and disregards all decorative motifs. (27) We

27. p. 127.

then obtain three large groups--the wooden columns provided only with a roof, second the columns with chapels, and third the crosses proper. Among

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764

the roofed columns Galaunė distinguishes 44 different types, among the columns with chapels 12, and among the crosses with a crossbar no less than 46. (27) Of these groups the first and most

27. p. 127.

ancient has today almost disappeared in Lithuania; the last and most recent is the most frequently represented.

Not all the crosses, though very many, are decorated with the saints' chapels mentioned at the beginning. The latter, to be sure, as can be seen in their style, go back to a considerably more recent period, and seem to have found their model in the style of the wooden bell towers and village churches.

We find such little chapels not only in connection with the crosses--whether it be at the point of intersection of the crossbar or at the end of the wooden column--chapels one or two meters high resting on the earth or built on a stone foundation are also no rarity. In their decoration various types of style from Gothic to baroque, even rococo, can be clearly recognized. As already mentioned in another place, the baroque style obviously met more than any other the decorative requirements of the peasant artist. Its application frequently betrays great taste. From the decorative elements of these little works of art flows, as Galaunė says, "such simplicity, such earnestness, and such subtle sensitivity that one must arrive at the conviction that in Lithuania the baroque style was closely related not only to the stone architecture of the country's cities, but also the psyche of the people." (28) These

28. p. 137.

chapels are filled with statuettes of saints carved

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764

of wood with occasional votive offerings between them, and at times we see the representation of whole biblical scenes, above all the Way of the Cross.

/116/ The saints' chapels on the crosses and columns themselves are also very diverse. We find up to three arranged on top of each other, and sometimes four on all sides of the column. Thus the Lithuanian cross occasionally has more the effect of a little Chinese pagoda than of a Christian cross. The number of chapels depends on the number of saints' figures which one desired to house in them. Each tier is divided into sections, so that each saint is housed by himself. The form of the chapels is usually quadrangular, but hexagonal and octagonal ones with open fronts are also not rare. Still others, which rest on only moderately high columns, have the form of little altars. Still others are not attached to crosses, but to trees. In addition we find quite simple ones with only a roof over the picture of Christ, which we can hardly describe as chapels.

Among the decorative forms of the little chapels the sawed-out, scalloped, wavy, and open-work edges of the boards, at times completely sawed-out ornamental boards, are most evident.(29)

29. Schwindrazheim, op. cit., p. 48.

In addition there is, both in the crosses and chapels, a great abundance of ornamentation: twisted columns, baroque spiral ornaments, little wooden bells hanging down, stylized wreathes, leaves, and flowers. Many of these ornaments undoubtedly stem from very old, pre-Christian times, primarily those geometrical patterns which we will meet later in other products of the folk art, and which remind us of the ornamentation of prehistoric pots and articles of bronze. The zigzags, the ribbon patterns, the braid patterns, the fir tree

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patterns, the rosettes--they all are repeated in constantly new combinations. In the stylization of animals--the latter occur more seldom--we find birds and snakes, reminders of the serpent cult of the ancient Lithuanians. The crosses obtain their special characteristic, however, in the representation of sun, moon, and stars. The sun is usually represented as an iron cross with beams set on top, at times moved to the intersection of the crossbar. Its symbol /117/ is the circle, at times also a clearly executed sun disc from which rays radiate. In stark contrast to those of the Christian halo, the rays of the Lithuanian cross are zigzags, spirals, or the shape of lotus leaves and thorns. Others are formed like flowers, anchors, and crosses, or like hammers and arrows. The stars appear at the ends of the rays of the sun cross; the moon is a half moon open toward the top beneath the sun disc. Next to the pagan symbols of life are the Christian symbols of the suffering and death of Jesus--spear, hammer, and ladder--in addition chalices and monstrances, angels holding crowns and blowing trumpets, and many other Christian attributes. Nevertheless, this second group is subordinate to the first.

Perhaps later folklore research will be able to explore more deeply the meaning of the symbolism represented here. (30) The pagan symbols

[113]

30. Among others, H. Schaeder attempts a penetrating symbolic interpretation in an essay, "Litauische Ornamentik, Das Land Ober-Ost" (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1917), p. 63.

of life, trees and plants; the symbols of light and animating warmth, the sun and stars; the symbols of love and tender affection, hearts, flowers,

778 and birds; and many others whose meaning is hidden
322 to us grow out of the Lithuanian crosses as the
764 expression of a deep mental attitude which flows from the spiritual life of an inwardly rich people. From the purely artistic angle, in the Lithuanian cross ornamentation, which recalls both a most loyal attachment to faith and a close communion with the dead, we are touched by the compactness with which it grows out of the crosses and blends into a unity with them. (31) In current times, to

[113] 31. V. Jungfer, Alt-Litauen, op. cit., p. 87. V. Jungfer, Hinter den Seen, hinter den Wäldern, Bilder litauischen Volkstums (Königsberg, 1932), pp. 45 and 58.

be sure, it must be recognized how amid a younger and more rationalistic generation the old symbolism of the forefathers is more and more forgotten. Not only does the old custom of setting up crosses disappear; even where wooden crosses are still erected, one meets more and more frequently slender, smooth crosses without any ornamentation, of which only the majestic height still recalls their primitive tradition. (32)

32. A few beautiful and artistically valuable crosses have today been set up in the garden of the Vytautas Museum in Kaunas.

/118/ 2. The Wood Sculpture

532 Our survey of the Lithuanian crosses and their chapels would not be complete if we did not include in our presentation those wooden sculptures of the Christian saints which were mentioned above and for whose sake the chapels of the Lithuanian crosses were created.

Lithuanian wood sculpture, to which we thus turn our attention, has, in its origin and its early stages, not been clarified. Romantic research,

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

CROSSES AND CHAPELS

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But Lithuania is not only a country of wooden churches: she is particularly the land of crosses. Inseparable from the landscape their outlines follow the undulations of the fields and penetrate into the woods. They are placed along the roads, in the proximity of sources, on tombs, on *piliakalniai*, both in solitary and frequented places. According to legend you find one at every ten paces in Holy Žemaitija. At the cemetery of Vilnius they leave no room for a tree. Though they are originally funereal they are mostly votive offerings. They commemorate a birth, a baptism, the favorable issue of a lawsuit. They are planted in times of epidemics or of drought. They remind the peasant of the successes and misfortunes

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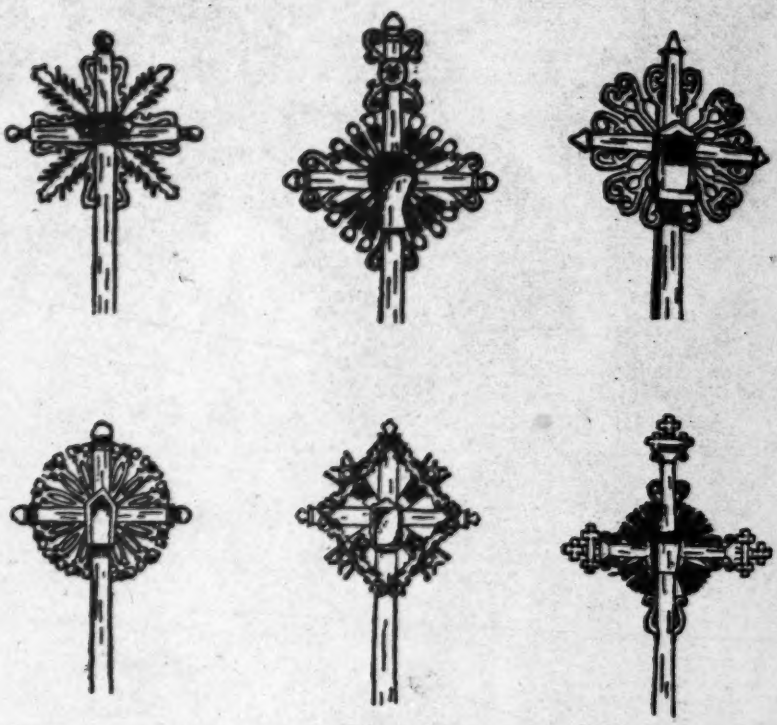

49.—54. Crosses

of his lifetime. Their consecration was celebrated by ancient rites and banquets, at which mead and beer flowed in streams. They often had nothing in common with a cross but the name and the clergy forbade their use. As early as 1426 the church proscribed them. It refused to bless them and had them removed from the neighbourhood of the chapels. Mr. Basanavičius has proved that the origin of these monuments lies far back in primitive beliefs. Trunks of trees, often rudimentary stems, were erected in prehistoric cemeteries. The archives of the churches at Insterburg testify to the custom followed by the Lithuanians up to the 17th century of placing on their tombs figures carved from boards, horses for men and birds for women. Up to the present day in the graveyards of

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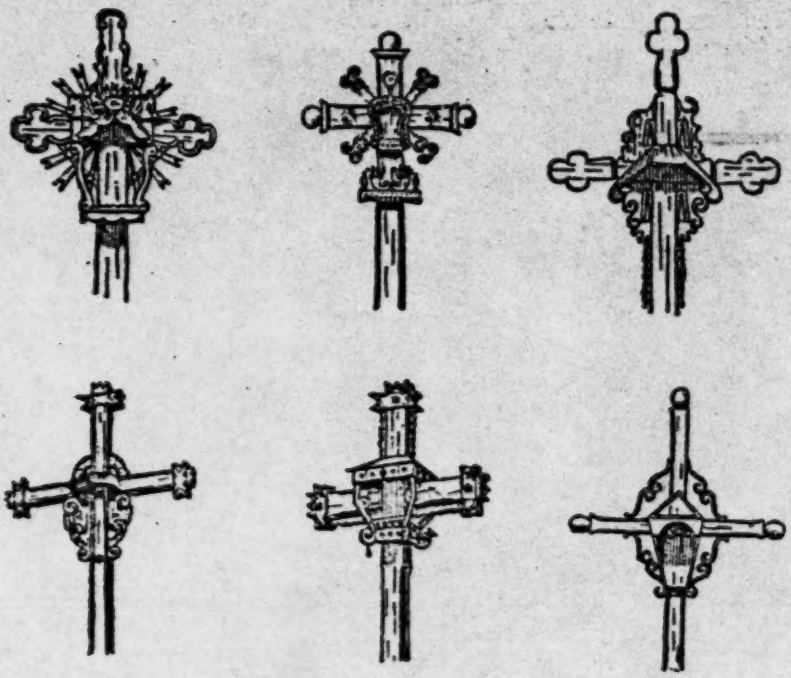

53.—60. Crosses

fishermen in the region of Klaipéda (Memel), one may come across toads and fantastically shaped animals carved in oak or in pinewood. They are placed not near the head, but at the feet of the dead. In these monsters cowering on the grave, there is no trace of Christian symbolism Though their variety seems to be inexhaustible, — Mr. Varnas photographed more than 2000 crosses all differing one from the other — these crosses and steles may be divided into several groups. According to Mr. Galaunė, the most ancient type is a simple tree trunk rudely squared. Similar funereal posts have also been found in Russia, in Finland and in Hungary. At their tops there is sometimes a small roof and sometimes a small niche. From these two archaic types stem two series of crosses: the "mushroom cross", crowned by a gable and the "lantern cross", consi-

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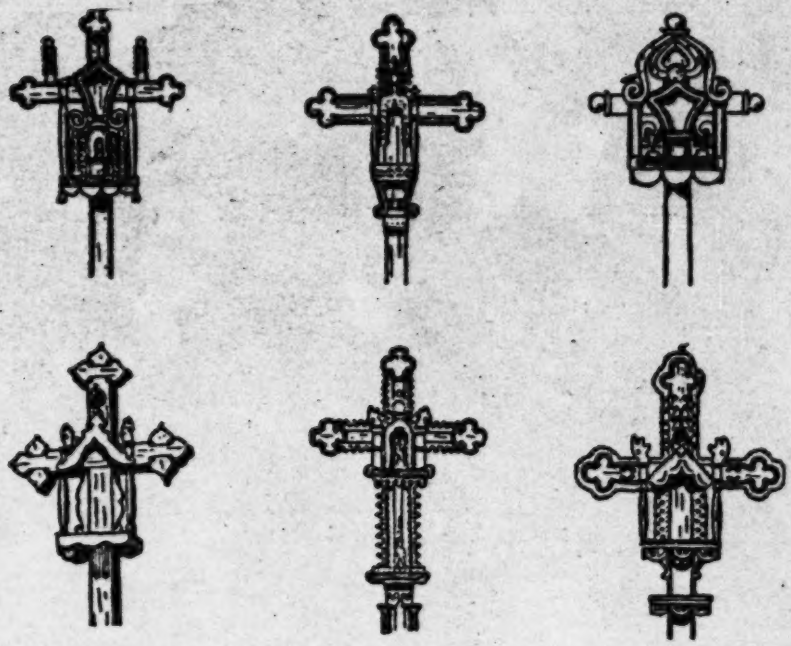

61.—66. Crosses

sting of a chapel supported by a pedestal. A third series comprises the crosses properly so called.

In these types of craftsmanship on a reduced scale, rather than in churches and dwelling-houses, the woodcutter gives his imagination free play to produce complicated forms. The roof of the "mushroom cross" is constantly renewed and reshaped as a cone or a pyramid, a star or a Greek cross. Cornices are suspended below it. It is supported by consoles or by twisted columns. They become reliquaries set on high posts. Sometimes a number of such erections are placed one above the other in the shape of strange pagodas. The "lantern type" goes through a similar evolution, small houses replace the ordinary roof, small *klétis*, the front of which is decorated with two columns, buildings in the shape of a cross or a polygone with spires or small central domes or rotundas. The walls are fre-

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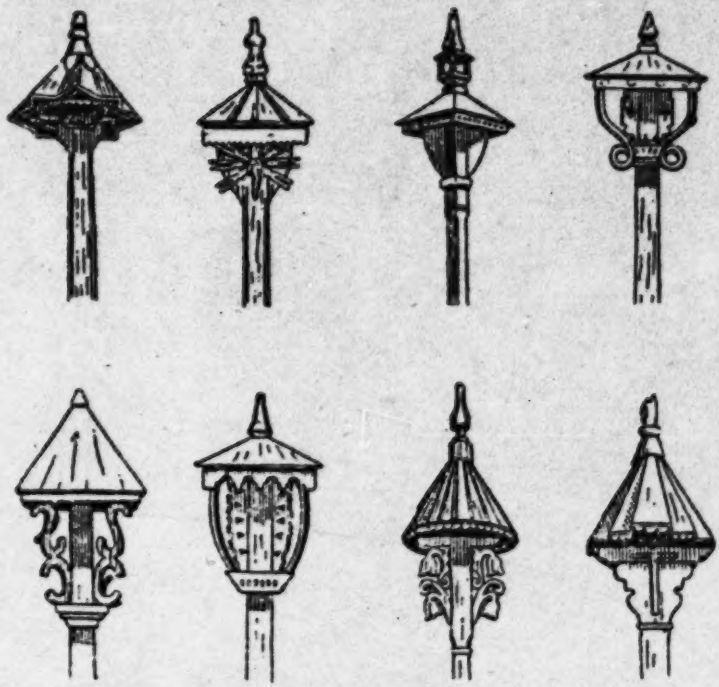

67.—74. Crosses

quently replaced by pillars. The chapel is often protected by trellis work, by jutty rooms, by openwork balustrades, so that the chapel itself seems to be nearly submerged under the weight of this light burden. It is an architecture of fairy tales and toys.

But it is the third group, that of crosses proper, that is the fittest object of such goldsmith's work in boards. It may be combined with the "lanterns", and then the chapel is placed at the crossing of the arms. In some cases the chapel disappears completely, leaving nothing behind but its back wall, which then becomes an independent element of ornamentation, a shield with capricious outlines fixed at the intersection of the arms of the cross. One could have thought that henceforth all traces of the ancient themes

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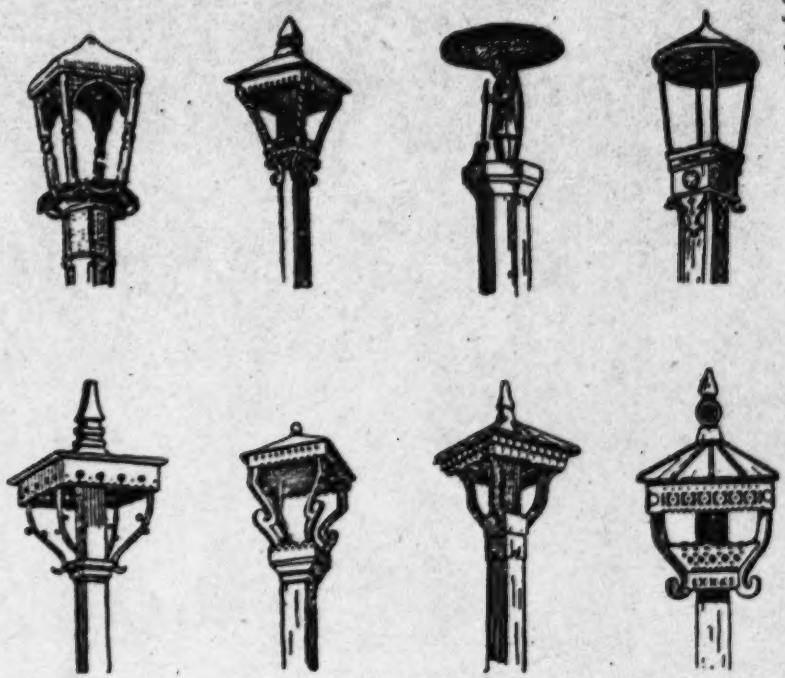

75.—82. Crosses and Chapels

had disappeared, but such is not the case. Around the cross, with or without a chapel, there are often placed wheels and disks of fire. As in Ireland there are frequently to be seen circles or fan shaped arrays of arrows, leafwork, palm leaves, wreaths of flowers. Sometimes their dimensions do not exceed those of a simple aureole, but in certain cases the cross is submerged thereunder.

To the now barely discernible Christian symbol another element is joined, 778
the origin of which goes back to pagan traditions. It is a surviving rem- 531
nant of prehistoric forms and of the ancient worship of the celestial bodies. Sun wheels are revived and eclipse the symbol of Christ. The myth is also preserved in the legends transmitted by word of mouth.

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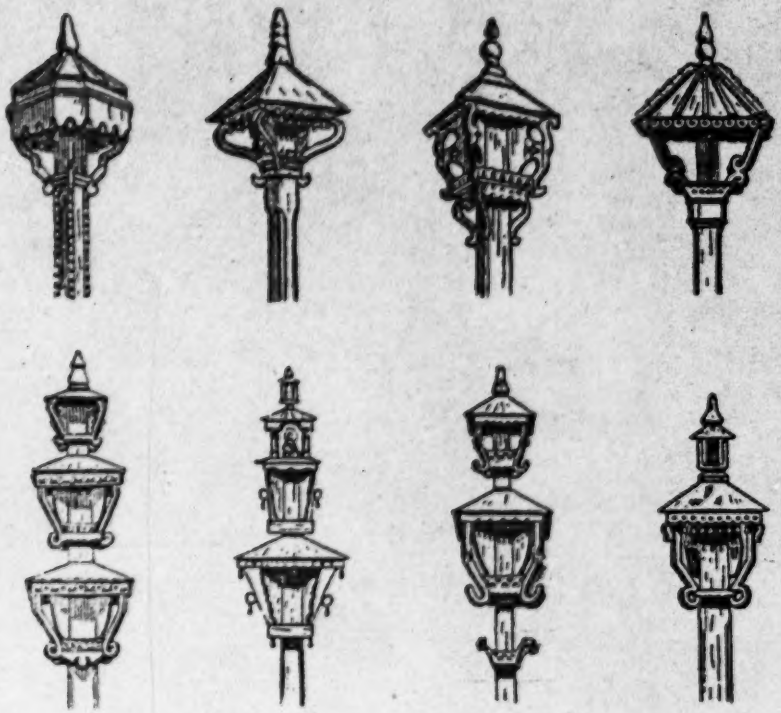

83.—90. *Crosses*

There can be no doubt that the most ancient forms are those in which the wheel prevails. Sunk in the flames of the former god, the emblem of the new religion is lost at first in the conflagration and only emerges from it gradually. Gradually also the light of the celestial body diminishes and transforms itself into an aureole. For a long time both symbols are at par, but later the cross emerges. It has often several arms, each of which itself bears several arms. Finally the last of these accessories disappears and the cross alone remains in its traditional simplicity. The large grave crosses that stand inclined all over the open country belong to the most recent type.

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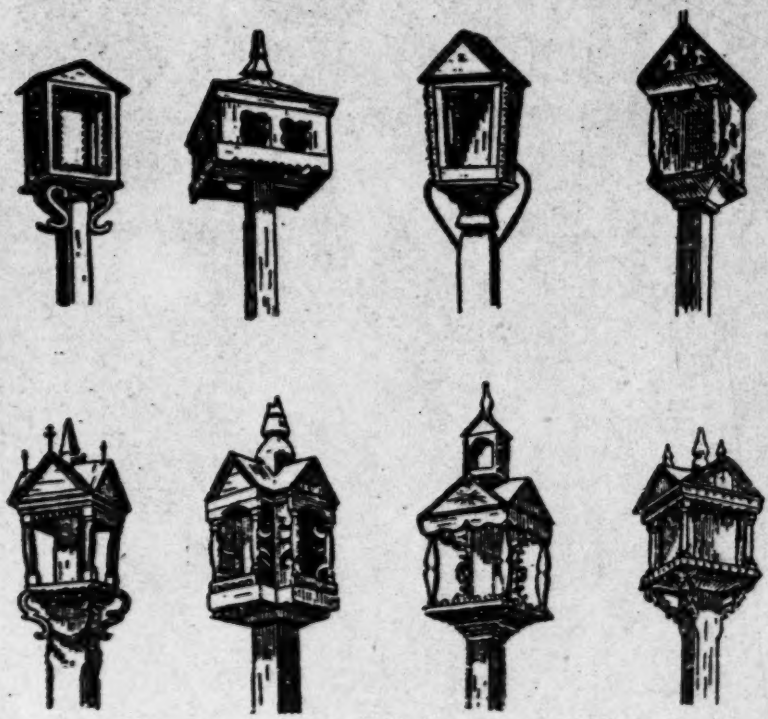

91.—98. Crosses and Chapels

Small votive chapels are scattered in the woods and in the meadows. They only came into fashion at some later time and they are especially frequent in Žemaitija. They shelter small statuettes and offerings are usually deposited there, such als strings of beads of amber or glass, ribbons, colored tissues, artificial flowers and frequently also pocket mirrors, to which some particular meaning seems to be attached. Small statuettes of the Holy Virgin are surrounded by bits of looking glass, that reflect and multiply her image. Sometimes such chapels are suspended aloft on trees, sometimes they stand on the ground or on a base of stone. These are the cages or the cabins of the Saints. The "cages" often attached to oaks,

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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99. *Votive Chapel near Kremala*

100. *Votive Chapel near Skiemoniai*

firs and pines, do not differ essentially from the small "houses" set upon pillars and crosses, but the "cabins" constitute a distinct series. They are much larger, their height sometimes attaining two meters, they are no longer toy houses and not yet real houses. Sometimes they consist of an old excavated tree trunk, surmounted by a conical roof, the statuette itself is placed in the very heart of the tree. They sometimes reproduce the *klétis* type of church or its pyramid-shaped steeple, and often they are built on a circular, hexagonal or octagonal plan. They are easier to make on account of their reduced scale, which presents the double effect of a church and piece of furniture. These monuments abound in inventions, but they are not the work of ornamentalists like the lanterns. The decorative elements of Western buildings are adapted to them and the Gothic as well as the classic forms are reproduced there according to the taste of the joiner.

The small chapels are loaded with spires and ornamental flowers. Broken arches run along the walls and join the colonnades. The various themes are thrown into one and recast. Out of this mixture arose a fantastic

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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101. Votive Chapel near Jučiūnai

102. Votive Chapel, Forest of Silčnai

miniature architecture, a Pompeian style of the Middle Ages, similar to that of the tabernacles and stained glass windows of churches. Baroque designs treated with liberty and measure are also frequent. Nothing is forgotten here, pinions, broken gables, delicately outlined roofs and so on. Cornices, entablatures, pillars, capitals and mouldings are carved with the greatest skill and an eye for detail. Imaginary and real at the same time, these small tempietti lost amid the vegetation, seem to have been devised to receive the smaller deities of Nature. Similarly to the steles, crosses and churches, these chapels are frequently surmounted with ornaments in wrought iron. These appear later than the wooden solar roses, but continue their tradition. Until the end of the 18th century they usually represent the signs of celestial bodies, the sun, the crescent moon or celestial wheels. Later the cross appears, but it is often broken up by the geometrical ornamentations. Sometimes each arm bears supplementary arms, sometimes the horizontal arms are double or even treble. Angels, animals, persons and certain Oriental images are also represented. But the design is always dominated by the theme of radiation.

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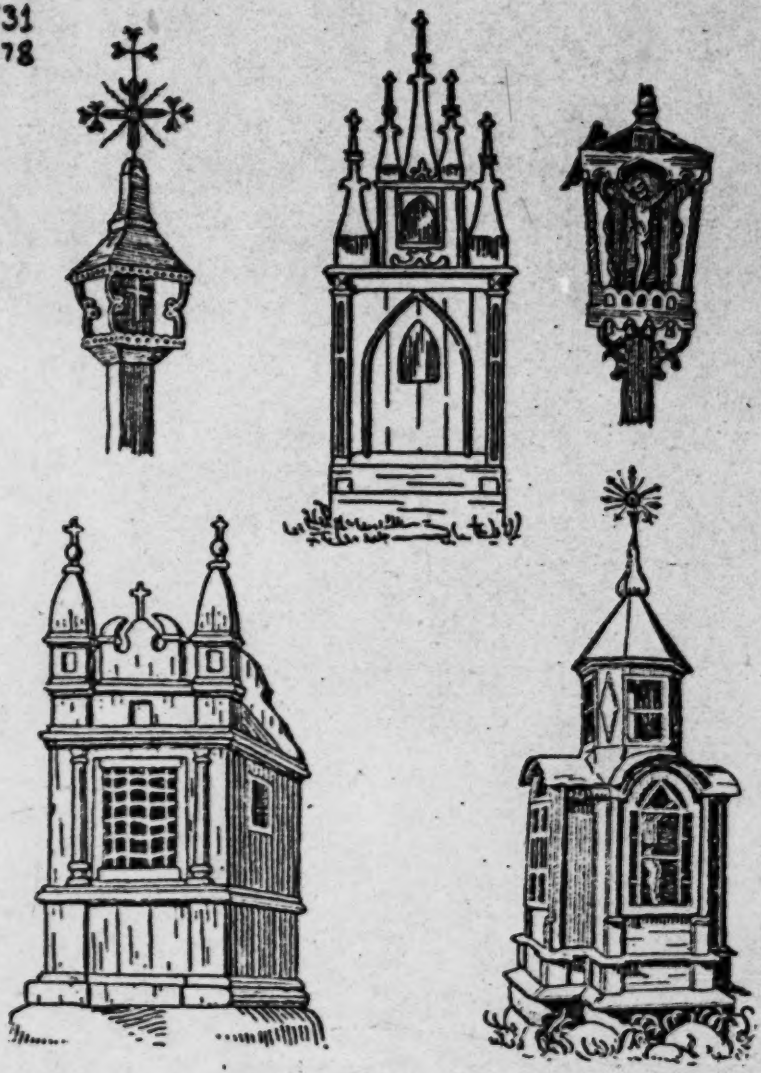

103.—107. Votive Chapels and Crosses

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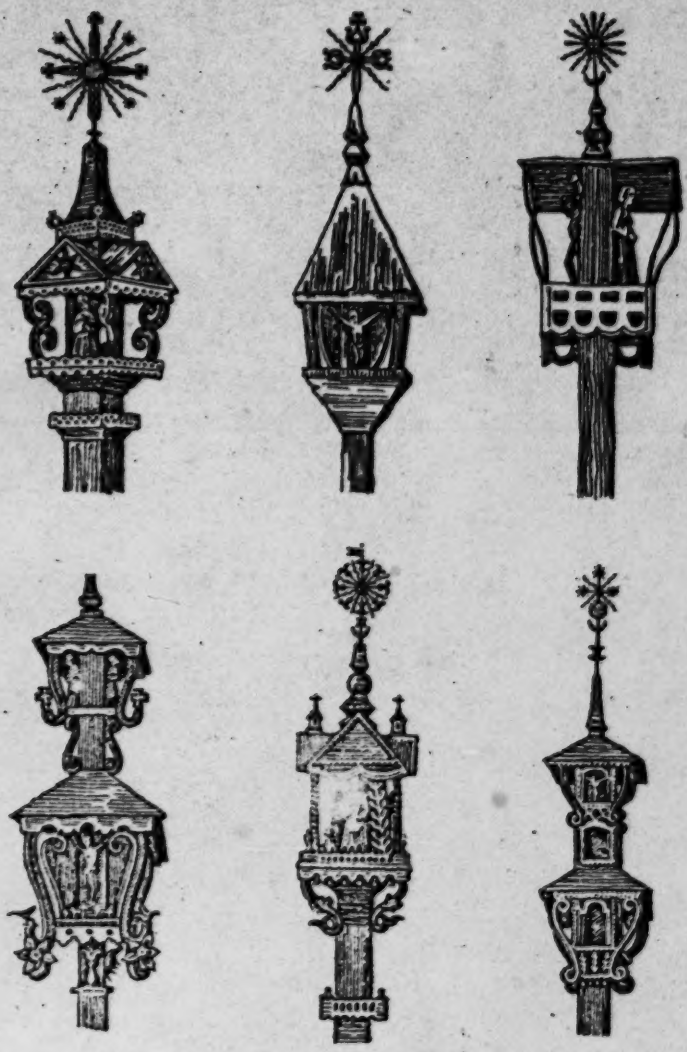

108.—113. Crosses and Chapels

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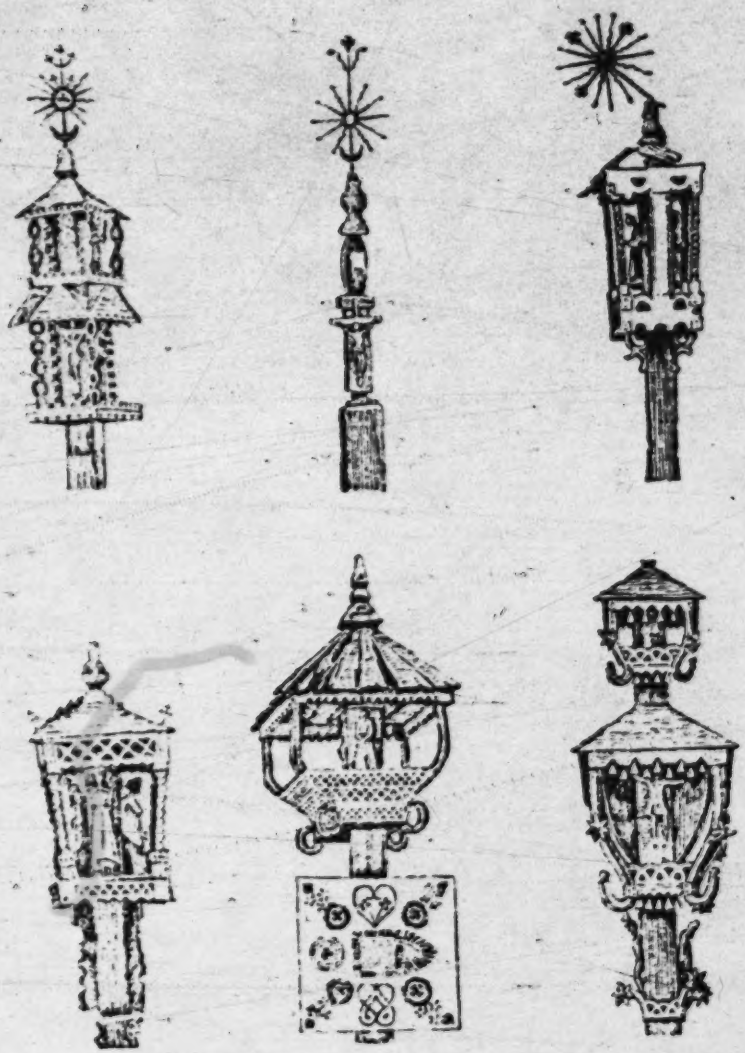

114—119. Crosses and Chapels

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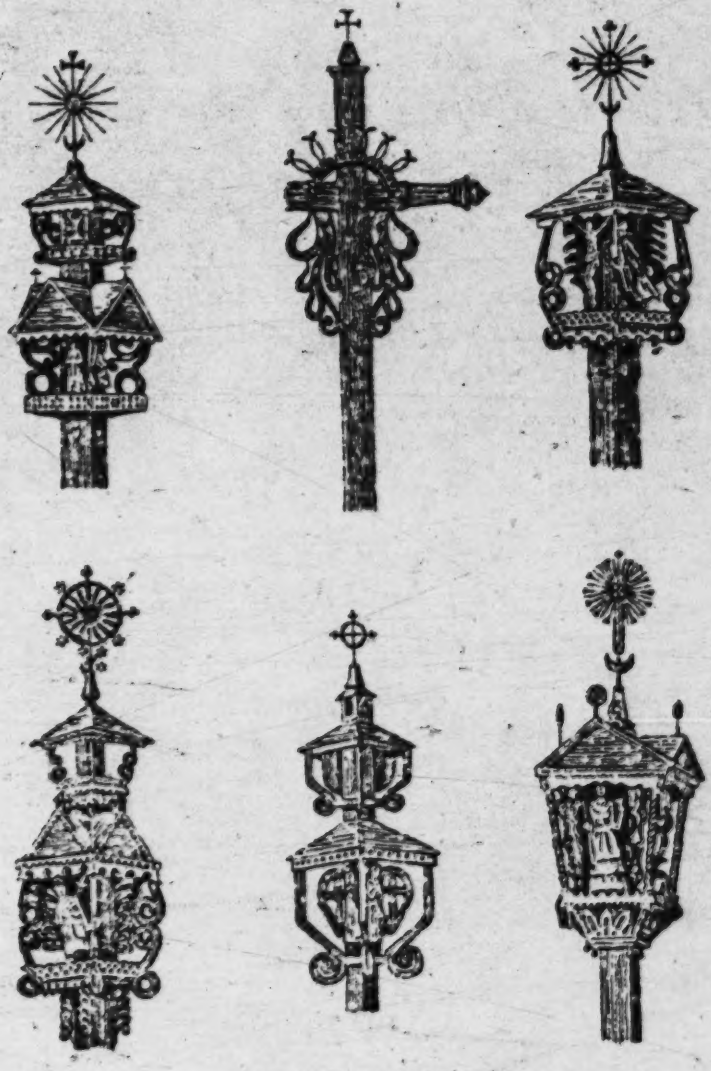

120.—125. *Crosses and Chapels*

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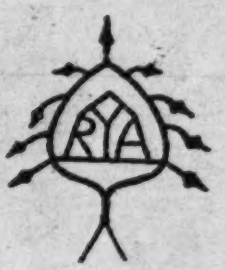

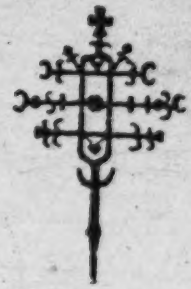

133.—134. Iron Heads of Crosses

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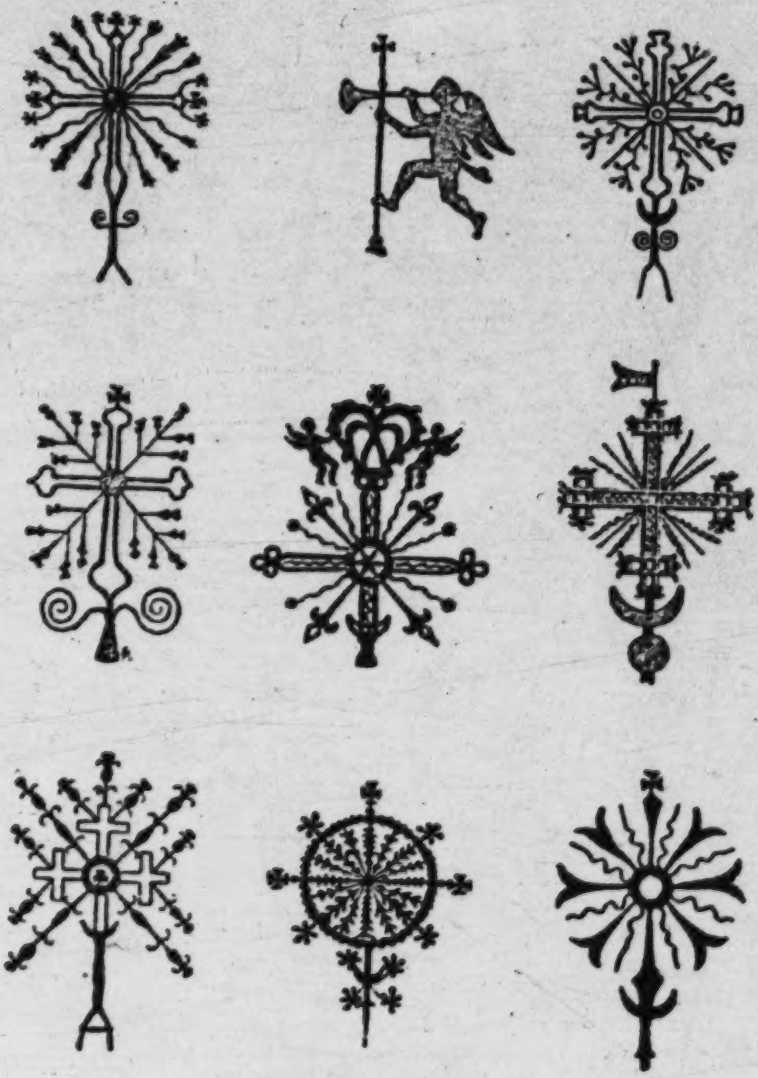

135.—143. Iron Heads of Crosses

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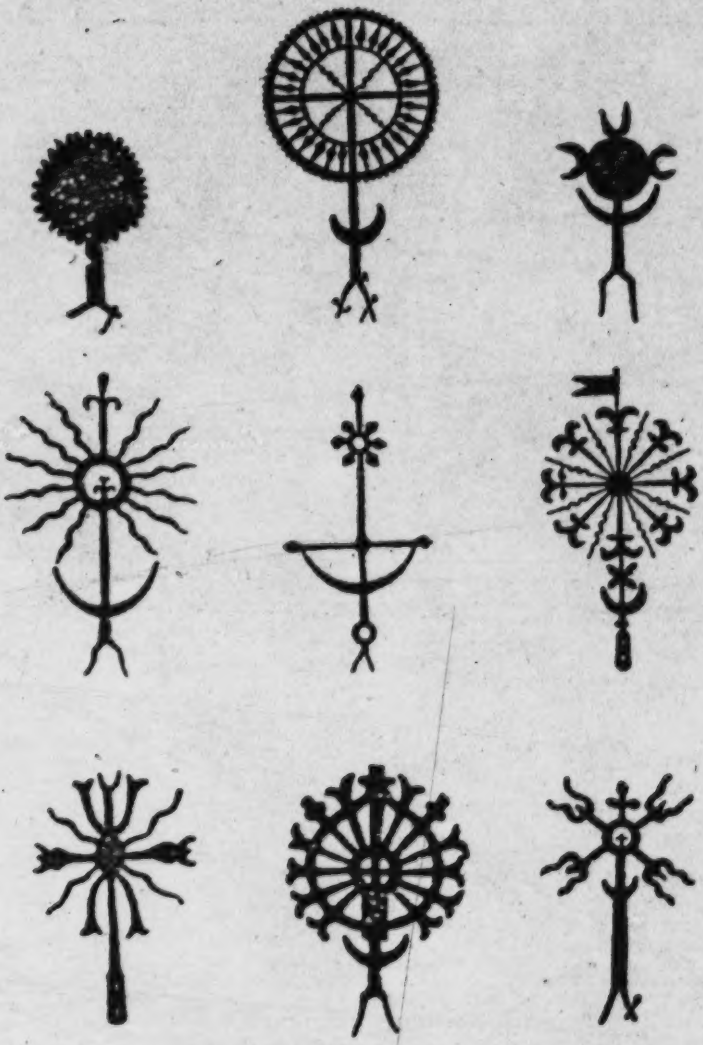

144.—153. Iron Heads of Crosses

P. 52

10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Arrows stream forth in all directions, regularly undulated sword blades, idealized vegetation, tulips which are already to be found on prehistoric jewelry, the uruta, the national flower and branches of fir. When executed in metal they retain all the hardness and refinement of the material of which they are made. In these complicated networks all the parts are cleverly united and cut with cold precision. The monuments are crowned by iron crystals resembling blackened crystals of snow.

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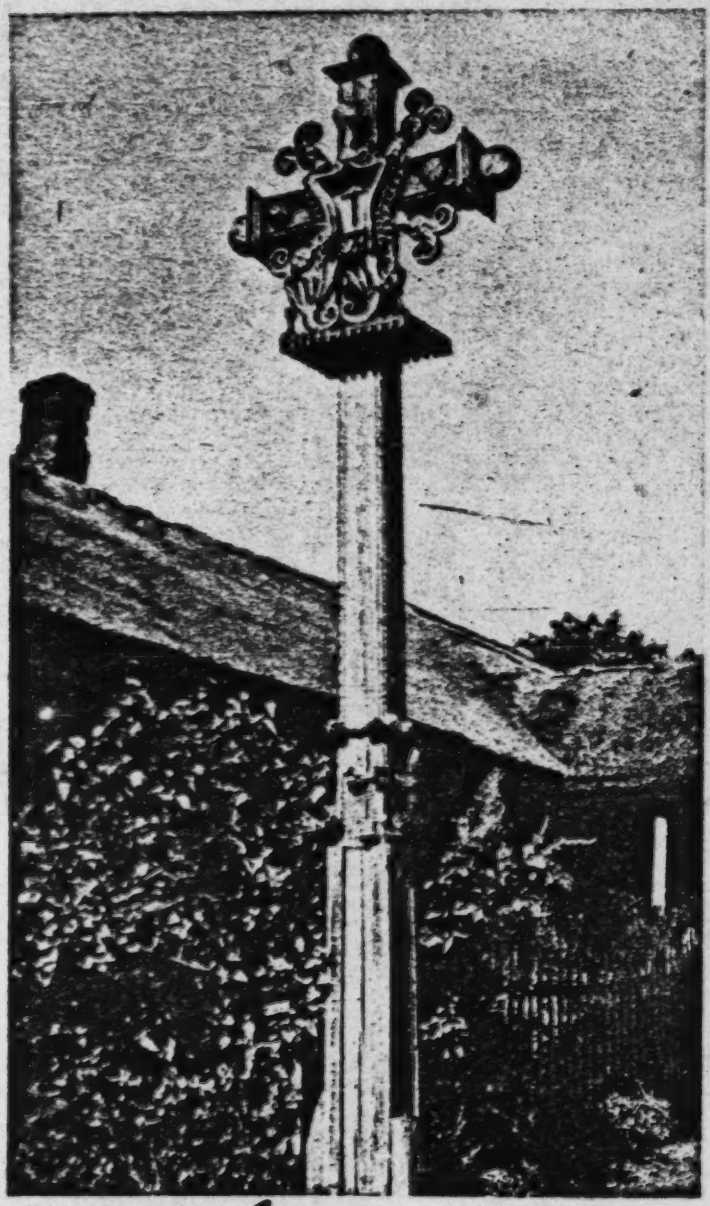

7. Wooden Cross
District of Zarasai

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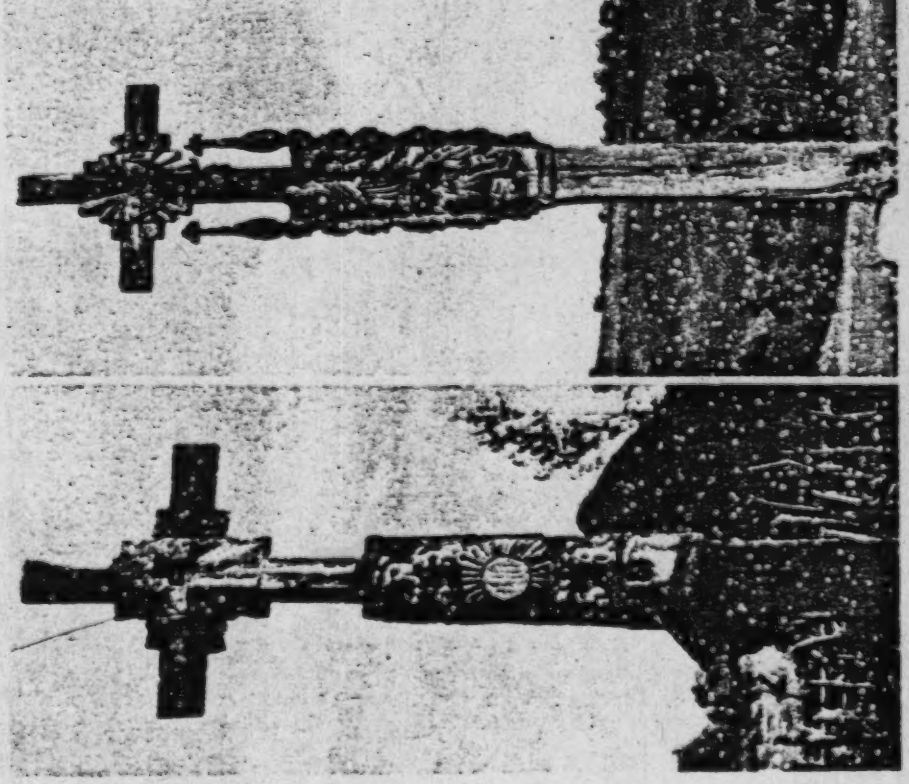
8. Wooden Cross
District of Zarasai



9.-11. Wooden Crosses
District of Kedainiai

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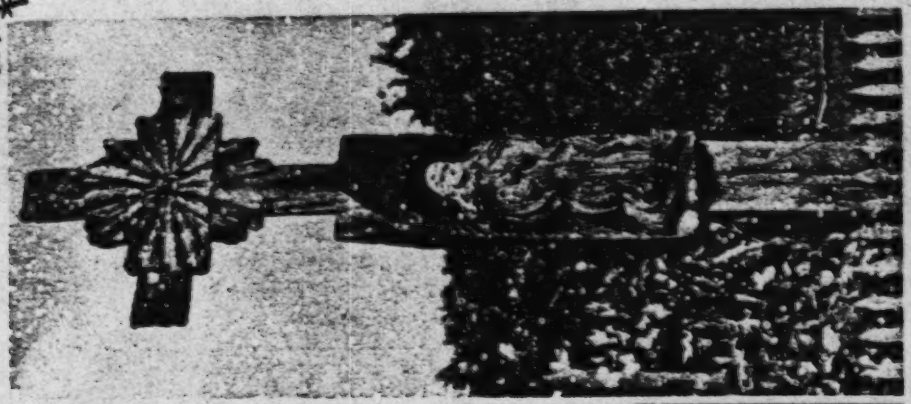

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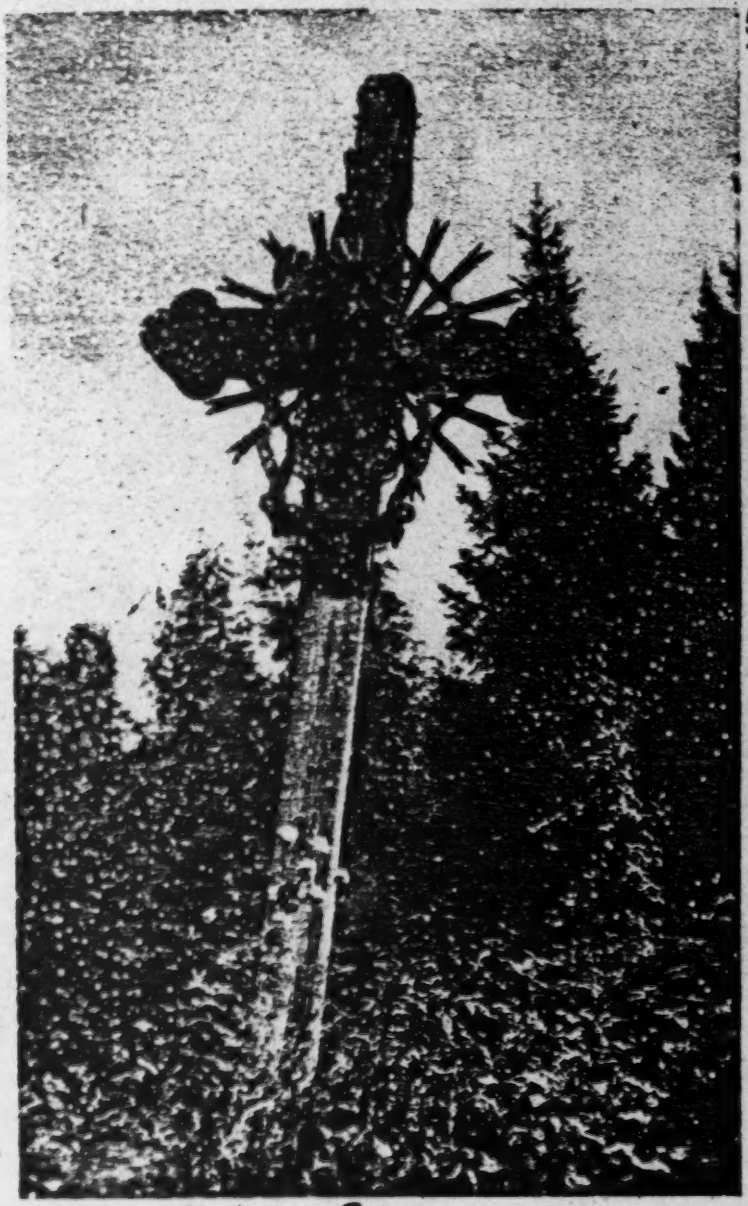

12. Wooden Cross
District of Utena

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13. Wooden Cross
District of Kaunas

10: Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

14. Wooden Cross
District of Rokiškis

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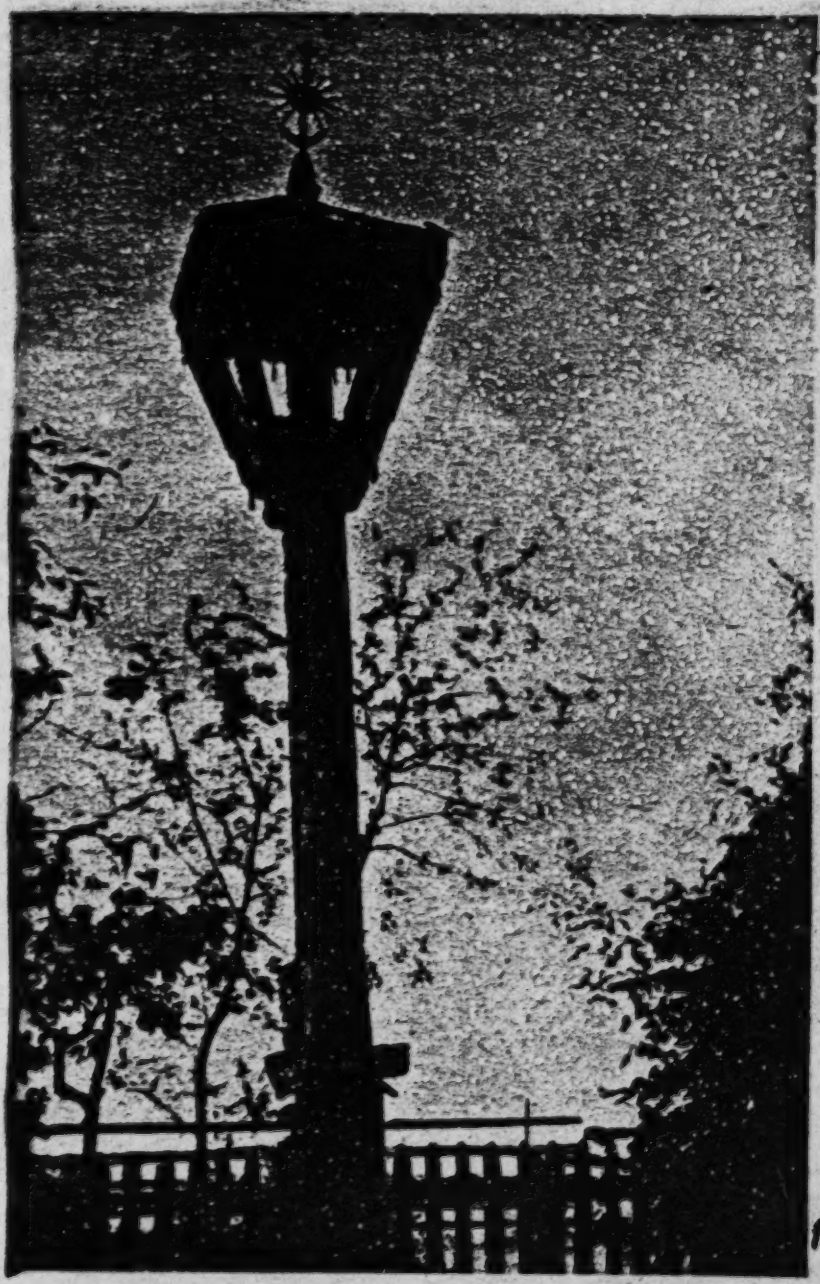

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10:Baltrusaitis R-4, 5 (no date)1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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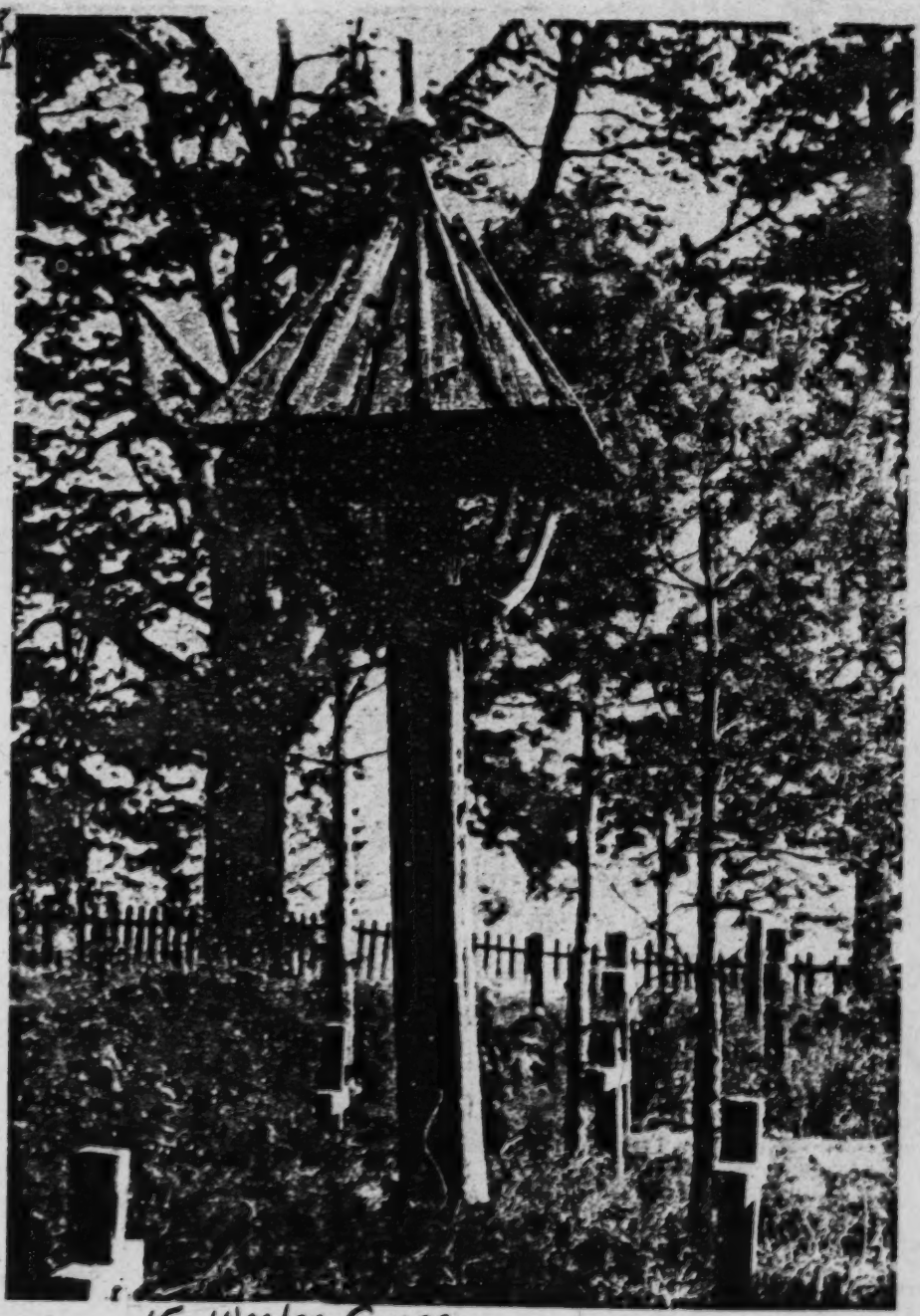

15. Wooden Cross
District of Švenčionys

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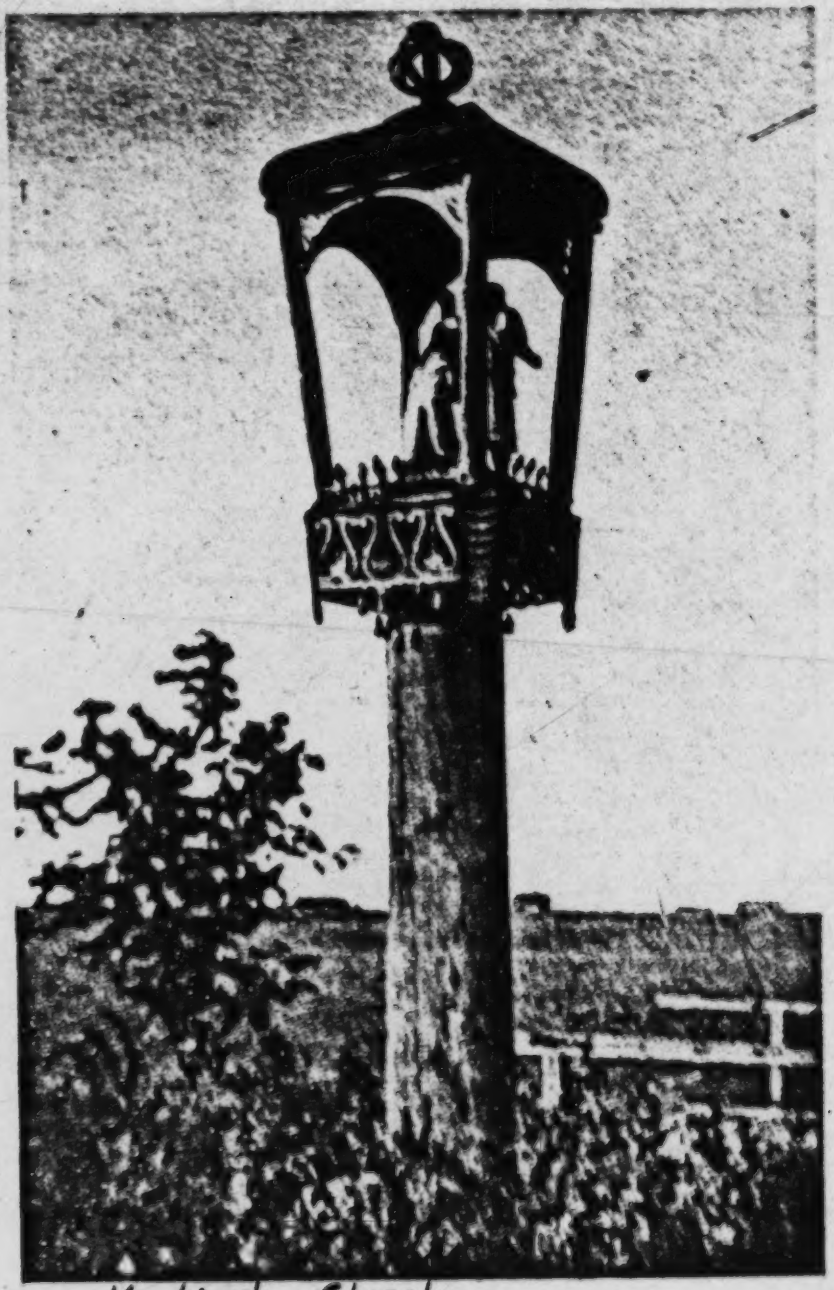

16. Wooden Chapel
District of Rokiškis

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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17. Wooden Cross
District of Tauragė

10:Baltrušaitis R-4, 5 (no date) 1948 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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18. Wooden Cross
Reconstructed from an old model

ially mentioned.

346 Of the monastery, which was begun in 1667, only the facade was completed by 1681. After that it took more than 30 years before the building was [193] completed. This monastery[1] too, has suffered greatly in the course of time, primarily through its transfer to a Russian /159/ monastic order which took place in 1840 (it was founded as a Camaldulian monastery). The Russian order occupied it until the first World War and throughout this war itself. In 1920 it was turned over to nuns from Chicago, of the Congregation of Saint Kazimir, and since then has been renovated as much as circumstances permitted.

Within the scope of this work it is impossible to include also the Catholic church buildings in the provinces in the presentation of Lithuanian baroque architecture, especially since all preliminary work is lacking. In the countryside, too, the baroque--in contrast to the Gothic--has had a decisive effect, as numerous splendid church buildings prove. Here only the beautiful monastery of Tytuvėnai may be mentioned. Thus the baroque gained a special home in Lithuania, where it should be evaluated not only as an expression of the power of Roman Catholicism, but also as a manifestation of a special mental attitude of its inhabitants. Even the primitive forms of the wooden village church, as was pointed out in another place, did not remain free of its influence.

[195] Protestant church construction left behind only a few traces in Lithuania. As Dr. Purickis notes, at the time of their greatest influence in Lithuania, the Protestants had many adherents but very few open followers, and possessed in the sixteenth century neither a clergy nor their own places of worship. Later they sometimes took over Catholic churches. (18) The first churches of the Pro-

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18. Cf. Purickis, "Die Glaubensspaltung in Litauen im 16. Jahrhundert bis zue Ankunft der Jesuiten im Jahre 1569," (dissertation) in the periodical Litauen, 1917, Vol. II,

1 [Monastery of Pažailis, near Kaunas--Analyst]

2nAnonymous U-4 (no date)1947 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

The Anti-Religious Drive Intensified

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When the Church hierarchy refused to be drawn to the "party line," Russian tactics once more underwent a change and returned to the policy of outright oppression.

Half of the surviving bishops of Lithuania were arrested: Bishop Borisevičius of Telšiai, his Suffragan Bishop Ramanauskas, and Bishop Theophilius Matulionis of Kaišiadorys. The latter suffered his second martyrdom at the hands of the Russians: previously he had spent 12 years in Russian dungeons and slave labor camps until, in 1933, he was exchanged for a Soviet spy sentenced in Lithuania for subversive activities.

There are two versions regarding the fate of Bishop Borisevičius. Officially, he was sentenced to death. However, repatriated German prisoners of war state that they saw the bishop in a slave labor gang cutting timber in the Far East, together with several other Lithuanian Monsignori and priests.

The aged bishop of Vilkaviškis, Antanas Karosas, is now living in Marijampolė, retired from active duties. Archbishop Karevičius died soon after the second Russian invasion. Archbishop Romuald Jałbrzykowski of Vilnius was repatriated to Poland to administer the sections of the Vilnius Archbishopric left in a reduced Poland. Archbishop Skvireckas, Metropolitan of Lithuania, together with Bishop Brizgys of Kaunas and Co-Adjutor Bishop Podoškis of Vilkaviškis, are in exile in Western Europe. Bishop Mečys Reinys of Vilnius, according to a *Tass* bulletin, is said to be alive in Vilnius. There is no information whatsoever regarding Bishop Paltarokas of Panevėžys. Mgr. Juodaitis is administering the Bishopric of Telšiai.

If Bishop Paltarokas is still living, only two bishops remain in Lithuania—20% of the pre-war hierarchy. Of course, this does not prevent *Tass* from claiming that "The Catholic Church organization has remained unchanged. . . ."

During the latter part of 1946, the Soviet press vilely attacked the Catholic Church and the clergy. Lithuanian priests were accused of supporting the guerrillas—"political bandits" and "Lithuanian-German nationalists." The NKVD instituted numerous prosecution processes against priests and gave the widest publicity to the charges. Priests were sentenced to 10 years in hard labor prisons and deported to Russia.

The terror, by the end of the year 1946, was greater than during the first occupation: 25 priests were murdered, 40 were sentenced to hard labor and deported, 150 priests are in hiding.

Through murders, imprisonment, deportations and exile, Lithuania has lost the services of at least 350 priests—that is, 22% of all priests in the country in 1940.

Bishop Ramanauskas of Telšiai went to the NKVD in Vilnius to inquire about the fate of his superior, Bishop Borisevičius. He was told that the Bishop was sentenced to death. He returned to Telšiai. He was arrested by the NKVD immediately after hold-

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ing Holy Mass. With his hands tied behind his back, he was pushed into an auto, driven to the railroad station, and placed on board a train.

Bishop Matulionis was arrested in mid-December 1946. The old martyr bore himself with dignity and firmness. To warnings by well-wishers he replied: "I know the bolsheviks." He had ordained some divinity graduates December 9 and 12th, and appeared very weak. He was arrested a few days later for having issued a pastoral letter warning against the wiles of Komsomol.

Arrests of the clergy are more numerous after several visits to "Prime Minister" Gedvila to protest against limiting the number of divinity students to 150. The seminary's building is being requisitioned: its quarters in Marian Fathers' Charity Church are being turned over to Nurses School.

A favorite Russian method is to promote dissension. When Rev. Nagulevičius, pastor of Obeliai, was arrested, the NKDV lodged a suspended priest in the rectory. This "pastor" refused to admit the priest appointed by the bishop. The Chancellor of the diocese arrived to settle the matter, but the NKVD "pastor" refused to obey. When the Chancellor visited comrade Gailevičius, Adviser on Cult Affairs in Vilnius, the latter said: "At present the people rule. This is apparently the people's will, and we cannot help in this matter."

The NKVD is attempting to install its own "priests" and, eventually, to have a Church administration subservient to the NKVD. Thus far, only one apostate is known.

No priests are admitted to the Klaipėda-Memel District.

[794] Congregations are being evicted from their quarters although, officially, the monasteries are not banned. St. Casimir's Sisters are still in possession at Pažaislis, and the Franciscan Fathers are still left in Kretinga.

[651] Priests and Church property are heavily taxed. For instance, the Cathedral of Kaunas must pay 46,000 rubles, the Cathedral of Panevėžys 40,000, the small Church of St. Nicholas in Vilnius dating back to the 14th century, is taxed 16,000 rubles. The late Mgr. Jokubauskas, administrator of the Bishopric of Kaunas who died in February 1947, was taxed 20,000 rubles. The figures become significant when it is realized that an average laborer earns 200 rubles a month.

Sidelights of Anti-Religious Drive

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Religious practice is permitted inside the church only: Stalin's constitution grants "freedom of belief" and warrants the liberty of anti-religious propaganda. No religious texts, not even prayerbooks, are permitted to be published—"paper shortage" . . . On the other hand millions of vile pamphlets are printed.

Once more, uniformed sentinels and agents in mufti are ostentatiously posted at church doors. They look over every face and scribble notes in the "blocnotes." [558] Attendance in church means dismissal from a responsible post in the government. Teachers attending religious services are denounced in the press as "persons of low morality." A high school director inquired of

[423] tens and personal property owned by institutions and organizations of a religious character were sequestered. In nationalizing land, parishes were given only 3 hectares—although other landlords retained 30 hectares. Buildings owned by parishes and bishoprics, including episcopal residences and seminaries, libraries, printing shops, printed stocks of books were confiscated. Denominational grammar schools, high schools, orphanages, kindergartens and hospitals were converted into state institutions. The stocks of missals, hymnals, prayer-books, rosaries, religious pictures, and other religious articles found stored in book shops and retail stores were desecrated or destroyed.

The Soviets considered the clergy a separate "caste," antagonistic to the proletariat and, therefore, to be eliminated. The clergy as well as independent farmers (called '*kulaks*'), were oppressed economically; priests and "cult servants" were heavily taxed. For instance, a tolerated "proletarian" with a monthly income of 200 rubles paid 30 rubles monthly for living space assigned to him, while "cult servants" of the same income class paid 220 rubles monthly, and those with incomes of 350 rubles paid 388 rubles.

The Communist Party proposed to levy excessive license fees on churches, similar to motion picture house and cabaret assessments. The taxes depended on the size of the church. Such taxes were already imposed in the sections of Poland annexed to Russia—20,000 to 50,000 rubles. A commissar explained the policy to a pastor of a Lithuanian parish in eastern Lithuania which was annexed by Russia in 1939: "If you can't pay—close down your shop." Consequently, the churches were to be closed by degrees for nonpayment of taxes.

The Party also passed a decision to convert the centrally located Garrison Church of Kaunas into a "Revolutionary Museum." The Museum of Church Art was liquidated and its exhibits, the antique vestments, were used by Red Army troopers to polish their boots.

All that was public anti-religious action. The other phase, shrouded in secrecy, was directed against individual members of the clergy.

The Party instructed its agents to disrupt the internal discipline of churchmen, to enlist agent-informers among the clergymen, to antagonize priests against each other or to compromise them. NKGB Major Gladkov issued a secret directive dated 21 October 1940, directed to all county security chiefs, to institute unbroken surveillance of priests, church employees, friars and nuns, and to enlist students of upper classes for espionage on the private lives of the clergymen. "Remember that some of the priests are not provided for materially and are wavering in their ideological outlook." The secret order of 21 January 1941 directed particular attention to individual discontent and antagonism among members of religious organizations: advantage should be taken of such incidents to disrupt the organizations.

After digesting the reports of weakness exhibited by some individual priests, People's Commissar of Justice, Pranas Pakarklis, a native traitor, offered attractive offices to a number of priests, on condition that

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793 659 661 they discontinue holding Mass and stop the performance of other priestly duties. A number of priests were arrested and the NKVD attempted to enlist their services by threats and blackmail. Because of these methods, several priests consented—and, immediately after their release, fled abroad. Those refusing to become agents were imprisoned. Soon the number of prisoners grew as many friars, preachers and high school students heroically defended their faith.

626 527 461 The Russians initiated a campaign against religious *traditions*. They began by banning the traditional Corpus Christi processions in the streets. All Saints Day was declared to be a working day, and the authorities banned traditional services and mass visits to cemeteries on All Souls' Day. During Advent and Lent, the bolsheviks encouraged dancing, entertainment and anti-religious lectures. Good Friday and Holy Saturday, as well as the second day of Easter, were designated working days. Those failing to report for work on the second day of Easter were prosecuted. In general, at frequent intervals, ordinary Sundays were periodically declared to be working days, and Saturdays—days of rest.

876 626 The teaching of religion in schools was replaced by classes on biology and the Stalin constitution. Biological lectures popularized "Darwinism." The "science of constitution" was to popularize a "Soviet democracy" and its oft-varying shifts directed by party [883] line. In place of religious sodalities and athletic groups, the bolsheviks attempted to form *"Komsomol"* (Communist Youth) nests directed by political instructors called "Komsorg." Religious sermons were replaced by anti-religious tirades in the communist-controlled press and at mass meetings. Attendance at such mass-meetings to hear blasphemies was made compulsory.

626 661 558 Churches kept open and functioning. However, attendants at religious services were terrorized. The Party posted uniformed and non-uniformed spies at church doors to observe and list the churchgoers. Attendance in church was a sufficient reason for dismissal from higher offices.

000 The anti-religious drive, growing in tempo, began to expand. When Bishops Brizgys and Ramanauskas called on Pozdniakov, the former Soviet Minister to Lithuania and at present the Kremlin's deputy satrap, to ask for the return of the premises of the Theological Seminary, the Russian attempted to "reason" with them. Pozdniakov stated that they should have no illusions: what had been accomplished in Russia in 20 years, will be achieved in Lithuania within two to three years by experienced administrators. Why should the Seminary "delude" young men? By the time they became priests, there would be no duties to perform—in Russia the priests already have nothing to do. . . .

Lithuanian Resistance to the Anti-Religious Drive

798 771 The Lithuanians had suffered much for religion—murder, imprisonment and exile to Siberia—during

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adherents primarily among the high and low nobility. In the press of the Reformed in Kedainiai, a whole series of writings of an edifying nature were published. The Reformed, who stood primarily under the protection of Prince Radvila (Radziwill), even planned the publication of a Lithuanian Bible, which was to have been printed in Edinburgh. The undertaking had to be given up, however, because of lack of money.

The counter movement, which was supported by Prince Giedraitis (Giedroc), proceeded from Samogitia. It is also of importance for the national tide of that period in Lithuania, which first prepared the way for a native literature. Although the Union of Ljublin, in 1569, brought about the political unification of Lithuania with Poland, Lithuania retained, within the framework of the whole, her autonomy in the areas of internal administration, the army, courts, and finances. When Prince Giedraitis became Bishop of Samogitia in 1576, he took up with all his strength the attack against the reformed church, summoned the Jesuits from Riga into the country, and sought /197/ to spread Christianity through Lithuanian sermons. Large areas of Lithuania had at that time fallen back into paganism, and on the sacred mountain of Patrija even the sacred fire was rekindled. For
793 the education of Catholic priests Prince Giedraitis founded, in 1579, the Academy of Vilna. The Catholic literature which now came into being was also promoted by the bishop. If the Protestants had been the first to publish their polemics no longer in Latin but, along with Polish, also in Lithuanian, the Catholic party now followed their example. In 1595 appeared in Vilna the catechism of the Samogitian
538 Canon Daukša, who came from a noble family, and four
191 years later followed his postil. If Prince Giedraitis can be considered the most active representative of that movement in the Lithuanian high nobility which fought energetically against the assimilation of

538 we see him as a young vicar in the company of other clergymen, who are all drawn with sharp strokes. There is the priest Platūnas, who lives only for his husbandry; Stripaitis, who is completely immersed in the Lithuanian cooperative movement; the idealist Ramutis; and many others. But Vasaris begins to feel ever more strongly that he lacks the calling for his profession. He fashions his life more freely, his thinking changes above all through his love for the wife of Baron Rainakis, the patron lord of his church. Then the World War overtakes him. He sets out for St. Petersburg to study at the Clerical Academy there. Once more he turns around in his wagon toward the village. He hears a thundering crash and sees the tower of his church fall, blown up by the Russians at the approach of the German troops.

It was like a blow that Vasaris felt in his breast. The tower to which the duties of the priesthood, care, and sorrow had bound him was in ruins. It seemed to him that not only the tower had fallen apart, but that with it fell apart many beautiful dreams and ideals of his youth, which had once led him to this place.

In the last part of the novel Vasaris returns to his homeland in the year 1924. Completely alienated from his profession, he lives for his artistic work.

/285/ According to the author's own confession, two problems made him write this novel--the relation of the priesthood to artistic work and the problem of the ex-priest who turns to a
538 secular activity. It should be remembered in
•793 this connection that according to Russian law
565 no Lithuanian could occupy an official position
[463] in his home province, which left only the few free professions, and the priesthood for advancement from the peasant class. Thus the majority of the creative intelligentsia of the country was found among the priests to the time of

*538 the first World War. As a consequence, even after
•793 the founding of the state the Lithuanian clergy
[565] played a decisive role in many high state offices. From this results the extraordinary significance of this class at that time and also the breadth of the artistic theme, measured by Lithuanian standards, which Putinas treats in his novel. Concerning the Lithuanian clergyman the author writes in his preface:

> "The Lithuanian clergyman was both farmer and member of a cooperative, financier, politician, diplomat, minister, physican, and--God knows what else. He agitated at public meetings--even today he takes part in the internal deliberations of the political parties. The Lithuanian clergyman was a literary man as well--sometimes a story teller, but more frequently a poet . . .The Lithuanian clergyman, very often forced into the seminary, sometimes also enrolled out of a misunderstanding, attracted by foreign ideals, gathered within himself the most varied gifts and talents . . . And again and again one or another gifted Lithuanian priest feels the necessity to give up the priesthood . . . Here lies a whole series of sociological, religious, and psychological problems."

*538 It is only understandable that the appearance of such a realistic and at the same time artistically fashioned work would lead to lively controversies (16) which /286/ concerned less the

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16. Cf. for example Grinius, "Putino Altoriu šešelyj" (Putinas, In the Shadow of the Altars), Židinys, 1933, Vol. XVII, pp. 46-53 (on the first two volumes). Further: K. Korsakas, Kritika (Criticism), the chapter "Kunigas Liudas Vasaris literatūr-

[415] earthenware remains completely simple in technique and form. In
291 the way of clothing the old has not been preserved. Figure 2, from
177 the 17th century, points to similarities with the Letts. In East Prussia,
German influences then had their effect, and beyond the border Polish
771 influences made themselves felt. For a long time, until well into the
19th century, remnants of the ancient religion were preserved. This
religion was a knowledge of divine forces in nature, everywhere, from
the sun and the stars to the plants and stones; as well as a knowledge
of the unity between nature and man, of inner and lasting relations
and interinfluences between them. How clearly the divine in nature
was beheld is indicated by conceptions like the one that believes that
actual pain is inflicted upon the deity if the bark is peeled off the trees!
How clearly the unity was experienced is to be seen from the custom of
of keeping trees in the farmyard, with the thriving of which the pros-
perity and health of the inhabitants remained connected; or from folk
songs like the following:

Alas, I poor man went hence,
Cried bitter tears.
Was not the oak tree
Transformed into my father.

Gnome-like earth spirits lived in the roots of the juniper
bushes--not reminiscences of tiny original inhabitants of the type
familiar among the Reindeer Lapps, as has been stated, but clearsighted
visions of elementary beings. Spring, summer, and autumn festivals
united the people for the communal experience of the light, the sun
as the spiritual center of the world and of existence; in sacred forests
● 793 they came to the gods and sacrificed to them. Yes, the chief of the
771 Waideloten priesthood, the Kriwe, sacrificed himself after he had
become old; he admonished the people to do penance, climbed upon
the stake, let himself be burned and knew that he would rise up the
gods in the flames. In the same sense, it was considered a particular
sign of divine mercy to be struck and killed by lightning. At one time
the religious knowledge and feeling was guarded by a liberally organized,
but nevertheless hierarchically ordered priesthood with an elected chief
priest, and these were mediated to the people in exoteric forms. Then
they maintained a perpetual fire which, only in the year 1387, was
ceremoniously extinguished for ever in the castle at Vilna by the duke
Jagello(!). Then they made sacrifices to the sun, they prophesied

793 from a clairvoyant vision, they mediated the disclosures of the de-
771 ceased, convoked the people for gatherings, when such revelations had been received, in order to make them known, in order to arrange festivals, and in order to determine the sowing and the harvesting time. The priests were, therefore, the spiritual leaders of the people, who guided life into its everyday activities from the vantage point of their knowledge of the cosmic interconnections. They were acquainted with the influence of the moon on all births and with the return of the souls after death into its sphere: "that which has died off, which is laid as a seed kernel into the soil of another world," as Creuzer expresses it; an insight, it would appear, into the process of every re-
[796] newed life on earth. A special festival in autumn, the festival of the consecration of the goat, seems to have been an exoteric parallel to the initiation rites in the mystery cults; for on this occasion the priests recited the traditions from the history of the people and absolved the
[821] people of sin. After the harvest a god's image was every year broken and renovated; by this was expressed the experience that the spiritual forces of the cosmos turn towards and away from the earth in the rhythm of the year, and that in winter they collect themselves, renew themselves, in order to be able to come streaming to the growing plant world in the spring. Present-day harvest practices are the final dying echoes of such knowledge of the spiritual forces, vivifying and emanating, that permeate the world and all its parts.

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/33: Illustrations./

795 Russia. *Only one Bishop*—Paltarokas—was known to be *alive in* 1948, and no information regarding his present fate is available. Administrators who succeeded the martyred Bishops likewise "vanish" in MVD trucks soon after their appointment.

The official Registers of the Church, cited by the Rev. Dr. Kazys Gečys in his "Catholic Lithuania" (*Katalikiškoji Lietuva*, Chicago 1946) gave the following statistics for the year 1940:

Diocese	Deaneries	Priests	Byzantine Rite Priests	Diocesan Students	Monastic Orders: Priests	Monastic Orders: Friars	Monastic Orders: Nuns	Parishioners
Vilnius	16	307	5	169	62	184	384	877,838
Kaunas	10	289	2	152				500,000
Kaišiadorys	9	163						220,200
Panevėžys	10	235						418,950
Telšiai	12	237		83	90	387	579	385,872
Klaipėda Prelacy		11						22,150
Vilkaviškis	12	245		62				351,408
Total	69	1,487	7	470	152	571	963	2,776,422

The total number of clergy, including those of the Byzantine rite, was 1646. One priest was available to minister 1688 souls. The 1586 members of monastic congregations, included the Franciscan, Jesuit, Salesian, Dominican and Marian Orders, and several exclusively Lithuanian Orders.

794 The same author provided the following statistics regarding the number of churches as of 1940.

Diocese	Arch-Cathedral Basilicas	Cathedral Basilicas	Cathedrals	Parish Churches	Filial Churches	Non-Parochial Churches	Chapels
Vilnius		1		185 +Byz. 7	17	34	110
Kaunas	1			91	31	34	84
Kaišiadorys			1	65	2		12
Panevėžys			1	90	27	7	82
Telšiai			1	111	16	14	32
Klaipėda Prelacy				5		2	
Vilkaviškis			1	95	5		10
Total	1	1	4	670 +Byz. 7	98	91	330

A total of 1202 churches, embracing 681 parishes. Each church served 2310 souls.

In addition to the Roman Catholic community, Lithuania had 51 churches and chapels with 18 pastors of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, 12 Calvinist (Evangelical Reformed Church) parishes with 7 pastors, 3217 independent sectarians (mostly ex-Lutherans), five Tatar Mohammedan congregations (at Vilnius, 40-Tatars, Kaunas, Reižiai and Vinkšniukai), and two Karaim congregations. Statistics are not available regarding Jewish religious communities.

652 For services rendered in keeping birth, matrimonial and burial records, the state budget of Lithuania for 1939 appropriated the following sums in Litas (1 Litas equaled $0.10 in gold or $0.16⅔ depreciated):

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Roman Catholic Church	Lt.	1,383,278
Israelite Congregation	"	105,500
Evangelical Lutheran Church	"	88,000
Evangelical Reformed Church	"	25,360
Greek Orthodox Church	"	60,360
Old Believers Congregation	"	31,920
Mohammedan Congregation	"	2,400
Karaim Congregation	"	400
Total	Lt.	1,691,718 ($169,171.80 gold or $281,483.86 current exchange rate)

794 Comparison of the situation of the Catholic Church in 1940 with that shown in a *Tass* bulletin of April 1947 and the information provided by the Lithuanian underground resistance movement as of 1948, tells a very eloquent story:

		1940	*Tass* 1947	1948
Archbishops and Bishops		14	2	1
Clergy		1,846	1,332	400
Monastic Order members		1,586	0	0
Churches		1,202	711	ca. 600
Parishioners		2,776,422	"thousands"	most of survivors
Theological Seminaries		4	1	0
Catholic Faculty in Univ.		1	0	0
State assistance	Lt.	1,383,278	0	Ruinous Taxes
Church Taxation		0	?	millions of rubles
Divinity Students		470	ca. 150	0
Killed or exiled clergymen		0	(silence)	75%
Catholic press 1955: number		52	(silence)	0
circulation		7,050,200	(silence)	0
Religious-philosophy books		209'	(silence)	0
Sodality-Fraternity Members.		800,000	(silence)	0

Naturally, the underground data does not disclose clandestine catechetic instruction by clergymen and laymen, and the secret religious press. Religious books and articles bring highest prices in the black market. All of the Catholic scientific, educational, social, athletic, labor, economic, publishing and charitable institutions, academies, schools, libraries, kindergartens, associations, sodalities, etc., were closed and their property was confiscated by the Russians.

Attempts to Create a "National MVD Church"

795 The Russian Orthodox Church is, to all intents and purposes, a branch of the secret political police—the MVD and MGB. This Church is the only religious organization tolerated in Russia, allotted newsprint and printing facilities, and sponsored by Soviet agents in the annexed and satellite countries. "Archbishop" Sergius had been sent to Lithuania in 1940 to subvert the Greek Orthodox Church of the country. This notorious personality ultimately became an agent of the Gestapo and was liquidated by the Gestapo just before the second Russian invasion. The remaining Russian Orthodox clergymen are docile and loyal servants of the MVD-MGB, inspired in part by a Russian nationalism. The few Orthodox people of Lithuania have no respect for them.

When the Protestants practically disappeared from Lithuania and the few thousand native Jews remaining in the country (some 3,000 plus about 15,000 imported Russian aliens of Jewish race) enlisted in the Soviet service, the only religious opposition is the Roman Catholic Church—which consists of at least 90%

798 661 Priests were repeatedly summoned and urged to break with "the fascist Vatican"—or be imprisoned for "espionage" and contact with "the Vatican intelligence." In several parishes pastors were arrested and apostate priests installed, without the Bishop's blessing. Bishop's representatives were barred. Local communist officials became ardent and regular "church-goers"—but no one else went there and the Russian venture died a natural death.

659 794 Finally, the Soviet authorities engaged in what may be *the final duel* between the Church and the militant atheism: decrees were published placing all "cultural monuments," viz. church structures, under the supervision of the government. The authorities attempt to impose the so-called *"dvadsatkas"*—committees of 20 members—on each parish to supervise the needs for repairs, pastor's functions, etc. One half of these committeemen are appointed by the government. As to the rest—no specific regulations are disclosed. These "committees" would have the power to dismiss pastors and accept replacements—in effect, they would nullify the episcopal authority and would control every activity of the faithful. To further weaken the opposition, the Bishops were seized and incoming administrators subjected to pressure and deprived of the means of communicatnig with the parishes.

The faithful realize the objective—the clandestine press forewarned them and coupled threats of reprisals against weakening persons together with the explanation of the real meaning of the Russian action. Under such strained conditions, churches go unrepaired rather than enjoy "government assistance" in exchange for acceptance of a *"dvadsatka."* Priests summoned before the MVD refer the officials to the Canonic Law of the Church and direct the Russians to discuss the matter with the Bishops.

A native traitor and atheist, Gailevičius, a former superintendent of NKVD prisons, is presently the "Commissar for Cult Affairs of the Lithuanian SSR." In January 1949 he published a decree in his capacity as custodian of "cultural monuments": churches must not "operate" within 7 kilometers of each other, and if several churches are found within the 7 km. radius, only one church is to be left "operating" and the other churches are to be shut down for use by the state.

In theory, this decree could scarcely affect rural churches. An intolerable situation is arising in cities, however. For instance, there are 17 churches and several chapels in the city of Kaunas. Under this decree, only one church would remain in this city of 150,000 inhabitants, of whom 60% are Lithuanian Catholics. A similar situation is bound to arise in the capital city of Vilnius with its dozens of beautiful churches, or "cultural monuments."

Serious clashes, or rather massacres of women and children, are expected to result during the forcible seizure and closing of the churches to which the foreign invader has no title.

The Italian press recently cited "reliable sources" of January 1949 to the effect that the Russians had confiscated the Cathedral Basilica of Vilnius and converted the edifice into a dance hall. This cannot be verified from Lithuanian sources at this time—but the Gailevičius decree makes this news probable.

Mockery by Soviet Embassy in Washington

000 The *USSR Information Bulletin* of the Soviet Embassy in Washington in its issue of 25 February 1949 carries a questionable "Interview with Catholic Priest." Father "Kasimir Kulakas, Dean of the Trakai diocese," was said to have been interviewed by one Josas Bulota (should be Juozas Bulota).

This tendentious compilation of lies was obviously written by a Russian ignorant of Catholic terminology and the geography of Lithuania.

It begins with the statement that in the "diocese" of the Rev. Kulakas the parishioners "attend services in 11 Catholic churches." In 1940, the Lithuanian section of the Archdiocese of Vilnius, embracing Trakai, had 185 Catholic churches, plus 7 of the Eastern rite.

The claim that "religion is not taught in the schools, but priests may give religious teaching to children outside school" is far from the truth, as the situation in the Vilnius Archdiocese (lately administered by the Rev. Kačergis) does not differ from that in any other part of the country—as told in the preceding columns.

The alleged "interview" attributes to the Rev. Kulakas a vague statement that "the number of priests in my diocese in proportion to the number of parishioners, is sufficient—they are no fewer than in pre-Soviet times."—With more than one-third of the Catholic population of the Vilnius diocese deported and all the priests of Polish nationality repatriated to Poland—the Russians would make us believe that there "are no fewer than in pre-Soviet times" and that the number of priests is "sufficient," for the time being, in the view of the MVD. . . . There had been 192 parish churches and 312 priests in the Archdiocese of Vilnius in 1940—compared with the 11 churches indicated by the Soviet Embassy in February 1949. . . .

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The statement that "a total of 150 clergymen is studying at Kaunas Theological Seminary at present" —is sheer fiction, as the seminary was forcibly shut down in 1948. The professors enumerated in the article—are all in prisons or in Siberia since 1947.

"Priests in Soviet Lithuania pay an income tax on the same conditions as the members of the professions, such as doctors, artists and lawyers. No one may tax a priest more than the law provides."—But there are no free professions under the Soviet rule! Doctors and artists are on state payrolls, and former lawyers are cutting timber in Siberia or digging mines in the Arctic, inasmuch as the MVD provides its own "investigators" from six-month classes where no legal training is given. Churches are taxed 40,000 to 160,000 rubles—while workers earn not more than 450 rubles monthly. . . . As for the Soviet "law"—Soviet officials follow the Mandarine rule: the sky is the limit—and Stalin lives far away. . . .

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"The clergy can be prosecuted for anti-State activities under the laws that apply to all other citizens, but there has never been an instance in which a priest was prosecuted for his profession, nor for carrying out his duties as his calling requires." — But no statistics were given pertinent to prosecution "for anti-State activities" as of to date. Numerous NKVD files brought out by a number of Lithuanian Catholic priests imprisoned and tortured for nothing but their priesthood—are now available in the United States. . . .

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2:Anonymous U-4 (no date)1947 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

The Situation Of The Church In Enslaved Lithuania

Moscow Boasts

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> The position of the Roman Catholic Church in Soviet Lithuania was described in a recent statement by the Most Reverend Mgr. Reinis, Catholic Archbishop of Vilnius.
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> "The Catholic Church enjoys perfect freedom in Soviet Lithuania," he told a Tass correspondent. "The local authorities are assisting us in restoring and repairing churches destroyed by the German invaders, and supplying building materials. Our clergy are provided with all necessities.
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> "There are at present two archbishoprics in Lithuania," Mgr. Reinis went on to explain, "those of Vilnius and Kaunas. The Catholic Church organization has remained unchanged. All 711 churches are functioning with their staffs of 1,332 clergy. The Kaunas Ecclesiastical Seminary, headed by the prominent theologian Ventukas, is graduating scores of young Catholic priests annually. Thousands of believers in Vilnius, Kaunas and other towns and villages gather as usual at Matins and Vespers. All established holidays are observed by the Church."

The Reality

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2:Anonymous U-. (no date)1947 R55 Lithuanians !

793 ing Holy Mass. With his hands tied behind his back, he was pushed into an auto, driven to the railroad station, and placed on board a train.

651 798 Bishop Matulionis was arrested in mid-December 1946. The old martyr bore himself with dignity and firmness. To warnings by well-wishers he replied: "I know the bolsheviks." He had ordained some divinity graduates December 9 and 12th, and appeared very weak. He was arrested a few days later for having issued a pastoral letter warning against the wiles of Komsomol.

Arrests of the clergy are more numerous after several visits to "Prime Minister" Gedvila to protest against limiting the number of divinity students to 150. The seminary's building is being requisitioned: its quarters in Marian Fathers' Charity Church are being turned over to Nurses School.

A favorite Russian method is to promote dissension. When Rev. Nagulevičius, pastor of Obeliai, was arrested, the NKDV lodged a suspended priest in the rectory. This "pastor" refused to admit the priest appointed by the bishop. The Chancellor of the diocese arrived to settle the matter, but the NKVD "pastor" refused to obey. When the Chancellor visited comrade Gailevičius, Adviser on Cult Affairs in Vilnius, the latter said: "At present the people rule. This is apparently the people's will, and we cannot help in this matter."

The NKVD is attempting to install its own "priests" and, eventually, to have a Church administration subservient to the NKVD. Thus far, only one apostate is known.

No priests are admitted to the Klaipėda-Memel District.

[794] Congregations are being evicted from their quarters although, officially, the monasteries are not banned. St. Casimir's Sisters are still in possession at Pažaislis, and the Franciscan Fathers are still left in Kretinga.

[651] Priests and Church property are heavily taxed. For instance, the Cathedral of Kaunas must pay 46,000 rubles, the Cathedral of Panevėžys 40,000, the small Church of St. Nicholas in Vilnius dating back to the 14th century, is taxed 16,000 rubles. The late Mgr. Jokubauskas, administrator of the Bishopric of Kaunas who died in February 1947, was taxed 20,000 rubles. The figures become significant when it is realized that an average laborer earns 200 rubles a month.

Sidelights of Anti-Religious Drive

659 626 798 Religious practice is permitted inside the church only: Stalin's constitution grants "freedom of belief" and warrants the liberty of anti-religious propaganda. No religious texts, not even prayerbooks, are permitted to be published—"paper shortage" . . . On the other hand millions of vile pamphlets are printed.

Once more, uniformed sentinels and agents in mufti are ostentatiously posted at church doors. They look over every face and scribble notes in the "blocnotes." [558] Attendance in church means dismissal from a responsible post in the government. Teachers attending religious services are denounced in the press as "persons of low morality." A high school director inquired of

1:Anonymous U-- (no date)1949 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

162 The population's distribution by religion (1923):

Roman Catholics ..	80.48%	Greek Orthodox ...	2.54%
Protestants	9.54%	Other Christians ...	0.09%
Israelites	7.26%	Other non-Christians	0.09%

167 The situation has undergone a radical change in consequence of the Hitler-Stalin Pacts of 1939-1941, when "exchanges of population" and "repatriation" were applied: nearly all Lithuanian Protestants were "repatriated" to Germany as alleged members of the Germanic race, even though a great many of them had never had any German blood connections. During the German occupation, nearly all—except some 20,000—Lithuanian Jews were either exterminated by the Nazis or deported to Western Europe. The new Russian settlers had fled with the Red Army and the NKVD in 1941, speeded by the Lithuanian insurgents. Repatriates of true Teutonic ancestry had come back with the German troops and again retreated with the Nazis. Some 160,000 Poles were repatriated to Poland by Stalin's orders in 1945 and 1946.

Therefore, when the Russian regime established itself in Lithuania, the invader had to deal with an *exclusively Lithuanian Roman Catholic population*—and the imported Russian and Asiatic hordes of "masters."

795 When the Russians occupied the country in June 1940, the Church of Lithuania was organized into an Archdiocese of Vilnius (under Archbishops Romuald Jałbrzykowski and Mečys Reinys), the Metropolitan Archdiocese of Kaunas (under Archbishop Juozas Skvireckas and Auxiliary Bishop Vincas Brizgys), the Bishopric of Kaišiadorys (under Bishop Juozas Kukta), the Bishopric of Panevėžys (under Bishop Kazys Paltarokas), the Bishopric of Telšiai and the Prelacy of Klaipėda-Memel (under Bishop Justinas Staugaitis and Auxiliary Bishop Vincas Borisevičius), the Bishopric of Vilkaviškis (under Bishop Antanas Karosas and Auxiliary Bishop Vincas Padolskis), and the Bishopric for the Armed Forces with Bishop Teofilius Matulionis as the Chief Chaplain. In addition, Archbishop Emeritus Pranciškus Karevičius and Bishop Petras Pranas Bučys of the Byzantine rite resident in Rome, were in Lithuania. Archbishop O'Rourke of Danzig, former Bishop of Vilnius, had settled in Lithuania since the German annexation of Danzig. Altogether, Lithuania had 13 Bishops and 1 refugee Bishop.

During the war, Bishop Bučys lived in Rome. Bishop Staugaitis of Telšiai died in 1943 and Bishop Pranciškus Ramanauskas was consecrated for that See. Bishop Kukta died in 1942 and Bishop Matulionis assumed the See of Kaišiadorys. The retreating Germans deported Archbishop Skvireckas and Bishops Brizgys and Padolskis to Germany. *Eight Bishops remained* in the country when the Russians again came in 1944.

Thereafter—Archbishop Jałbrzykowski was repatriated to Poland to administer the southern, Polish part of the Archdiocese of Vilnius (with the See at Białystok), Archbishop Karevičius died 30 May 1945 at Marijampolė, and the nonagenarian Bishop Karosas died 7 July 1947 at Marijampolė. Archbishop Reinys "vanished" in June 1947, soon after an alleged "interview" with *Tass*, and Bishops Borisevičius, Ramanauskas and Matulionis were either killed or exiled to

795 Russia. *Only one Bishop*—Paltarokas—was known to be *alive in* 1948, and no information regarding his present fate is available. Administrators who succeeded the martyred Bishops likewise "vanish" in MVD trucks soon after their appointment.

The official Registers of the Church, cited by the Rev. Dr. Kazys Gečys in his "Catholic Lithuania" (*Katalikiškoji Lietuva*, Chicago 1946) gave the following statistics for the year 1940:

Diocese	Deceneries	Priests	Byzantine Rite Priests	Divinity Students	Monastic Orders: Priests	Friars	Nuns	Parishioners
Vilnius	16	307	5	169	62	184	384	877,838
Kaunas	10	289	2	152				500,000
Kaišiadorys	9	165						220,200
Panevėžys	10	235						418,950
Telšiai	12	237		83	90	387	579	385,872
Klaipėda Prelacy		11						22,159
Vilkaviškis	12	245		62				351,403
Total	69	1,487	7	470	152	571	963	2,776,422

The total number of clergy, including those of the Byzantine rite, was 1646. One priest was available to minister 1688 souls. The 1586 members of monastic congregations, included the Franciscan, Jesuit, Salesian, Dominican and Marian Orders, and several exclusively Lithuanian Orders.

794 The same author provided the following statistics regarding the number of churches as of 1940.

Diocese	Arch-Cathedral Basilicas	Cathedral Basilicas	Cathedrals	Parish Churches	Filial Churches	Non-Parochial Churches	Chapels
Vilnius		1		185 +Byz. 7	17	34	110
Kaunas	1			91	31	34	84
Kaišiadorys			1	65	2		12
Panevėžys			1	90	27	7	82
Telšiai			1	111	16	14	32
Klaipėda Prelacy				5		2	
Vilkaviškis			1	93	5		10
Total	1	1	4	670 +Byz. 7	98	91	330

A total of 1202 churches, embracing 681 parishes. Each church served 2310 souls.

In addition to the Roman Catholic community, Lithuania had 51 churches and chapels with 18 pastors of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, 12 Calvinist (Evangelical Reformed Church) parishes with 7 pastors, 3217 independent sectarians (mostly ex-Lutherans), five Tatar Mohammedan congregations (at Vilnius, 40-Tatars, Kaunas, Reižiai and Vinkšniukai), and two Karaim congregations. Statistics are not available regarding Jewish religious communities.

652 For services rendered in keeping birth, matrimonial and burial records, the state budget of Lithuania for 1939 appropriated the following sums in Litas (1 Litas equaled $0.10 in gold or $0.16⅔ depreciated):

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Roman Catholic Church	Lt.	1,383,278
Israelite Congregation	"	105,500
Evangelical Lutheran Church	"	88,000
Evangelical Reformed Church	"	26,360
Greek Orthodox Church	"	60,360
Old Believers Congregation	"	31,920
Mohammedan Congregation	"	2,400
Karaim Congregation	"	400
Total	Lt.	1,691,716

($169,171.80 gold or $281,483.86 current exchange rate)

794 Comparison of the situation of the Catholic Church in 1940 with that shown in a *Tass* bulletin of April 1947 and the information provided by the Lithuanian underground resistance movement as of 1948, tells a very eloquent story:

	1940	*Tass* 1947	1948
Archbishops and Bishops	14	2	1
Clergy	1,646	1,332	400
Monastic Order members	1,586	0	0
Churches	1,202	711	ca. 600
Parishioners	2,776,422	"thousands"	most of survivors
Theological Seminaries	4	1	0
Catholic Faculty in Univ.	1	0	0
State assistance	Lt. 1,383,278	0	Ruinous Taxes
Church Taxation	0	?	millions of rubles
Divinity Students	470	ca. 150	0
Killed or exiled clergymen	0	(silence)	75%
Catholic press 1935: number	52	(silence)	0
circulation	7,030,200	(silence)	0
Religious-philosophy books	209	(silence)	0
Sodality-Fraternity Members	800,000	(silence)	0

Naturally, the underground data does not disclose clandestine catechetic instruction by clergymen and laymen, and the secret religious press. Religious books and articles bring highest prices in the black market. All of the Catholic scientific, educational, social, athletic, labor, economic, publishing and charitable institutions, academies, schools, libraries, kindergartens, associations, sodalities, etc., were closed and their property was confiscated by the Russians.

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795 of the Lithuanian survivors. *Lithuania is still "the most loyal Daughter of Rome in the North of Europe,"* in the words of the late Pope Pius XI.

661 798 The Russians continue their practice of subjecting the Catholic clergy to periodic and systematic "questioning," accompanied by physical torture and threats. Several priests became apostates. Most of the others were killed in torture chambers or exiled to Siberia, while several dozen priests enlisted with the patriotic guerrillas. Retired emiriti priests were called back to duty—as each priest must now serve 3 to 5 parishes.

874 661 798 One seminary remained for a few years. The number of divinity students was limited to 150. Professors and students were repeatedly summoned to the MVD-MGB and subjected to "pressure" and tortures in order to enlist them as agent-informers. Seminary rectors and their assistants were arrested and exiled as soon as they assumed duties. Students attended classes in churches. They were shadowed and threatened, and their number steadily dwindled as the MVD exercised more "pressure." By 1947, the number of divinity students dropped to 60. Normally 30 to 40 priests die annually of natural causes, but only 7-8 priests were graduated annually to replace the deceased. Finally, during the winter of 1947-48, the seminary was closed.

798 659 661 The surviving priests (about 400 as of the fall of 1948) could discourse on Scriptural texts in their sermons—always mindful that MVD agents were taking down notes and that suspicious Russians in the MVD-MGB offices would summon them to enlarge on translations of the suspect imputed allegories. Attacks on the Church in the official press, over the radio and at mass meetings cannot be answered or discussed: that would be "propaganda." The Stalin constitution warrants freedom of the anti-religious propaganda and of "religious belief,"—not of religious "propaganda."

Priests are continually exposed to provocation. For instance, MVD agents go to "confession" in order to provoke some remark by the priest. Sometimes a priest is summoned "to give last rites to a dying person." When the priest arrives, the "dying person" impersonated by a provocateur becomes a "guerrilla" ("bandit") and the clergyman is arrested "for association with bandits." Priests are forced to disrobe in MVD offices and to be photographed with MVD "girls." Afterward the photographs are circulated among the people. Nevertheless, the faithful are not easily misled by the alien oppressor whom every Lithuanian despises.

In 1947 there was a large scale massacre of the faithful at Kretinga when someone rang the bells of the Franciscan monastery at the time the Russians came to close it. The running people saw Russian troops bringing out the bleeding bayoneted body of a priest. Infuriated, the Lithuanians attacked the Russians with stones and bats. The Russians fired indiscriminately at the mob. . . .

No religious literature—no catechisms, missals, discourses, etc.—is printed: no paper is allotted by the government—and all printing places are state-operated. No priests are permitted to enter hospitals, schools, barracks and prisons to administer the sacraments. The priests enter gaols only as prisoners.

Since 1947, the Russians attacked the Church from another angle—clamoring against the Vatican and demanding creation of a "national Catholic Church."

2:Anonymous U-4 (no date)1947 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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3: Simutis S-4 (no date) 1942 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

The average density of the population of Lithuania is estimated at 118.6 per square mile. The western and southwestern parts of Lithuania are more densely inhabited, the county of Vilkaviskis having an average population of 147.6 per square mile and the county of Marijampole, 116.8. The southern, northern, and northeastern parts of the country are less densely inhabited than the western. For example, the counties of Seinai, Telsiai, and Zarasai have only 78 inhabitants per square mile.[19] 161

According to nationality, the inhabitants of Lithuania are divided as in Table 1. The religions are shown in Table 2 and occupations in Table 3. 162

TABLE 1

NATIONALITIES IN LITHUANIA

NATIONALITY	NUMBER	PERCENT OF TOTAL
Lithuanians	1,739,489	80.60
Jews	154,321	7.15
Germans	88,568	4.10
Poles	65,628	3.04
Russians	50,727	2.34
Latvians	14,930	.69
White Russians	4,421	.21
All others	40,075	1.86

TABLE 2

RELIGIONS

RELIGION	NUMBER	PERCENT
Roman Catholic	1,129,870	80.33
Lutheran (Evangelist)	207,118	9.56
Russian Orthodox	55,122	2.62
All other Christian	1,889	.08
Hebrew	157,527	7.30
All other non-Christian	1,640	.07

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[19] C.S.B., *La Lithuanie en chiffres 1918–1928*, Kaunas, 1929, p. 2.

ially mentioned.

346 Of the monastery, which was begun in 1667, only the facade was completed by 1681. After that it took more than 30 years before the building was [193] completed. This monastery[1], too, has suffered greatly in the course of time, primarily through its transfer to a Russian /159/ monastic order which took place in 1840 (it was founded as a Camaldulian monastery). The Russian order occupied it until the first World War and throughout this war itself. In 1920 it was turned over to nuns from Chicago, of the Congregation of Saint Kazimir, and since then has been renovated as much as circumstances permitted.

Within the scope of this work it is impossible to include also the Catholic church buildings in the provinces in the presentation of Lithuanian baroque architecture, especially since all preliminary work is lacking. In the countryside, too, the baroque--in contrast to the Gothic--has had a decisive effect, as numerous splendid church buildings prove. Here only the beautiful monastery of Tytuvėnai may be mentioned. Thus the baroque gained a special home in Lithuania, where it should be evaluated not only as an expression of the power of Roman Catholicism, but also as a manifestation of a special mental attitude of its inhabitants. Even the primitive forms of the wooden village church, as was pointed out in another place, did not remain free of its influence.

[195] Protestant church construction left behind only a few traces in Lithuania. As Dr. Purickis notes, at the time of their greatest influence in Lithuania, the Protestants had many adherents but very few open followers, and possessed in the sixteenth century neither a clergy nor their own places of worship. Later they sometimes took over Catholic churches. (18) The first churches of the Pro-

[113] 18. Cf. Purickis, "Die Glaubensspaltung in Litauen im 16. Jahrhundert bis zue Ankunft der Jesuiten im Jahre 1569," (dissertation) in the periodical Litauen, 1917, Vol. II,

1 [Monastery of Pažaislis, near Kaunas--Analyst]

531 on a large amount of material including 4,700
796 colored ornaments and samples which he had collected in the whole area of European Russia and East Germany as far as the Riesengebirge. The egg is indeed celebrated by many peoples as the symbol of awakening life in nature. The custom of artistically painting Easter eggs is known not only in Lithuania but also in other countries, above all in Poland, and probably the Lithuanians took it over from the Poles but developed it further in their own way.

/135/According to the investigations of Daugirdas, the Lithuanian Easter eggs, the most beautiful examples of which are to be found along the central and lower course of the Memel as far as Schmalleningken, differ from the Polish primarily in their calmer colors. On these subdued colors the decorative drawing frequently has an especially beautiful effect. The eggs are cooked, dipped in the coloring--plant colorings are used--and the pattern is scratched in. In contrast to this the Poles paint the projected pattern on the raw egg with fluid wax, and employ for this a little wooden stick which is split at the end and provided with a little narrow metal tube. The eggs are dipped into a lighter, cold coloring solution. They are called pisanki. After drying, wax is again applied to the spots which are to remain lighter, and the egg is dipped into a darker coloring solution. This process is repeated various times with darker and darker colors, so that the egg finally obtains the most varied color patterns and ornaments. At the end the egg is cooked and the layer of wax is dissolved. The Lithuanians employ this process less often, and usually only with two colors.

"The making of the margučiai," says Daugirdas, "is almost exclusively the work and artistic province of the Lithuanian girl, more seldom of the married woman. The eggs are colored on Easter

531 Saturday, but not scratched until Sunday afternoon;
796 making them earlier is considered a sin." The Lithuanian Easter eggs, too, are hardly ever sold in the market. They are gifts of the godparents or the mother for the children and tokens for friends and for the clergy of the town. While the neighboring Letts know only eggs of one color, the Lithuanian margučiai are already attested in the sixteenth century. At the present time the old custom has remained alive primarily in the district of Trakai.

286 Weaving and Related Techniques

That Lithuanian folk art--we may think of the folk song or of the grave crosses, or of any branch at all--forms a unity in its innermost nature and /136/ has created an artistic style of its own, has been pointed out by many critics. The sphere of this art comprises the whole life of a rural culture with a rare compactness; one thing is related to the other, and as the last field, the village art of weaving harmoniously joins this circle.

Flax, harvested in one's own field, spun on one's own spinning wheel, woven on a peasant loom, has been a familiar material in Lithuania since very olden times. Connected with its processing was the song, whose rhythm followed the movement of the loom, and whose words extolled the weavers who knew how to weave fine patterns. Thus in this art there is nothing foreign; it does not rest in the hands of a few--every girl, every woman in the villages still knows it today. And old women still know today that ancient art of spinning where the flax wrapped around a distaff is spun off with the aid of a spindle which the spinner turns with her hand.

286 The colors, too, with which the threads
386 were dyed, were originally quite natural. They were produced from earth, iron ore, plants, birch

793 from a clairvoyant vision, they mediated the disclosures of the de-
771 ceased, convoked the people for gatherings, when such revelations had been received, in order to make them known, in order to arrange festivals, and in order to determine the sowing and the harvesting time. The priests were, therefore, the spiritual leaders of the people, who guided life into its everyday activities from the vantage point of their knowledge of the cosmic interconnections. They were acquainted with the influence of the moon on all births and with the return of the souls after death into its sphere: "that which has died off, which is laid as a seed kernel into the soil of another world," as Creuzer expresses it; an insight, it would appear, into the process of every re-
[796] newed life on earth. A special festival in autumn, the festival of the consecration of the goat, seems to have been an exoteric parallel to the initiation rites in the mystery cults; for on this occasion the priests recited the traditions from the history of the people and absolved the
[821] people of sin. After the harvest a god's image was every year broken and renovated; by this was expressed the experience that the spiritual forces of the cosmos turn towards and away from the earth in the rhythm of the year, and that in winter they collect themselves, renew themselves, in order to be able to come streaming to the growing plant world in the spring. Present-day harvest practices are the final dying echoes of such knowledge of the spiritual forces, vivifying and emanating, that permeate the world and all its parts.

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/33: Illustrations./

terrupted stream since the late Middle Ages.

346 2. Gothic
177 Almost the whole artistic energy of the Middle Ages spent itself in mighty religious structures. The Gothic cathedrals of France and Germany speak of freedom and bold, resplendent sublimity. They are symbols of soaring adoration of God in a period whose piety and mystical excitement penetrated all classes of society. But gradually this spirit hardened, and the style which it created also hardened in its strict architectonic constraint. In this period of late Gothic the art of the Middle Ages sent out its last offshoots toward Lithuania.

Measured on the buildings--including the secular buildings--of this period which exist in the Baltic, Lithuania plays a subordinate part, a
797 fact which is again historically conditioned: not until the year 1387 did High Lithuania embrace the Christian faith, and Low Lithuania (Samogitia) not until 1415. Now if we realize that the high period of the Gothic in Germany belonged in the fourteenth century, and the fifteenth century already was the period of the so-called late Gothic, it becomes evident why the influence of the Gothic in Lithuania was of lesser impact than that of later artistic styles. It must be mentioned, to be sure, that in Lithuania, as everywhere in the East, all styles--from Gothic through baroque to classicism--/150/ have held out longer than in the Western countries, so that one can actually speak of a
346 conservatism in Eastern architecture. Thus the Gothic St. Ann church in Vilna, whose charming facade, with its slender, rising pilasters through which the strong keel arch is laced, has often been admired, was not built until after 1500. The church of Simnas in the district of Alytus, too, built in 1520 and reconstructed in the wrong style in the eighteenth century, belongs, together with

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538 uments of Lithuanian literature, the oldest literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries being dominated exclusively by religious ideas. It originated from the struggle between two religious faiths, Protestantism, which was pressing forward toward the East, and Catholicism, which was brought by the Jesuits.

In 1544 Prince Albrecht of Brandenburg founded the University of Königsberg. In order to establish the Reformation in East Prussia, this prince attracted to the university, among others, young sons of boyars from greater Lithuania and granted them scholarships for their education as ministers. Several of them, such as Stanislaus Repagelanus Litaunus (died 1545) and Abraham Culvensis (died 1545), who obtained their further education under Luther and Melanchthon in Wittenberg, later even became professors at this university. Several translations of church songs into the Lithuanian language by these two men have been preserved.

/196/ The first book written in Lithuanian was a translation of the small Lutheran catechism by Martin Vaitkūnas Mosvidius (Lithuanian Mažydas), who also came from greater Lithuania. It appeared in 1547 and contained, along with the catechism and the primer, eleven hymns. In 1591 Bretkūnas published his postil, a voluminous work of about 1,000 pages. A bible translation by the same author remained unprinted.

These translations, sponsored by Duke Albrecht are of less literary than linguistic and also ethnographic interest, since the authors in their pre-
* faces describe in detail the paganism of the Lith-
538 uanians. While the Reformation gained a firm hold
• 797 in East Prussia, so that the religious literature in the Lithuanian language continued the course upon which it had entered into the eighteenth century, the situation in greater Lithuania developed differently. Here, too, the Reformation had gained many

adherents primarily among the high and low nobility. In the press of the Reformed in Kedainiai, a whole series of writings of an edifying nature were published. The Reformed, who stood primarily under the protection of Prince Radvila (Radziwill), even planned the publication of a Lithuanian Bible, which was to have been printed in Edinburgh. The undertaking had to be given up, however, because of lack of money.

The counter movement, which was supported by Prince Giedraitis (Giedroc), proceeded from Samogitia. It is also of importance for the national tide of that period in Lithuania, which first prepared the way for a native literature. Although the Union of Ljublin, in 1569, brought about the political unification of Lithuania with Poland, Lithuania retained, within the framework of the whole, her autonomy in the areas of internal administration, the army, courts, and finances. When Prince Giedraitis became Bishop of Samogitia in 1576, he took up with all his strength the attack against the reformed church, summoned the Jesuits from Riga into the country, and sought /197/ to spread Christianity through Lithuanian sermons. Large areas of Lithuania had at that time fallen back into paganism, and on the sacred mountain of Vatrija even the sacred fire was rekindled. For the education of Catholic priests Prince Giedraitis founded, in 1579, the Academy of Vilna. The Catholic literature which now came into being was also promoted by the bishop. If the Protestants had been the first to publish their polemics no longer in Latin but, along with Polish, also in Lithuanian, the Catholic party now followed their example. In 1595 appeared in Vilna the catechism of the Samogitian Canon Daukša, who came from a noble family, and four years later followed his postil. If Prince Giedraitis can be considered the most active representative of that movement in the Lithuanian high nobility which fought energetically against the assimilation of

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795 of the Lithuanian survivors. *Lithuania is still "the most loyal Daughter of Rome in the North of Europe,"* in the words of the late Pope Pius XI.

661 The Russians continue their practice of subjecting
●798 the Catholic clergy to periodic and systematic "questioning," accompanied by physical torture and threats. Several priests became apostates. Most of the others were killed in torture chambers or exiled to Siberia, while several dozen priests enlisted with the patriotic guerrillas. Retired emiriti priests were called back to duty—as each priest must now serve 3 to 5 parishes.

874 One seminary remained for a few years. The num-
661 ber of divinity students was limited to 150. Professors and students were repeatedly summoned to the MVD-
798 MGB and subjected to "pressure" and tortures in order to enlist them as agent-informers. Seminary rectors and their assistants were arrested and exiled as soon as they assumed duties. Students attended classes in churches. They were shadowed and threatened, and their number steadily dwindled as the MVD exercised more "pressure." By 1947, the number of divinity students dropped to 60. Normally 30 to 40 priests die annually of natural causes, but only 7-8 priests were graduated annually to replace the deceased. Finally, during the winter of 1947-48, the seminary was closed.

798 The surviving priests (about 400 as of the fall of
659 1948) could discourse on Scriptural texts in their ser-
661 mons—always mindful that MVD agents were taking down notes and that suspicious Russians in the MVD-MGB offices would summon them to enlarge on translations of the suspect imputed allegories. Attacks on the Church in the official press, over the radio and at mass meetings cannot be answered or discussed: that would be "propaganda." The Stalin constitution warrants freedom of the anti-religious propaganda and of "religious belief,"—not of religious "propaganda."

Priests are continually exposed to provocation. For instance, MVD agents go to "confession" in order to provoke some remark by the priest. Sometimes a priest is summoned "to give last rites to a dying person." When the priest arrives, the "dying person" impersonated by a provocateur becomes a "guerrilla" ("bandit") and the clergyman is arrested "for association with bandits." Priests are forced to disrobe in MVD offices and to be photographed with MVD "girls." Afterward the photographs are circulated among the people. Nevertheless, the faithful are not easily misled by the alien oppressor whom every Lithuanian despises.

In 1947 there was a large scale massacre of the faithful at Kretinga when someone rang the bells of the Franciscan monastery at the time the Russians came to close it. The running people saw Russian troops bringing out the bleeding bayoneted body of a priest. Infuriated, the Lithuanians attacked the Russians with stones and bats. The Russians fired indiscriminately at the mob. . . .

No religious literature—no catechisms, missals, discourses, etc.—is printed: no paper is allotted by the government—and all printing places are state-operated. No priests are permitted to enter hospitals, schools, barracks and prisons to administer the sacraments. The priests enter gaols only as prisoners.

Since 1947, the Russians attacked the Church from another angle—clamoring against the Vatican and demanding creation of a "national Catholic Church."

798 661 Priests were repeatedly summoned and urged to break with "the fascist Vatican"—or be imprisoned for "espionage" and contact with "the Vatican intelligence." In several parishes pastors were arrested and apostate priests installed, without the Bishop's blessing. Bishop's representatives were barred. Local communist officials became ardent and regular "church-goers"—but no one else went there and the Russian venture died a natural death.

659 794 Finally, the Soviet authorities engaged in what may be *the final duel* between the Church and the militant atheism: decrees were published placing all "cultural monuments," viz. church structures, under the supervision of the government. The authorities attempt to impose the so-called *"dvadsatkas"*—committees of 20 members—on each parish to supervise the needs for repairs, pastor's functions, etc. One half of these committeemen are appointed by the government. As to the rest—no specific regulations are disclosed. These "committees" would have the power to dismiss pastors and accept replacements—in effect, they would nullify the episcopal authority and would control every activity of the faithful. To further weaken the opposition, the Bishops were seized and incoming administrators subjected to pressure and deprived of the means of communicatnig with the parishes.

The faithful realize the objective—the clandestine press forewarned them and coupled threats of reprisals against weakening persons together with the explanation of the real meaning of the Russian action. Under such strained conditions, churches go unrepaired rather than enjoy "government assistance" in exchange for acceptance of a *"dvadsatka."* Priests summoned before the MVD refer the officials to the Canonic Law of the Church and direct the Russians to discuss the matter with the Bishops.

A native traitor and atheist, Gailevičius, a former superintendent of NKVD prisons, is presently the "Commissar for Cult Affairs of the Lithuanian SSR." In January 1949 he published a decree in his capacity as custodian of "cultural monuments": churches must not "operate" within 7 kilometers of each other, and if several churches are found within the 7 km. radius, only one church is to be left "operating" and the other churches are to be shut down for use by the state.

In theory, this decree could scarcely affect rural churches. An intolerable situation is arising in cities, however. For instance, there are 17 churches and several chapels in the city of Kaunas. Under this decree, only one church would remain in this city of 150,000 inhabitants, of whom 60% are Lithuanian Catholics. A similar situation is bound to arise in the capital city of Vilnius with its dozens of beautiful churches, or "cultural monuments."

Serious clashes, or rather massacres of women and children, are expected to result during the forcible seizure and closing of the churches to which the foreign invader has no title.

The Italian press recently cited "reliable sources" of January 1949 to the effect that the Russians had confiscated the Cathedral Basilica of Vilnius and converted the edifice into a dance hall. This cannot be verified from Lithuanian sources at this time—but the Gailevičius decree makes this news probable.

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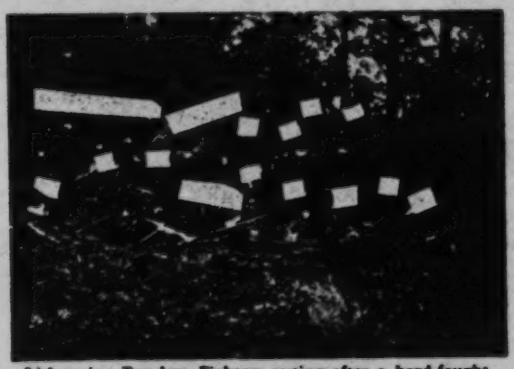

Lithuanian Freedom Fighters resting after a hard-fought battle—in Samagitia.

Religious Practices

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Since the fall of 1947, the Russians abandoned tolerance of the strictly religious functions of the faithful—adults attending church and receiving sacraments. The radio, press and tens of thousands of professional agitators are engaged in blasphemous atheistic propaganda aimed at discrediting the religion as "outdated witchcraft and prejudice" and attributing "fascist conspiracy" to the Vatican. This meant that the first attempt to create a "national Church" by subverting clergy and imposing "dvadsatkas" failed. But the effort was not abandoned.

Vatican, British and American broadcasts are heard —and the more important developments are relayed to the population by the clandestine press. Needless to say that the Lithuanians, facing daily the official attack on their Church and their Catholicism, are very saddened and embittered by the complete silence abroad over the martyrdom of Lithuania—compared with the publicity given the staged trials of various Church dignitaries in the satellite countries. They especially resent the omission of Lithuania from among the Catholic nations listed in foreign broadcasts as victimized by Soviet armed atheism.

All monasteries are shut down and friars-nuns dispersed. Catechetic instruction is banned from schools, the armed forces and from private tutoring within a family circle. In 1946 the Bishops had requested the authorities to permit catechetic instruction of school-age children in church structures but the authorities refused. The parents themselves presently prepare their children for the first communion.

[626] Church-goers are watched by MVD agents conspicuously posted near church doorways, and they are shadowed and questioned. Arrests were repeatedly made inside churches by armed cap-wearing MVD gangsters who loudly profane the churches. All state employees—and all people are state employees with the exception of the "kulaks" or independent smallholders refusing to go into "artels"—receive strict warnings to stop attending religious services ("witchcraft sessions"), or their conduct will be construed as a "demonstration of disloyalty to the existing order."

Students developed a spontaneous custom: on the way to schools they stop in a church to pray. The authorities strive to eradicate this custom by summoning their parents and threatening to expel children from

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659 schools. Teachers who openly attended churches were
● 798 summarily dismissed.

In spite of all these restrictions and threats, churches
[711] are well attended, especially in rural areas. Churchgoers are mostly women and people not connected with government offices and concerns, less dependent on the bureaucracy. Intellectuals and officials travel to distant places where they are not known personally to attend Mass or for confession. Rural churches, further from cities or where only small MGB-MVD garrisons are stationed, draw the largest attendance.

Religious processions on streets were not banned officially but few people dared to show themselves publicly and face the jeers of the armed blaspheming Russians and a few native traitors. The clergy discouraged public processions exposing the faithful to unnecessary persecution.

[585] Marriages are registered by local Executive Committees. Those who so desire may go through a religious ceremony but a religious ceremony is not recognized by the authorities. Marriages contracted prior to the Russian invasion were not questioned, however.

Several small Protestant congregations are still in existence in the Klaipėda District, but most of the Protestant churches were shut down and converted to other use for lack of communicants. The Calvinist churches of Biržai and Prienai were turned into military horse stables. Protestants are more or less tolerated, because the Protestant Church offers no problem to the occupant.

The pre-war Russian settlers, natives of Lithuania, regularly attend the MVD-dominated Orthodox churches. The new settlers go to churches occasionally out of curiosity.

Since the end of 1947, persons exhibiting religious icons and crucifixes in their homes came under persecution. Religious pictures and statuettes found in homes by the armed searching parties infuriate the Russians and their stooges. Religious objects are smashed, bayoneted, spat upon and trampled by the puny "masters of the world" raging against their Creator.

Living quarters of the pastors—"cult servants"—
[65] were requisitioned by the housing authorities and a small nook was assigned to priests. Churches are assessed with exorbitant taxes. Complaints are answered: "If you can't meet state obligations—close up shop." The faithful exerted every effort to contribute the necessary funds and in most cases the tax levies were met. Thereupon the Russians demanded lists of contributors. The pastors answered that they did not list plate contributors—and were arrested and threatened with prosecution for "failure to account from public funds." A number of churches were unable to meet the levies, as all of the people are burdened with excessive taxes, requisitions and perennial "voluntarily assumed contributions to the state" imposed by the armed militiamen.

000 It is not known whether, since comrade Gailevičius claimed all churches as "cultural monuments" subject to his custody, churches would be taxed—that is, churches left "operating."

A church is the only place where a tortured people could find spiritual solace and escape from the blaring loudspeakers and mad ravings of the Russian oppressor.

tactics in combatting religion. Pg 21A

Soviet Methods

771 Dr. Ladas Natkevičius, the late Lithuanian Minister to the Kremlin, was asked by Stalin in 1939, during the so-called "negotiations for a Mutual Assistance Pact," how great was the influence of the clergy in Lithuania. When he was told that the clergy of all Christian denominations enjoy great authority among the faithful, the Generalissimo thoughtfully remarked
008 —"That is *very important to know.*"

At the time the remark passed unnoticed. A Soviet invasion was not anticipated because of the frequently professed Soviet friendship for Lithuania and Lithuania's excellent record in discharging all treaty obligations.

But the significance of this remark was quite apparent when Justas Paleckis, the puppet "president of Soviet Lithuania," bade farewell to Dr. Hildebrandt, a noted German newspaperman. Paleckis told the departing German quite frankly that he had received instructions from the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. to apply no *direct* pressure on the clergy.

The Soviet regime always fought religion and its institutions, but its tactical methods were different during both occupations.

The First Occupation—Oppression at Full Tempo

718 Immediately after the first total occupation of the
661 Baltic States in June 1940, uniform steps were applied by the three satraps of the Kremlin dispatched to liquidate the sovereign Republics: Vice-Commissar for Foreign Affairs Dekanozov in Lithuania, Deputy-Commissar for Foreign Affairs Vyshynsky in Latvia and Politbureau member Zhdanov in Estonia. The Concordats with the Vatican were abruptly and unilaterally broken off and the Papal Nunzios were expelled.

Then followed the elimination of religion from public life. The Catholic and Protestant Theology-Philosophy Faculties of the University of Lithuania at Kaunas were closed; all Catholic cultural, educational and social welfare organizations, newspapers and publishing concerns were abolished and their properties confiscated; teaching of religion was eliminated from schools; army, school, hospital and prison chaplains were summarily dismissed; crucifixes and other religious insignia were removed from schools, courts and public places and desecrated.

423 Then came the application of the nationalization
● 798 decree: buildings, landholdings, workshops, libraries,
661 private hospitals and schools, orphanages, kindergar-

[423] tens and personal property owned by institutions and organizations of a religious character were sequestered. In nationalizing land, parishes were given only 3 hectares—although other landlords retained 30 hectares. Buildings owned by parishes and bishoprics, including episcopal residences and seminaries, libraries, printing shops, printed stocks of books were confiscated. Denominational grammar schools, high schools, orphanages, kindergartens and hospitals were converted into state institutions. The stocks of missals, hymnals, prayer-books, rosaries, religious pictures, and other religious articles found stored in book shops and retail stores were desecrated or destroyed.

The Soviets considered the clergy a separate "caste," antagonistic to the proletariat and, therefore, to be eliminated. The clergy as well as independent farmers (called '*kulaks*'), were oppressed economically; priests and "cult servants" were heavily taxed. For instance, a tolerated "proletarian" with a monthly income of 200 rubles paid 30 rubles monthly for living space assigned to him, while "cult servants" of the same income class paid 220 rubles monthly, and those with incomes of 350 rubles paid 388 rubles.

The Communist Party proposed to levy excessive license fees on churches, similar to motion picture house and cabaret assessments. The taxes depended on the size of the church. Such taxes were already imposed in the sections of Poland annexed to Russia—20,000 to 50,000 rubles. A commissar explained the policy to a pastor of a Lithuanian parish in eastern Lithuania which was annexed by Russia in 1939: "If you can't pay—close down your shop." Consequently, the churches were to be closed by degrees for nonpayment of taxes.

The Party also passed a decision to convert the centrally located Garrison Church of Kaunas into a "Revolutionary Museum." The Museum of Church Art was liquidated and its exhibits, the antique vestments, were used by Red Army troopers to polish their boots.

All that was public anti-religious action. The other phase, shrouded in secrecy, was directed against individual members of the clergy.

The Party instructed its agents to disrupt the internal discipline of churchmen, to enlist agent-informers among the clergymen, to antagonize priests against each other or to compromise them. NKGB Major Gladkov issued a secret directive dated 21 October 1940, directed to all county security chiefs, to institute unbroken surveillance of priests, church employees, friars and nuns, and to enlist students of upper classes for espionage on the private lives of the clergymen. "Remember that some of the priests are not provided for materially and are wavering in their ideological outlook." The secret order of 21 January 1941 directed particular attention to individual discontent and antagonism among members of religious organizations: advantage should be taken of such incidents to disrupt the organizations.

After digesting the reports of weakness exhibited by some individual priests, People's Commissar of Justice, Pranas Pakarklis, a native traitor, offered attractive offices to a number of priests, on condition that

2:Anonymous U-4 (no date)1947 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

793 659 661 they discontinue holding Mass and stop the performance of other priestly duties. A number of priests were arrested and the NKVD attempted to enlist their services by threats and blackmail. Because of these methods, several priests consented—and, immediately after their release, fled abroad. Those refusing to become agents were imprisoned. Soon the number of prisoners grew as many friars, preachers and high school students heroically defended their faith.

626 527 461 The Russians initiated a campaign against religious *traditions*. They began by banning the traditional Corpus Christi processions in the streets. All Saints Day was declared to be a working day, and the authorities banned traditional services and mass visits to cemeteries on All Souls' Day. During Advent and Lent, the bolsheviks encouraged dancing, entertainment and anti-religious lectures. Good Friday and Holy Saturday, as well as the second day of Easter, were designated working days. Those failing to report for work on the second day of Easter were prosecuted. In general, at frequent intervals, ordinary Sundays were periodically declared to be working days, and Saturdays—days of rest.

876 626 The teaching of religion in schools was replaced by classes on biology and the Stalin constitution. Biological lectures popularized "Darwinism." The "science of constitution" was to popularize a "Soviet democracy" and its oft-varying shifts directed by party [883] line. In place of religious sodalities and athletic groups, the bolsheviks attempted to form *"Komsomol"* (Communist Youth) nests directed by political instructors called "Komsorg." Religious sermons were replaced by anti-religious tirades in the communist-controlled press and at mass meetings. Attendance at such mass-meetings to hear blasphemies was made compulsory.

626 661 558 Churches kept open and functioning. However, attendants at religious services were terrorized. The Party posted uniformed and non-uniformed spies at church doors to observe and list the churchgoers. Attendance in church was a sufficient reason for dismissal from higher offices.

000 The anti-religious drive, growing in tempo, began to expand. When Bishops Brizgys and Ramanauskas called on Pozdniakov, the former Soviet Minister to Lithuania and at present the Kremlin's deputy satrap, to ask for the return of the premises of the Theological Seminary, the Russian attempted to "reason" with them. Pozdniakov stated that they should have no illusions: what had been accomplished in Russia in 20 years, will be achieved in Lithuania within two to three years by experienced administrators. Why should the Seminary "delude" young men? By the time they became priests, there would be no duties to perform—in Russia the priests already have nothing to do. . . .

Lithuanian Resistance to the Anti-Religious Drive

798 771 The Lithuanians had suffered much for religion—murder, imprisonment and exile to Siberia—during

2:Anonymous U-4 (no date)1947 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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the Tsarist Russian occupation. True to tradition, *resistance* against the anti-religious drive developed into a spontaneous and united movement. The defense of religion embraced even persons who had formerly neglected the church and seemed to be indifferent.

Churches were filled to capacity. A former female communist stated that the church was the only place where one could relax physically, without having to listen to the maddening bolshevik agitation.

Mass singing in churches became a new and precious experience—a plea for help from a persecuted and dying people.

[769] On All Souls' night, the cemeteries were filled with people. The Lithuanians followed their ancient tradition, they paid respect to their dead without priests, regardless of the fury of the Party Militia which arrested many in their mad rage.

On Sundays, declared to be working days, everyone, including civil servants and school children, went to church, knowing full well the penalty. In Prienai, students reporting to school on All Souls' Day found a scribbled message tacked on the door: "Stalin's constitution grants freedom of conscience, therefore believers need not attend classes"—so all the students went to church. Numerous arrests and dismissals from school followed.

Public prayers were a custom during the school year. Now, just as soon as the teachers left the classrooms, they were again recited.

The bishops did not dismiss former chaplains from their duties. Unable to teach the doctrines of the Church in schools, the chaplains transferred their pastoral activities, after classes, into churches and sacristies. The chaplain of Alytus organized a Retreat on Good Friday. To prevent attendance, the Communist Party ordered the faculty of the school to organize an anti-religious lecture on that date and ordered all students to attend the mass-meeting. The teachers and a few pupils showed up. A teacher related afterward: "A little girl sat in front of me during the harrangue reading a booklet in her lap. I was curious and looked over her shoulder. It was the national religious classic of Lent songs—*Graudûs Verksmai.*"

The ecclesiastic authorities did not dismiss the students of the seminaries. As some students dispersed, new idealists replaced them. Divinity students lived privately and attended lectures in churches, sacristies and private quarters. The NKVD made preparations to foreclose all private religious instruction, but the war intervened.

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The first Russian occupation lasted one year. Pozdniakov's prophecy of the Soviet regime achieving within a two-three year period the results gained by the anti-religious campaign in Russia during 20 years, did not materialize, because of the spontaneous and determined resistance.

However, a heavy blow was delivered to religious life in Lithuania during the one year: 10% of the priests were eliminated, forcibly separated from their people. Of these, 15 priests were brutally tortured and murdered, 9 were exiled to Siberia. The majority

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of laymen active in Catholic Action were either murdered or exiled to Siberia. 40,000 Lithuanians were deported to Russia during that one lone year, and at least two-thirds of the number were Catholic Action members.

The Second Russian Occupation

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As far back as 1942, Comrade Vyshynsky, Deputy Commissar of Foreign Affairs and Liquidator of the Democratic Latvian State, admitted to a foreign statesman that bolshevik tactics in the Baltic States were based on an erroneous policy: the method of violence and compulsion had been a mistake.

In July 1944, the Russians again invaded the Baltic States. However, there was no change in their policy or methods regarding religion: they permitted no Catholic organizations, press or instruction of religion in schools.

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The Salesian monastery at Skirsnemunė was encircled by the Red Army and all physically able friars were drafted into the Red Army.

Soon thereafter, the tactics regarding the clergy wavered. Soviet overlords attempted to maintain, to some extent, the propaganda thesis regarding the alleged existence of "freedom of religion" in the Soviet Union. Only one Catholic Seminary, of the former four, was left in Lithuania, but divinity students, as other university students, were exempt from military duty. The number of divinity students was sharply limited to 150—for a Catholic nation of three million —instead of the previous 850.

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This measure represented a lull in the anti-religious drive: religion was to be eliminated by other means, by mass deportations of the faithful and their replacement by Communist Russians, so that, in the words of comrade Pozdniakov, the priests would find no employment for their vocation, no audience to listen to them. By effecting the primary aim of the Soviet regime—the liquidation of the Lithuanian people—the secondary aim, that of abolishing religion, would be simultaneously achieved. This explains the change in tactics, not the basic aim.

Furthermore, the new "party line" sought not merely to leave the clergy untouched, but to use them for political interests of bolshevism, as is done in Russia with the Orthodox clergy. In 1946 the NKVD encountered great difficulty with armed Lithuanian guerrilla operations. The NKVD decided to use the bishops and clergy to break the fighters' will to wage war. The Ministry of Interior (NKVD-MVD) demanded that the bishops publish pastoral letters and in sermons condemn the armed resistance and urge an end to it.

The alien regime attempted to attain two purposes: to enlist the clergy's aid to further its plans, and to drive a wedge between the clergy and the fighting nation. However, the plan was too obviously underlined with "red" threads, and the bishops declined to do the NKVD bidding. When the NKVD threatened with repressions, one bishop frankly told the satraps: "It is all the same to me whether I live five more years or less—I shall not soil the authority of the Church."

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The Anti-Religious Drive Intensified

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When the Church hierarchy refused to be drawn to the "party line," Russian tactics once more underwent a change and returned to the policy of outright oppression.

Half of the surviving bishops of Lithuania were arrested: Bishop Borisevičius of Telšiai, his Suffragan Bishop Ramanauskas, and Bishop Theophilius Matulionis of Kaišiadorys. The latter suffered his second martyrdom at the hands of the Russians: previously he had spent 12 years in Russian dungeons and slave labor camps until, in 1933, he was exchanged for a Soviet spy sentenced in Lithuania for subversive activities.

There are two versions regarding the fate of Bishop Borisevičius. Officially, he was sentenced to death. However, repatriated German prisoners of war state that they saw the bishop in a slave labor gang cutting timber in the Far East, together with several other Lithuanian Monsignori and priests.

The aged bishop of Vilkaviškis, Antanas Karosas, is now living in Marijampolė, retired from active duties. Archbishop Karevičius died soon after the second Russian invasion. Archbishop Romuald Jałbrzykowski of Vilnius was repatriated to Poland to administer the sections of the Vilnius Archbishopric left in a reduced Poland. Archbishop Skvireckas, Metropolitan of Lithuania, together with Bishop Brizgys of Kaunas and Co-Adjutor Bishop Podolskis of Vilkaviškis, are in exile in Western Europe. Bishop Mečys Reinys of Vilnius, according to a *Tass* bulletin, is said to be alive in Vilnius. There is no information whatsoever regarding Bishop Paltarokas of Panevėzys. Mgr. Juodaitis is administering the Bishopric of Telšiai.

If Bishop Paltarokas is still living, only two bishops remain in Lithuania—20% of the pre-war hierarchy. Of course, this does not prevent *Tass* from claiming that "The Catholic Church organization has remained unchanged. . . ."

During the latter part of 1946, the Soviet press vilely attacked the Catholic Church and the clergy. Lithuanian priests were accused of supporting the guerrillas—"political bandits" and "Lithuanian-German nationalists." The NKVD instituted numerous prosecution processes against priests and gave the widest publicity to the charges. Priests were sentenced to 10 years in hard labor prisons and deported to Russia.

The terror, by the end of the year 1946, was greater than during the first occupation: 25 priests were murdered, 40 were sentenced to hard labor and deported, 150 priests are in hiding.

Through murders, imprisonment, deportations and exile, Lithuania has lost the services of at least 350 priests—that is, 22% of all priests in the country in 1940.

Bishop Ramanauskas of Telšiai went to the NKVD in Vilnius to inquire about the fate of his superior, Bishop Borisevičius. He was told that the Bishop was sentenced to death. He returned to Telšiai. He was arrested by the NKVD immediately after hold-

2:Anonymous U- (no date)1947 R55 Lithuanians !

793 ing Holy Mass. With his hands tied behind his back, he was pushed into an auto, driven to the railroad
651 station, and placed on board a train.
798 Bishop Matulionis was arrested in mid-December 1946. The old martyr bore himself with dignity and firmness. To warnings by well-wishers he replied: "I know the bolsheviks." He had ordained some divinity graduates December 9 and 12th, and appeared very weak. He was arrested a few days later for having issued a pastoral letter warning against the wiles of Komsomol.

Arrests of the clergy are more numerous after several visits to "Prime Minister" Gedvila to protest against limiting the number of divinity students to 150. The seminary's building is being requisitioned: its quarters in Marian Fathers' Charity Church are being turned over to Nurses School.

A favorite Russian method is to promote dissension. When Rev. Nagulevičius, pastor of Obeliai, was arrested, the NKDV lodged a suspended priest in the rectory. This "pastor" refused to admit the priest appointed by the bishop. The Chancellor of the diocese arrived to settle the matter, but the NKVD "pastor" refused to obey. When the Chancellor visited comrade Gailevičius, Advisor on Cult Affairs in Vilnius, the latter said: "At present the people rule. This is apparently the people's will, and we cannot help in this matter."

The NKVD is attempting to install its own "priests" and, eventually, to have a Church administration subservient to the NKVD. Thus far, only one apostate is known.

No priests are admitted to the Klaipėda-Memel District.

[794] Congregations are being evicted from their quarters although, officially, the monasteries are not banned. St. Casimir's Sisters are still in possession at Pažaislis, and the Franciscan Fathers are still left in Kretinga.

[651] Priests and Church property are heavily taxed. For instance, the Cathedral of Kaunas must pay 46,000 rubles, the Cathedral of Panevėžys 40,000, the small Church of St. Nicholas in Vilnius dating back to the 14th century, is taxed 16,000 rubles. The late Mgr. Jokubauskas, administrator of the Bishopric of Kaunas who died in February 1947, was taxed 20,000 rubles. The figures become significant when it is realized that an average laborer earns 200 rubles a month.

Sidelights of Anti-Religious Drive

659 Religious practice is permitted inside the church
626 only: Stalin's constitution grants "freedom of belief"
798 and warrants the liberty of anti-religious propaganda. No religious texts, not even prayerbooks, are permitted to be published—"paper shortage" . . . On the other hand millions of vile pamphlets are printed.

Once more, uniformed sentinels and agents in mufti are ostentatiously posted at church doors. They look over every face and scribble notes in the "blocnotes."
[558] Attendance in church means dismissal from a responsible post in the government. Teachers attending religious services are denounced in the press as "persons of low morality." A high school director inquired of

659 656 798 the Ministry of Education whether he could attend religious services. The reply was: "As an individual—yes, as a State employee—No."

Churches in the cities are crowded. In rural areas—the churches are nearly vacant. This is because people are afraid to leave their homes because of robberies and thefts by the Russians and Party members. On Sundays, even uniformed soldiers and militiamen (police) are openly engaging in robberies.

659 798 208 A vigorous campaign against priests and the Vatican was instituted since December 1946. The Pope, the Vatican, and Christian morality and ways of life are vilely denounced. In 1947, the Vatican became the "cradle of international reaction": the button pressed in Moscow echoes everywhere under the Russian occupation.

Translators immediately put out literature in the Lithuanian language. *Tiesa*, the official organ of the Communist Party and "government," in its #43 issue denounced the institution of Papacy as a partner of imperialists and exploiters: "The Pope was partner of the gangs of Teutonic crusaders," "During World War II, the Pope supported Hitler, the worst enemy of the Lithuanian people," "the clergy are the worst exploiters and enemies of the people."

Christian morality is also abused but "bolshevik morality" (?) is praised. For instance, *Bolševikiniu Keliu* (On the Bolshevik Path, No. 6/12) of 28 February 1947 wrote:

"The working people of a socialist country are creating their own new morality, basically differing from religious morality. Our morality is based on the struggle for Communism. . . . Morality is the means for destroying the exploiting society and uniting the working people around the proletariat which is forming a new Communist society. Hatred for the oppressors and enslavers . . . these are the wonderful peculiarities of our morality."

Certainly, a remarkable resemblance to Nazi "morality". . . .

The people of Lithuania entertain no illusions: the publicity drive against religion presages a new wave of arrests and deportations and purges. Indeed, since February 1947 mass dismissals from State employment—and every concern is a State concern—began.

798 771 883 The Lithuanian people met the second anti-religious drive with passive resistance, just as during the first occupation. The "purges" are met with heroic stoicism. Churches remain filled with the faithful, regardless of the "friendly reminders" by Communist overlords to avoid the "inconveniences" and "hardships." Religious conferences for school children go on in churches, and the Komsomol is boycotted. Anti-religious "lectures" are attended only under compulsion. Teachers support the Komsomol only under direct pressure. *Tiesa*, the Soviet official mouthpiece, voiced its concern (12 February 1947):

"Komsomol meetings in the II Gymnasium of Šiauliai are infrequent. The Komsomol youths' attendance is deficient—a recent meeting was attended by only 5 members out of 13. We asked comrade Baravykaitė,

798 a Komsomol girl, why her sister did not attend. She
771 blushed, did not dare to speak, finally she admitted:
883 'She is afraid.'

"—What do you mean, afraid?

"In the 4th Class there are 2 Komsomol members, but the influence of the reactionary Catholic clergy is very strong among the students of that class. The girls attend church and classes in religion arranged by the priests. Only members of the Komsomol do not attend, and they are persecuted for this reason.

"Reactionary Catholic clergymen built a strong nest in the II Gymnasium. They send out invitations to attend church where religion is taught to students. The teachers could not be unaware of this, yet they do nothing about it."

The Soviet mouthpiece recommended the purging of the teaching staff.

771 The Lithuanian People may suffer long martyrdom for Christianity. Nevertheless, they are encouraged by the sharpening ideological exchanges reflected in the Soviet press. They continue to sing with unfathomable emotion their classic religious hymn:

"Marija, Marija, skaisčiausia Lelija . . .
Palengvink vergiją, pagelbėk žmonijai,
Išgelbėk nuo priešo baisaus . . .

"Oh, Mary, Mary, most immaculate Lily . . .
Ease enslavement, help humanity,
Save from the terrible enemy . . ."

800 If this struggle lasts much longer and the Lithuanians and the other Baltic peoples do not receive help from those who guaranteed to nations and to individuals freedom of worship, then the Baltic peoples will be exterminated. Only their unshakable loyalty to their religious convictions and to liberty, will remain as an example; perhaps to some, more sensitive souls—as a qualm of conscience.

What is taking place in Lithuania and the other Baltic States today is only a reproduction in miniature of the great ideological conflict which is shaking the world: the conflict of religion against anti-religion; a continuation of the conflict of democracy and freedom against totalitarianism and moral and physical slavery. As Mr. Alexander Clifford says in his very significant article in the continental edition of the "Daily Mail" (May 7, 1947): *"Make No Mistake, This Is War—A Holy War."*

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423 posed of eventually by distribution among the landless and
425 the small landowners (those having not more than 12 acres).[9]
[671] This decree was legalized by the Preliminary Land Reform Law of August 18, 1920, and its scope was broadened to permit the republic of Lithuania to assume also the ownership of private forests that were larger than 25 *desimtines*
[804] (one *desimtine* is equal to about 2.7 acres).[10] This law was a tentative one in that it contained no provision for the distribution of the expropriated property.

671 The Land Reform Law in its final draft, consisting of
423 twelve sections and subdivided into seventy-seven para-
[425] graphs, was ratified in 1922.[11] The first section outlines the composition of the lands reserved for distribution, defining particularly the land to be taken into the distribution reserve. This action also enabled the state to take over the private property of those who had served in the post-war German armed bands of Bermont and Virgolicz and of those who had worked or were still working against the independence of Lithuania. Estates exceeding 200 acres and owned by one person or one family were also to be taken for land reform purposes.[12] Later the limit was raised to 321 acres (150 hectares). The second section of the Land Reform Law provides that the biggest and least active estates shall be among the first to be appropriated for land reform purposes. The third section defines the types of prospective recipients of the reapportioned land parcels. It states mainly that heads of families of landless peasants, farm laborers, and small landowners are entitled to share in the land distribution. Those farmers, or their lawful successors, from whom land was

[9] Elsbergas, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[10] *Vyriausybes Zinios*, Nr. 45 eil. 454 (Government Gazette No. 45, Part 454). Hereafter referred to as V.Z.

[11] *Ibid.*, Nr. 83 eil. 721.

[12] *Ibid.*, Nr. 324 eil. 2218.

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197 ones. This problem was capable of complete solution, since in the large vocabulary of Lithuanian everyday speech the necessary words or stems were available and only education of the people and enlightenment through the schools were needed. Moreover, the newly awakened national consciousness pushed the development forward. In addition, among the existing dialects of the Lithuanian language, which still stood side by side as equals and which are clearly reflected in their great variety in the earlier writings of the Lithuanian poets, there was the question of choosing one dialect -- as mentioned, the Suvalkijan dialect was picked -- and constructing on it the new literary language that would be valid for the whole land. This task ran into greater difficulties. Moreover there was danger that now, with the necessity of gradation, the rest of the dialects would be discredited and the language would thus lose much richness. For in every people the so-called literary language gains constantly new strength from its contact with the dialects.

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195 The enormous task of uniformly constructing and elaborating the new literary language was undertaken by the distinguished Lithuanian linguist Jablonskis, or as he called himself, Rygiškių Jonas. Born on January 12, 1861 on a farm east of the Šešupė, he attended the Russian gymnasium in Marijampolė, studied ancient languages in Moscow, and later taught at universities in various cities. After the founding of the Lithuanian University he was named Professor of the Lithuanian language. Jablonskis possessed on the one hand an excellent /26/ training in ancient languages and on the other hand stood in close touch with the simple country folk. He thus succeeded in comprehending the individuality of the Lithuanian language and in recognizing the foreign influences. The abundance of Lithuanian idioms that are distributed throughout his works is very great and shows us the full power and expressive possibilities of this

•814 language. To be sure, Jablonskis was primarily a
195 grammarian and not an artist. Most important to him was simple clarity. But he always appreciated and welcomed also poets and thinkers taking part in the creation of the language, and never held back with his advice. (21)

[113] 21. A brief appreciation of Jablonskis in German is given by Vydūnas: "Schöpfer der litauischen Schriftsprache," Unsere Stimme (Tilsit), Vol. 2, pp. 27-28.

195 The third problem* that had to be overcome
117 in the creation of the Lithuanian literary language, and that was perhaps the most important of all, was a question of transforming the Lithuanian language from a peasant language into an instrument with which even the educated, the artist, and the scientist would be able to work. In this connection it was first of all a matter of elaborating the vocabulary. This, then, will be considered first.

192 If we will look at the vocabulary of the Lithuanian language, we must first of all refute the widespread notion that the language is poor in words. A peasant language may appear poor in words to a representative of Western city culture; but it never has been, absolutely speaking. In its living organism there is an enormous ramification. This is true for the Lithuanian language as for every other peasant language. The countless skills of the peasant's work, the diverse nuances of the peasant's life itself, of which the typical city person no longer has any knowledge, all bear special terms. In addition there is a second group of words and word formations that stem from the antiquity of the Lithuanian language and find no parallel in modern Western languages. Every language develops just as much from complexity to simplicity as from /27/ simplicity to complexity. We describe the former as typification and general-

* [cat. 116, pp. 25-27 -- Analyst]

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538 What is red after death? (A crab.)
524 A blind little dove flutters through the whole world. (A letter.)
A little woman with one foot has 1,000 dresses. (A head of cabbage.)
/Unnumbered page with illustration--Crosses in the Evening/
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538 /97/ 5. On the Study of Lithuanian Folklore
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We cannot close the present chapter without having cast a glance on the folklore research itself, whose results found here a brief presentation which proceeded essentially from an artistic standpoint. The beginning of this research goes about a hundred years back, when the recording of songs, fairy tales, proverbs, and other texts began. Today the printed collections alone comprise 12,000 folk songs with 3,000 melodies; in addition, close to 4,000 fairy tales and folk tales and thousands of smaller pieces. German scholarship was of special importance, above all for the beginning of the scientific investigation of Lithuanian folk poetry. At first it was philology that drew the Lithuanian songs, fairy tales, proverbs, etc. into its scope; later the investigation of Lithuanian folk literature became a special field of study, which, to be sure, until very recently has been to a certain degree dependent on philology. Men like Schleicher, Bezzenberger, Geitler, Brugmann, Leskien, Chr. Bartsch, passarge, Zweck, Sauerwein, Gisevius, Tetzner, Scheu, and many others were indispensable to the development of this science. The publications of the "Litauische Literarische Gesellschaft" which existed before the first World War contain in all areas of Lithuanian folklore the most valuable results and suggestions, especially since the society placed its organ at the disposal of non-German scholars, too. The contribution of other nations is weaker, although here, too, important names in the field of folklore study can be named,

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such as Fortunatow, Boudouin de Courtenay, and in more recent times the Finnish Professor Niemi.

Approximately at the same time--at the beginning of the nineteenth century--research was taken up in Lithuania itself. Here, too, arose extensive collections of songs, fairy tales, and proverbs; the names of Stanewicz (1828), Daukantas (1846), Valančius, Jonas and Antanas Juškevičius, /98/ Sabaliauskas, Basanavičius, Volteris, along with many others, may be mentioned. These scholars worked in the field of pure research and also enriched the scientific literature by numerous studies on folklore.

After the founding of the Lithuanian University research was at first taken up by the faculty of humanities, which assigned it in 1930 to a special "Commission for Folk Poetry." Both the publications of the faculty in its organ Tauta ir Žodis (Folk and Word), whose seventh and last volume appeared in 1931, and those of the commission, whose investigations are set down in a total of ten volumes (Mūsų Tautosaka--our folk poetry), contain rich and valuable material. For research on fairy tales, Volume 9 is particularly important. A further commission was assigned the investigation of the melodies of folk songs.

In the year 1935 the former commissions were replaced by the "Lietuvių Tautosakos Archyvas" (Lithuanian Archive for Folk Poetry) as an independent research institute separate from the university. The publications of the archive appear under the title Tautosakos Darbai (Studies in the field of Folk Poetry, three volumes to date.) Fundamental for fairy tale research is Volume II, which contains a "Catalogue of the Motifs of the Lithuanian Narrative Folk Poetry" in the Lithuanian and English languages, by J. Balys, with a total of 3,912 numbers.

At the beginning of the year 1938 the coll-

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ections of the archive amounted to 112,000 texts of folk songs with about 13,000 melodies, 21,000 folk tales, 49,000 proverbs and sayings, 34,000 riddles, 55,000 texts dealing with superstition, and a large number of other pieces, a total of 305,000. In addition to these there are the collections, which originated mostly before the World War, of the "Lithuanian Scientific Society" (Lietuvių Mokslo Draugija) in Vilna with about 10,000 songs and nearly 4,000 fairy tales and other foll tales.

/99/ There is thus a tremendous amount of material that is already available today. Further research will largely be engaged in the collection of variants. (60) With regard to the work

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60. A good survey of the present state of folklore study in Lithuania and its problems is given by J. Balys in his series of essays "Mūsų tautosaka" (Our Folk Poetry) in the periodical Jaunoji Karta (Young Generation), 1938, Nos. 7, 9, 10, 11, and 12. A short summary is contained in the essay of the same author, "A Short Review of the Collection of Lithuanian Folklore," Tautosakos darbai, Vol. I.

of the Folklore Archive it may also be noted that the texts and melodies today are not only set down on paper but are also sung and spoken on phonograph records. The number of melodies and texts recorded in this way amounts at present to over 6,000.

Among the Lithuanian scholars who in the last two decades have distinguished themselves in the area of folklore studies, professors Krėvė-Mickevičius, Balys Sruoga, Mykolas Biržiška, and Dr. Jonas Balys should be named above all. Prof. T. Brazys supplied important contributions to the knowledge of the melodies of the Lithuanian folk

7: Jungfer-110 S-4,5(no date)1938 RB5LithuaniansRB5

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songs. The strong interest that exists today in Lithuania in the collection and investigation of the folk literature is also expressed in the large number of voluntary collaborators who have made themselves available in all walks of society.

/101/ Chapter Three

The Folk Art

113 /Unnumbered note on Chapter Three/ Fundamental for the knowledge of Lithuanian folk art is today the great work published by the Chamber of Agriculture: Soczîaus Menas (The Art of the Village), of which to date six volumes have been published; Vol. I, Weaving; Vol. II, Aprons; Vol. III, Patterns of Folk Art Products (wood carving, pottery, etc.); Vol. IV, Ribbons (Juostos); Vol. V, Knitting and Crocheting Patterns; Vol. VI, Patterns of Ancient Handiwork (Kaunas, 1931-34). This is a large collection of pictures with detailed introductions written by the chief of the department of folk art, A. Tamošaitis, concerning the techniques and their development. (Cf. in addition the essay of the same author concerning the Lithuanian weaving in the Liet. Enciklopedija (Lithuanian Encyclopedia), Vol. I.) The Lithuanian juostos by themselves are treated in the picture book published by Galaune, Lietuviu juostu raštai (Patterns of Lithuanian Ribbons) (Kaunas, 1928) (40 lithographed plates). The Lithuanian roofed crosses are treated in detail in the large picture book by Jaroševičius, Lietuvii Kryžiai (Lithuanian Crosses) (Vilna, 1912).

565 same Roman Catholic faith. Thus the national opp-
177 osition in the relations between Lithuania and Poland was not yet felt as such, while the social opposition came unusually strongly to the fore. In his informative book on the early history of Lithuania, Dr. Puzinas portrays the Polish influence in Lithuania at the beginning of the nineteenth century in the following words: "Polish influence is everywhere widespread. The educated class, consisting of scholars, clergymen, higher and lower officials, as well as landowners, is extensively Polonized, although in part of Lithuanian origin. In the cities, on the estates, and in the houses of the clergy the Polish spirit is cultivated and the Polish language dominates. Polish influence already is beginning even to penetrate into the people. But here it cannot take root; the inborn nationality is proving itself stronger. The people in Samogitia, i.e. in the north of the national area put up the strongest resistance; here, turning its back upon the influences of Poland, even the nobility still speaks Lithuanian. At the beginning of the nineteenth century this develops into a lively reaction against the Polish spirit." (10)

[113] 10. Dr. J. Puzinas, Vorgeschichtsforschung und Nationalbewusstsein in Litauen (Kaunas, 1935), p. 11.

/207/ In order to gain historical perspect-
814 ive for the period which follows, we must remember above all the far-reaching intellectual stimulus which proceeded from Bodmer, Herder, and the Grimms, and which everywhere directed attention to the mother tongue, the indigenousness, the antiquity, and the childhood years of peoples. The spiritual life of Lithuania and the University of Vilna came in this period completely under the domination of these romantic ideas, which prepared the soil for

8/14 the awakening of the national idea in Lithuania. In 1803, the learned society in Warsaw requested the University of Vilna to place at its disposal its reports concerning the Lithuanian people and their language. The university then asked the schools subordinate to it in Samogitia to send their reports concerning the past and the language of the province. At the same time began a lively research activity in the realm of Lithuanian history, in which a large number of Polish scholars took part. Here only the names of Jaroszewica, Lelewel, Balinski, and above all Kraszewski may be mentioned. The latter published from 1840-1851 in Vilna 66 volumes of the Athenaeum, which still represents a rich source for Lithuanian historical research today. Xaver Baužas (1746-1820) had a decisive effect on the further development, both through his numerous translations and above all through his work Über die Anfänge des litauischen Volkes und der litauischen Sprache (1806). (11)

11. Ibid., p. 13.

This work, which treats the origin of the Lithuanian people in a genuinely romantic fashion, left behind a deep effect in Lithuania. A whole series of authors now began to occupy themselves with the questions of Lithuanian nationality. Folk songs were collected, dictionaries and grammars of the Lithuanian language were written, and the early history of the country was investigated. Stimuli from Germany were also taken over; thus Rhesa's artistic translations of some Lithuanian dainos found an enthusiastic echo. Polish poets such as Stephan Garczynski, Konstantin Gaszynski, and particularly Kraszewski, learned the Lithuanian language studied the history of the country, and /208/ published extensive works. (12) Ludwig Kondratowicz

[113] 12. August Paulukat, Litauische Hoffnungen (Halle, 1915), pp. 10-11.

814 (pseudonym Wladyslaw Syrokomla) celebrated the heroic death of Prince Margis.

513 Among the poets of that period belongs Adam Mickiewicz (Lithuanian: Mickevičius), 1799-1855, whose works, like all the others named in this connection, naturally are part of Polish literature as far as their language is concerned. But he celebrates the past of Lithuania in his poems with such fervor and otherwise appears so strongly rooted in Lithuania in his motifs that he has gained recognition as a native of that country, too. Mickiewicz himself traced his lineage from a Lithuanian princely family. He also obtained his education in Vilna; the glow of romanticism which radiated from this university far into the land and from then on determined its whole artistic creativity also had an effect on him. Several examples from the poems of Mickiewicz explain the peculiar position of this poet in the literary history of the East. (13)

[13] 13. The samples are taken from A. Paulukat, op. cit., and Peter Cornelius: Die Sonette von Adam Mickiewicz (Reclambücherei). Cf. further Schwab in the Deutscher Musenalmanach (1833).

From Pan Tadéusz

Oh Lithuania, fatherland, which, when we
do not have you,
Like health, we only then know how to value correctly.
Your lovely image appears before my inner
eye,
Therefore I will draw it--I long for you!

From the Epic Gražina

Near Kowno have I seen that valley,
Where the Russalka, when spring has begun,

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533 Together with his songs Strazdas also taught the melodies. They went from mouth to mouth and were spread at first in eastern Lithuania, later also in Samogitia and Suvlkija. Along with secular songs Strazdas wrote and composed a number of spiritual songs. How well they were received is proved by the fact that they were at various times translated into Polish and included in Polish song books. Their melodies are purely Lithuanian, folk-song-like and simple, full of melancholy and sadness. Perhaps the view is correct that only through Strazdas did purely Lithuanian melodies find their way into the Lithuanian-Catholic church music. Their texts were published in 1790 and 1814. Particularly famous became the spiritual song: "Let us Fall on Our Knees."

/216/ 2. From the Closing of the University to the Ending of Serfdom

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814 With the closing of the Lithuanian University by the Russian government in 1832 began a second period in Lithuanian literature. Poland and Lithuania were still a unit. In the Polish uprising against Russia in 1830-31 the Lithuanian nobility had taken part in the same manner as the Polish. Thus the consequences of this unsuccessful rebellion were equally disastrous for Lithuania. The closing of the university, the repressive measures against the minor nobility, the expulsion of numerous professors and students, the stopping of all cultural activity--all these measures affected Lithuania just as much as Poland. But still, the ideas born in the period of romanticism remained alive. We recognize this best in the great nine volume Polish language history of Lithuania which Theodor Norbutt published during that period (1835-1841). Sprung from an old Lithuanian boyar family--Norbutt himself called

*538 himself a Lithuanian--born the son of a landowner
814 in the district of Lyda, Norbutt had obtained his education at the University of Vilna and thus absorbed the whole romantic store of ideas of that period. Probably nothing is more characteristic for an evaluation of that period than the fact that it was precisely the first three volumes of his work, in which he showed himself most strongly as a romantic and a poet--in the first he treated the mythology, in the second the oldest history, in the third the sixth to thirteenth centuries--which made the greatest impression on his contemporaries. Norbutt has been correctly accused of lack of critical judgment, indeed even of forgeries, (23) for he was essentially concerned with

[113] 23. Cf. here Karge in the Litauenbuch der X. Armee.

letting the past of his people shine forth in the brightest possible light. He best characterizes his attitude himself with the words with which he closes the last volume of his history: "I have carried my writing up to that point where the independent spirit of the people has become tired. The further course of the history I must leave to Polish historians. The last Lithuanian king, that last /217/ to wield the scepter of the Jagellons, Sigismundus Augustus, has died . . . and I break my pen on his grave." (24)

24. Quoted according to Puzinas, loc. cit., pp. 26-27. In pp. 21-27 the author gives a detailed appreciation of Norbutt's personality in his significance for archaeology.

*538 In this connection several poets in the Polish language who stand in close relationship to Lithuanian literature--also as aresult of their

538 [814] influence on later periods--should be at least briefly mentioned. Completely in the spirit of the time Josef Ignaz Kraszewski, one of the most productive representatives of Polish literature, wrote a two-volume work on the culture and history of Lithuania, as well as his famous poems Vitolorauda, Mindowe, and Witoldowe boje (The Battles of Vytautas), the latter of which was also translated into German. He pictures the death of the Lithuanian Prince Algirdas (Olgerd) in a completely romantic way:

Thus ends Olgerd. Hundreds of lamenting
women
Now cease their moans and cries.
They washed, then clothed the body of
the old man
In White. The golden wizos was not lacking
They girded him with the white sword,
The neck they surrounded with white crape,
Within it gold for the path to eternity.
At his belt hung the sling, on his head
The pointed fur hat, the bow lay sideways.
The old man sat as if he were still alive,
But the closed eye looked no more.
But the withered breast breathed no more.
He seemed to be resting from battle and
from life,
Opposite stood brothers and companions,
The sons, priests, and all the servants;
They drank to him a horn full of alus,
Taking their leave from Olgerd under tears
And dedicating to him songs for a good
night.
The mourning women sat round about
And collected the tears in vessels.

The past of Lithuania is also treated by Chodzko (1795-1865) (25) in his poems, but above

000 25. A short presentation of Chodzko in

*[2nd quarter of 19th cent. -- Analyst]

* 538 The most important of these poems had at least to be mentioned in the present context; for they were sooner or later translated into the Lithuanian language and in their own period were read primarily by the circles of Lithuanian boyars and high nobility. In them is mirrored all the liveliness with which, after Mickiewicz, the historical memories of the people were reawakened. And when the author of the Lithuanian national hymn began it with the words: "Lithuania, fatherland, land of our heroes, let us derive strength from our past"--we see here clearly how strongly these historical memories, which the poetry of the period liberated from the dust of the archives, * 538 influenced the later liberation movement. Around the middle of the nineteenth century the fear of 191 a Lithuanian separatist movement emerged for the first time among the Polish literati. In that [814] period, when Kossarczewski, in conjunction with German research (Schleicher), /219/ investigated the question of the scientific significance of the Lithuanian language and thereby directed the interest of wide circles to the present, the Warsaw man of letters Kaszewski wrote: "I understand the scientific investigation of the Lithuanian language, I also recognize that this language is useful for the simple people, also for the purpose of educating them in literature, but it would be utopia to wish to transform it into a language of the educated and literate, especially since Lithuania has already expressed all the nobility of its spirit and soul in the language of Mickiewicz (i.e. Polish language, V.J.)."(27)

27. Biržiška, op. cit.

To be sure, fears of this sort were still premature, for as long as the interest in Lithuania's people and history was essentially limited to the class of the nobility, which nourished

[Poems in Polish on Lithuanian historical themes--Archyst]

the language out of dilettantism or a romantic attitude, Lithuanian-Polish unity remained an inseperable article of faith--in his song on the uprising of 1830 Valančius was still able to name Samogitians and Poles in one breath ("For already are coming real Poles, Samogitians under the lord of Gelgadas," Palangos Juzė, p. 43.). The compromise formula still applied which had become the slogan of the Lithuanian nobility and outlines the peculiar relationships of the two peoples: "Sum gente lituanus, natione polonus" ["I am a Lithuanian by race, a Pole by nationality"]. The Lithuanian language also, in spite of all preparatory work, still resembled that wild foundling of which Bezzenberger speaks, and still had found no entrance into the palaces of high literature. (28)

28. In the introduction to the second edition of the Polish grammar by the Suvalkijan clergyman Totoraitis, who has done a great deal in the field of popular education, the publisher writes: "With all the beauty of the Lithuanian language, one cannot speak and write in it about so many things as in Polish." Then follows the warning: "Do not forget your beloved native language nor be ashamed of it, as many of you are, who almost will not admit that you are able to speak Lithuanian; and guard with your whole heart the Lithuanian language in which you find a very valuable treasure; that is, a fine knowledge and all sorts of useful information." (1861) Biržiška, op. cit., p. 105.

But the final separation of Lithuanian literature from Polish was already in preparation, and, although at first still in the stiff and unaccustomed clothing of awkward expressions and

*538 formulations, the Lithuanian language entered a
●814 land which had until now been closed to it: in
the year 1845 Simon Daukantas (1793-1864) pub-
[191] lished his voluminous work on the life of the
ancient Lithuanians and Samogitians. The son of
a Samogitian forester, Daukantas received his
education at the schools of Kretinga and Kalvarija,
at the gymnasium in Vilna, and finally at the uni-
versity there /220/ (1811-1821), which also had a
decisive influence on his life. Long years of
study of the archives in Königsberg and Riga as
well as a 15-year stay in St. Petersburg, where he
occupied himself in detailed study of the so-
called "Lithuanian prosody," gave him the material
for his work, which we can best describe as a
"cultural history of ancient Lithuania." Daukantas
gives in this work a plastic image of ancient Lith-
uanian folk life. The life of the farmers, their
customs and habits, their religious festivals and
celebrations, receive as detailed a presentation
as the governmental organization, army, courts,
warfare, monetary system, and commerce of the old
period. The work closes with the year 1569. So
strongly is Daukantas still under the influence of
the romantic current of the period, and, not un-
like Norbutt, so filled with the desire to stress
the uniqueness of his people that his work--al-
though the author fulfilled all the prerequisites
of scientific procedure--cannot be regarded as a
purely scientific accomplishment. For this reason
it often had to undergo sever criticism even during
the life of the author. At times Daukantas rises
to poetic heights, for example when he describes
the mysterious forests of pagan Lithuania. In the
70's and 80's, when the Lithuanian movement grew
stronger, his work made a deep impression on the
youth. He laid the foundation for the romantic
* glorification of the past which was characteristic
538 of the "Aušra period." Daukantas was not only a
814 historian. He also recognized the pressing need

for improving popular education. Thus he left behind the most varied books and articles of an instructive and educational nature, from language methods and arithmetic books to articles on beekeeping and gardening. He was a tireless worker, enthusiastic in his ideas, and he used all his funds for the printing of his books. He died in great poverty. (*)

[113] * I have given an extract from his chief work in my book Alt-Litauen (Berlin, 1926), V.J.

/221/ Daukantas was the last representative of romantic literature, for even at his time a new trend had set in, which was upheld by a strong realism. Its most important representative was the Bishop of Samogitia, Valančius (1801-1875), the son of a Samogitian free peasant. After attending the priesthood seminaries of Varniai and Vilna--the latter seminary corresponded to the later Clerical Academy--he was consecrated and soon afterward became a teacher of religion in his home province at the gymnasium in Kražiai. The copious library which this gymnasium still preserved from the time of the Jesuits gave him the stimulus and also the possibility for his most important scientific work, a history of the Bishopric of Samogitia. In 1840 we find him as professor at the Clerical Academy in Vilna. In 1842 the academy was transferred to St. Petersburg. Here Valančius entered into a close friendship with Daukantas, who was eight years his senior. From 1845-49 he was rector of the seminary in Varniai, and in 1850 the Bishopric of Samogitia was given to him. In 1864 the see was transferred to Kaunas.

Valančius' History of the Bishopric of Samogitia appeared in 1848 and was even translated into Polish twelve years later. Written with great objectivity, clarity, and scientific earnestness,

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814 this work is unquestionably the most important scientific publication that Lithuanian literature of the nineteenth century can exhibit. This bishop does not even shrink from statistics and gives us an exact presentation of the churches of the bishopric, the schools and monasteries, and the cultural peculiarities of its inhabitants. Since many of the writings and documents used by the author have today been lost, this work still represents today an irreplaceable source of historical information. Quite in contrast to Daukantas' style, Valančius' language is light, flowing, animated, and plastic in its expression.

538 The bishop also developed a productive literary activity in the religious realm. Here may be mentioned his Life of the Saints, a book that /222/ represents a real work of art in its language, its style, and the plasticity of its expression. But the great influence and reverence which the bishop gradually won in wide circles of his people he owed to his popular writings. Even in his parentage Valančius was the first "peasant" bishop of Lithuania, destined to be a man of the people and a writer of the people. Completely by himself he found the tone in which one speaks to peasants. And if this tone was wometimes quite rough and even satirical, this did not harm the seriousness of his writings, and he could afford to write, for example: "When the sick woman had received the Lord's Supper like a noonday meal, she was content," or "when the son had died, all the relatives made noises like a cat that sees a fish and does not catch it." Pleasure in such drastic comparisons lay in his blood, as can be seen from his collection Samogitian Proverbs published in 1867, the largest collection of Lithuanian proverbs that existed for a long time. Almost more famous became the bishop's own saying: "If you want to die in a swamp, go to Babtai," and others.

793 from a clairvoyant vision, they mediated the disclosures of the de-
771 ceased, convoked the people for gatherings, when such revelations had been received, in order to make them known, in order to arrange festivals, and in order to determine the sowing and the harvesting time. The priests were, therefore, the spiritual leaders of the people, who guided life into its everyday activities from the vantage point of their knowledge of the cosmic interconnections. They were acquainted with the influence of the moon on all births and with the return of the souls after death into its sphere: "that which has died off, which is laid as a seed kernel into the soil of another world," as Creuzer expresses it; an insight, it would appear, into the process of every re-
[796] newed life on earth. A special festival in autumn, the festival of the consecration of the goat, seems to have been an exoteric parallel to the initiation rites in the mystery cults; for on this occasion the priests recited the traditions from the history of the people and absolved the
[821] people of sin. After the harvest a god's image was every year broken and renovated; by this was expressed the experience that the spiritual forces of the cosmos turn towards and away from the earth in the rhythm of the year, and that in winter they collect themselves, renew themselves, in order to be able to come streaming to the growing plant world in the spring. Present-day harvest practices are the final dying echoes of such knowledge of the spiritual forces, vivifying and emanating, that permeate the world and all its parts.

113 Bibliography, etc.

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/33: Illustrations./

563 sonal risk: when the Russians arrived, the Jew informed them that a person who had secreted a Jew from the Nazis might most likely secret a "bandit" from the Russians—and the poor farmer was executed and his family exiled.

000 This reasoning seems to be generally adopted by the Russians—and no "heroics" are told them. The Russians show no excitement whatever regarding the massacres perpetrated by the Nazis. They conducted no special investigation or excavations—the Nazi practices too closely parallel those of the Soviets. . . . . Only in instances where they were tipped off that people had been executed clothed and unrobbed—did the Russians make excavations in quest for valuables. . . . They gathered up coins, jewelry, pulled gold from teeth, and ceremoniously reburied the skeletons.

Education

874 The University of Vilnius with medical and chemistry departments, and the University of Kaunas with
871 departments of medicine, architecture, construction, technology and chemistry, are functioning. Both universities provide compulsory instruction in "Marxism-Leninism Science" and military training. A Veterinarian Academy and the lower classes of the Agricultural Academy function at Kaunas. The Pedagoguic Institute and an Art Institute with classes in scultpure, architecture, graphics and painting are open in Vilnius. The Commercial Institute is at Klaipéda. The upper classes of the Agricultural Academy are still housed in the ruins of Dotnuva.

Eighty percent of the faculty staff and student body are Lithuanians. Deputy Rectors, in charge of "political education," are Russian MVD-men. Most of the aliens are concentrated in Vilnius. The total student body numbers about 6,000 (compared with over 2,000 university students in Western Germany).

Of secondary schools, there are about 90 gymnasia and 189 progymnasia with 65,000 students, and about 20 special schools of agriculture, orchardry, gardening, forestry, cattle breeding, bookkeeping, etc. The secondary schools follow an 8-year program—a recession to the antiquated pre-1914 system. The Russian language is taught from the third grade of grammar school. All textbooks are translations of Russian authors exclusively. Prewar textbooks are withdrawn from circulation and systematically destroyed.

186 In 1944 and 1945, the National Anthem of Lithuania was tolerated as a "national song" over the radio and at some official functions, but was banned from schools. It is still sung in some churches but is no longer heard elsewhere.

876 Since 1946, school programs were systematically
626 purged of all "western bourgeois" influence. In libraries, books of western authors were replaced by propaganda "masterpieces" of Russian literature. The Michurin theory is preached, and professors are compelled to publicly "confess" their former heresy. Every dissertation on any subject must faithfully seek some quotation from Stalin and Lenin "science" to prove the infallibility. Only students whose parents never owned more than 18 hectares of land are admitted to universities—others are "outlaws."

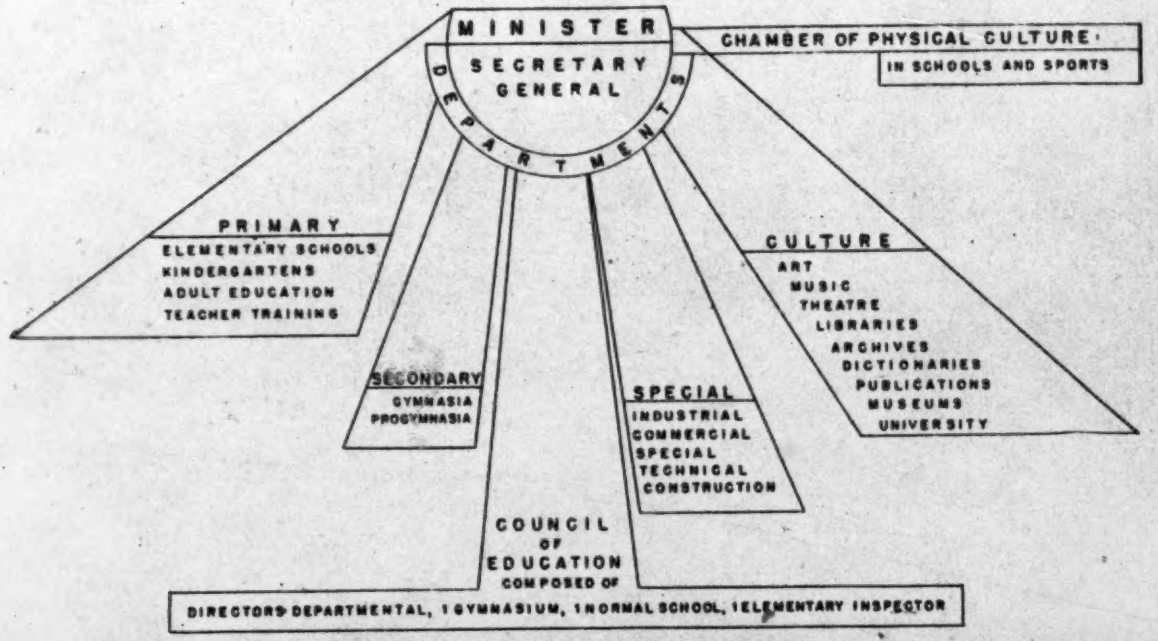
The universities demand that matriculating students submit loyalty certificates issued by local Party offices. The University of Kaunas still adheres to the

5:Masiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

●871.

Education in Lithuania

by K. Masiliūnas, Undersecretary of the Ministry of Education, Lithuania



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●871 ★★★ The Lietuvos Taryba, or Lithuanian Council, which acted in 1918 in the name of the Lithuanian people to declare the country's independence, adopt a provisional constitution, and set up a provisional government, found a few schools in active operation but no system of education in the territory that is now Lithuania. Everything had to be built new. An adequate teaching staff had to be trained, the scheme of studies organized, textbooks written and printed, educational appliances provided, and school buildings erected. Little could be done during the first 3 years because the Republic was forced to use all its energies in the defense of its newly regained independence.

875 [872] since not all children in Lithuania attend school all the year. First-grade and second-grade pupils in the rural districts go to school only 4 months; September 1 to November 1, and May 1 to July 1. In winter the country schools are attended only by third-, fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-grade pupils. In urban areas pupils attend throughout the school year.

871 The maintenance of elementary schools devolves on the local authorities. The costs of one school and one grade are around 11,890.-23 and 5,519.6 litas respectively. One lita is 16.93 cents in coinage of the United States. According to the figures of 1937, the cost of keeping one child in an elementary school is 99.4 litas annually. Towards the upkeep of elementary schools an average of 11.48 litas was paid by every inhabitant in 1937.

School Buildings

346 871 The school buildings are for the most part erected by the localities, grants-in-aid being made by the Ministry of Education which assigns in its budget over a million litas yearly for this purpose. At present about 80 new school buildings are constructed each year at an expenditure of two million litas. With the additional sums assigned for the acquisition of equipment and educational appliances, about three millions are spent annually.

871 On January 31, 1938, there was a total of 2,599 schools, 5,613 teachers, and 301,188 pupils or approximately 12 percent of the entire population enrolled in elementary schools.

871 873 The secondary school system was reorganized in 1936 by a special law. The 8-year gymnasia, modeled after the former Russian

5:Masiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

THE BALTIC STATES

871 types, were replaced by 7-year gymnasia to
873 the first year of which pupils who have finished a 6-year elementary school are automatically admitted. Thus final graduation from the secondary school now takes place after a course of study of 13 years, 6 in the elementary school and 7 in the secondary. The first three grades of the gymnasium may be founded independently and such a school
[186] is called a progymnasium. In these schools instruction in the Lithuanian language and literature, and in physical science has been especially strengthened, and French introduced as the first foreign language. The curriculum as it is now arranged for the gymnasia is as follows:

5:Masiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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Subjects of instruction	Hours a week by grades—							
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	Total
Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	14
Lithuanian language and general literature	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	30
French	6	6	4	3	3	3	3	28
Second foreign language (German, English, or Russian)	---	---	---	5	5	5	3	18
Latin	---	---	4	4	4	3	3	18
History	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	17
Citizenship	---	---	---	---	---	---	2	2
Elements of philosophy	---	---	---	---	---	2	2	4
Geography	---	2	2	2	2	2	---	10
Mathematics	4	3	3	3	3	3	4	23
Natural sciences	4	3	2	3	3	3	4	22
Drawing	3	2	2	2	1	2	2	14
Physical culture and premilitary training for boys	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	28
Physical culture for girls	3	3	3	2	2	2	3	18
Manual training and housekeeping for girls	1	2	2	2	2	3	---	12
Music and singing	2	2	2	2	2	---	---	10
Total for girls	32	32	32	36	36	37	35	240
Total for boys	32	31	31	36	36	36	36	238

All the subjects listed are compulsory. Pupils who do not do well in any of them are not granted the secondary school leaving certificate. In the schools of national minorities in which the language of instruction is not Lithuanian, the program is quite different.

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5:Maslliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

[563] Instead of the second foreign language, the language of instruction and general literature are taught. There are only 23 weekly lessons in French, 12 in drawing, 25 in physical culture and pre-military training, and 9 in manual training and housekeeping for girls.

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Schools Public or Private

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Nineteen thousand nine hundred and thirty-nine secondary school students were attending 66 gymnasia and 34 progymnasia in 1937; in 1919 there were 5 gymnasia and 33 progymnasia with 9,213 students. These schools may be either State (public) or private. The former are founded and maintained by the State; the latter, with the permission of the Minister of Education, by corporations, ecclesiastical orders, and private individuals. All the private schools are under the control of the Ministry of Education which grants subventions toward their maintenance, sends official delegates to inspect the work carried on in them, and appoints their teachers. The students in some of the private gymnasia enjoy all the privileges extended to students in the State schools. In others they do not, and in order to acquire those rights the students must at the end of their course of study, pass examinations in the State schools or in their own schools in the presence of a delegate of the Ministry of Education. The relative numerical status of the two types of schools is:

Type	Progymnasia	Gymnasia
State	22	33
Private:		
Lithuanian	2	10
Jewish	5	14
German	4	5
Latvian	1	----------
Polish	----------	3
Russian	----------	1

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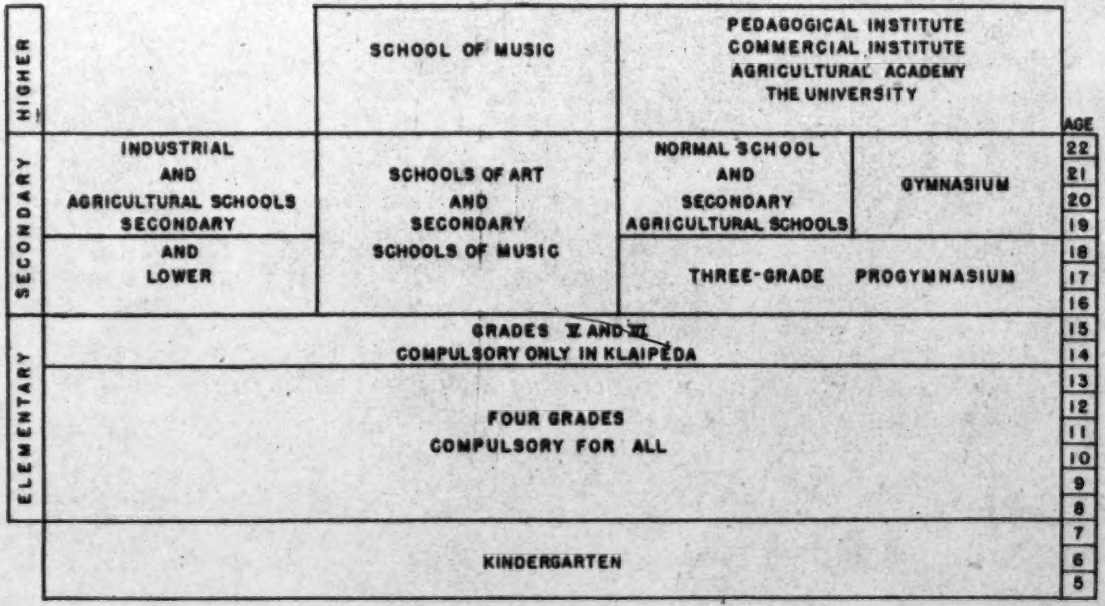
Nine gymnasia and one progymnasium have been especially set aside for the education of girls, and eight for the education of boys. All

5:Maslliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5



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874 in operation admit candidates who possess certificates that they have finished four or six grades of a gymnasium, or a lower agricultural school, and give them from 2 to 3 years of training. The purpose of the lower agricultural schools is to raise the standard of the practical training of farmers and farm-wives. Graduates of elementary schools are automatically admitted for a study period of 2 years. The nine State and eight private schools of this class have an attendance of 1,504 and employ 137 teachers.

●871 The government of Lithuania assigns considerable sums for educational purposes. For instance, in 1938 the budget of the Ministry of Education carried the figure of 56,656,891 litas (44,580,045 ordinary, and 12,076,846 extraordinary expenditures), or 16.34 percent of the total National budget.

532 The Lithuanian sculptor, Petras Rimša, portrays the "Lietuvos Mokykla" (The Lithuanian School).

12: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RB5 Lithuania RB5

[Lithuanian Constitution as of April 7, 1948]

693 Art. 87. The Procurator of the Lithuanian SSR is appointed by the Procurator-General of the USSR for a term of five years.

Art. 88. District and city procurators are appointed by the Procurator of the Lithuanian SSR subject to the approval of the Procurator-General of the USSR for a term of five years.

Art. 89. The organs of the Procurator's Office perform their functions independently of any local organs whatsoever, being subordinate solely to the Procurator-General of the USSR.

Chapter VIII. Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens

641 Art. 90. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to work, that is, the right to guaranteed employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.

The right to work is ensured by the socialist organization of the national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the elimination of the possibility of economic crises and the abolition of unemployment.

Art. 91. The citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to rest and leisure.

[466] The right to rest and leisure is ensured by the establishment of an eight-hour day for factory and office workers, the reduction of the working day to seven or six hours for arduous trades and to four hours in shops where conditions of work are particularly arduous, by the institution of annual vacations with full pay for factory and office workers, and by the provision of a wide network of sanatoria, rest homes and clubs for the accommodation of the working people.

[65] Art. 92. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or disability.

641 This right is ensured by the extensive development of social insurance of factory and office workers at state expense, free medical service for working people, and the provision of a wide network of health resorts for the use of the working people.

● 871 Art. 93. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to education.

This right is ensured by universal and compulsory elementary education; by free education up to and including the seventh grade; by a system of state stipends for students of higher educational establishments who excel in their studies; by instruction in schools being conducted in the native language, and by the organization in the factories, state farms and machine and tractor stations of free vocational, technical and agronomic training for the working people.

[512] Art. 94. Women in the Lithuanian SSR are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, government, cultural, political and other public activity.

The possibility of exercising these rights is ensured by women being accorded an equal right with men to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education, by state protection of the interests of mother and child, state aid to mothers of large families and unmarried mothers, maternity leave with full pay, and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens.

701 Mobilization generally failed during the period of hostilities. The majority of men managed to secure themselves in the "armored institutions" exempt from draft, others went into hiding, and a small number reported for duty. Many men in hiding were killed or wounded and exiled during the *"oblavas"* (manhunts and searches).

702 After the war, classes of 1926-1928 were called up for training. Presently, men born in 1929-1931 are in training. The basic training takes place in Lithuania and East Prussia. The trainees wear their own clothing and provide their own food: each week they are drilled 4 days and then are told to proceed home and bring back food supplies for a week. When training is completed, men are dispatched to Russian bases, some are assigned to the 16th Infantry Division stationed in the homeland.

702 There is no officers school for Lithuania specifically. However, in all university and college level schools 874 military training is obligatory for men and women throughout the years of schooling, 4-5 hours weekly. Reserve commissions in respective specialties are given upon graduation—Junior Lieutenantcy to Captaincy, depending on the degree of success in passing the examinations of the Military Chair ("Cathedral"). General Karvelis, a former artillery officer of the Lithuanian Army, heads the military "chair" in the University of Vilnius, assisted by Colonel Purelis. General Vincas Vitkauskas, former commander-in-chief of the Lithuanian Army, heads the military chair in the University of Kaunas. Lectures are given in Russian and Lithuanian, depending on the lecturer's ability to speak Lithuanian and the composition of his class. The lecturing personnel is one-half Russian. Orders are given in Russian.

[872] In secondary schools, military training is likewise compulsory for both boys and girls, beginning with the basic first grade.

War Preparations

712 Klaipéda (Memel) is converted into a major submarine and naval base.

723 During the first half of 1948, regular Soviet Army forces (exclusive of the Navy and MVD-MGB units) stationed in Lithuania numbered about 80,000 men of infantry, artillery, aviation, armored and tank units. The artillery is concentrated along the seacoast.

Airfields are continually expanded to accommodate transport craft but the number of planes shifts—the planes refuel and take off. Nevertheless, some "destroyers" (fighter planes), light bombers, reconnaissance and training planes are permanently stationed. Radar installments are in evidence, but do not seem to be alerted. Three "rocket artillery" airfields were constructed at Lisbergylas-Linksmakalnis in Kaunas, at Vilnius, and in Mažeikiai county in the northwest. Little is known regarding the closely guarded secret weapons of "Toxin Fog" and "Thermite Artillery." Aviation training schools are in operation at Vilnius and Kaunas, but no Lithuanian students are admitted there.

According to Russian officers, Estonia and Karelia form "Zone A of the Strategic Area of the Northern Front," while Latvia, Lithuania and East Prussia form "Zone B, an auxiliary strategic and supply area for the operational area of Poland."

5:Masilionas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

First Law

671 The first law on elementary education was
● 872 passed in 1922 making the Lithuanian primary
875 school of four grades and requiring all children of both sexes between the ages of 7 and 13 to attend it. The general administrative organization was based on the principle of decentralization which granted wide powers to the local authorities and to the children's parents. However, this experience soon showed that under such a system the qualifications of the
[647] teachers left much to be desired. For this reason the law of 1922 was amended in 1925 and the appointment of teachers, their transfer from one school to another, and certain other matters were centered in the Ministry of Education. In the same year the school curricula were drawn up and officially approved. The schools were run under this law up to 1936 when a new elementary school law
[186] was promulgated which declares that the purpose of the elementary school is to provide primary education for the youth of Lithuania, foster their spiritual and physical growth, and teach them to love, cherish, and sacrifice themselves for Lithuania.

872 The present elementary school has six grades. The first four, obligatory for children between 7 and 13, form the first degree of study. The last two, for children 14 and 15 years old, form the second degree which is optional as yet because not enough schools are available. The increase in them began only in 1933. The elementary school subjects of instruction are: Religion taught by clergymen of the various denominations and compulsory for all children, Lithuanian as the language of instruction, arithmetic, knowledge of environment, history, geography,
872 natural history, art, manual arts, music and
186 singing, and physical training. In an ele-
191 mentary school district where the number of children of non-Lithuanian parentage exceeds

5:Masiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RR5

872 186 191 30, a school with a language of instruction other than Lithuanian may be established. In it Lithuanian is taught as a distinct subject from the second grade onwards, and from the third grade on instruction in environment, history, and geography is given in Lithuanian. In a school with Lithuanian as the medium, children of non-Lithuanian parentage, if their number is not less than 20, are taught their mother tongue as a separate subject.

Certificates Granted

872 874 At the end of the first and second degrees of study, the pupils are examined and granted the elementary school graduation certificate which, if from the second degree, grants the right to enter, without further examination, the first grade of a secondary school (gymnasium) or a school offering special training for a vocation. Persons who have attended no schools may earn these certificates by passing official examinations embracing the entire course of study.

875 Elementary school teachers are classified as junior, first-degree, second-degree, senior first-degree, and senior second-degree. They are trained in normal schools and pedagogical institutes. Admission to normal schools is accorded those who have completed four grades of a secondary school, and the course extends for 4 years. To the pedagogical institutes only graduates of normal schools or gymnasia are admitted and the duration of studies is 2 years. Each teacher has in charge from 30 to 60 pupils, the average being 55. The average number with which the teacher works in winter is 43, and in summer 30,

875 since not all children in Lithuania attend
[872] school all the year. First-grade and second-grade pupils in the rural districts go to school only 4 months; September 1 to November 1, and May 1 to July 1. In winter the country schools are attended only by third-, fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-grade pupils. In urban areas pupils attend throughout the school year.

871 The maintenance of elementary schools devolves on the local authorities. The costs of one school and one grade are around 11,890.-23 and 5,519.6 litas respectively. One lita is 16.93 cents in coinage of the United States. According to the figures of 1937, the cost of keeping one child in an elementary school is 99.4 litas annually. Towards the upkeep of elementary schools an average of 11.48 litas was paid by every inhabitant in 1937.

School Buildings

346 The school buildings are for the most part
871 erected by the localities, grants-in-aid being made by the Ministry of Education which assigns in its budget over a million litas yearly for this purpose. At present about 80 new school buildings are constructed each year at an expenditure of two million litas. With the additional sums assigned for the acquisition of equipment and educational appliances, about three millions are spent annually.

871 On January 31, 1938, there was a total of 2,599 schools, 5,613 teachers, and 301,188 pupils or approximately 12 percent of the entire population enrolled in elementary schools.

871 The secondary school system was reorgan-
873 ized in 1936 by a special law. The 8-year gymnasia, modeled after the former Russian

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

VII. EDUCATION — GENERAL, AGRICULTURAL AND HOUSECRAFT

872 Compulsory elementary education was gradually introduced between 1928 and 1931.

At present, elementary schools are divided into two grades. The first grade, which consists of four standards, is compulsory for children from 7 to 13 years of age. The second grade, consisting of two standards, is intended for children between the ages of 14 and 15 who have passed through the first grade; attendance is not as yet compulsory.

(In the Klaipėda territory attendance for six years at an elementary school is obligatory.)

To meet the needs of peasants on isolated farms, schools consist, as a rule, of only one or two class-rooms; those in the chief towns have from four to six rooms. The network of schools is organised in such a way that no child ever has to go more than 4 kilometres to get to school.

[875] The teachers are trained at the training colleges and at the Pedagogic Institute. Qualified students of the training colleges may proceed to higher educational establishments (the university). The Pedagogic Institute has a two-years course for students who have completed the grammar school or training college curriculum. The teachers are officials, paid by the State. The municipalities provide them lodging, heating and lighting or a cash equivalent.

The progress in elementary education since before the war is illustrated by the increase in the number of schools and of pupils. In 1913, there were 875 elementary schools in Lithuania, with 51,221 pupils; in 1919, there were 1,036 schools, with 45,540 pupils, and in 1938, 2,319 schools, with 283,773 pupils and 5,110 teachers. During the early years of Lithuanian independence, when the Government set about organising education on lines in keeping with the national aspirations, there was a shortage of qualified teachers and of school-buildings. In 1913, out of the 875 elementary schools in existence in the territory which now constitutes Lithuania, only 360 had their own premises, and some of these buildings were destroyed during the war.

874 Adult education is provided by the people's universities and by evening classes held at the elementary schools.

212 There is a steady decline in the number of illiterate persons in rural districts, and there are practically no illiterate young people.

875 [872] since not all children in Lithuania attend school all the year. First-grade and second-grade pupils in the rural districts go to school only 4 months; September 1 to November 1, and May 1 to July 1. In winter the country schools are attended only by third-, fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-grade pupils. In urban areas pupils attend throughout the school year.

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5:Masiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

THE BALTIC STATES

871 types, were replaced by 7-year gymnasia to
●873 the first year of which pupils who have finished a 6-year elementary school are automatically admitted. Thus final graduation from the secondary school now takes place after a course of study of 13 years, 6 in the elementary school and 7 in the secondary. The first three grades of the gymnasium may be founded independently and such a school
[186] is called a progymnasium. In these schools instruction in the Lithuanian language and literature, and in physical science has been especially strengthened, and French introduced as the first foreign language. The curriculum as it is now arranged for the gymnasia is as follows:

5:Masiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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Subjects of instruction	Hours a week by grades—							
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	Total
Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	14
Lithuanian language and general literature	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	30
French	6	6	4	3	3	3	3	28
Second foreign language (German, English, or Russian)	---	---	---	5	5	5	3	18
Latin	---	---	4	4	4	3	3	18
History	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	17
Citizenship	---	---	---	---	---	---	2	2
Elements of philosophy	---	---	---	---	---	2	2	4
Geography	---	2	2	2	2	2	---	10
Mathematics	4	3	3	3	3	3	4	23
Natural sciences	4	3	2	3	3	3	4	22
Drawing	3	2	2	2	1	2	2	14
Physical culture and premilitary training for boys	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	28
Physical culture for girls	3	3	3	2	2	2	3	18
Manual training and housekeeping for girls	1	2	2	2	2	3	---	12
Music and singing	2	2	2	2	2	---	---	10
Total for girls	32	32	32	36	36	37	35	240
Total for boys	32	31	31	36	36	36	36	238

All the subjects listed are compulsory. Pupils who do not do well in any of them are not granted the secondary school leaving certificate. In the schools of national minorities in which the language of instruction is not Lithuanian, the program is quite different.

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5:Masiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 KB5 Lithuanians KB5

[563] Instead of the second foreign language, the language of instruction and general literature are taught. There are only 23 weekly lessons in French, 12 in drawing, 25 in physical culture and pre-military training, and 9 in manual training and housekeeping for girls.

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Schools Public or Private

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Nineteen thousand nine hundred and thirty-nine secondary school students were attending 66 gymnasia and 34 progymnasia in 1937; in 1919 there were 5 gymnasia and 33 progymnasia with 9,213 students. These schools may be either State (public) or private. The former are founded and maintained by the State; the latter, with the permission of the Minister of Education, by corporations, ecclesiastical orders, and private individuals. All the private schools are under the control of the Ministry of Education which grants subventions toward their maintenance, sends official delegates to inspect the work carried on in them, and appoints their teachers. The students in some of the private gymnasia enjoy all the privileges extended to students in the State schools. In others they do not, and in order to acquire those rights the students must at the end of their course of study, pass examinations in the State schools or in their own schools in the presence of a delegate of the Ministry of Education. The relative numerical status of the two types of schools is:

Type	Progymnasia	Gymnasia
State	22	33
Private:		
Lithuanian	2	10
Jewish	5	14
German	4	5
Latvian	1	
Polish		3
Russian		1

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Nine gymnasia and one progymnasium have been especially set aside for the education of girls, and eight for the education of boys. All

5:Masiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

562 the others are mixed but in the larger schools
873 in which parallel classes exist, separate classes for boys and girls are established.

875 [658] The extension of the network of secondary schools produced in the first years of Lithuania's independence a shortage of teachers, and educating a staff was undertaken by the State. Teachers were trained in foreign universities, and from 1922 onwards in the University of Vytautas the Great in Kaunas, as well. Most of the 1,432 teachers now employed are university graduates and possess the qualifications required by the Ministry of Education. They are classified as junior teachers, teachers, and senior teachers. The rank of junior teacher is granted to persons who have taken a university course in psychology, pedagogics, the history of pedagogics, pedology, and the methodology of their specialties, or have passed examinations in these subjects and have completed their studies in the subjects necessary for the teaching of their specialty. Junior teachers who have taught successfully not less than 2 years and have conducted two probational lessons in their specialty may be elevated by the Ministry of Education to the rank of teachers. Teachers who have taught with outstanding success for at least 5 years may be raised to senior teachers.

School Competitions

873 555 A State physical culture badge to encourage physical fitness, scout troops and circles, camps for students, and travel during the vacation period are all connected with secondary education, but perhaps the most noteworthy activity to promote all-sided scholastic progress and interscholastic cooperation is the school competitions that were organized first in 1935 and take place at the end of the school year.

In these competitions the secondary schools strive for supremacy in the reading and recitation of Lithuanian, French, and German, drawing, singing, and physical culture. In

5:Masiliunas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

●873 555 each school near the close of the year, the pupils who have shown the most ability are selected from each class. The pick of these are chosen, in the course of a public performance, to represent the gymnasium in the district contest. The picked teams, usually numbering 1,000 to 1,500 students, meet on an appointed day to compete for first place in the district. From them the best readers, reciters, draughtsmen, choirs, sportsmen, etc., are selected to participate in the finals which take place most often at Kaunas. There the teams from the seven districts into which Lithuania is divided for this purpose, compete for the National first, second, and third places. On this occasion festivities on a larger scale are organized and the winners are awarded special prizes. The competitions have been found to promote a will to work among the students, and give them an opportunity to acquire a better knowledge of their country and to make useful personal contacts with their fellow students.

873 The institutions of higher education are the University of Vytautas the Great, the Veterinary Academy, State Conservatory of Music, and State Art School, all at Kaunas; Agricultural Academy at Dotnuva; and the Private Commercial Institute, Pedagogical Institute, and Music School, all at Klaipeda. They enroll approximately 4,400 students. The university began in 1579 as the High School of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, was later converted into a university, and was closed by the Russians in 1832. As early as December 5, 1918, the Lithuanian State Council passed statutes for this University of Vilnius and it was on the point of reopening in 1919, but military operations intervened and it was not definitely founded until February 16, 1922, at Kaunas. In 1930, when the five hundredth anniversary of the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Vytautas the Great, who ruled over a Lithuania that extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea, was celebrated with great pomp, the university was renamed in his honor. It is an autonomous institution the powers of which are fixed by the statutes. It is maintained by the state and is connected with the Ministry of Education. During the 16 years of its recent existence, the university has developed into an important educational center which devotes special attention to the study of the Lithuanian language and history.

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795 of the Lithuanian survivors. *Lithuania is still "the most loyal Daughter of Rome in the North of Europe,"* in the words of the late Pope Pius XI.

661 798 The Russians continue their practice of subjecting the Catholic clergy to periodic and systematic "questioning," accompanied by physical torture and threats. Several priests became apostates. Most of the others were killed in torture chambers or exiled to Siberia, while several dozen priests enlisted with the patriotic guerrillas. Retired emiriti priests were called back to duty—as each priest must now serve 3 to 5 parishes.

874 661 798 One seminary remained for a few years. The number of divinity students was limited to 150. Professors and students were repeatedly summoned to the MVD-MGB and subjected to "pressure" and tortures in order to enlist them as agent-informers. Seminary rectors and their assistants were arrested and exiled as soon as they assumed duties. Students attended classes in churches. They were shadowed and threatened, and their number steadily dwindled as the MVD exercised more "pressure." By 1947, the number of divinity students dropped to 60. Normally 30 to 40 priests die annually of natural causes, but only 7-8 priests were graduated annually to replace the deceased. Finally, during the winter of 1947-48, the seminary was closed.

798 659 661 The surviving priests (about 400 as of the fall of 1948) could discourse on Scriptural texts in their sermons—always mindful that MVD agents were taking down notes and that suspicious Russians in the MVD-MGB offices would summon them to enlarge on translations of the suspect imputed allegories. Attacks on the Church in the official press, over the radio and at mass meetings cannot be answered or discussed: that would be "propaganda." The Stalin constitution warrants freedom of the anti-religious propaganda and of "religious belief,"—not of religious "propaganda."

Priests are continually exposed to provocation. For instance, MVD agents go to "confession" in order to provoke some remark by the priest. Sometimes a priest is summoned "to give last rites to a dying person." When the priest arrives, the "dying person" impersonated by a provocateur becomes a "guerrilla" ("bandit") and the clergyman is arrested "for association with bandits." Priests are forced to disrobe in MVD offices and to be photographed with MVD "girls." Afterward the photographs are circulated among the people. Nevertheless, the faithful are not easily misled by the alien oppressor whom every Lithuanian despises.

In 1947 there was a large scale massacre of the faithful at Kretinga when someone rang the bells of the Franciscan monastery at the time the Russians came to close it. The running people saw Russian troops bringing out the bleeding bayoneted body of a priest. Infuriated, the Lithuanians attacked the Russians with stones and bats. The Russians fired indiscriminately at the mob. . . .

No religious literature—no catechisms, missals, discourses, etc.—is printed: no paper is allotted by the government—and all printing places are state-operated. No priests are permitted to enter hospitals, schools, barracks and prisons to administer the sacraments. The priests enter gaols only as prisoners.

Since 1947, the Russians attacked the Church from another angle—clamoring against the Vatican and demanding creation of a "national Catholic Church."

701 Mobilization generally failed during the period of hostilities. The majority of men managed to secure themselves in the "armored institutions" exempt from draft, others went into hiding, and a small number reported for duty. Many men in hiding were killed or wounded and exiled during the *"oblavas"* (manhunts and searches).

702 After the war, classes of 1926-1928 were called up for training. Presently, men born in 1929-1931 are in training. The basic training takes place in Lithuania and East Prussia. The trainees wear their own clothing and provide their own food: each week they are drilled 4 days and then are told to proceed home and bring back food supplies for a week. When training is completed, men are dispatched to Russian bases, some are assigned to the 16th Infantry Division stationed in the homeland.

702 There is no officers school for Lithuania specifically. However, in all university and college level schools
● 874 military training is obligatory for men and women throughout the years of schooling, 4-5 hours weekly. Reserve commissions in respective specialties are given upon graduation—Junior Lieutenantcy to Captaincy, depending on the degree of success in passing the examinations of the Military Chair ("Cathedral"). General Karvelis, a former artillery officer of the Lithuanian Army, heads the military "chair" in the University of Vilnius, assisted by Colonel Purelis. General Vincas Vitkauskas, former commander-in-chief of the Lithuanian Army, heads the military chair in the University of Kaunas. Lectures are given in Russian and Lithuanian, depending on the lecturer's ability to speak Lithuanian and the composition of his class. The lecturing personnel is one-half Russian. Orders are given in Russian.

[872] In secondary schools, military training is likewise compulsory for both boys and girls, beginning with the basic first grade.

War Preparations

712 Klaipėda (Memel) is converted into a major submarine and naval base.

723 During the first half of 1948, regular Soviet Army forces (exclusive of the Navy and MVD-MGB units) stationed in Lithuania numbered about 80,000 men of infantry, artillery, aviation, armored and tank units. The artillery is concentrated along the seacoast.

Airfields are continually expanded to accommodate transport craft but the number of planes shifts—the planes refuel and take off. Nevertheless, some "destroyers" (fighter planes), light bombers, reconnaissance and training planes are permanently stationed. Radar installments are in evidence, but do not seem to be alerted. Three "rocket artillery" airfields were constructed at Lisbergylas-Linksmakalnis in Kaunas, at Vilnius, and in Maleikiai county in the northwest. Little is known regarding the closely guarded secret weapons of "Toxin Fog" and "Thermite Artillery." Aviation training schools are in operation at Vilnius and Kaunas, but no Lithuanian students are admitted there.

According to Russian officers, Estonia and Karelia form "Zone A of the Strategic Area of the Northern Front," while Latvia, Lithuania and East Prussia form "Zone B, an auxiliary strategic and supply area for the operational area of Poland."

563 sonal risk: when the Russians arrived, the Jew informed them that a person who had secreted a Jew from the Nazis might most likely secret a "bandit" from the Russians—and the poor farmer was executed and his family exiled.

000 This reasoning seems to be generally adopted by the Russians—and no "heroics" are told them. The Russians show no excitement whatever regarding the massacres perpetrated by the Nazis. They conducted no special investigation or excavations—the Nazi practices too closely parallel those of the Soviets. ..... Only in instances where they were tipped off that people had been executed clothed and unrobbed—did the Russians make excavations in quest for valuables. . . . They gathered up coins, jewelry, pulled gold from teeth, and ceremoniously reburied the skeletons.

Education

● 874 The University of Vilnius with medical and chemistry departments, and the University of Kaunas with
871 departments of medicine, architecture, construction, technology and chemistry, are functioning. Both universities provide compulsory instruction in "Marxism-Leninism Science" and military training. A Veterinarian Academy and the lower classes of the Agricultural Academy function at Kaunas. The Pedagoguic Institute and an Art Institute with classes in scultpure, architecture, graphics and painting are open in Vilnius. The Commercial Institute is at Klaipéda. The upper classes of the Agricultural Academy are still housed in the ruins of Dotnuva.

Eighty percent of the faculty staff and student body are Lithuanians. Deputy Rectors, in charge of "political education," are Russian MVD-men. Most of the aliens are concentrated in Vilnius. The total student body numbers about 6,000 (compared with over 2,000 university students in Western Germany).

Of secondary schools, there are about 90 gymnasia and 189 progymnasia with 65,000 students, and about 20 special schools of agriculture, orchardry, gardening, forestry, cattle breeding, bookkeeping, etc. The secondary schools follow an 8-year program—a recession to the antiquated pre-1914 system. The Russian language is taught from the third grade of grammar school. All textbooks are translations of Russian authors exclusively. Prewar textbooks are withdrawn from circulation and systematically destroyed.

186 In 1944 and 1945, the National Anthem of Lithuania was tolerated as a "national song" over the radio and at some official functions, but was banned from schools. It is still sung in some churches but is no longer heard elsewhere.

876 Since 1946, school programs were systematically
626 purged of all "western bourgeois" influence. In libraries, books of western authors were replaced by propaganda "masterpieces" of Russian literature. The Michurin theory is preached, and professors are compelled to publicly "confess" their former heresy. Every dissertation on any subject must faithfully seek some quotation from Stalin and Lenin "science" to prove the infallibility. Only students whose parents never owned more than 18 hectares of land are admitted to universities—others are "outlaws."

The universities demand that matriculating students submit loyalty certificates issued by local Party offices. The University of Kaunas still adheres to the

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A unit of Freedom Fighters resting after a battle—Taurus Area, Lithuania.

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These practices meant "sabotage of a people's economy" and "insurrection." Reproached and heckled in this manner, some people broke down and could no longer stand the tirades and the violence. They seized their pitchforks, axes and scythes and turned on the hated Muscovites. Countless people were murdered. Ablebodied men fled to the forests.

All this time, the Russians were perfecting their preparations to execute the "Abakumov Order" to purge the Baltic States of all hostile element (see the Nov.-Dec. 1948 issue of the *Lithuanian Bulletin*, pp. 4-5). The indignation and desperation of the farmers offered a very convenient excuse for MVD-MGB troops to descend en masse in November and December 1948 in execution of a previously conceived plan of the Kremlin Politburo. After all, the agitators had very definite instructions: rave for hours—and some people's enemies are likely to betray themselves. . . .

No one knows the manpower losses of the "operation" of the present winter. First reports placed the casualties at 60,000 men, women and children. But the Russians claimed that the "insurrection" was put down only in January 1949, and the "Russian system" entails retaliation against the families and friends of the "people's enemies." This means that the persecution is endless. . . .

However, the crime of genocide perpetrated by the Russians against Catholic Lithuania does not end with simple murder on the ground of a provoked "sabotage" and "insurrection." Genocide takes other forms.

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One of the refined forms of genocide is reported in the Party organ *Tiesa* of 13 December 1948:

"A serial call of the youths to the FGA (Factory Production Training) schools of Vilnius, Kaunas and Klaipėda began on 10 November. The call-up will last until 15 December 1948. One thousand youths will be called to learn mass construction skills. During the years 1945-48 about 14,000 young skilled workers entered industrial and construction concerns from the trades, railroad and FGA schools."

Graduates of such specialized schools may be sent anywhere in the Soviet Union, to "assist the fraternal republics" needing specified skilled labor groups. They have no choice—they must go where they are directed, and there is unlimited demand for skilled labor in the Asiatic "fraternal republics." Their eventual return to their homeland is doubtful.

2xAnonymous U-4 (no date)1947 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

The Situation Of The Church In Enslaved Lithuania

Moscow Boasts

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The Information Bulletin of the Soviet Embassy in Washington (April 30), in its "Notes on Soviet Life," describes the alleged freedom of religion in Lithuania:

> The position of the Roman Catholic Church in Soviet Lithuania was described in a recent statement by the Most Reverend Mgr. Reinis, Catholic Archbishop of Vilnius.
>
> "The Catholic Church enjoys perfect freedom in Soviet Lithuania," he told a Tass correspondent. "The local authorities are assisting us in restoring and repairing churches destroyed by the German invaders, and supplying building materials. Our clergy are provided with all necessities.
>
> "There are at present two archbishoprics in Lithuania," Mgr. Reinis went on to explain, "those of Vilnius and Kaunas. The Catholic Church organization has remained unchanged. All 711 churches are functioning with their staffs of 1,332 clergy. The Kaunas Ecclesiastical Seminary, headed by the prominent theologian Ventskus, is graduating scores of young Catholic priests annually. Thousands of believers in Vilnius, Kaunas and other towns and villages gather as usual at Matins and Vespers. All established holidays are observed by the Church."

The Reality

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Before the Russian aggression in 1940, there were 6 dioceses in Lithuania (Archbishoprics of Vilnius and Kaunas, Bishoprics of Kailiadorys, Panevėžys, Telliai and Vilkavilkis) and the Klaipėda-Memel Prelacy. Lithuania had three archbishops and seven bishops, including one for the armed forces. There were four theological seminaries (Vilnius, Kaunas, Telliai and Vilkavilkis) with 350 divinity students. There were Catholic and Protestant Theology-Philosophy Faculties in the Kaunas University, and a goodly number of private denominational high schools and other institutions of learning. A Catholic Academy of Arts and Sciences functioned and a Catholic University was in the process of formation. There were 800 parishes, with about 900 churches and chapels, 1,600 priests, and numerous convents, monasteries and congregations.

000 AND NOW? . . .

The Soviet Bulletin gives the latest statistics: "The Catholic Church organization has remained unchanged . . . 711 churches . . . 1,332 clergy . . . The Kaunas Ecclesiastical Seminary . . . two archbishoprics."

The Soviet Embassy conveniently omits the information regarding the fate of the bishops (of whom only three are probably in the country), the three missing seminaries, 300 priests, and the introduction of *numerus clausus* for divinity students: 150 for a nation of three million. . . The following article by a prominent Catholic layman, a university professor who lived through both Russian occupations and is now a refugee in Germany, will demonstrate bolshevik

727 661 of laymen active in Catholic Action were either murdered or exiled to Siberia. 40,000 Lithuanians were deported to Russia during that one lone year, and at least two-thirds of the number were Catholic Action members.

The Second Russian Occupation

659 798 626 As far back as 1942, Comrade Vyshynsky, Deputy Commissar of Foreign Affairs and Liquidator of the Democratic Latvian State, admitted to a foreign statesman that bolshevik tactics in the Baltic States were based on an erroneous policy: the method of violence and compulsion had been a mistake.

In July 1944, the Russians again invaded the Baltic States. However, there was no change in their policy or methods regarding religion: they permitted no Catholic organizations, press or instruction of religion in schools.

[702] The Salesian monastery at Skirsnemunė was encircled by the Red Army and all physically able friars were drafted into the Red Army.

Soon thereafter, the tactics regarding the clergy wavered. Soviet overlords attempted to maintain, to some extent, the propaganda thesis regarding the alleged existence of "freedom of religion" in the Soviet [874] Union. Only one Catholic Seminary, of the former four, was left in Lithuania, but divinity students, as other university students, were exempt from military duty. The number of divinity students was sharply limited to 150—for a Catholic nation of three million —instead of the previous 850.

This measure represented a lull in the anti-religious drive: religion was to be eliminated by other means, by mass deportations of the faithful and their replacement by Communist Russians, so that, in the words of comrade Pozdniakov, the priests would find no employment for their vocation, no audience to listen to them. By effecting the primary aim of the Soviet regime—the liquidation of the Lithuanian people—the secondary aim, that of abolishing religion, would be simultaneously achieved. This explains the change in tactics, not the basic aim.

Furthermore, the new "party line" sought not merely to leave the clergy untouched, but to use them for political interests of bolshevism, as is done in Russia with the Orthodox clergy. In 1946 the NKVD encountered great difficulty with armed Lithuanian guerrilla operations. The NKVD decided to use the bishops and clergy to break the fighters' will to wage war. The Ministry of Interior (NKVD-MVD) demanded that the bishops publish pastoral letters and in sermons condemn the armed resistance and urge an end to it.

The alien regime attempted to attain two purposes: to enlist the clergy's aid to further its plans, and to drive a wedge between the clergy and the fighting nation. However, the plan was too obviously underlined with "red" threads, and the bishops declined to do the NKVD bidding. When the NKVD threatened with repressions, one bishop frankly told the satraps: "It is all the same to me whether I live five more years or less—I shall not soil the authority of the Church."

Schasiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

872 186 191 30, a school with a language of instruction other than Lithuanian may be established. In it Lithuanian is taught as a distinct subject from the second grade onwards, and from the third grade on instruction in environment, history, and geography is given in Lithuanian. In a school with Lithuanian as the medium, children of non-Lithuanian parentage, if their number is not less than 20, are taught their mother tongue as a separate subject.

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5:Masiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Technical Instruction

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Up to the Great War there were no technical schools in Lithuania, and technical instruction was received in the course of apprenticeship. The work of reconstruction after the recovery of independence created a great demand for skilled labor and special arrangements had to be made for systematic vocational training. For this purpose the state began to found technical schools but progress was slow until 1926 when a Department of Technical Education was organized in the Ministry of Education and the network of technical schools began to be systematically developed.

5:Masiliunas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

of technical schools began to be systematically developed. Since there was no place in the country where teachers could be trained for handicraft instruction, the state granted a number of scholarships to young people for the study of technical instruction in foreign countries.

The Handicraft Law published in 1929 and the Rules in 1932 definitely established that the technical schools were to be of two types: Secondary and lower with a study period of 4 years in each. At first they did not find any

● 874 great public favor and often there was a lack of pupils but that initial difficulty has been surmounted and candidates are now plentiful. The schools now have on their registers about 3,000 students of which 24.1 percent are in housekeeping schools for girls and 8.2 percent in commercial schools.

Agricultural schools, all under the Ministry of Agriculture, are intermediate and lower. The four intermediate schools (dairy, cattle-breeding, land-betterment, and forestry) now

5:Maziliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

●874 in operation admit candidates who possess certificates that they have finished four or six grades of a gymnasium, or a lower agricultural school, and give them from 2 to 3 years of training. The purpose of the lower agricultural schools is to raise the standard of the practical training of farmers and farm-wives. Graduates of elementary schools are automatically admitted for a study period of 2 years. The nine State and eight private schools of this class have an attendance of 1,504 and employ 137 teachers.

871 The government of Lithuania assigns considerable sums for educational purposes. For instance, in 1938 the budget of the Ministry of Education carried the figure of 56,656,891 litas (44,580,045 ordinary, and 12,076,846 extraordinary expenditures), or 16.34 percent of the total National budget.

532 The Lithuanian sculptor, Petras Rimša, portrays the "Lietuvos Mokykla" (The Lithuanian School).

532 [517] circle of responsibility: it[1] called into being a theater, an opera, and a music school--institutions which the state took over--and combined within itself all the creative forces of that period which were aiming with great energy and much idealism to create the basis for a new artistic culture within the framework of the new national life.

537 874 In the year 1924 the founding of an art school took place. At its head was the painter Justinas Vienožinskis, who, although he belonged to the older generation, pursued with great freshness the new artistic trends of Western Europe but at the same time directed attention to the values which were lying dormant in the Lithuanian folk art. A painter of colorful culture, himself a product of the impressionism of the previous century, he found a style of his own. Along with him there came as teachers a number of the older artists. In spite of unfavorable material conditions the art school today has well beyond 100 students and has become an independent factor in Lithuanian cultural life. Its director is the well-known art historian and critic Ignas Šlapelis.

532 Adomas Galdikas (born 1893), who began with drawing but found his real field as a painter, also works as a professor at the art school. A thoroughly self-willed artist, he did not remain untouched by the various new trends of European painting, but always followed independent paths. His individuality grows out of his inner ties to Lithuanian folk art. Unusually versatile--along with his landscapes and portraits his opera decorations must also be mentioned--Galdikas underwent a lively artistic development. It is characterized by the Frenchman Waldemar George, who /182/ writes in a monograph dedicated to the artist: "By approaching the archaic expression of religious folk art, Galdikas seeks something other than only an assortment of colored tones and lines. This confrontation with folk art allows him to be con-

1 [Lithuanian Art Association, 1919 -- Analyst]

533 famous foreign conductors (Couts, Cooper, Dovrovén, Malko, Scherchen, Hoesslin, Poulet, etc.) and soloists--the pianists Hofmann, Rubinstein, E. Petri, Ellegard, Orlov, Ginsburg, and the violinists Hubermann, Thibaut, Oistrach, Elmann, and Cimbalist, along with many others may be mentioned. The number of concerts presented ran to 26 in the season 1935-36, to 22 in the following season.

Along with these symphony concerts, the choruses, above all, /190/ became important for the development of musical life. The first successful attempt in this area was the performance of the Mozart Requiem by the chorus of "Šiaulių Sajunga" (rifle association). After this there began a lively artistic competition. The student chorus of the "Ateitininkai" (Catholic student union) sang the Seven Last Words of Dubois and Verdi's Requiem; the chorus of the Šiaulių Sajunga soon after sang Handel's Messiah. Spiritual oratorios were produced by the chorus of the garrison church; and the rest of the choruses also, for example the university chorus, did not remain behind. The latter had great success on its tours through the Baltic countries.

874 Of greatest influence on the development of the whole musical life was the state conservatory, whose student count runs today to 220-250, and which has departments of composition, singing, piano, and all other instruments. The teaching staff--about 30-35--is in part also active in the opera and in the radio. From time to time the radio orchestra presents symphony concerts on a larger scale under the direction of native and foreign conductors.

If we want to know what has been accomplished so far in the purely creative field, it must first be remembered that the prerequisites for a modern Lithuanian artistic music, just as those for a Lithuanian artistic literature, were only given toward the end of the last century. The earliest Lithuanian composers, like Kudirka for example, the creator of the Lithuanian hymn, still had no prof-

533essional musical training. The first composer educated in musical theory was Juozas Naujalis (1869-1934), organist at the cathedral of Kaunas, who was creatively active primarily in the area of church music, and who made a name for himself as the composer of many Catholic masses and symphon-
•874] ic works. He also stood out as a teacher, and founded the conservatory in Kaunas, at which he was active until 1928 as director and professor of organ-playing. Many of his songs were taken over by the people and are sung today as genuine folk songs. At about the same /191/ time lived Česlovas Sasnauskas (186[illegible]-1916), professor of music at the seminary for priests in St. Petersburg, of whom a large requiem and a number of smaller creations became known. Many of his choral songs became quite popular.

Nevertheless, these beginnings of Lithuanian artistic music still bear more or less provincial features, and also sometimes are strongly under Polish influence. The first to point out new paths to Lithuanian music was Mykolas Konstantinas Čiurlionis (1875-1911), whose singular artistic personality exhibited a synthesis of the pictorial and the musical. Long years of study at the conservatories of Warsaw and Leipzig gave him a broader artistic outlook than to all the others mentioned so far. Thus he went far ahead of his time, and his compositions are still fresh and alive today. With Čiurlionis Lithuanian music got out from its former seclusion, and for the first time strong Western influences made themselves felt beside the formerly dominant Eastern elements. Among the more important works of this composer are the two great symphonic creations--the symphony Miškas (The Forest), still dating from the Warsaw period, and the later Jūra (The Sea)--musical paintings of great beauty, and, in spite of various foreign influences (R. Strauss, Reger), independent in their richness of musical ideas and their colorful

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

VII. EDUCATION — GENERAL, AGRICULTURAL AND HOUSECRAFT

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(In the Klaipéda territory attendance for six years at an elementary school is obligatory.)

To meet the needs of peasants on isolated farms, schools consist, as a rule, of only one or two class-rooms; those in the chief towns have from four to six rooms. The network of schools is organised in such a way that no child ever has to go more than 4 kilometres to get to school.

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The progress in elementary education since before the war is illustrated by the increase in the number of schools and of pupils. In 1913, there were 875 elementary schools in Lithuania, with 51,221 pupils; in 1919, there were 1,036 schools, with 45,540 pupils, and in 1938, 2,319 schools, with 283,773 pupils and 5,110 teachers. During the early years of Lithuanian independence, when the Government set about organising education on lines in keeping with the national aspirations, there was a shortage of qualified teachers and of school-buildings. In 1913, out of the 875 elementary schools in existence in the territory which now constitutes Lithuania, only 360 had their own premises, and some of these buildings were destroyed during the war.

874 Adult education is provided by the people's universities and by evening classes held at the elementary schools.

212 There is a steady decline in the number of illiterate persons in rural districts, and there are practically no illiterate young people.

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

Agricultural education and agricultural domestic education may be subdivided as follows : 874

(1) Higher education : (*a*) The Agricultural Academy at Dotnuva, with three sections : husbandry, agricultural domestic economy and forestry; (*b*) The Veterinary Academy;

(2) Middle-grade education : special agricultural middle-grade schools;

(3) Elementary education : agricultural elementary schools (mixed schools, agricultural domestic economy schools for girls), agricultural winter schools;

(4) Other forms of educational activity : young farmers' clubs, courses and lectures for adults, Press propaganda.

The Agricultural Academy at Dotnuva trains teachers qualifying for posts in agricultural schools, directors of agricultural experimental stations and experts for the Central Administration and external services of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Chamber of Agriculture.

The middle-grade schools provide technical staff for agriculture : zootechnicians (one school), dairy experts (one school), surveyors and agricultural improvement experts (one school), forestry experts (one school); horticulturists are trained at an elementary school of horticulture.

The aim of the agricultural elementary schools is to turn out efficient farmers and housewives. They accept boys and girls of 15 or over, who must have completed the elementary school course (four standards). The agricultural course lasts two years. The theoretical instruction given in the school is supplemented by practical work in the laboratories and on the attached farms. Girls work in the kitchen, laundry, cowsheds, etc. At present, there are ten agricultural elementary schools (nine mixed and one for boys only), and eight private agricultural domestic economy schools for girls, subsidised by the Ministry of Agriculture. During the school year 1937/38, the number of pupils in these agricultural elementary schools was 1,129 (516 boys and 613 girls), the figure for agricultural domestic economy schools being 375.

Agricultural winter schools are organised for young farmers who are already running a farm or intend to do so when they have completed their training. The teaching covers the rudiments of agriculture. It lasts from November 1st to April 1st, when work in the fields is suspended. Those applying must be not less than 17 years of age and be able to read and write. In 1937, there were twenty winter agricultural schools — *i.e.*,

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

874 fourteen run by the Chamber of Agriculture and six by private persons in receipt of grants from the Chamber. From 1928 to 1937 — the first schools of this kind having been established in 1927 — 2,471 male and female students attended these winter schools, which have become centres for the propagation of agricultural knowledge. They are provided with small agricultural libraries and a supply of agricultural machinery and tools. They also give advice and instruction to farmers, etc.

From 1924 to 1933, agricultural classes were organised at the elementary schools (first by the Ministry of Agriculture, and after 1928 by the Chamber of Agriculture). The instruction was given in premises belonging to the schools, in the afternoons during the winter months, the classes being attended, not only by young people, but also by adult farmers. The teaching was in the hands of elementary-school teachers who had followed special agricultural courses. The 1,175 agricultural classes held during this period were attended by 10,281 persons.

874 In 1930, the first young farmers' clubs were organised on the lines of the American " 4-H Clubs ", with the object of 883 encouraging a liking for agriculture among young people, teaching them how to apply agricultural science on their farms, imbuing them with a desire to work and to co-operate with each other, encouraging thrift, and exalting a love of their fellow citizens, their native land and liberty.

By a law of 1936, these young farmers' clubs were formed into a Union, under the patronage of the President of the Republic. They keep in close touch with the Chamber of Agriculture and are assisted by the latter's agricultural experts. Close relations are also maintained with the Ministry of Education. The clubs generally meet at the elementary schools, and most of them are run by the teachers. They receive financial assistance from the Government and from private organisations, particularly the co-operatives.

Boys and girls between the ages of 12 and 20 are admitted as members of these clubs. They are given various jobs to do — looking after poultry or pigs, growing vegetables, planting and attending to fruit-trees, etc. When the work is completed, the clubs organise exhibitions of the products, and prizes are awarded. Various competitions are also organised — for the best plantations of trees, small gardens, flowers, housewifery, cleanliness, etc.

In winter, the members attend agricultural and domestic economy courses, do manual work, etc. The clubs organise entertainments and excursions. Of recent years, they have paid more attention to physical culture and sport. They have small libraries.

At present, there are 1,087 of these clubs, with a membership of 36,020 (20,406 boys and 15,614 girls).

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

The popularisation of agriculture by means of adult courses and lectures plays an important part in the scheme of agricultural and domestic education. Until 1927, the courses and lectures were organised and subsidised by the Ministry of Agriculture; since that date, they have been taken over by the Chamber of Agriculture. Between 1928 and 1937, the Chamber organised 19,459 lectures on various agricultural questions in 12,824 towns and villages, attended by 379,700 agriculturists; 1,117 lectures on various agricultural questions, organised for farmers' sons serving with the forces, were attended by 170,000 men. Between 1928 and 1937, 4,198 courses, lasting from three to six days and attended by 853,600 agriculturists, were given by agricultural experts, doctors, veterinary surgeons, forestry experts, etc. A large number of courses are organised on the feeding and care of live-stock, milking, flax-scotching and the secondary branches of agriculture (poultry-keeping, bee-keeping, horticulture). 874

Altogether, approximately one and a-half million agriculturists have passed through the agricultural schools up to date or attended courses or lectures. Out of the 300,000 farms, there is not one from which several inmates have not gone to an agricultural school or attended courses or lectures. In addition, agricultural lectures are broadcast regularly.

Since 1928, the Chamber of Agriculture has organised lectures and domestic economy courses for farmers' wives and peasant girls, given for the most part by the agricultural domestic economy advisers attached to the Chamber. There are general and special courses. The former last either from one to three months or from two to three weeks. The following subjects are included: preparation of food, housewifery, laundry, hygiene and the care of children. The courses lasting from one to three months also include sewing, manual work, horticulture, bee-keeping, poultry-keeping, care of live-stock, co-operation, etc. At the special courses (from three to fifteen days), instruction is given in one of these subjects, according to the time of year and local circumstances. No charge is made for the courses, which are held at the farms or in the elementary schools. Between 1928 and 1937, upwards of 75,000 farmers' wives and peasant girls attended housewifery courses. Lectures on household management are also broadcast from time to time.

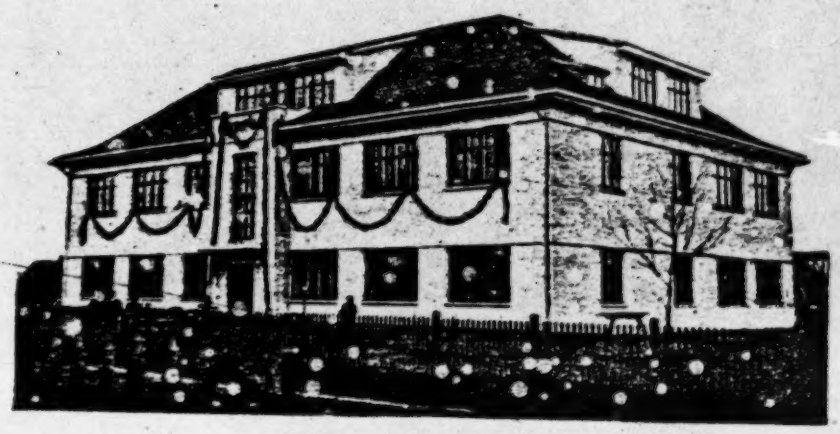
The Chamber of Agriculture organises domestic economy exhibitions and excursions to enable farmers' wives to visit model farms, interesting undertakings, etc.

The agricultural Press plays an important part in popularising agriculture. The Chamber of Commerce issues a weekly review, *Ūkininko Patarėjas* (*The Peasant's Adviser*), with two supplements: *Jaunasis Ūkininkas* (the organ of the Union of Young Farmers' Clubs) and *Šeimininkė* (for farmers' wives). 874 204

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

[204] 874 This review has a circulation of about 80,000. There are also three weekly reviews for agriculturists : *Lietuvos Ūkininkas*, *Ūkininkas* and *Mūsų Laikraštis*, all with a large circulation.

Lastly, agricultural experts and other technicians in the service of the Chamber of Agriculture give farmers and their wives advice and practical instruction in all branches of agriculture and agricultural domestic economy (including the care of children).



Primary school at Kvédarna.

5:Masiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

First Law

671 The first law on elementary education was
872 passed in 1922 making the Lithuanian primary
875 school of four grades and requiring all children of both sexes between the ages of 7 and 13 to attend it. The general administrative organization was based on the principle of decentralization which granted wide powers to the local authorities and to the children's parents. However, this experience soon showed that under such a system the qualifications of the
[647] teachers left much to be desired. For this reason the law of 1922 was amended in 1925 and the appointment of teachers, their transfer from one school to another, and certain other matters were centered in the Ministry of Education. In the same year the school curricula were drawn up and officially approved. The schools were run under this law up to 1936 when a new elementary school law
[186] was promulgated which declares that the purpose of the elementary school is to provide primary education for the youth of Lithuania, foster their spiritual and physical growth, and teach them to love, cherish, and sacrifice themselves for Lithuania.

872 The present elementary school has six grades. The first four, obligatory for children between 7 and 13, form the first degree of study. The last two, for children 14 and 15 years old, form the second degree which is optional as yet because not enough schools are available. The increase in them began only in 1933. The elementary school subjects of instruction are: Religion taught by clergymen of the various denominations and compulsory for all children, Lithuanian as the language of instruction, arithmetic, knowledge of environment, history, geography,
872 natural history, art, manual arts, music and
186 singing, and physical training. In an ele-
191 mentary school district where the number of children of non-Lithuanian parentage exceeds

5:Masiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

872 186 191 30, a school with a language of instruction other than Lithuanian may be established. In it Lithuanian is taught as a distinct subject from the second grade onwards, and from the third grade on instruction in environment, history, and geography is given in Lithuanian. In a school with Lithuanian as the medium, children of non-Lithuanian parentage, if their number is not less than 20, are taught their mother tongue as a separate subject.

Certificates Granted

872 874 At the end of the first and second degrees of study, the pupils are examined and granted the elementary school graduation certificate which, if from the second degree, grants the right to enter, without further examination, the first grade of a secondary school (gymnasium) or a school offering special training for a vocation. Persons who have attended no schools may earn these certificates by passing official examinations embracing the entire course of study.

● 875 Elementary school teachers are classified as junior, first-degree, second-degree, senior first-degree, and senior second-degree. They are trained in normal schools and pedagogical institutes. Admission to normal schools is accorded those who have completed four grades of a secondary school, and the course extends for 4 years. To the pedagogical institutes only graduates of normal schools or gymnasia are admitted and the duration of studies is 2 years. Each teacher has in charge from 30 to 60 pupils, the average being 55. The average number with which the teacher works in winter is 43, and in summer 30,

875 [872] since not all children in Lithuania attend school all the year. First-grade and second-grade pupils in the rural districts go to school only 4 months; September 1 to November 1, and May 1 to July 1. In winter the country schools are attended only by third-, fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-grade pupils. In urban areas pupils attend throughout the school year.

871 The maintenance of elementary schools devolves on the local authorities. The costs of one school and one grade are around 11,890.-23 and 5,519.6 litas respectively. One lita is 16.93 cents in coinage of the United States. According to the figures of 1937, the cost of keeping one child in an elementary school is 99.4 litas annually. Towards the upkeep of elementary schools an average of 11.48 litas was paid by every inhabitant in 1937.

School Buildings

346 871 The school buildings are for the most part erected by the localities, grants-in-aid being made by the Ministry of Education which assigns in its budget over a million litas yearly for this purpose. At present about 80 new school buildings are constructed each year at an expenditure of two million litas. With the additional sums assigned for the acquisition of equipment and educational appliances, about three millions are spent annually.

871 On January 31, 1938, there was a total of 2,599 schools, 5,613 teachers, and 301,188 pupils or approximately 12 percent of the entire population enrolled in elementary schools.

871 873 The secondary school system was reorganized in 1936 by a special law. The 8-year gymnasia, modeled after the former Russian

000 "Anti-religious propaganda is not forbidden in Soviet Lithuania, nor is religious propaganda forbidden. Like all Catholic priests, I preach the word of God freely and without hindrance from the pulpit. If anti-religious lectures are given in our city, any citizen does or does not attend as he sees fit—just as every citizen does or does not attend the services at any church according to the dictates of his judgment."

This assertion, of course, violates the wording of Art. 124 of the Soviet Constitution. Constitution, published by the OGIZ State Publishing House of Political Literature at Moscow in 1938, in English, gives the following (inaccurate) translation: "Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens."

875 A direct contradiction is provided by an article of comrade V. Niunka, Minister of Education of the Lithuanian SSR, in the Communist Party organ *Tiesa* of 31 October 1948:

"Most of the teachers of the Ignalina gymnasium . . . did not rid themselves of religious prejudices, they frequently go to church thereby setting a bad example for the pupils. . . . Former director N. Petravičius is a clerical, he practices his religion, he even keeps pictures of the saints in his home . . . and categorically refuses to admit his errors. . . .

"Therefore, the College of the Ministry of Education decrees:

"1) to dismiss the following teachers from teaching duties:

"(a) Nikanoras Petravičius as a clerical and unfit to work in Soviet schools . . ." — and other teachers practicing their religious duties.

000 There was indeed a Casimir Kulak, a Catholic priest of Whiteruthenian extraction. He had been a professor of the Eastern rite liturgy and Orthodox Theology at the Roman Catholic Seminary in Pinsk. He was an erudite man, tolerant in his dealings with the Lithuanians, and a Whiteruthenian patriot—not to be confused with the Lithuanians.

It is feared that the alleged "interview" in the Soviet Embassy Bulletin may be the last we shall hear of this priest—unless from a MVD dungeon. The Soviet Embassy had once before published an "interview" with a Catholic dignitary, the Most Rev. Mečys Reinys, Archbishop of Vilnius,—and he "vanished" within a month thereafter. . . .

Resistance

668 186 Comrade Antanas Sniečkus, the window-dressing "Stalin" of Lithuania—First Secretary of the Communist Party/bolshevik of Lithuania—had this to say in the LKP/b organ *Tiesa* ("Pravda"), No. 300 of 24 December 1947:

"It must not be forgotten that the bourgeois nationalists within the republic's territory are conducting anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation, spreading provocative rumors and, seeking to undermine the work, they attempt to infiltrate in the state apparatus.

"When German fascism lies smashed and is no longer able to aid the Lithuanian bourgeois nationalists, they expect such aid from the Anglo-American imperialists.

". . . They praise the false Anglo-Saxon democracy and idealize the bourgeois system of America and England.

5:Masiliūnas G-4, 5 (no date)1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

562 873 the others are mixed but in the larger schools in which parallel classes exist, separate classes for boys and girls are established.

875 [658] The extension of the network of secondary schools produced in the first years of Lithuania's independence a shortage of teachers, and educating a staff was undertaken by the State. Teachers were trained in foreign universities, and from 1922 onwards in the University of Vytautas the Great in Kaunas, as well. Most of the 1,432 teachers now employed are university graduates and possess the qualifications required by the Ministry of Education. They are classified as junior teachers, teachers, and senior teachers. The rank of junior teacher is granted to persons who have taken a university course in psychology, pedagogics, the history of pedagogics, pedology, and the methodology of their specialties, or have passed examinations in these subjects and have completed their studies in the subjects necessary for the teaching of their specialty. Junior teachers who have taught successfully not less than 2 years and have conducted two probational lessons in their specialty may be elevated by the Ministry of Education to the rank of teachers. Teachers who have taught with outstanding success for at least 5 years may be raised to senior teachers.

School Competitions

873 555 A State physical culture badge to encourage physical fitness, scout troops and circles, camps for students, and travel during the vacation period are all connected with secondary education, but perhaps the most noteworthy activity to promote all-sided scholastic progress and interscholastic cooperation is the school competitions that were organized first in 1935 and take place at the end of the school year.

In these competitions the secondary schools strive for supremacy in the reading and recitation of Lithuanian, French, and German, drawing, singing, and physical culture. In

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

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563 sonal risk: when the Russians arrived, the Jew informed them that a person who had secreted a Jew from the Nazis might most likely secret a "bandit" from the Russians—and the poor farmer was executed and his family exiled.

000 This reasoning seems to be generally adopted by the Russians—and no "heroics" are told them. The Russians show no excitement whatever regarding the massacres perpetrated by the Nazis. They conducted no special investigation or excavations—the Nazi practices too closely parallel those of the Soviets. ..... Only in instances where they were tipped off that people had been executed clothed and unrobbed—did the Russians make excavations in quest for valuables. . . . They gathered up coins, jewelry, pulled gold from teeth, and ceremoniously reburied the skeletons.

Education

874 The University of Vilnius with medical and chemistry departments, and the University of Kaunas with
871 departments of medicine, architecture, construction, technology and chemistry, are functioning. Both universities provide compulsory instruction in "Marxism-Leninism Science" and military training. A Veterinarian Academy and the lower classes of the Agricultural Academy function at Kaunas. The Pedagoguic Institute and an Art Institute with classes in scultpure, architecture, graphics and painting are open in Vilnius. The Commercial Institute is at Klaipėda. The upper classes of the Agricultural Academy are still housed in the ruins of Dotnuva.

Eighty percent of the faculty staff and student body are Lithuanians. Deputy Rectors, in charge of "political education," are Russian MVD-men. Most of the aliens are concentrated in Vilnius. The total student body numbers about 6,000 (compared with over 2,000 university students in Western Germany).

Of secondary schools, there are about 90 gymnasia and 189 progymnasia with 65,000 students, and about 20 special schools of agriculture, orchardry, gardening, forestry, cattle breeding, bookkeeping, etc. The secondary schools follow an 8-year program—a recession to the antiquated pre-1914 system. The Russian language is taught from the third grade of grammar school. All textbooks are translations of Russian authors exclusively. Prewar textbooks are withdrawn from circulation and systematically destroyed.

186 In 1944 and 1945, the National Anthem of Lithuania was tolerated as a "national song" over the radio and at some official functions, but was banned from schools. It is still sung in some churches but is no longer heard elsewhere.

876 Since 1946, school programs were systematically
626 purged of all "western bourgeois" influence. In libraries, books of western authors were replaced by propaganda "masterpieces" of Russian literature. The Michurin theory is preached, and professors are compelled to publicly "confess" their former heresy. Every dissertation on any subject must faithfully seek some quotation from Stalin and Lenin "science" to prove the infallibility. Only students whose parents never owned more than 18 hectares of land are admitted to universities—others are "outlaws."

The universities demand that matriculating students submit loyalty certificates issued by local Party offices. The University of Kaunas still adheres to the

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Press Section, Baltic Area of the Lithuanian Liberation Army. An underground newspaper in the process of printing in a forest.

876 626 Lithuanian language, but in Vilnius classes are bilingual. Technological training is favored from the top, and students themselves elect such classes for practical reasons. The Marxist-Leninist "science" is obligatory. Nevertheless, of 2,000 students of the University of Kaunas, only 13 were members of the Komsomol in the school year 1947-48.

883 665 The Komsomol (Communist Youth organization) —just vegetates: there are few Lithuanian recruits. These are found in the cities only. The Komsomol had enjoyed some success during the early days of the second occupation as a "security measure." However, when the authorities began employing the Komsomol personnel for repression, espionage, grain collection supervision, etc., the ranks dwindled. The *Komsorgs* (Komsomol organizers) are pressuring students to join the Komsomol and school directors second the efforts, but there is practically no response: in schools of 500 pupils, only a dozen or so, mostly children of non-Lithuanian race, belong to the Komsomol.

Membership in the "Pioneers"—the parody of boy scouting—is not obligatory but school authorities warn the parents to enroll their children.

In Kindergartens, communist and anti-religious propaganda is forced on little children, and teachers slyly attempt to enlist the little ones as informers on their parents and friends.

Forcible Collectivization and Duplicity

423 Unbelievable official duplicity is practiced by the Kremlin. Thus, *Izvestiya*, the official organ of the Soviet Government, in the issue No. 172 of 22 July 1948 wrote:

"The Agrarian Reform has been consummated in Lithuania. 92,000 former smallholders and the landless have received gratuitously FOR ALL TIME 659,000 hectares of land, tens of thousands horses and cows, over 100,000 houses and other farm structures.

"Prior to the completion of harvesting, over 250 kolkhozes were found in the country."

The final phrase presaged the forcible drive against the "smallholders and the landless" from whom land was seized and redistributed in order to provide statistical data to show a great Soviet "achievement," prior to driving the expropriated "recipients of the land FOR ALL TIME" into the kolkhozes. And yet,

793 659 661 they discontinue holding Mass and stop the performance of other priestly duties. A number of priests were arrested and the NKVD attempted to enlist their services by threats and blackmail. Because of these methods, several priests consented—and, immediately after their release, fled abroad. Those refusing to become agents were imprisoned. Soon the number of prisoners grew as many friars, preachers and high school students heroically defended their faith.

626 527 461 The Russians initiated a campaign against religious *traditions*. They began by banning the traditional Corpus Christi processions in the streets. All Saints Day was declared to be a working day, and the authorities banned traditional services and mass visits to cemeteries on All Souls' Day. During Advent and Lent, the bolsheviks encouraged dancing, entertainment and anti-religious lectures. Good Friday and Holy Saturday, as well as the second day of Easter, were designated working days. Those failing to report for work on the second day of Easter were prosecuted. In general, at frequent intervals, ordinary Sundays were periodically declared to be working days, and Saturdays—days of rest.

876 626 The teaching of religion in schools was replaced by classes on biology and the Stalin constitution. Biological lectures popularized "Darwinism." The "science of constitution" was to popularize a "Soviet democracy" and its oft-varying shifts directed by party [883] line. In place of religious sodalities and athletic groups, the bolsheviks attempted to form *"Komsomol"* (Communist Youth) nests directed by political instructors called "Komsorg." Religious sermons were replaced by anti-religious tirades in the communist-controlled press and at mass meetings. Attendance at such mass-meetings to hear blasphemies was made compulsory.

626 661 558 Churches kept open and functioning. However, attendants at religious services were terrorized. The Party posted uniformed and non-uniformed spies at church doors to observe and list the churchgoers. Attendance in church was a sufficient reason for dismissal from higher offices.

000 The anti-religious drive, growing in tempo, began to expand. When Bishops Brizgys and Ramanauskas called on Pozdniakov, the former Soviet Minister to Lithuania and at present the Kremlin's depuy satrap, to ask for the return of the premises of the Theological Seminary, the Russian attempted to "reason" with them. Pozdniakov stated that they should have no illusions: what had been accomplished in Russia in 20 years, will be achieved in Lithuania within two to three years by experienced administrators. Why should the Seminary "delude" young men? By the time they became priests, there would be no duties to perform—in Russia the priests already have nothing to do. . . .

Lithuanian Resistance to the Anti-Religious Drive

798 771 The Lithuanians had suffered much for religion—murder, imprisonment and exile to Siberia—during

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Press Section, Baltic Area of the Lithuanian Liberation Army. An underground newspaper in the process of printing in a forest.

876 626 Lithuanian language, but in Vilnius classes are bilingual. Technological training is favored from the top, and students themselves elect such classes for practical reasons. The Marxist-Leninist "science" is obligatory. Nevertheless, of 2,000 students of the University of Kaunas, only 13 were members of the Komsomol in the school year 1947-48.

883 665 The Komsomol (Communist Youth organization) —just vegetates: there are few Lithuanian recruits. These are found in the cities only. The Komsomol had enjoyed some success during the early days of the second occupation as a "security measure." However, when the authorities began employing the Komsomol personnel for repression, espionage, grain collection supervision, etc., the ranks dwindled. The *Komsorgs* (Komsomol organizers) are pressuring students to join the Komsomol and school directors second the efforts, but there is practically no response: in schools of 500 pupils, only a dozen or so, mostly children of non-Lithuanian race, belong to the Komsomol.

Membership in the "Pioneers"—the parody of boy scouting—is not obligatory but school authorities warn the parents to enroll their children.

In Kindergartens, communist and anti-religious propaganda is forced on little children, and teachers slyly attempt to enlist the little ones as informers on their parents and friends.

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659 the Ministry of Education whether he could attend
656 religious services. The reply was: "As an individual—
798 yes, as a State employee—No."

Churches in the cities are crowded. In rural areas—the churches are nearly vacant. This is because people are afraid to leave their homes because of robberies and thefts by the Russians and Party members. On Sundays, even uniformed soldiers and militiamen (police) are openly engaging in robberies.

659 A vigorous campaign against priests and the Vatican
798 was instituted since December 1946. The Pope, the
Vatican, and Christian morality and ways of life are
208 vilely denounced. In 1947, the Vatican became the "cradle of international reaction": the button pressed in Moscow echoes everywhere under the Russian occupation.

Translators immediately put out literature in the Lithuanian language. *Tiesa*, the official organ of the Communist Party and "government," in its #43 issue denounced the institution of Papacy as a partner of imperialists and exploiters: "The Pope was partner of the gangs of Teutonic crusaders," "During World War II, the Pope supported Hitler, the worst enemy of the Lithuanian people," "the clergy are the worst exploiters and enemies of the people."

Christian morality is also abused but "bolshevik morality" (?) is praised. For instance, *Bolševikiniu Keliu* (On the Bolshevik Path, No. 6/12) of 28 February 1947 wrote:

"The working people of a socialist country are creating their own new morality, basically differing from religious morality. Our morality is based on the struggle for Communism. . . . Morality is the means for destroying the exploiting society and uniting the working people around the proletariat which is forming a new Communist society. Hatred for the oppressors and enslavers . . . these are the wonderful peculiarities of our morality."

Certainly, a remarkable resemblance to Nazi "morality". . . .

The people of Lithuania entertain no illusions: the publicity drive against religion presages a new wave of arrests and deportations and purges. Indeed, since February 1947 mass dismissals from State employment—and every concern is a State concern—began.

798 The Lithuanian people met the second anti-religi-
771 ous drive with passive resistance, just as during the
● 883 first occupation. The "purges" are met with heroic stoicism. Churches remain filled with the faithful, regardless of the "friendly reminders" by Communist overlords to avoid the "inconveniences" and "hardships." Religious conferences for school children go on in churches, and the Komsomol is boycotted. Anti-religious "lectures" are attended only under compulsion. Teachers support the Komsomol only under direct pressure. *Tiesa*, the Soviet official mouthpiece, voiced its concern (12 February 1947):

"Komsomol meetings in the II Gymnasium of Siauliai are infrequent. The Komsomol youths' attendance is deficient—a recent meeting was attended by only 5 members out of 13. We asked comrade Baravykaitė,

798 a Komsomol girl, why her sister did not attend. She
771 blushed, did not dare to speak, finally she admitted:
883 'She is afraid.'

"—What do you mean, afraid?

"In the 4th Class there are 2 Komsomol members, but the influence of the reactionary Catholic clergy is very strong among the students of that class. The girls attend church and classes in religion arranged by the priests. Only members of the Komsomol do not attend, and they are persecuted for this reason.

"Reactionary Catholic clergymen built a strong nest in the II Gymnasium. They send out invitations to attend church where religion is taught to students. The teachers could not be unaware of this, yet they do nothing about it."

The Soviet mouthpiece recommended the purging of the teaching staff.

771 The Lithuanian People may suffer long martyrdom for Christianity. Nevertheless, they are encouraged by the sharpening ideological exchanges reflected in the Soviet press. They continue to sing with unfathomable emotion their classic religious hymn:

"Marija, Marija, skaisčiausia Lelija . . .
Palengvink vergiją, pagelbėk žmonijai,
Išgelbėk nuo priešo baisaus . . .

"Oh, Mary, Mary, most immaculate Lily . . .
Ease enslavement, help humanity,
Save from the terrible enemy . . ."

800 If this struggle lasts much longer and the Lithuanians and the other Baltic peoples do not receive help from those who guaranteed to nations and to individuals freedom of worship, then the Baltic peoples will be exterminated. Only their unshakable loyalty to their religious convictions and to liberty, will remain as an example; perhaps to some, more sensitive souls—as a qualm of conscience.

What is taking place in Lithuania and the other Baltic States today is only a reproduction in miniature of the great ideological conflict which is shaking the world: the conflict of religion against anti-religion; a continuation of the conflict of democracy and freedom against totalitarianism and moral and physical slavery. As Mr. Alexander Clifford says in his very significant article in the continental edition of the "Daily Mail" (May 7, 1947): *"Make No Mistake, This Is War—A Holy War."*

11:League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

874 fourteen run by the Chamber of Agriculture and six by private persons in receipt of grants from the Chamber. From 1928 to 1937 — the first schools of this kind having been established in 1927 — 2,471 male and female students attended these winter schools, which have become centres for the propagation of agricultural knowledge. They are provided with small agricultural libraries and a supply of agricultural machinery and tools. They also give advice and instruction to farmers, etc.

From 1924 to 1933, agricultural classes were organised at the elementary schools (first by the Ministry of Agriculture, and after 1928 by the Chamber of Agriculture). The instruction was given in premises belonging to the schools, in the afternoons during the winter months, the classes being attended, not only by young people, but also by adult farmers. The teaching was in the hands of elementary-school teachers who had followed special agricultural courses. The 1,175 agricultural classes held during this period were attended by 10,281 persons.

874 In 1930, the first young farmers' clubs were organised on the lines of the American "4-H Clubs", with the object of
● 883 encouraging a liking for agriculture among young people, teaching them how to apply agricultural science on their farms, imbuing them with a desire to work and to co-operate with each other, encouraging thrift, and exalting a love of their fellow citizens, their native land and liberty.

By a law of 1936, these young farmers' clubs were formed into a Union, under the patronage of the President of the Republic. They keep in close touch with the Chamber of Agriculture and are assisted by the latter's agricultural experts. Close relations are also maintained with the Ministry of Education. The clubs generally meet at the elementary schools, and most of them are run by the teachers. They receive financial assistance from the Government and from private organisations, particularly the co-operatives.

Boys and girls between the ages of 12 and 20 are admitted as members of these clubs. They are given various jobs to do — looking after poultry or pigs, growing vegetables, planting and attending to fruit-trees, etc. When the work is completed, the clubs organise exhibitions of the products, and prizes are awarded. Various competitions are also organised — for the best plantations of trees, small gardens, flowers, housewifery, cleanliness, etc.

In winter, the members attend agricultural and domestic economy courses, do manual work, etc. The clubs organise entertainments and excursions. Of recent years, they have paid more attention to physical culture and sport. They have small libraries.

At present, there are 1,087 of these clubs, with a membership of 36,020 (20,406 boys and 15,614 girls).

11: League of Nations G-4 (no date) 1939 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

There are large peasant youth organisations such as "Jaunoji Lietuva", the Rifle Association, "Pavasaris", etc. The Chamber of Physical Culture has drawn up a programme of physical culture and sport for the peasant youth, which also takes account of their less material needs. The programme is divided into two parts, one for winter and one for summer. It includes games, exercises in self-defence, light exercise, popular dances and community games, running, jumping, throwing, ball games, more strenuous competitions, wrestling, riding, hiking, swimming and winter sports. 883 526

The Chamber of Physical Culture has introduced a national physical culture badge, which is conferred on young people in the camps held by the different organisations, after they have had adequate time to train for it.

A sculptor of religious statuettes.